Supporting the Good Mind and the Healing Journey: An Inquiry into Indigenous Healing Service Delivery

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Abstract

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Indigenous men are disproportionally incarcerated in the Canadian criminal justice system. A disproportionate number of Indigenous men who are incarcerated have also been through the foster care and adoption system. A good deal of them are disconnected from their cultures, traditions and communities. For many the prisons are the first times that they encounter Indigenous Knowledge (IK), Elders, and Knowledge Holders, and the introduction to IK can be a watershed moment for them. Reconnection is a critical first step in a healing journey that many Indigenous men begin in prisons. The healing journey is about healing from their history, traumas, and the actions that led them to prisons, but healing is also a process of healing towards a better life and better future. It does not stop once they are beyond the prison walls. This research project focuses on the Indigenous Healing Programs and Services that support the men that are on this healing journey. Using the Haudenosaunee framework of Kan'nikonhrí:io (the Good Mind) and Wake'nikonhrèn:ton (the Crooked Mind), this project endeavours to understand how these programs and services understand and support healing, how masculinity factors into the delivery of these programs.

Keywords: Condolence Ceremony, Good Minds, Health, Healing, Incarceration, Indigenous Methodology, Qualitative Analysis, Social Programing, Social Work, Spirituality, Trauma

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Lastly, this dissertation is also dedicated to any graduate students who are about to go on their own Ph.D. journey. If for whatever reason you've decided to read my dissertation: keep going, you've got this.

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Glossary of Terms

Akwesasne	Mohawk community that is located in what is now considered Eastern Ontario, Québec and New York
Condolence	The process by which a community uplifts a person to a chief within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. It is also a process by which friends, family and community members support those who have experienced loss.
Friendship Centres	Urban Indigenous program and service delivery hubs. Found all across Canada, except for Prince Edward Island.
Haudenosaunee	People of the Longhouse. Also commonly referred to as the Iroquois Confederacy or the League of Six Nations. Composed of six nations: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora
Hiawatha	One of the key figures in the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Closely associated with the Peacemaker and Condolence.
Indigenous Knowledge	Teachings, philosophies, laws, ceremonies and cultural practices that exist within Indigenous communities since time immemorial
Kayanerenkó:wa	Known in English as the Great Law of Peace. The law and system that is at the heart of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy
Kan’nikorhrí:o	Known in English as the Good Mind or Unclouded Mind. It refers to a state of clarity and emotional wellbeing.

Kanehsatà:ke	A Mohawk community located on the north shore of what is now called the Lake of Two Mountains west of Montréal.
Kanien’kehá꞉ka	Known in English as the Mohawk people. People of the Flint, and Keepers of the Eastern Door.
Kanien’kéha	The Mohawk language. Spelling and pronunciation vary from community to community.
Peacemaker	The person that brought the Great Law of Peace to the original five warring nations.
Tadodaho	The chief of the Onondaga who was the last to accept the Great Law of Peace. The title and position continue to be the keeper of the central council fire for the Haudenosaunee.
Tyendinaga	A Mohawk community located east of what is now Belleville, Ontario.
Six Nations of the Grand River	A Haudenosaunee community that is located in what is now southern Ontario. This community contains all six nations within the Haudenosaunee.
Wake’nikonhrèn:ton	Known in English as the Crooked Mind or the Clouded Mind. A mind that is influenced by grief, sorrow, or other emotions that can impact judgement and decision-making.

Chapter 1: Introductions

This chapter lays down the foundations of the work that was done in my thesis project. It discusses my research questions, the rationale behind why this project is looking at what it is, the scale and scope, who exactly I am to be doing this work with, and a guide for the rest of the research project. Throughout the introduction, my intention is to give the reader a roadmap as to what to expect from this dissertation. Through this section, context will be included to ensure a clear understanding of why specific questions were asked, what the background of the work was, and how the scale and scope were chosen. The positionality statement starts off this section (aside from this introduction to the introduction). Positionality statements are by no means a widely accepted part of academic writing. However, within the field of Indigenous studies, and between Indigenous people who may or may not be standing in areas, stating who we are, who our family are, and what our connection to the work or the subject matter at hand is essential to contextualize the work better.

Positionality

As of writing, my family and I are almost five years out from my dad dying. He passed through the Western Door at the end of 2019 after several years of failing health. As it turns out, he had decided to make his journey to be with our ancestors at the right time, as a few short months later, the COVID-19 Pandemic would soon begin to ravage the world. He had diabetes and poor health, so I was grateful that he would not have to navigate the risks of being immunocompromised during this world-changing event. Within the span of six months, my family had fundamentally changed, and everyone was living with the genuine threat of a global pandemic. Going into the PhD project, I knew I was going to be doing some work that would overlap with my dad's field.

As a colleague of mine who worked in corrections said once: “people don’t usually just fall into this work, its usually the family business.” Well, as it turns out, my colleague was right, and in reflection, the signs were all there.

My parents used to own a giant bookcase. It was a large wood bookshelf that stood around four meters wide and about three and a half meters tall. It was so large that when we moved into our house in Ottawa, we had to cut the top shelf off it so that it could fit through the door. This bookshelf held our ample book collection, family pictures, vinyl records, and the various knickknacks that we accumulated over the years. It was not fancy; it was the epitome of a utilitarian, though massive, bookshelf. This sandy brown monster sat in our living room for seventeen years and took up an entire wall. Our house was not its first home. This bookshelf originally came from Pinganodin Lodge.

This now-defunct lodge served as a halfway house for Indigenous men. This lodge served men who were transitioning from the federal correctional system back into the public and homeless men who were transitioning into housing. This was one of several places that my father worked in during his career in justice. In retrospect, my life has consistently been surrounded by the justice system; soap carvings that sat on that bookshelf were gifted to my dad by “the boys” at Kingston, Millhaven, Collins Bay, Pittsburgh, Bath, and Joyceville. Dinnertime stories about the day-to-day events at the prisons were common. These stories were often a mixture of funny, sad, or absurd; I learned how prisoners went about making alcohol from Christmas fruit baskets and what a ‘dangler’ is. My dad’s stories balanced the horrible crimes that the men did and the inherent humanity they had in themselves; even if no one, not even them, could see it.

His work, and much of his life, focused on helping Indigenous men who committed horrendous crimes begin a long journey of acceptance and healing. It was not an easy job; but it

was a job that he loved. Healing, and the healing journey, is something that I have grown up with. I witnessed the difficulties, triumphs, and failures of my father's own healing journey, and through a confluence of events, I have begun my own odyssey down that same path.

I was raised in a complicated house. My father was born, but not really raised, on the Mohawk reserve of Tyendinaga. He grew up in a very violent and dysfunctional home. When he was young, he was taken by the Children's Aid Society; he became another statistic in the Sixties Scoop. After my dad died, my aunt told us that in the first year of foster care, he was placed in ten different homes, each one farther and farther away from Tyendinaga. He was a runner. He suffered through abuses in foster care. It fundamentally broke his connection to his family, and it broke something in him. When he was a bit older, he took up arms and joined the Mohawk Warrior Society during the occupation of Moss Lake in the mid-1970s. This was the first time in a long time that he was nurtured, where he found a sense of belonging and community, and it was the first time that he learned what it meant to be a Haudenosaunee man. All my life, I watched him struggle with his own pain and dysfunction. I watched him try his best to heal from the trauma that he experienced. He did his best to teach me how to be a good man, and he always stressed two things: that I needed to break the cycle of abuse and dysfunction that he was trapped in, and he was teaching me "how not to be."

My mom was the anchor of the household. She is a non-Indigenous woman who grew up middle class in a small Southern Ontario town. She knew she married a recovering alcoholic; she knew she lived with a broken person. She drew strength from the teachings of Al-Anon. She would mention that she grew up in an alcoholic household, too, but she and her siblings could never decide if it was her mother or her father who was the alcoholic. She knew firsthand how broken my dad was. She tried her best to mitigate how the dysfunctional household would imprint on my

siblings and I. Much later, during a very chaotic period of my life, I realized how much of my own coping mechanisms were mirrored by her. We all had to reconcile with his goodness and the dysfunctional person he was. My dad channelled his own experiences into helping Indigenous men in prisons. He knew what it was like to live in violence, to be homeless, to be defensive, angry, and self-destructive. He always said that the only difference between the inmates and him was that he met my mom, which grounded him in a way.

This was the household I grew up in. I understand that teachings, ceremonies, and healing are all closely intertwined. The biggest thing that I know now is that healing cannot be done alone. My dad's upbringing and life led him to be insular and isolated. Healing requires inner strength, but the healing journey is hard and painful, and it cannot be done alone. It requires reaching beyond the inner wall and defence mechanisms to ask for help and support from somewhere beyond yourself. This is my positionality. The son of a broken man, but a man who had the strength to sit with men who did horrible things; listen and help men who stole, raped, and murdered. I am approaching this project as someone who knows a little about trauma and a little about healing.

Healing for individuals, communities, and nations is critical to the Indigenous world. Healing and emerging from the long shadow of colonialism are the focuses of my work. On that bookshelf sat tokens and gifts from men who crossed paths with my father. At these crossroads, my dad tried to guide these men toward reconnecting with their cultures, their humanity, and their own capacity for growth and forgiveness. One thing that keeps popping in and out of my head is that my dad never completed high school, and how much he wanted to go to university. In some ways, he was living vicariously through me in my long and strange journey through the academy.

This work really is a result of how I was raised. It touches on how disconnection can really be damaging to a person's sense of self and identity, but at the same time, highlights how

community, culture and teachings can help heal those wounds. There have been multiple people throughout this process who have stressed that doing a Ph.D. project really does change you. I had always chalked that up to the stress of just doing the project, but those people were right. I am writing this positionality statement on the other end of a very long process, and as usual, people much brighter than I was, were right.

Rationale for Research

In some respects, I came to look at the healing process and its relationship with masculinity by accident. I was initially going to look at healing more broadly, but that would have been too unwieldy of a project. My supervisor, David Newhouse, suggested that I focus on men and masculinity as a way to narrow the scope and scale down. Looking at the effects and needs of men and masculinity was also the work that my father was involved in. He worked in the correctional system for the better part of 25+ years. For the most part, he worked in the men's prisons around Eastern and Central Ontario. I learned his views on healing, and he stressed his teachings were teachings specifically for men, such as how to be a good man, warrior, husband, father, and teacher. In his own framework, understanding what it meant to be a good man was one of the steps on the healing journey. While incarceration is not the main focus of my research, prison still looms large over my work. In terms of my own interest, that does make sense; a lot of my dinner-time stories growing up were about prison. There were stories of how Indigenous men were in a system that was not designed to help people heal; it was a system that was focused on punishment.

What I found striking is that approaching healing and wellness from the perspective of masculinity is crucial to the general health and wellness of Indigenous life, and that the ideas around Indigenous men and masculinity are under-served and under-researched: "there is little activism or political will to address Indigenous men's issues, and as a result, there are very few

policies or social programs designed for Indigenous men, including those who are trans-identified, as well as women who identify with Indigenous masculinities."[1] Healing is an aspect of the lived experience of Indigenous peoples, and there is an equal need for research that looks at men and masculinity.

Given that Indigenous people are one of the fastest growing populations within Canada, and if the rates of incarceration hold, there will be significantly more Indigenous people who have been to jail, and more and more Indigenous people are going to be going through the parole system. This was tagged as a massive issue by Dr. Zinger: "these disturbing and entrenched imbalances represent a deepening '*Indigenization'* of federal inmate population."[2] In my experience within universities, and within the non-profit world, *Indigenization* is used quite often, and used positively. Dr. Zinger pointed to another form of Indigenization; one that is a dark mirror of what Indigenous peoples and communities intended. All of this speaks to the need for Indigenous healing programs and services.

Indigenous men make up a quarter of all people incarcerated in Canada.[3] This is based on federal government statistics, and the federal government views this as a significant problem: "Between 2007 and 2016, while the overall federal prison population increased by less than 5%, the Indigenous prison population increased by 39%. For the last three decades, there has been an increase every single year in the federal incarceration rates for Indigenous people."[4] The rates of incarceration for Indigenous and non-Indigenous men have decreased. However, that is only for

[1] Robert Alexander Innes and Kim Anderson, "Who Is Walking with Our Brothers?," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, ed. Kim Anderson and Robert Alexander Innes (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 3.
[2] Ivan Zinger, "Annual Report 2019-2020" (Ottawa: Office of the Correctional Investigator, June 26, 2020), 20.
[3] In some instances, the percentage of the Indigenous population of a given prison can be extraordinarily high. Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba has between 80-95% Indigenous prison population.
[4] Ivan Zinger, "Annual Report 2016-2017: Office of the Correctional Investigator" (Ottawa, Ontario: The Correctional Investigator, June 28, 2017), 48.

Indigenous men who are actually in prison; offenders are those who have been sentenced and may be on parole in an Indigenous community. Indigenous men as offenders is eight times higher than of non-Indigenous men, and continues to increase.[5] It is a good thing that there are more Indigenous men who are not in prison. What is troubling, as the participants in this project repeatedly state, is that there is a distinct lack of programs, services and support for the men when they are outside of the walls of the prison.

According to the Federal Correctional Investigator Ivan Zinger, the proportion of Indigenous offenders that get statutory release at two-thirds of a sentence is 60% higher than the overall population.[6][7] Dr. Zinger suggests that this higher recidivism rate is due to: "shortcomings in the system's capacity to prepare and assist Indigenous offenders to live a law-abiding life after the release from custody."[8] Statutory parole rates are higher for Indigenous peoples, but the recidivism for Indigenous people once they get parole or statutory release does not paint such an optimistic picture. Compared to 31% of the total prison population, 39% of Indigenous offenders re-enter custody on a revocation of parole.[9] This means that 39% of all Indigenous offenders who enter parole will re-offend during the parole period and re-enter custody. Even if an Indigenous offender successfully ends their parole, the rate of return post-warrant is 10.5% as opposed to 6.2% for the total population.[10]

The landscape within Canada in supporting Indigenous people's ability to know their history and culture is challenging to navigate. There have been tremendous efforts to support

[5] Scott Clark, "Overrepresentation of Indigenous People in the Canadian Criminal Justice System:" (Canada: Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice, 2019), 9.
[6] Ivan Zinger, "Annual Report 2017-2018" (Ottawa: Office of the Correctional Investigator, June 29, 2018), 62.
[7] While the percentage of Indigenous parolees are higher than the overall population; the percentage of Indigenous inmates that do get released have declined from 80.5% to 72.45%
[8] Zinger, "Annual Report 2019-2020," 20.
[9] Zinger, "Annual Report 2017-2018," 62.
[10] Zinger, 62.

Indigenous peoples in accessing their cultures, histories and teachings, but there are still the ongoing effects of colonialism that impact Indigenous communities. The lack of support or ability to access or practice cultures leads to an odd circumstance where, for many Indigenous people entering into the correctional system, they are first exposed to ceremonies, cultures and teachings: "In prisons, [accessing culture] most often occurs though access to Elders who help the inmates learn more about cultural identity and their community's history to foster an understanding of the conditions that led them to prison. As such, Elders are invaluable in facilitating healing of the mind, body, emotions, and spirit."[11] This quote speaks to how vital Elders are in teaching inmates culture and teachings, considering that the basis of corrections in Canada is rooted in criminalizing Indigenous people. It is also disconcerting that culture, traditions and practices are still out of reach for many Indigenous people. It is positive that Indigenous inmates can access traditional teachings and IK even within the walls of a maximum-security prison; it is disconcerting that this environment is where many Indigenous people are first able to access their cultures and traditions.

The work being done in prisons centred around Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and traditions highlights the importance that IK has in Indigenous life. As such, it was crucial that Indigenous Knowledge be a part of my research project. The inclusion of IK into program and service delivery is a part of the long history of Indigenous people revitalizing their cultures and histories; it also has an active role in healing and rehabilitation. Ashley Hyatt notes that reconnecting incarcerated Indigenous people to their identities, cultures, and ceremonies is a significant part of healing.[12] They are disconnected from themselves and their communities. Their sense of identity and understanding of what being Indigenous means is unclear or nonexistent. Within the Haudenosaunee context, these people's minds have fallen to the ground in grief, anger, violence,

[11] Ashley Hyatt, "Healing Through Culture for Incarcerated Aboriginal People," 2013, 47.
[12] Hyatt, 43–44.

and trauma. Reconnecting them to their own identity and cultures is a way to lift their minds off the ground. A person's reconnection to their Indigenous identity, and the healing of that reconnection, does not stop once they leave the prison walls. This is a lifelong healing journey that can include attending ceremony, learning traditional languages, and better understanding what it means to be Indigenous. This journey must be supported once Indigenous men come out of the correctional system.

I originally wanted to focus explicitly on Indigenous men's healing in the context of the justice system. However, I ended up focusing on healing in the context of community support rather than the justice system. This is not to say that the justice system is not a part of this project; it was the source of inspiration. More than that, I want to focus on what is being done to help Indigenous men in the context of their own lives and experiences rather than as people who are navigating the justice system. Criminal justice is a part of my research, but only so far as to provide context rather than as the central part of my research. Looking at Indigenous people and healing as subjects unto themselves, rather than inherently connected to the field of criminology, centres the work on the individual and their journeys. It does include the context and work that has been done within prisons and the justice system, but it also ensures that healing and the work that is being done to support healing is centred.

Research Question

The research project's goal was to understand how these programs and services support men's healing journey through how they conceptualized healing, masculinity, and community support. The people I interviewed either worked directly in community-based initiatives or had experience with including Indigenous Knowledge in work that was long dominated by western

approaches to justice, education, and healing. The project involved understanding what is being done in urban and reserve communities to support Indigenous men's healing.

I used the Haudenosaunee concept of the Good Mind as a model of healing to frame my research. The Good Mind is a state of mind in which a person can live in peace, conduct themselves respectfully and thoughtfully, and be of service to their communities, families, and themselves. Along with the Good Mind, there is the Crooked Mind, which is when a person's mind is clouded with grief, anger, or sadness. These processes reflect the Haudenosaunee perspective on trauma, grief, and healing. The Good Mind stresses that individuals are the ones who go through this process and that communities, families and friends are instrumental in creating the Good Mind. This led me to my research questions and several sub-questions:

- **How do Indigenous Healing Programs and Services support men on their healing journey**?
    - How does Indigenous understanding of masculinity affect programming and services?
    - What are the successes, challenges, dilemmas and tensions for programming and services geared towards helping Indigenous men on their healing journey?
    - What are some critical components to service delivery and supports for these men?
    - How does Indigenous Knowledges on healing shape policies and programming?

These questions focused on understanding how programs and services approach healing. What constitutes programing was an essential consideration of my project. In many cases, there are programs and supports that are offered through formal channels, such as social work, Gladue programming, or Friendship Centres. There are also community supports that are not accredited by Western organizations: drum groups, sweat lodges, pipe ceremonies, and smudging in a bedroom are also a part of the healing journey. Using the Haudenosaunee model of healing allows for a holistic approach to understanding the healing journey. This holistic model means that formal and informal channels are all a part of the healing journey.

Scale and Scope

I contacted programs and services across Ontario and Québec for their participation in survey questions and organized interviews with those same organizations. I gathered their perspectives on the healing journey and community support of the men who are on the journey. Using an Indigenous theoretical foundation rooted in Haudenosaunee perspectives on healing and community, the project unpacked and analyzed how institutions and programs support the healing journey of Indigenous men. I spoke with fourteen people from a wide variety of backgrounds to gather insight into the project. The project focused on the importance that communities have in assisting Indigenous men on their healing journey. I intended to use Dr. Heather Shpuniarsky's approach, which she calls the "Big Circle, Little Circle," with surveys and interviews, and I used Margaret Kovach's approach to semi-structured interviews within the Little Circles. Participants were given the option to either complete the survey, have a recorded semi-structured interview, or both. For the most part, the majority of the participants opted to do the interview. There were responses to the survey, but for the most part, they were more open to scheduling a meeting to discuss my project. In the end, there was a significant overlap between the people accessing the survey and the interviews, so the results of the survey did not end up in this project.

During the first proposal writing process, COVID-19 swept across the globe and, among other things, affected the trajectory of this project. Due to safety precautions, in-person interviews were suspended, along with any in-person fieldwork. As such, I spoke with people over ZOOM. On the one hand, this meant that my project's budget shrunk because I would not be required to drive to various places to conduct the interview. With that being said, it also meant that I needed to change my approach to my project.

I originally wanted to interview men who were *using* the healing programs and services. Their insights would be invaluable in understanding the healing journey and what that experience is like. However, with the pandemic-induced closures of in-person programs and services, I opted to focus on the people who actually deliver the programs and services. This was a practical consideration, as connecting with Indigenous people who use programs and services would have been more difficult because of the lack of in-person fieldwork. As such, I begrudgingly re-wrote my proposal to align the new scope and focus. This is not to say that my fieldwork was easy with tracking down people to talk to for the project. COVID-19 also impacted my response rate, as community programs and services were closed down or switched to online delivery, and as what is being learned now, programs and service organizations were stretched to capacity the switch over to online delivery and increased use of programs and services that work on mental health programming. Given how much COVID-19 impacted mental health, it would make sense that there was a greater demand on the people delivering healing programming. Some of the people that I spoke to mentioned that their workload increased because people were more likely to reach out via phone calls, texts or ZOOM. With that being said, I am still very grateful to the people with whom I was able to have a conversation. Their time, energy, and insights into their work and the work that they help Indigenous men do are invaluable.

A Guide for the Perplexed

A dissertation can be a long and ponderous thing. For the sake of the reader, this section will discuss the basic contours of this dissertation. I will be covering two facets of this dissertation so that the reader knows what to expect: the basic contours and structure of the dissertation and the content and substance found within each chapter and section. It also allows me an opportunity

to explain some of the thinking and rationale as to why my dissertation is structured as it is and why and how it engages with materials and ideas in certain ways.

The first section, after the introduction, is the literature review. This literature review covers several themes associated with my dissertation. The sections are; Indigenous Masculinity, Colonization and Retributive Justice, Child Welfare, Trauma, Healing, Indigenous Knowledge, Restorative and Indigenous Justice, and Urban and Reserve Communities. All of these sections work to frame and contextualize my work in the subsequent chapters. Each of the sections focuses squarely on their subject matter but also works together to provide the academic building blocks for my research.

Following the literature review is the Theories and Perspectives, which discusses several theories that are foundational to this research project. This section begins with a discussion of the Haudenosaunee theoretical framework that is at the core of this research: the concept of Kan'nikonhri:io (The Good Mind)[13] and then Condolence. These concepts grow out of Haudenosaunee political thought, and are connected to the foundation of the Confederacy. The Good Mind and Condolence arrived at a time when there was a great deal of strife and war among the original Five Nations, as well as warring within themselves. The principles of the Good Mind and Condolence are designed to ensure that the violence and war that plagued these nations were put to and end. The ending of the violence was crucial to the establishment of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, but there was also an understanding that peace is not static. Peace and good relations

[13] The Mohawk language is traditionally an oral language, with a written alphabet being a relatively new phenomenon in the context of the language. I've opted to use the spelling of words that are found in Paul Williams' book *Kayanerenkó:wa : The Great Law of Peace* as the source text for spelling. With that being said, there are words that appear in my dissertation that are not found in this book, I have used the First Voices Language database) along with Haudenosaunee community webpages. There are several different ways to write Mohawk works, but as a professor once told me, it's not a mistake if you're consistent, it's just your style.

need to be a continual process that is supported and carried by those within the Confederacy. There is always a risk of resent and war bubbling back up to the surface. The Condolence and the Good Mind are about establishing and, equally important, maintaining peace. From the Haudenosaunee perspective, the roots of our political system and nation as a whole are founded on principles of healing and maintaining that sense of healing and health.

Moving forward from the Theories and Perspectives section, Chapter 4 discusses the methodological foundation of my research and fieldwork, as well as the process by which I actually collected the data. The methodological section discusses the importance of an Indigenous methodology in conducting this research. In this space, I define what Indigenous methodology is, as well as the core principles found within this growing methodological approach. After this, I discus the process by which I identified individuals for this project and how I conducted interviews. The portion describes the initial way in which I did the data analysis. The data analysis portion provided a springboard for the next three chapters, which focuses on the themes and ideas that emerged from the interviews.

The analysis and discussion of the interviews are divided into three chapters. I have structured the three chapters to reflect the values, teachings and importance of fire. Within the Confederacy, fire is associated with men and masculinity; Men are often referred to as the keepers of the fire. Within Haudenosaunee, fire is also not just one thing, but it is reflective of many different properties, values, and relationships with the Confederacy. By using fire as an organizational tool it also allows the dissertation to discuss what the participants talked about within the micro, mezzo, and macro perspectives. The first of these three chapters focuses on the Inner Fire of Masculinity. It situates the participants' discussions and observations within the individual or the micro. It covers how colonization and trauma impact behaviour. It then discusses

what engagement strategies by organizations and programs are to get people engaged in the process and then discusses the contours of those individual programs. Healing is a deeply personal one, and it is important that the individual experiences and perspectives are not lost in a dissertation.

From discussing the inner fire in Chapter Five, the dissertation moves on to the longhouse fire in Chapter Six, which orients the discussion at the community level. The Longhouse fire is the fire that sits at the centre of the community and provides warmth and shelter. Likewise, the community is the sphere in which I oriented the discussion and analysis for this chapter. The chapter discusses the importance of a community in supporting healing and wellness. Included in this discussion are how healing and wellness are addressed within urban and reserve communities, how these two communities overlap and how they differ. This section also addresses the impacts of COVID-19. While COVID-19 was a global phenomenon, it was important to situate the impacts of the pandemic within a community context. It was also striking to highlight how the pandemic negatively impacted program and service delivery, as well as how it forced innovation and change into the program delivery.

Chapter Seven is oriented around the Haudenosaunee concept of the Council Fire. This fire sits at the heart of the Confederacy and is the Fire that is a part of the decision-making process that impacts the entire Confederacy. This section is grounded in understanding the roles and importance of Indigenous Knowledge and cultural practices in programming. This section covers the importance of using culture and traditions within a programming scope to support healing and wellness. Within that context, there was also a lot of discussion on the importance of land and land-based learning. A critical component of this section was the repeated reference to the importance of language learning to healing. There was a great deal of discussion around how learning, or re-learning, one's own language was a way to connect more deeply with Indigenous

Knowledge and heal from the effects of colonization. While Indigenous Knowledges and cultural practices are rooted in specific nations and peoples, it was important to orient this within the broader context of Indigenous-led programming and support.

The last chapter focuses on tying together all of the work and discussions together into a coherent[14] conclusion. This chapter addresses key findings and ideas that emerged from this project, how this work contributes to the growing body of literature around Indigenous masculinity and healing, and what are some future projects that can be a part of this growing body of work. After this, I will conclude with my final thoughts on the entire project. Thankfully like this paragraph, this chapter is relatively short.

[14] hopefully

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The literature review covers six areas: Indigenous Masculinity, Colonization and Retributive Justice, Child Welfare, Trauma, Healing, Indigenous Knowledge, Restorative and Indigenous Justice, and Urban and Reserve Communities. These themes reflect the significant discussions and themes related to my research. They also serve as context and background for the approaches in Section 3: Theories and Perspectives.

Indigenous masculinity is the first theme of my work. I used masculinity to narrow this research project because healing and wellness are expansive fields. How positive forms of masculinity can be utilized in healing is something critically important to Indigenous communities, but it is also under-researched. Understanding how colonization affects how communities and individuals think about and express masculinity is essential to this portion. This portion seeks to understand how masculinity is understood in a colonized versus its Indigenous context and what role it has in the healing journey.

I have chosen to approach the second theme, Colonization and Retributive Justice, in a particular fashion. I want to look at colonization through the lens of retributive justice. That way, I can discuss elements of colonization and how that relates to the Canadian justice system, which, in turn, affects Indigenous communities. I approached colonization under the context of the justice system and how it has been used to control Indigenous communities to avoid going into an expansive history of colonization in the Americas. Understanding how the Canadian criminal justice system has a role in colonization and the deep connections to Indigenous communities is critical to the landscape in which healing programs and services exist.

In conjunction with the retributive justice system, the child welfare system is the other agent of colonization that impacts Indigenous communities. The child welfare system is where

many Indigenous children are first disconnected from their families and cultures. As the literature shows, the dispossession and disconnection that children experience at such a young age have profound consequences and can clear a path that leads to prison. The shattering of connection to their identity and community profoundly impacts their lives. It can deeply affect the conception of themselves and is connected to the fourth theme: trauma.

Trauma's longstanding effects on Indigenous people and communities are critical to my research. It is essential to understand what trauma *is* as well as what its effects are. While my research is not solely focused on trauma, it must be unpacked to understand healing better. One of the key features in the literature around Indigenous experiences with trauma is that it is not static. Trauma is an active process and is a lived experience. Understanding trauma as a process will help frame how to look at Indigenous perspectives on healing as a process.

I do not want my research to just focus on trauma and colonization; my research is rooted in healing and how people and communities can use IK and community support to address colonization and grow in a good way. Healing and the healing journey are essential concepts to understand and unpack, but it is also critical to understand their place within an Indigenous context. The understanding that healing is a process, and a long one at that, underpins a lot of the work that people in the field are doing. Healing is also something that, at least from traditional western perspectives, is often framed as existing in a vacuum. The holistic approach to healing that underpins Indigenous understandings of healing must be highlighted.

With that being said, it is also essential to understand how Indigenous Knowledge (IK) factors into the work being done to support Indigenous peoples and communities. IK is a complex system of knowledges and relations. It is not something that can just be attributed to a particular way of thinking; it is also a series of relations that are connected to peoples, nations and land. The

portion focusing on IK will discuss some foundational thoughts actively incorporated into Indigenous healing programs and services.

My literature review also covers Restorative and Indigenous justice. Restorative justice is a western approach to the justice system that focuses on rehabilitation instead of punishment. Indigenous justice systems take a similar, albeit holistic, approach to people who commit offences. It gives them the tools to correct their behaviour, learn, and grow. In the Indigenous justice paradigm, healing is central to its approach for both the offender and the victim. The programming I will be looking at is for men who have moved beyond the Canadian correctional system, Indigenous approaches to justice and what are still essential components of healing.

The theme that emerged in my work was the dynamics of how urban and reserve communities and organizations support their community members. Urban and reserve communities are often seen at odds with one another. While there are differences that impact organizational or institutional approaches, there are also significant overlaps in terms of delivering healing programs. This portion will discuss how urban and reserve spaces and communities have their own challenges and opportunities to promote community, connection and healing.

Indigenous Masculinity

There is a bit of difficulty in hammering down what exactly "masculinity" and "men" mean. I am by no means an expert on gender studies or critical gender studies; in fact, I spent a good deal of time trying to figure out how to approach what I mean when I say "masculinity" and "men." I have not concluded on that subject, given how society's understanding of gender has evolved to reflect the actual lived experiences of gendered and non-gendered people. Interestingly, scholars are reluctant to define Indigenous men and masculinity themselves, as Sam McKegney notes: "Indigenous masculinity has not meant and cannot mean something once and for always, for all

Indigenous nations, for all groups within a single Indigenous nation, or even for individuals over time."[15] Indigenous masculinities and men are themselves diverse and complex and vary from nation to nation and change over time. Robert Innis and Kim Anderson have noted that there is a unique set of issues that Indigenous men face: "Indigenous men, and those who identify with Indigenous masculinities … are faced with distinct gender and racial biases that cause many to struggle."[16] This literature review will take a similar approach, in that masculinity is diverse and complex, and as such, it will approach the idea of masculinity and men from this broad perspective.

Cultural context is essential to understanding how Indigenous masculinities are conceptualized and how this has changed due to colonization. Alexandre Dumas and Emily Bourniva, in their discussion of masculinity in Canada, noted that there is a need for an understanding of masculinity as influenced by and subject to cultural forces:

> [A]t present, a deterministic view has dominated our thinking, holding that the observed gender differences in longevity are due exclusively to unchangeable biological factors. This assumption has prevented us from searching or and examining specific cultural, environmental and behavioural factors that might be amenable to modification targeted preventative health care efforts.[17]

Dumas and Bourniva stress that masculinity within Canada is directed toward cultural and social values that reflect the dominant colonial narrative. This focus on the masculine and masculinity as essentialist terms as immutable things has been deeply damaging to Indigenous peoples who have their own sets of values and perspectives that have been damaged and replaced.

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[15] Sam McKegney, "Warriors, Healers, Lovers, and Leaders: Colonial Impositions on Indigenous Male Roles and Responsibilities," in *Canadian Perspectives on Men & Masculinities: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Jason A Laker (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2012), 242.

[16] Innes and Anderson, "Who Is Walking with Our Brothers?," 4.

[17] J.J. Bonhomme as cited in Alexandre Dumas and Emily Bournival, "Men, Masculinities, and Health: Theory and Application," in *Canadian Perspectives on Men & Masculinities: An Interdisciplinary Reader*, ed. Jason A Laker (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2012), 34.

The effects of colonization on Indigenous men have deep roots and affect how Indigenous men think and act. Janet Billson, in her work on the reversal of gender roles of couples from the Blood Nations in Alberta, notes that colonization directly attacked the self-esteem of men. Men were able to shift to a farming and sedimentary lifestyles relatively quickly, but then the subsequent decline in farming in the 1940s and 1950s disrupted the men's self-esteem: "For the Blood male, confidence in his ability to make a major contribution to his family's wellbeing, as traditional values dictate, was undercut."[18] These shifts in traditional roles impacted how men behaved and cope; leading to a spike in drug and alcohol abuse among men, both on and off-reserve.[19] What makes this all the more complicated, Billson found that men who embraced domestic roles such as childcare, cleaning, or cooking, would be subject to humiliation and teasing by other men. The teasing was to the point where the men would stop helping, as pointed out by one of the Blood women: " [Other men] put them down to have things ready for when the wife comes home. So the man says, 'Well, I don't need this.' He will quit doing that, Women will say, 'My husband used to help me at the home until the other men found out.'"[20] Both men and women are impacted by colonization and are affected by other members of their communities that are also experiencing colonization.

Martin J. Cannon, in his discussions about men and masculinity in the context of Indian policy, notes that the fundamental reshaping of Indigenous nations along gender lines is an assault on governance and nationhood. He writes: "Heteropatriarchy informed the process of establishing the category "Indian" and erasing nation-based understandings of gender, sexuality, identity and ancestry. In settler Indian policy, women were assumed to be the appendages of men when it came

[18] Janet Mancini Billson, "Standing Traditions on Its Head: Role Reversal Among Blood Indian Couples," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 1991, 9.
[19] Billson, 12.
[20] Billson, 13.

to marriage and Indianness."[21] The relationships that we have between our community members and how we understand our roles within the community are crucial to our communities and nations' functioning: "Women and men hold autonomous and separate responsibilities related to all aspects of life, including kinship, political organizations, economic and the division of labour."[22] Colonization has profoundly impacted how our community functions and how we relate to one another.

Colonization reshaped Indigenous communities' social fabric and gender roles. This, in turn, impacted how men and women navigated their communities and relationships. In the introduction to *Indigenous Masculinities*, Innes and Anderson write:

> The ways in which hegemonic masculinity has acted to subordinate Indigenous men encourages them to similarly assert power and control by subordinating Indigenous women and women of colour, as well as white women (when circumstances allow), other Indigenous men who are considered physically and intellectually weak, and those who do not express a heteronormative identity.[23]

This framework affects all Indigenous men and has profound consequences on the psyche of all Indigenous men. The rest of this portion of the literature review discusses how the masculinity that was imported has close links to how trauma is addressed, expressed and manifests.

Much of the literature suggests that, in general, men are more likely to be physically and mentally unhealthy. Dumas and Bournival state: "the social gradient for health in urban Canada show strong social inequalities and between the populations living in the highest and lowest-income urban neighbourhoods, and similar data that focuses on men and women show that this gradient is much steeper for men."[24] This contextualizes the landscape of men and men's health in Canada, and how it is crucial to understand the ecosystem that men, and Indigenous men

[21] Martin J. Cannon, *Men, Masculinity, and the Indian Act* (Vancouver ; Toronto: UBC Press, 2019), 15.
[22] Cannon, 11.
[23] Innes and Anderson, "Who Is Walking with Our Brothers?," 11.
[24] Dumas and Bournival, "Men, Masculinities, and Health: Theory and Application," 34.

specifically, inhabit. Unfortunately, the metrics of health and healthy living are not the only measures that indicate men can be subjected to the same forces that control, subdue, and dehumanize women and 2SQT[25] people. Elizabeth Comack suggests that being racialized and economically marginalized men can lead them to express their frustrations through gang activity and violence.[26] Dr. Raven Sinclair and Dr. Jaba Grekul take it further and note that the exposure to constant discrimination and violence is coupled with the justice system's hypervigilance and criminalization towards Indigenous youth. As such, the increased criminalization: "leads to increased gang involvement because, once incarcerated, Aboriginal youths are often forced to join gangs or affiliate with gangs in order to acquire protection and safety."[27] Marginalized and racialized men find roles that articulate their masculinity, which can lead them to violence and crime.

This is to the point where some Indigenous communities in Australia frame manhood through incarceration; going to prison is seen as an initiation rite: "In 2001, Emma Ogilvie and Allan Van Zyl discussed the role that incarceration played for some Indigenous males as the way to enter into specific rites of passage to manhood in northern Australia. The authors found that the Indigenous youth in the northern communities saw that to become a "real" man, they needed to be involved in the criminal justice system."[28] The criminal justice system is entrenched in the lives of Indigenous peoples across Canada and the world. Robert Henry points out that colonization has changed or wholly erased the traditional forms of masculinities in Indigenous communities. As

[25] 2-Spirt, Trans and Queer: This is just a condensed version of 2SLGBTQQIAA+

[26] Elizabeth Comack, ed., *"Indians Wear Red": Colonialism, Resistance, and Aboriginal Street Gangs* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Fernwood Publ, 2013), 20–21.

[27] Raven Sinclair and Jana Grekul, "Aboriginal Youth Gangs in Canada: (De)Constructing an Epidemic," *First Peoples Child & Family Review* 7, no. 1 (May 1, 2020): 16, https://doi.org/10.7202/1068862ar.

[28] Robert Henry, "Social Spaces of Maleness: The Role of Street Gangs in Practising Indigenous Masculinities," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, ed. Kim Anderson and Robert Alexander Innes (Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 186.

such, criminality has taken its place: "The loss of traditional masculine rites of passage can thus be seen as responsible for some of the abuse found in Indigenous communities. The gang then becomes the space where Indigenous males can reassert their 'global manhood of power and control, lost through this cultural assimilation."[29] As it stands, Indigenous masculinity is disfigured by colonization to the point where negative actions and thoughts are essential to masculinity.

Duran and Duran suggest that colonization's effects on masculinity go beyond retooling the roles and responsibilities of Indigenous men; it is an intense wound on the psyche of Indigenous men. A wound that fundamentally reshapes and changes how Indigenous men conceive of themselves:

> Warriors are supposed to repel the enemy and ensure the safety of the community; when this is not possible, defeat has deep psychological ramifications. These ramifications are even greater if the colonizers impose a diametrically opposed mythology on the people and also on the land that the warriors are supposed to keep safe and alive within the traditional tribal lifeworld.[30]

They highlight the unique challenges that are affecting Indigenous men because of colonization. Duran and Duran suggest that colonization fractured the men's identities: "The split ego, then, will keep one aspect of the person in touch with the pain and one aspect identifying with the aggressor."[31] Duran and Duran's observation that Indigenous men fall into the trap of colonization and identifying with the oppressor is useful, and echoed by Paul Rock Krech, who noted a similar phenomenon when working with Indigenous men: "Today, the Native man who tends to be an achievement-oriented individual, is often identified as the oppressor and suffers rejection by others in the community, his own family, or both."[32] The identification with the oppressor, in another

[29] Henry, 188.
[30] Eduardo Duran and Bonnie Duran, *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*, SUNY Series in Transpersonal and Humanistic Psychology (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 35.
[31] Duran and Duran, 36.
[32] Paul Rock Krech, "Envisioning a Healthy Future: A Re-Becoming of Native American Men," *Journal of Sociology*, 2002, 80.

way, abiding by the sentiments and stereotypes that Western civilization has created for Indigenous men is one of the ways that Indigenous masculinity has been poisoned.

What is so insidious about the shift in Indigenous masculinities is that it is often portrayed negatively. Dumas and Bournival note that even the positive representations of masculinity still have harmful effects: "some may have adverse effects on health when they stigmatize, when they provoke shame and humiliation, or when dominant forms of masculinity incline men to neglect their health, to adopt risky behaviours, or to avoid access to health-enhancing resources."[33] Societal attitudes constrain modern masculinity, but there are deeply rooted harmful elements of masculinity, which are compounded with Indigenous and racialized masculinities. These issues in Indigenous masculinity are affected by the historical and pop cultural caricatures of Indigenous peoples and that the men have been hyper-masculinized.[34] With that said, there is a strength and power within Indigenous traditions and practices that are a balm for the damage done.[35] (Re)introducing positive forms of masculinity into Indigenous men's lives can be crucial to the healing journey. How these programs and services use and understand masculinity can have long-lasting effects on an Indigenous man's healing journey.

Colonization and Retributive Justice

I want to spend some time teasing out current justice models in Canada because they have far-reaching consequences for Indigenous communities. The imported attitudes and values towards crimes, justice, and healing are dominant in Canada. It is essential to understand their

[33] Dumas and Bournival, “Men, Masculinities, and Health: Theory and Application,” 36–37.
[34] McKegney, “Warriors, Healers, Lovers, and Leaders: Colonial Impositions on Indigenous Male Roles and Responsibilities,” 255.
[35] McKegney, 261.

impact, but they also serve as a base to showcase how Haudenosaunee and Indigenous perspectives differ in view and approach to healing.

Conceptions of justice in Canada are rooted in European understandings of what is needed to maintain a just society; and are ideologically descendants of a medieval theological system that assumes: "through penitence and atonement, offenders would find their way back on the right path." [36] This approach to justice is often antithetical to Indigenous practices of justice or law. The Western methods of law and justice have overridden the existing Indigenous justice systems that existed before the founding of Canada. While there have been overtures to ensure that Indigenous people and the justice system are supported, there has been minimal movement to make it a reality. While there is a specific historical precedent for discrimination towards Indigenous people: "there is no Indigenous specific ground of discrimination within provincially or federally regulated human rights law." [37] The Canadian state has claimed to take steps toward addressing the impacts of Indigenous people's ongoing colonization and assimilation. However, there have been few measures taken to address colonization's impacts. Indigenous people are still subject to a system that historically and contemporarily harms Indigenous peoples and communities.

The justice system is, rightfully so, viewed as a tool to criminalize or victimize Indigenous people. It often leaves Indigenous people in weak or precarious positions, whether it is in a civil or criminal justice system, as the Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor notes: "[I]ndigenous people around the world tend to suffer from weak or prescribed property rights not adequately recognised by law. These groups often hold land collectively, so ownership and access

[36] Institute for Research on Public Policy, “Rethinking Criminal Justice in Canada: Round Table Report,” IRPP Report (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, October 2018), 6.
[37] National Association of Friendship Centres, “Urbanization and Indigenous Peoples in Canada: Responses for the Questionnaire from the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous People” (Ottawa, ON: National Association of Friendship Centres, February 2021), 7.

patterns do not always fit easily into imported, non-indigenous property systems of absolute and individual nature."[38] The lack of reflection, or at least acknowledgement, of Indigenous worldviews and perspectives in the justice system is a significant hurdle for people trying to navigate the system. This idea was discussed by former Supreme Court Judge, the Honourable Frank Iacobucci: "First Nations people observe the Canadian justice system as devoid of any reflection of their core principles or values, and view it as a foreign system that has been imposed upon them without their consent."[39] Understanding and contextualizing colonialism's impact on Indigenous people is vital to this project, as it helps contextualize the landscape in which Indigenous programs and services operate.

The justice system has long-term and far-flung effects on the people who have gone through the system. As such, the programming for these men must promote responsibility and healing that may not have been articulated in the correctional system. David Milward suggests that Canada's legal system is generally viewed from two perspectives: 1) the utilitarian theory of deterrence and 2) that of a just deserts theory. Milward further divides deterrence into two discreet components:

> Deterrence as an objective can be subdivided into two different types of deterrence. Specific deterrence focuses on the individual offender who have committed a crime. It is meant to communicate to the offender the fact that the punishment is a direct consequence of the crime, and therefore it seeks to dissuade the offender against committing further crimes. General deterrence uses the punishment of an individual offender to send a message to society at large.[40]

[38] Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, "Making The Law Work for Everyone: Volume 2" (New York, NY: Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor and United Nations Development Programme, 2008), 65.
[39] Frank Iacobucci, "First Nations Representation on Ontario Juries: Report of the Independent Review Conducted by The Honourable Frank Iacobucci," February 2013, 4.
[40] David Leo Milward, *Aboriginal Justice and the Charter: Realizing a Culturally Sensitive Interpretation of Legal Rights.* (Vancouver: UBCPress, 2013), 8.

Deterrence in the Canadian system incentivizes people not to commit crimes, whether at an individual or collective level. The just deserts theory is where the punishment is designed to inflict the "appropriate" amount of pain on an offender for the crimes committed.[41] Milward suggests that these two approaches often occupy the same space in the legal system. They blend to create an adversarial system of justice, where the state's interest is at the core: "In the adversarial justice system, the interests of the victims are collapsed into the states interests in prosecuting crime."[42] The Canadian model of justice elevates the interests of the state over those who have been victims of crime or those who have perpetrated the crime. The state's interest is primary, while the effects on the victims are secondary, and the impact on the offender is last.

Harold John approaches deterrence from an equally critical perspective. His experiences as a crown prosecutor with the province of Saskatchewan speak to his skepticism and questioning of the actual use and function of deterrence:

> Deterrence is a belief system, by which I mean that people believe it works. Showing someone evidence contrary to their beliefs rarely dislodge it because believing in something does not require proof; it is simply a matter of faith. The particular belief in deterrence is particular to settler society and probably has roots in a Judeo-Christian religion that believes in hell-fire punishment for sins.[43]

The particular approach to deterrence and retributive justice means that the focus is not on healing and wellness but on ensuring that the individuals are meant to feel guilty and experience the equivalent harm. In theory, this acts as a warning to others who have considered doing a similar crime. These issues are compounded and intensified when Indigenous people enter into the criminal justice system.

Colonization is part of the criminal justice system. In many ways, Indigenous people are

[41] Milward, 9.
[42] Milward, 10.
[43] Harold Johnson, *Peace and Good Order: The Case for Indigenous Justice in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2019), 98-99.

subject to the criminal justice system because they are Indigenous. Harry Blagg notes that Aboriginal people from Australia see their identity as inherently tied to victimization by the state. Colonization is how Indigenous people understand their relationship with crime and justice:

> Aboriginal people themselves, while acknowledging the impact of other forms of disadvantage have on their life paths and life chances, might narrate this story differently. From an Indigenous perspective *it is precisely their identity as Aboriginal people and attempts by the state to (variously) eliminate, restructure, and re-constitute this identity that is the core issue.*[44]

From their perspective, the government's goal is to identify Indigenous people and do their best to subjugate them. Likewise, Johnson stresses that the deterrence approach to justice compounds the underlying issues found in many Indigenous communities. The justice system, and specifically prisons, are extensions of Indian Residential Schools; they do not rehabilitate but instill a culture of violence and, equally important, a lack of responsibility that is carried with the individual once they leave the justice system.[45]

One phenomenon is that the imprisoned people are in an environment where they can further develop their skills as criminals. Rupert Ross, in *Indigenous Healing*, notes this is a common problem in First Nations communities:

> Perhaps we should not be surprised that the leaders of many First Nations are expressing a concern that young men sent to jail are coming back worse than when they were taken away. Instead of learning good lessons, they often return with greater skills of intimidation and criminal activity, and with a frightening criminal arrogance that no one can penetrate.[46]

The perpetuation of criminality and developing skills and attitudes for living in the criminal world are a few issues in the justice system. The justice system is connected to the child welfare system; though it is not the focus of my research, it still needs to be unpacked to contextualize my research.

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[44] Harry Blagg, *Crime, Aboriginality and the Decolonisation of Justice*, Second edition (Leichhardt, Sydney, NSW: The Federation Press, 2016), 4.
[45] Johnson, *Peace and Good Order*, 106.
[46] Rupert Ross, *Indigenous Healing: Exploring Traditional Paths* (Toronto, Ontario: Penguin, 2014), 176–77.

Child Welfare

I am using child welfare to address the phenomenon of the Sixties Scoop, Millennial Scoop, and Indian Residential Schools. Dr. Raven Sinclair notes that there is a deep-rooted connection between all these phenomena, with Indian Residential Schools as the forerunner to the current child welfare crisis in Indigenous communities:

> Aboriginal communities and families have now faced several decades of fallout from the Residential school period, which included, as by-products of an assimilationist agenda, the deliberate destruction of traditional family, social, and political systems, intergenerational abuse, and social pathology in many communities. A logical consequence of the replacement of traditional socialization with institutional abuse and trauma over several generations is the current high level of child welfare involvement in the Aboriginal population.[47]

Indian Residential Schools, the Sixties Scoop, and the Millennial Scoop are elements of colonization that are deeply interwoven. Dr. Sinclair and Dr. Grekul, in their study of Indigenous youth gangs, point out that being removed from the family or the community primes Indigenous youth to fall into gangs, which serve as a surrogate family: "Vulnerability, abuse and harm, and attachment problems in youth create susceptibility to juvenile delinquency, disenfranchisement, and gang recruitment. Gang members themselves state that their peers who have been raised in care make good targets for recruitment because gangs promise to act as family substitutes."[48] Child welfare is an arm of colonization that feeds Indigenous people into the maw of the criminal justice system.

The child welfare system looms large in the lives of Indigenous people, especially those who have been through the criminal justice system. Moore and Trevethan write: "The proportions

[47] Raven Sinclair, "Identity Lost and Found: Lessons from the Sixties Scoop," *First Peoples Child & Family Review* 3, no. 1 (2007): 68.
[48] Sinclair and Grekul, "Aboriginal Youth Gangs in Canada," 12.

of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal offenders who had been involved in the child welfare system is substantially higher than among those outside the criminal justice system. However, this is clearly an important issue to be addressed among Aboriginal offenders since about two-thirds have been involved in the child welfare system."[49] This startling statistic speaks to the deep-seated connections between the child welfare system and the criminal justice system in Canada.

Further analysis of child welfare's effects on Indigenous children speaks to its broader impacts. Tait, Henry and Walker write: "Following in-depth interviews with 100 youth who had been out of the foster care system for at least six months, Reilly (2003) found that multiple foster care placements had a direct correlation with increased rates of incarceration and homelessness, higher rates of pregnancy, and increased experiences of violence in dating relationships."[50] Indigenous people who move through the child welfare system are far more likely to experience traumatic events and are more likely to move into unhealthy relationships. All these factors lead to higher criminalization and falling into the criminal justice system. As the literature notes, all these factors contribute to the over-representation of Indigenous people in the correctional system. The longstanding effects of colonization are an essential factor in this research project. I also need to unpack trauma to understand better how healing and the healing journey look.

Trauma

Trauma manifests the ongoing effects of colonialism that all Indigenous people experience in one way or another. Poverty, the foster care system, drug abuse, alcoholism, and crime contribute to and are manifestations of trauma. Trauma is experienced collectively by nations,

[49] John-Patrick Moore and Shelley Trevethan, “Profiling Federally Incarcerated First Nations, Métis and Inuit Offenders,” 2003, 7.
[50] Caroline Tait, Robert Henry, and Rachel Loewen Walker, “Child Welfare: A Social Determinant of Health for Canadian First Nations and Métis Children,” *Pimatisiwin: A Journal for Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health* 11, no. 1 (2013): 47.

communities, and individuals. Trauma and the effects of prison systems on men make it difficult for any healing. The Canadian justice system is based on confronting and punishing the person instead of treating and healing the person. Harold R. Johnson, in his discussions around the importance of Indigenous justice in Canada, defines trauma as: "[occurring] when a person experiences an event that triggers the fight, flight, or freeze response, only the response doesn't go away once the event is over…The symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, or PTSD, are hypervigilance, anxiety, depression, worry and heightened fight, flight, or freeze reactions."[51] His definition highlights that trauma is not isolated to one period of time but continues to linger even after the traumatic event has occurred. This approach helps explain why things like Indian Residential Schools and the Sixties Scoop continue to influence and shape how Indigenous people navigate our lives.

The role that trauma and its ongoing effects have on Indigenous people is connected to elevating the risks of Indigenous people entering the criminal justice system. Lisa Monchalin notes that child welfare and the development of children into healthy adults are linked, and as such, the destabilization of families and communities offers one more avenue for Indigenous people to enter the criminal justice system:

> Early childhood deprivations are linked not only to a deficiency of "good" brain chemicals but also dangerous and 'chronically high levels of the stress hormone cortisol. And people who begin their life under extremely stressful conditions become quickly triggered into a stress reaction. These stress reactions, once emotionally triggered, can challenges a person's ability to think rationally. Difficulty forming attachments, high levels of stress, problems coping with stress through rational thinking, and a tendency towards substance abuse: this person seems to fit to the profile of someone at a high risk for engaging in crime.[52]

[51] Johnson, *Peace and Good Order*, 53.
[52] Lisa Monchalin, *The Colonial Problem: An Indigenous Perspective on Crime and Injustice in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 166.

The impact of trauma can profoundly affect people at an individual level, but that trauma is not isolated to just the individual; it can also affect people who are adjacent to the individuals.

Brass and Tait likewise point out that stress and connected factors contribute to crime and criminality: "The high rates of suicide, alcoholism, and violence, and the pervasive demoralization seen in Aboriginal communities, can be readily understood as the direct consequences of a history of dislocations and the disruption of traditional subsistence patterns and connection to the land."[53] Being Indigenous in Canada means that we live in a system where trauma is more likely to form and be sustained and that the manifestations of trauma are more likely to lead someone into the criminal system. The adoption statistics from the 2011 Census paint an equally bleak portrait: "of all children in foster care in Canada in 2011, just under half (48%) were Aboriginal children, the majority of whom (82%) were First Nations children."[54] To further compound the problem of Indigenous children in foster care, the youth are more likely to be traumatized in general: "Native youth as a group are especially vulnerable and traumatized. Compared to other groups and compared to the general population, Native youth are especially vulnerable in almost every area identified as a risk factor for delinquency…Present-day trauma compounds the impact of historical traumas that Native communities have experienced."[55] The trauma experienced by Indigenous youth, raised without support systems within their community, can be the first step down a path leading to incarceration. Milward states that drug and alcohol abuse increases the risk of recidivism for numerous types of crime, including crime while incarcerated, sex-based offences, domestic

[53] Laurence J Kirmayer, Gregory M Brass, and Caroline L Tait, "The Mental Health of Aboriginal Peoples: Transformations of Identity and Community," *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 45, no. 7 (September 2000): 609, https://doi.org/10.1177/070674370004500702.
[54] Statistics Canada Government of Canada, "Aboriginal Peoples: Fact Sheet for Canada," November 2, 2015, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-656-x/89-656-x2015001-eng.htm.
[55] Addie C. Rolnick, "Locked Up: Fear, Racism, Prison Economics, and the Incarceration of Native Youth," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 40, no. 1 (January 2016): 58, https://doi.org/10.17953/aicrj.40.1.rolnick.

violence, and juvenile crimes.[56] It is cyclical and can replicate and exacerbate behaviours to assuage the longstanding effects of trauma.

Trauma is expansive and present in the lives of Indigenous people across Canada; it is not isolated to a single source or incident. Elizabeth Comack notes that trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder responses to colonization, and a deeper-rooted system that influences all aspects of the Indigenous lived experience: "we need to understand trauma not as a "response" but as "lived experience," We need to see it as being located with the particular historical and social conditions in which individuals live their lives. In doing so, we can come to appreciate that trauma is not strictly a psychological phenomenon; it has distinctly social determinants."[57] Comack suggests that colonization is an ongoing process: "[scholars] conceives of colonization as a historical process "in the past" that created unresolved trauma for Indigenous peoples "in the present" – as opposed to being an *ongoing* process that continues to generate trauma for Indigenous individuals, their families, and their communities."[58] Her description of trauma as an ongoing process reflects how colonialism is a process, not a discreet category or historical period. Thinking of trauma and colonization as processes also opens the door to understanding healing in more complex terms.

Indigenous communities deeply feel the lack of cultural teachings and institutions, and scholars and thinkers have begun to argue how important it is to understand the manifestations of trauma: "Several cases have noted that the obliteration of Indigenous culture as a result of residential schools represented the loss of a positive force in an accused's lie and may have contributed to their getting charged with offences. An Ontario case noted that residential schools

[56] David Leo Milward, *Reconciliation & Indigenous Justice: A Search for Ways Forward* (Halifax, Nova Scotia ; Winnipeg, Manitoba: Fernwood Publishing, 2022), 25.
[57] Elizabeth Comack, *Coming Back To Jail: Women, Trauma, and Criminalization* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Fernwood Publishing, 2018), 33.
[58] Comack, 45.

resulted in parents not being able to pass down intergenerational cultural values. Alcohol abuse was instead what was passed on as a destructive replacement."[59]The cyclical nature of trauma and violence: "whether while growing up in an abusive environment or witnessing it first-hand, has shown to increase propensity towards juvenile violence. Poverty has been found to increase the probability of substance abuse, and both in turn increase the probability of criminal behavior."[60] Trauma flows from colonization, but it lingers and impacts how Indigenous people navigate through our lives. Understanding trauma as a lived experience and process is crucial to addressing it, and also helps frame how to approach understanding healing.

Healing

Healing is not a static phenomenon where someone enters a permanently healed state. Trauma is an essential component of framing this research and is a vital paradigm for understanding people and the programing that I worked with. However, it is something that I do not want to dwell on. Trauma and the effects of colonization are paths well travelled, and it is not my intention to simply have a project that is just a parade of misery. This would do a disservice to the mandate of Trent University, my committee, the people that I spoke to, and myself. Indigenous people are more than just the trauma we experience.

One element of Indigenous healing that comes up over and over is the role that traditional teachings and practices have in facilitating this process. Teresa Howell, in her work on Indigenous offenders, notes that cultural and traditional practices and experiences are powerful tools in healing former and present incarcerated Indigenous people: "Cultural and traditional experiences can be seen as catalysts for change and contribute to an underlying foundation of the transformation

[59] Milward, *Reconciliation & Indigenous Justice*, 31.
[60] Milward, 50.

category, with literature supporting this view."[61] These experiences extend beyond the walls of the prisons; post-incarceration services and programming are critical to supporting Indigenous men.

The healing process can be a powerful experience and provide opportunities for reflection and growth. Naomi Adelson, focusing on spirituality in the healing process, notes that this process has two components:

> Many Aboriginal people speak about this recuperative process in terms of healing, and for many part and parcel of that process is a (re)awakening or renewal of indigenous spirituality (Harper 1995). Both healing and spirituality are potent and multilayered concepts, textured as much by what people are healing *from* as what they are healing *towards.*[62]

Framing healing as a process reflects how scholars think of colonization and trauma. None of these concepts are static. They ebb, flow, and change depending on time and circumstances. Adelson's approach of healing *from* something and healing *towards* something highlights health and healing are processes, and people who are healing are active agents in their own journeys. Her work also stresses the importance of Indigenous spirituality, and, by extension, Indigenous Knowledge.

Numerous scholars have pointed out that orienting healing programming and support with specific Indigenous cultural practices is crucial to healing. Cunneen and Tauri suggest three pillars of Indigenous healing: reclaiming history, cultural interventions, and therapeutic healing.[63] Reclaiming of history is understanding the past and present effects of colonialism. Cultural interventions focus on the recovery of language, culture and ceremonies, but that "culture isn't limited to traditions and the past, it is a living breathing thing. These programs foster identity

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[61] Teresa Howell, "Stories of Transformation: Aboriginal Offenders' Journey from Prison to the Community," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 40, no. 1 (January 2016): 114, https://doi.org/10.17953/aicrj.40.1.howell.

[62] Naomi Adelson, "Towards a Recuperation of Souls and Bodies: Community Healing and the Complex Interplay of Faith and History," in *Healing Traditions: The Mental Health of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, ed. Laurence J. Kirmayer and Gail Guthrie Valaskakis (Vancouver, 2009), 274.

[63] Chris Cunneen and Juan Tauri, *Indigenous Criminology*, 2016, 129, http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=4584969.

…[By providing] a different understanding…they are actively creating a new culture of pride and possibility."[64] Therapeutic healing can involve counselling, support groups, traditional ceremonies and healing circles: "They may involve traditional Indigenous counsellors, healers and medicine people, as well as modified or adapted Western approaches."[65] In Cunneen and Tauri's framework, healing is multifaceted, requiring time, context and cultural and traditional practices. They also stress that cultural practices and identities are not frozen in time. This approach opens the healing processes to other forms of healing and support, like Alcoholics Anonymous or Western psychiatric traditions.

The healing journey is about healing from trauma and moving towards a good life; each path will be unique. What works for one person may not be helpful for another. Each person has a unique history and culture; likewise, their experiences are fundamentally different. Waldram's introduction to *Aboriginal Healing in Canada* stresses that it is vital to keep this in mind when looking at any program: "the fact that many of the projects we studied are open to clients from different Aboriginal cultural traditions reinforces the idea that a simple, singular one-size-fits-all model makes little sense."[66] Indigenous healing models must be flexible in their teachings and interactions with the people participating in them. In his analysis of this model in Indigenous men's halfway houses, Gregory M. Brass teases this idea. He notes that healing models were more in-line with "pan-Indianism," in that they were not explicitly grounded in one particular First Nation's traditions. Some of the men who were less culturally aware reacted positively to these models

[64] Cunneen and Tauri, 129.
[65] Cunneen and Tauri, 130.
[66] James B Waldram, ed., "The Models and Metaphors of Healing," in *Aboriginal healing in Canada: studies in therapeutic meaning and practice* (Ottawa, Ont.: National Network for Aboriginal Mental Health Research in Partnership with Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), 4, http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/216188.

more than men who grew up in First Nation's communities or who were raised within the cultural practices:

> To foster greater therapeutic responsiveness, inmates are to be taught the symbols of pan-Indian spiritual teachings. Similarly, not all residents at Medicine House responded to the clinical rhetoric in the same way, and although they were encouraged to adopt the language and symbols of pan-Indian healing over the course of the treatment, for some clients, these did not resonate with their experience.[67]

This is important given that my research focuses on programming and service delivery, and there is never a guarantee that the community that uses the programming is homogenous. An Indigenous program or service may be rooted in a particular traditional area. Programming in Peterborough, for example, may reflect Mississauga traditions, but it does not mean that the people who are using the programming are exclusively Mississauga or members of the Anishinabek Nations. It is essential to understand how programming roots itself in cultural practices and how they navigate providing services to different peoples from different nations and communities.

Healing is a potent process and an essential tool for Indigenous peoples and communities due to the longstanding effects of colonialism that continue to affect our people. Indigenous healing systems have been a part of Indigenous nations since before contact. These systems, institutions and programs have emerged through community programming and Friendship Centres from the 1960s onward and have flourished into distinct institutions over the past 20 years. The advantage of Indigenous healing practices is that they can become self-sustaining and affect more people as they go through healing processes. Morgan and Freeman note that healing does not stop at an individual, and as an individual continues on their journey, they can help other people in this process:

[67] Gregory M Brass, "Respecting the Medicines: Narrating an Aboriginal Identity," in *Healing Traditions: The Mental Health of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, ed. Laurence J. Kirmayer and Gail Guthrie Valaskakis (Vancouver, 2009), 359.

> In most Native nations, it is understood that the power of healing comes from a spiritual source and is given to the people. In this sense, it is a renewable resource; i.e., the more the healing is received, the more there is to give…Traditional healing seeks to make things whole—the people, the culture, and the community.[68]

The programming and services may be staffed by people who themselves have gone through their own healing journey, and as such, drawing on their own personal experiences can be a powerful way to support others on this journey. The more well-versed a person is in their healing, the more strength they can pull from and be better suited to help others going through the same thing. This is one of the reasons that I want to work with men who are themselves on their healing journey; they may have found themselves in a role to help others on the same journey.

Indigenous Knowledge

Within Indigenous spaces, Indigenous Knowledge[69] is central to those spaces, and the people that use them. IK is a constellation of teachings, perspectives, values, laws, governance structures, ceremonies, songs, medicines, relationships and other aspects of Indigenous life. Indigenous Knowledge is as complex and diverse as the peoples and communities across Turtle Island. The use of Indigenous Knowledge within program and service delivery spaces is crucial to Indigenous-led initiatives to address healing. The incorporation of IK within organizations is the result of a longstanding conversation held within Indigenous communities. Recognizing deep wounds within communities that need healing has led individuals and organizations to use IK to help address healing needs; healing is tied to identity and cultural and spiritual reconnection.[70] IK

[68] Robert Morgan and Lyn Freeman, "The Healing of Our People: Substance Abuse and Historical Trauma," *Substance Use & Misuse* 44, no. 1 (January 2009): 90, https://doi.org/10.1080/10826080802525678.
[69] Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is often referred to as Traditional Knowledge (TK), Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (ITK), among other different terms. Trent University generally uses the term Indigenous Knowledge in teaching, research and writing, and as such, I will abide by that writing standard.
[70] Lynn F. Lavallee and Jennifer M. Poole, "Beyond Recovery: Colonization, Health and Healing for Indigenous People in Canada," *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction* 8, no. 2 (April 2010): 279, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11469-009-9239-8.

is not a rejection of Western approaches to health and healing; many Indigenous people abide by these approaches. It is the understanding that healing and health can be addressed more holistically:

> Treating the symptoms of ill health, including addiction and mental health is a band-aid solution that does not treat the root causes—colonization and identity disruption. If one recognizes that the assault on cultural identity has played a significant role on the ill health of Indigenous people and that the spirit has been wounded, then healing activities need to include rebuilding the individual and collective identity of Indigenous peoples.[71]

IK is a constellation of teachings, understandings, ceremonies and perspectives that can help address health and healing needs from the identity, cultural and spiritual perspectives. Understanding how Indigenous Knowledge exists within Indigenous communities and how it has been conceptualized and used within the service delivery space is essential.

The inclusion of spirituality and ceremonies into healing frameworks is a process that has been slowly adopted over the 20th century. Western approaches to the fields of social work and those adjacent to healing processes effectively rejected the notion that spirituality should be a part of a person's healing process up until the 1980s.[72] The use of a holistic approach to healing, i.e. looking at a person through the lens of physical, emotional, cultural and spiritual, can be a powerful tool for healing: "a holistic model of social work practices that validates the spiritual dimension and values of biospycho-social-spiritual integration is warranted to maximize client's strength and enhance client empowerment."[73]

One important aspect of Indigenous Knowledge is a relationship to land and a reciprocal relationship to the land. A relationship and connection to the land are foundational to many understandings of IK. Doug Williams, in discussing Kinomaagewapkong[74] emphasizes that the

[71] Lavallee and Poole, 275.
[72] Jianbin Xu, "Pargament's Theory of Religious Coping: Implications for Spiritually Sensitive Social Work Practice," *British Journal of Social Work*, no. 46 (2016): 1395.
[73] Xu, 1397.
[74] Anishinabek for the Teaching rocks, also known as the Peterborough Petroglyphs.

link to the IK is found within the geographic space, and going there and visiting Kinomaagewapkong is essential to connecting to IK: "Our people have had a continuous relationship with Kinomaagewapkong. It isn't something we forgot about and found. We always knew about it. We always visit it. It was a significant place for us because of our teachings."[75] Doug's words speak to how the land is a key aspect of Indigenous Knowledge and, more specifically, how Kinomaagewapkong is essential to grounding the IK of the Anishinabek of Nogojiwanong. It is only through going to Kinomaagewapkong that someone really gets a sense of the Knowledge that is embedded within the Anishinabek world.

Mohawk Elder Tom Porter has talked about how land is crucial to his ongoing decolonization process. He states that returning to the Mohawk Valley was crucial to his teachings and laments that his grandparents never had that opportunity: "[W]henever I talk about how we came back here to the Mohawk Valley, to Kanatsiohare:ke and how she used to say things about coming here, I'm reminded; she never knew that we *did* come back. The older people suffered a lot. And they took it with them to their graves. They were never relieved of that stress and heavy burden."[76] As Porter suggests, returning to the homelands of the Mohawks is a compelling and transformative experience. Land is an important piece of Indigenous Knowledge and healing.

This understanding of the power of land has been an essential aspect of Indigenous approaches to healing for a long time. Still, it first came to wider recognition with the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF). Marlene Brant Castellano noted in her final report of the AHF that land-based activities provided a piece to healing from the trauma of Indian Residential Schools. Learning from Elders, and participating in ceremonies are essential to healing, but so is having a

[75] Doug Williams, *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg: This Is Our Territory* (Winnipeg: ARP Books, 2018), 25.
[76] Tom Porter and Lesley Forrester, *And Grandma Said: Iroquois Teachings: As Passed Down Through the Oral Tradition* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Xlibris Corp, 2008), 37.

relationship with land. She writes: “Land-based camps where Elders and youth could practice traditional hunting and gathering skills and natural surroundings where participants could connect with the earth and waters were also silent but powerful medicine.”[77] Land and a relationship to the land are central to Indigenous Knowledge and are viewed as important to using culture and teachings to heal. Practices and teachings rooted in Indigenous perspectives are often conceptualized as supporting a person's growth and healing and to undo the damage done due to colonialism.[78]

The work being done by Indigenous peoples in institutions and within communities is deeply rooted in Indigenous Knowledges and practices. Indigenous Knowledge is a broad constellation of theories, histories, cultures and ceremonies that can interface and interact with whatever a program and service needs. Understanding some of the contours of Indigenous Knowledge is important because it provides a framework for the work being done to support Indigenous men, from housing to rehabilitation.

Restorative and Indigenous Justice

I want to discuss some of the literature related to restorative justice and Indigenous justice and how they relate to healing and rehabilitation. Restorative justice is often viewed as a more humane form of justice than retributive justice. It focuses on addressing wrongdoings, correcting behaviours, and healing the offender. This is not to say it strictly focuses on the offender, not the victim. Restorative justice is a process that views crimes or offences holistically and attempts to redress the issues and actions. Rob White provides an excellent working definition of retributive justice: "[Retributive justice can be viewed by] notions of blame, guilt, individual responsibility

[77] Marlene Brant Castellano, “A Healing Journey: Reclaiming Wellness,” Final Report, Final Report of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (Ottawa, Ont.: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006), 78.
[78] Brant Castellano, 130.

and punishment for past harms, and the other is formed by concepts such as repairing harm, social restoration, community harmony, and problem-solving."[79] For many scholars, retributive justice is a colonial holdover or a result of the capitalist systems that perpetuate crime.[80]

Trying to nail down a definition of restorative justice is a complicated affair. In the Handbook on Restorative Justice, Johnstone and Van Ness layout a six-part definition of restorative justice. I will not quote the entire definition, but this gets to the heart of restorative justice: "There will be some relatively informal process which aims to involve victims, offenders and other closely connected to them or to the crime in discussion of matters such as what happened, what harm as resulted and what should be done to repair that harm and perhaps, to prevent further wrongdoing or conflict."[81] Restorative Justice is framed as an informal process, and incorporates the perspectives of the victim, offender and the community. As Johnstone and Van Ness stress later in their article, the traditional justice system is a professionalized one; it does not actively involve the victim or the offender: "rather than remaining passive while professionals discuss their problems and decide what to do about it, victims, offenders and others affected by some crime or misconduct meet face to face in a safe and supportive environment and play an active role in discussion and in decision-making."[82] Restorative justice is framed as the antidote to systemic issues embedded within the current justice models. Donald Weatherburn notes that restorative justice has become more accepted in the academic field to address criminality: "researchers have

[79] Rob White, "Restorative Justice and Social Inequality," in *Marginality and Condemnation: An Introduction to Critical Criminology*, ed. Bernard Schissel and Carolyn Brooks (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Pub., 2002), 382, http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/440343.
[80] Carolyn Brooks, "New Directions in Critical Criminology," in *Marginality and Condemnation: An Introduction to Critical Criminology*, ed. Bernard Schissel and Carolyn Brooks (Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood Pub., 2002), 32, http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/440343.
[81] Gerry Johnstone and Daniel W. Van Ness, eds., *Handbook of Restorative Justice* (Cullompton ; Portland, Or: Willan, 2007), 7.
[82] Johnstone and Van Ness, 9.

been discovering ever more effective ways of reducing the risk of re-offending outside prison. Over the last twenty years, it has become clear that we can reduce the rates of re-offending."[83] Somewhat confusingly, Indigenous Justice and Restorative Justice are often conflated with one another; community organizations use these terms interchangeably.[84]

Though the terms have been used interchangeably, there are some noted differences between the two processes. Rupert Ross suggests that the core of Indigenous justice is peacemaking and healing: "As I have come to see it, the focus on peacemaking, of teaching and healing, is not so much on the events that occurred between the parties, not even upon achieving detailed agreement between them about what they should all do to sort things out for the future."[85] Healing in this context speaks to healing the damage done to the victim, the community, and the offender, who may have been in a space where they did not have a Good Mind. Linda Tuhiwai Smith suggests that healing is central to social and health workers and a key feature of justice:

> Restoring wellbeing – spiritually, emotionally, physically and materially – has involved social workers and health workers in a range of initiatives, some of which have been incorporated into mainstream programs…restorative programmes are based on a model of healing rather than punishing. They sometimes employ concepts of public shaming as a way of provoking individual accountability and collective problem solving.[86]

The spiritual, emotional, physical and mental are all part of healing. Likewise, no person is entirely alone; they exist within a complex system of relations and communities, and these communities are critical in supporting people needing healing.

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[83] Donald James Weatherburn, *Arresting Incarceration: Pathways out of Indigenous Imprisonment* (Canberra, ACT: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2014), 102.

[84] The immediate example that come to mind is the Tyendinaga Justice Circle, whom I worked with, who use an Indigenous paradigm for their justice paradigms, but are deeply rooted in the Haudenosaunee views on justice.

[85] Rupert Ross, *Returning to the Teachings: Exploring Aboriginal Justice*, 2006, 25.

[86] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Second edition (London: Zed Books, 2012), 156.

Healing is essential to the Indigenous justice models. This approach to justice allows for the offender to address the crimes they have committed to the victim to gain some semblance of peace of mind, and it also places the agency in the offender to reform. This is supported by community programs, services, and people that are there to help and guide the healing in a good way, in a way that recognizes the humanity of the individual and the values of the community: "The Indigenous approach to *healing* is an integral part of Indigenous justice, and lies at the foundation of changing and reforming criminal behavior among Indigenous people."[87] Smith and Cunneen note that Indigenous justice is focused on healing, but they also suggest that Indigenous justice also focuses on personal and public accountability. Applying a cultural lens to justice initiatives is crucial to ensuring that Indigenous peoples navigate these systems successfully: "it is important to recognize that the strongest impetus for restorative justice processes in Canada derives from concerns about the application of Eurocentric ideas of crime and punishment to First Nations offenders and communities."[88] Indigenous approaches to justice are reflective of cultural values that can be at odds with Eurocentric perspectives around justice. This does not mean that they are less than or somehow more forgiving. It is a system that approaches crime and restitution differently. It looks at crime as something that impacts the whole community, which includes the people who perpetuate the crime or the harm.

Indigenous justice incorporates the effects of colonialism and intergenerational trauma on people, and it still creates a space for personal accountability and agency. Responsibility, accountability, Indigenous Knowledge, and community involvement are essential and can be quite

[87] Cunneen and Tauri, *Indigenous Criminology*, 129.
[88] Patricia Hughes and Mary Jane Mossman, "Re-Thinking Access to Criminal Justice in Canada: A Critical Review of Needs, Responses and Restorative Justice Initiatives" (Ottawa: Department of Justice, Research and Statistics Division, March 2001), v.

an intense process.[89] Owning up to mistakes and taking responsibility is distinct from retributive justice, where one is judged guilty. Responsibility can be a complicated thing to accept, especially when the justice system has been built on laying guilt rather than responsibility onto a person. Johnson notes that responsibility, or having the ability to take responsibility for actions, is something that is not only done at the individual level but at the community level as well:

> "It's easy to convince people who come out of communities of hopelessness that they are not responsible, that they never had a chance to begin with. The hard part is convincing them that they should take responsibility for their actions, that they should work at redemption, that they are responsible for the state their community is in and that they should make redress to their victim or victims."[90]

In Indigenous justice, responsibility is something that is a personal journey. A person does need to accept responsibility for their actions, but it does not mean that this journey happens in isolation, as James Waldram suggests: "One aspect of this respect is dealing with one's criminal behavior…Taking responsibility for their actions is the first step in correctional treatment. Aboriginal spirituality assists individuals in coming to terms with their past record and criminal offences."[91] Ceremonies and spirituality are significant differences between restorative justice and Indigenous justice. They act as guides for the people who are going through Indigenous justice systems and lay a groundwork for healing as well.

Indigenous justice has long been marginalized within corrections, but there are people who are attempting to change the criminal justice system. Suzanne Methot suggests that Indigenous justice can maintain order and good relations while also addressing people who break the laws or connections within the community:

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[89] I remember discussing the process of sentencing circles with a woman from Ottawa who coordinated them in her community, and she said that some people would rather just serve the time than go through the process of actually taking responsibility for their actions.

[90] Johnson, *Peace and Good Order*, 71.

[91] James B. Waldram, *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons* (Peterborough, Ont. ; Orchard Park, NY: Broadview Press, 1997), 131.

> Preserving the peace is an essential aspect of preserving law and order within civil society. For that reason, the role of those working in policing and justice should not to be to criminalize Indigenous people who engage in behaviors related to intergenerational trauma. Instead, their job should be to develop cultural competence in dealing with Indigenous peoples and communities, along with an understanding of complex trauma and its effects so they can provide trauma-informed services that prevent crime before it happens.[92]

The criminal justice system looms large in Indigenous communities, and it is important to be cognizant of how prisons affect men's healing. Indigenous justice offers an approach that shows responsibility and healing.

There are some criticisms of Indigenous-led healing initiatives. I will not be discussing objections that are rooted in racism; dismissal of Indigenous approaches simply because they are not rooted in Western epistemologies is not what I would consider legitimate forms of criticism. The critique that I do feel is important to at least highlight is how Indigenous healing programs operate within the context of the Canadian state. There are discussions around healing and wellness programs, where healing and rehabilitation are so that people can reintegrate into the broader Canadian social fabric and become productive members of society, a society that is rooted in colonialism and anti-Indigenous bias. There is a perspective that Indigenous people's approach to justice and rehabilitation is tolerated, as well as the alignment of values around safety and security. This understanding and acceptance does have its limits: "Once there is no longer that convergence – for example, when Indigenous communities may want to apply their own approaches to offences that the standard justice system would want to deal with by incarceration – then the accommodation will stop."[93] Indigenous approaches to justice are not widely accepted, and when

[92] Suzanne Methot, *Legacy: Trauma, Story and Indigenous Healing*, 2019, 296, http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1933099.
[93] Milward, *Reconciliation & Indigenous Justice*, 68.

they are accepted, they are within a narrow understanding of what is acceptable and unacceptable within the context of the Canadian state.

The work of Indigenous communities' approach to healing and wellness is, in part, ensuring that the individuals are able to navigate Canadian society in a way that allows them to provide for themselves. Support enables people to provide for themselves, their families, or communities to elevate themselves and their families from poverty. This is poverty due to the ongoing effects of colonialism and the dominance of the colonial state.[94] What is crucial to highlight in this complex relationship between Indigenous people navigating these spaces is that, fundamentally, Indigenous people's approaches to healing and wellness are also rooted in their own understanding of what it means to be an Indigenous person. A study by Jewel et al., on urban Indigenous program and service delivery note that:

> three factors contribute significantly to an urban Indigenous individual's ability to self-advocate and successfully navigate mainstream systems: i) their awareness and applied Knowledge of their specific Indigenous culture; ii) a critical Indigenous education (in other words, they were aware of historical and ongoing injustices); and iii) adequate support from their family or Indigenous community.[95]

The success of a healing and wellness program is something that is rooted in Indigenous culture and history. Understanding the complexities of history, as well as how that history impacts people, is crucial to the process. What is striking about Jewell et al.'s work is that they are also addressing an essential part of the landscape of Indigenous programs and service delivery: how Indigenous people navigate these spaces when they are in urban centres or reserve communities.

[94] Eva Jewell et al., "Social Knowing, Mental Health, and the Importance of Indigenous Resources: A Case Study of Indigenous Employment Engagement in Southwestern Ontario " *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, 2020, 3–4.
[95] Jewell et al., 10.

Urban and Reserve Communities

A significant aspect of Indigenous men's health and healing is tied to land and geography. I will be going into more detail as to how "land" as a concept is bound to Indigenous Knowledge and the need for land-based learning and ceremonies. For now, when I use land, I use it in a specific sense of physical space. Given that my research looks at healing programs, services and perspectives regardless of where the actual institutions are, it is important to consider how urban or reserve space help shape how organizations approach healing and supporting programs. In discourse, and equally important, funding streams, urban communities and reserve communities are often seen as at odds with one another. In total, there are abut 1.8 million Indigenous people across Canada, and just over half of those people live in census metropolitan areas.[96] Urban Indigenous people comprise around 85% of the Indigenous population in some regions.[97] It is essential to discuss the contours and specificities of urban versus reserve communities. There are significant overlaps, but there are also differences that influence how programs and services are delivered and who the people who use them are.

For the most part, these divisions are rooted in anxieties that stem from how funds are allocated. Concerns around funding and capacity are significant spectres that continue haunting Indigenous politics and governance. These anxieties manifest in many historical and contemporary movements and often manifest in how urban spaces are conceptualized. In the 1970s, the Union of BC. Indians drafted a declaration in response to the White Paper, which highlighted these anxieties: "Our programs are based upon self-determination and involvement of Indians at a local

[96] Statistics Canada, "Canada's Indigenous Population - Statistics Canada," June 21, 2023, https://www.statcan.gc.ca/o1/en/plus/3920-canadas-indigenous-population.
[97] National Association of Friendship Centres, "Urbanization and Indigenous Peoples in Canada: Responses for the Questionnaire from the Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous People," 3.

level. They are self-help programs that will require the use of all available government programs and the involvement of the private sector of the economy. *Our problems will be solved within the communities rather than to relocate our people in urban areas.*" [98] [Emphasis Added] This sentiment has continued more or less since the 1970s. Urban spaces are viewed as non-Indigenous spaces, and the Indigenous people who live there are either refugees from another space or are interlopers in those spaces; Indigenous people do not belong in those spaces.

Urban Indigenous issues were first discussed at a national level with the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in the mid-1990s. Shortly after the release of the commission findings, in 1999, a project between the National Association of Friendship Centres and the Law Commission of Canada looking at urban Indigenous governance noted that: "For some land-based Aboriginal communities, the situation of urban Aboriginal people may be perceived as both anomalous and potentially threatening."[99] These divisions between urban and reserve communities continue to be significant parts of how Indigenous people are conceptualized and how Indigenous people often conceptualize themselves. It is important to stress that these boundaries are often blurry, as many First Nations reserves are located close to urban centres or within urban spaces, or there is movement between the two spaces. Connections between these two spaces are deep and blur the distinction between urban and reserve, as Regna Darnell and Maria Cristina Manzano Mungula note in their study of urban Indigenous people in London, Ontario: "Indigenous people who live in cities continue to have connections to reserves, and vice-versa, and to a certain degree, the distinction between on and off-reserve can be arbitrary and not reflect the lived experiences of

[98] The Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, "A Declaration of Indian Rights: The B.C. Indian Position Paper" (The Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs, November 17, 1970), 8.
[99] Robert Groves, *Re-Fashioning the Dialogue: Urban Aboriginal Governance in Canada* (Ottawa: National Association of Friendship Centers, 1999), 9.

Indigenous peoples."[100] The lived realities of Indigenous people may be blurry, but they do have real-world consequences for funding and support.

The models and institutions of program and service delivery in urban centres are dynamic and fundamental to urban Indigenous life. It is a complex network of programs, services and relationships within the often complex urban geographies. The service delivery is critical to understand because governance if nothing else, cannot just represent a community; it needs to provide a function for its community. There have been strides in the development of urban Aboriginal institutions, as the title of the article alludes to, but the work has largely been ignored or invisible:

> Where it is seen, it is viewed primarily as a means for the delivery of programs to a disadvantaged group of people. Few see the vast array of Aboriginal cultural, artistic, heritage, educational, economic, community development, and political institutions that dot the landscape. This invisibility is not surprising as it indicates the presence of urban Aboriginal peoples who are interested in creating and participating in healthy vibrant communities and who see the city as an opportunity and renewal rather than a place of cultural erosion ."[101]

These institutions, programs, and services are foundational to how urban Indigenous life operates. These physical spaces often serve as gathering spaces for people to meet as much as they are service hubs. They can be nodes that are also instrumental in ensuring that urban Indigenous communities can function as communities.

This is particularly important in the urban context because, unlike reserves, urban spaces are generally more diverse, heterogeneous, and significantly more prominent. It is rare that there

[100] Regna Darnell and Maria Cristina Manzano Munguia, "Nomadic Legacies and Urban Algonquian Residence," in *36th Algonquian Conference*, ed. H.C. Wolfart (36th Algonquian Conference, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004), 185–86.

[101] David Newhouse, "The Invisible Infrastructure: Urban Aboriginal Institutions and Organizations," in *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples*, ed. David Newhouse and Evelyn J Peters (Ottawa, Ont.: Policy Research Initiative, 2003), 251, http://ra.ocls.ca/ra/login.aspx?inst=centennial&url=https://www.deslibris.ca/ID/228455.

are dedicated Indigenous neighbourhoods akin to a Little Italy or a Chinatown. Urban spaces are not threats to Indigenous identities or communities; they need to be navigated a bit differently to support community, identity, and sense of connection: "When people live in an Aboriginal community…there is little need to be concerned with cultural identity except during conflict with other ethnic groups or government. However, the new generation of Aboriginal people have grown up without assigned roles or groups that anchor Aboriginality so that identity can no longer be taken for granted."[102] Susan Lobo, in describing the nature of the urban Aboriginal community in the San Francisco Bay Area notes that "the Indian community is not a geographic location with clustered residency or neighbourhoods, but rather it is fundamentally a widely scattered and frequently shifting network of relationships with locational nodes found in organizations and activity sites of special significance." [103] Programs and service delivery hubs offer places for Indigenous people, who may or may not have been born in the city, an opportunity to engage with other Indigenous peoples to support their sense of belonging.

Since 2015, the current federal Liberal government has focused on "distinctions-based" Indigenous people policy and law. The distinctions-based approach recognizes the diversity of First Nations, Inuit and Métis people of what is now Canada. It approaches policies, laws and relationships by recognizing how their wants, needs, cultures, histories, governance structures and worldviews differ. Distinction-based approaches stress that the Crown needs to be cognizant of its approach to relationship building and broader approach to policy. It allows for more depth and nuance in how the Crown navigates its relationship with Indigenous peoples, a nuance that is crucial to the evolving and changing relationship between the First Peoples and the Crown.

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[102] James Frideres, "Aboriginal Identity in the Canadian Context," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 28, no. 2 (n.d.): 327.

[103] Susan Lobo, "Is Urban a Person or a Place? Characteristics of Urban Indian Country," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22, no. 4 (1998): 89–102.

However, there are massive gaps *between* First Nation, Métis, and Inuit, gaps into which most Indigenous people fall. With most Indigenous people living in urban spaces, distinction-based approaches marginalize and ignore urban Indigenous people. This attitude reflects the perspectives that have still underpinned Indian policy since the establishment of Canada. Indigenous people need to live in their traditional territories, and if not, then they are automatically absorbed into the dominant body politic.

Urban Indigenous people fall between the cracks of the federal government's understanding of the three peoples, directly impacting the viability of the ongoing reconciliation project, which aims, in theory, to heal the wounds made by the foundation of colonialism that Canada is built upon. The understanding is that "in the case of First Nations living off-reserve, the federal government maintains that they are eligible for provincial services of general application. However, the provincial government may disagree, arguing that First Nations are the responsibility of the Federal Government."[104] This landscape that is rooted in supporting Indigenous communities and nations but also translates to a lack of support for urban Indigenous peoples and initiatives. It creates a patchwork of often short-term funding pots, which means considerable effort is spent on funding applications: "Urban Indigenous organizations spend a lot of time working to secure funding when they could be focusing on service delivery."[105] Urban Indigenous communities and organizations continue to address racism in spite of distinction-based approaches which ignore the lived reality of most Indigenous people in Canada.

The work being done in urban spaces that support Indigenous people regardless of residency, Former President Christopher Sheppard of the National Association of Friendship

[104] Brittany Collier, "Services for Indigenous People Living in Urban Areas," Library of Parliament Background Paper (Parliamentary Information and Research Service, December 1, 2020), 6.
[105] Collier, 7.

Centres noted: "Current data shows that Indigenous people will continue to move to urban centres [but] systems, programs, pandemic planning and public policy, are still crafted from a perspective that does not appropriately reflect where Indigenous people live"[106] Distinction-based approaches recognize the diversities of the lived experiences of Indigenous peoples across the country. This is leaps and bounds better than the pan-Indian approach, or the universal application of First Nations experiences, that has underpinned Indian policy and practices to Indigenous issues. A significant problem is that distinction-based approaches to Indigenous issues often ignore the nuances and differences between urban and reserve spaces.

Summary

The literature review highlights several foundational ideas for the work that Indigenous-led organizations have done and continue to do. The literature highlighted important themes and concepts that have been reflected in the interviews that I had the opportunity to conduct. What is striking about the literature around masculinity is there is a recognition that the impacts of colonialism have impacted how Indigenous men think about and articulate masculinity. The scholars and thinkers that have been done have recognized that Indigenous men are in critical need of support to help Indigenous communities continue to grow and flourish. What is also important to highlight is that work around Indigenous masculinity is still a field that has not a lot of work done around it. Indigenous masculinity is something that is not well understood beyond those who work directly in the field but to the broader public. There is still a lack of understanding of the

[106] National Association of Friendship Centres, "Our Health, Our Voice: Advocating for Urban Indigenous People in Distinction-Based Healthcare Legislation" (Ottawa, Ont: National Association of Friendship Centres, January 2022), 24.

importance of masculinity in how it shapes and relates to the wider Indigenous communities and nations.

The literature that has been done to highlight the impacts of colonization on Indigenous communities. Attitudes around colonization have historically been ones that have relegated colonization and colonialism as something that exists in the past, as a static period of time. Indigenous scholars have highlighted the need to understand that colonization is a process and one that continues to be a part of the landscape in the modern day. Indigenous people experience the ongoing effects of colonialism in their day-to-day lives, whether it is experiences of overt racism or the lack of support for justice issues. Colonization's connection to the justice system was also meaningful to highlight because the justice system in Canada is such a large part of the Indigenous lived experience. It is a system that incarcerates Indigenous bodies but also applies its own understanding of what constitutes justice. The ideas that underpin the Canadian justice system are rooted in theories of punishment and retribution and do not contribute to the health and wellness of Indigenous people who have been victimized. It also ignores the humanity of those who have been offended or hurt their communities.

Likewise, a critical idea that mirrors how scholars and academics understand healing is that it is also a long-term active process. There is no state of being completely "healed," but a journey that can vary in success and failure, but with support, an individual can engage in that process. What is also striking is that individuals on that healing journey are also themselves powerful supports for other people's journeys. Healing is not done in a vacuum but is done with support from communities and families, whether they are biological or found families. The notion of reciprocity and relationship is essential to Indigenous understandings of healing. These concepts are reflected in the Indigenous Knowledge that underpins the literature around healing. Indigenous

Knowledge is something that lives within communities and helps ground and support community members in need. It does not exist divorced from the communities, nations and people that IK comes from.

These approaches to healing and Indigenous Knowledge are reflected in the values that are interwoven into Indigenous justice initiatives. The literature around restorative and Indigenous justice highlights the need to focus on supporting the victims or the aggrieved but also ensuring that the offender is given an opportunity to take responsibility, learn and grow from this experience. Indigenous justice initiatives do have overlapping commonalities, but Indigenous justice perspectives are rooted in community and nations' Indigenous Knowledges and practices. Restorative justice is an approach to the Canadian justice system that is rooted in compassion and diversion. Indigenous justice systems are rooted in Indigenous understandings of justice.

The throughline throughout the entire literature review is that Indigenous communities continue to experience the ongoing effects of colonialism but have complex systems and supports to address them. The work that is being done by Indigenous peoples and communities does not stop at the boundary of a reserve. Urban Indigenous people and communities are likewise working to address the needs of people who live in urban spaces. This is in spite of chronic underfunding and policy marginalization.

The scholars and thinkers in this literature review are from differing disciplines, cultures, nations, projects, and time periods. The diversity and depth of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples' thoughts on these subjects shows how important they are and how things like healing, justice, Indigenous Knowledge or masculinity. These subjects and ideas impact the day-to-day lives of Indigenous peoples and communities. This literature has also shown how interlaced these ideas are with one another.

Chapter 3: Theories and Perspectives

This chapter has divided the theoretical section into two sections. The first discusses theories embedded in Haudenosaunee Indigenous Knowledge systems: the Good Mind, the Great Law of Peace, and the Condolence Ceremony.[107] The second section discusses Western sociological and psychological approaches that are a part of this project. It is important to make the distinction between these two traditions, not because they are incompatible, but so that the Western traditions do not overtake or smother the Haudenosaunee Indigenous Knowledges. My project is within the Indigenous studies field, so respect and balance need to be struck between these two approaches.

With all of that said, the theories are just that, theories. Lived reality is far more complex than what is written on a page. The Good Mind is unique for every person, and their journeys in having the Good Mind is also unique. Theories need to be flexible and exist in a space that can allow for alteration and transformation, as sociologist John Levi Martin puts it:

> Theory itself – at least if we are to heed the humorless prescriptions of the various self-appointed schoolmasters – is to be something along the lines of a framework for making precise predictions regarding what will be observed along some dimension if other dimensions are properly specified. This seems to me to describe not a social theory but a spreadsheet.[108]

This is critical to the application of any theory, Indigenous or Western, to a group or individual. As discussed in my literature review, some of these concepts are active processes; they cannot be viewed as one thing or have only a particular characteristic. Metrics of "successful" healing will

[107] I am using Haudenosaunee Indigenous Knowledge to refer to the constellation of knowledges and teaching that flow from the Great Law and the Longhouse. With all of that said, there is a major schism (for lack of a better word) between those that follow the teachings of Handsome Lake and those that do not. This division should not affect my research and the research methodology. When I refer to Haudenosaunee Indigenous Knowledge, I will be referring to the entire constellation of ideas, unless it is necessarily specified. Think of the use of Haudenosaunee Indigenous Knowledge in the same way one would use any umbrella term for a faith like Christianity, Buddhism or Islam . It refers to a massive variety of traditions, cultures and faiths.

[108] John Levi Martin, *The Explanation of Social Action* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5.

look different, and each individual's journey will be different; even the notion that someone can enter a permanent state of 'healed' also needs to be put aside. Returning to Martin's comments about social sciences' tendencies for theoretical constructs, he notes: "We brutally cram reality into ill-fitting boxes to which we attach doubtful labels because we call it the 'operationalization' of abstract concepts and have convinced ourselves that there is no other way of doing science."[109] It is my intention to lay out some of the theories and perspectives that I will be using for this research project, with the understanding that there is a marked difference between a theory and a lived experience. One thing to address before delving into my theories is how to conceptualize culture in this project.

From the traditional Western perspective, my work examines how programming, rooted in traditional Indigenous cultural practices, supports Indigenous men in their rehabilitation. Culture and the cultural are loaded terms and have a peculiar relationship with Indigenous people. Though this term has distinct meaning and context in Canada, especially with the *Van Der Peet*[110] court decisions, scholars have noted that cultural practices are not static entities but processes unto themselves. Roland Niezen suggests analyzing cultural practices as processes is instrumental in undoing embedded orthodoxies:

> Many ideas that carry dark histories and hidden agendas appear on first sight simple, straightforward, and readily acceptable. When, in particular, sociological or anthropological concepts make a transition into law, they are susceptible to being imbued with orthodoxy, receiving as they do the imprimatur of legitimation.[111]

[109] Martin, *The Explanation of Social Action*, 8.
[110] This is in reference to the "Van Der Peet" test, which has 10 distinct criteria for a tradition or practice to be considered affirmed and protected under section 35 of the Constitution Act. This has been heavily criticized by Indigenous scholars and thinkers are setting up arbitrary benchmarks for Indigenous cultures and practices, and freezes these practices in the past, not allowing for growth.
[111] Ronald Niezen, *The Rediscovered Self: Indigenous Identity and Cultural Justice*, McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series 56 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 66.

Niezen warns that looking at Indigenous cultures potentially freezes Indigenous practices and voices in time, not allowing them to grow, develop, or change. Likewise, in Diane Hill's discussion of ethnostress, she suggests that freezing Indigenous culture in time is one of the contributing factors to ethnostress: "The concept of 'being Indian and possessing a unique culture' takes on a near exclusive identification with a lifestyle that existed before the loss of mobility (somewhere between 100 or 300 years ago)."[112] She goes on to note that framing Indigenous cultures as static or in the past damages Indigenous identity and psyche, with children in particular. Indigenous practices, perspectives and activities have evolved and changed within the modern context.

Cultural practices and perspectives are threatened when they are immutable. Also, more importantly, it places Indigenous perspectives and teachings as "culture" or "cultural" as opposed to Western philosophies and teachings as "medical" or "psychological." Healing practices within a Western paradigm are just referred to as healing practices, while Haudenosaunee practices are called "cultural" healing practices. Ronald Niezen suggests that there needs to be a shift in how "culture" is imagined, not as an object, but as a process. It is something that facilitates identity, but it is also changes and evolves.[113] Only understanding Indigenous cultures as ancient and frozen in time has genuine consequences in the present and does not allow for growth and change. My research uses Haudenosaunee ideas and stories that have been with our nation for centuries. These stories are flexible and versatile, and there is not one 'correct' way to tell them or view them. And that they can adapt and flourish in the modern era is important.

One last thing that needs to be briefly discussed is how my project approaches the usage of spirituality and religion. Admittedly, this is in part due to my own training in religious studies

[112] Diane Hill, "Ethnostress: The Disruption of Aboriginal Spirit," *Tribal Sovereignty Associates*, August 1992, 11.
[113] Niezen, *The Rediscovered Self*, 67.

but also because of the complicated relationship that Indigenous communities across Canada have with the term "religion." Generally speaking, the word "religion" within the context of Indigenous traditions is frowned upon. Jordan Paper notes:

> Native American traditionalists today tend to use the word "spirituality" in place of religion. To them the word "religion" evokes the Christian churches, who, until recently, sought to destroy Native traditions and force Native Americans to become Christians…Hence, it is no wonder that Native traditionalists do not wish to apply "religion," a negative term for them, to their religion.[114]

Paper acknowledges that the history of the term "religion" and "religious" are fraught within Indigenous communities. He also stresses that in the general study of religion and spirituality, scholars have to use the language that is available, but be cognizant of their limits and trappings. This is important to understand because there are concepts in this section that lean on discussing religion rather than spirituality. In my mind, I think that the belief system that uses the Good Mind does warrant being referred to as a religious system. With all that said, I need to be cognizant of the particularities and sensibilities of the communities and people I will work with. I will be using "religion" and "religious" when it is explicitly stated as such from an academic source.

Kan'nikonhrí:io (The Good Mind)

Within the political and social systems of the Haudenosaunee, the Kayanerenkó:wa (or Great Law)[115] is the fundamental governing principle. The Kayanerenkó:wa provides the structure by which the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee relate to one another, the chief's responsibilities, and the structures of power and decision-making. The Kayanerenkó:wa is as much of a legal code as a way to structure the nations and the communities. While peace is the keystone to the

[114] Jordan D. Paper, *Native North American Religious Traditions: Dancing for Life* (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2007), 5–6.
[115] Pronounced (Gah-Yen-Ray-Yeh-Go-Ah)

Confederacy, this principle can only be executed successfully with a sound and clear mind. In the Kayanerenkó:wa, there is a passage that any person or nation that wishes to become a part of the Confederacy must have adopted the Good Mind as a part of their entry:

> If any man or any nation outside the Five Nations shall obey the laws of the Great Peace and make known their disposition to the Lords of the Confederacy, they may trace the Roots of the Tree and if their minds are clean and they are obedient and promise to obey the wishes of the Confederate Council, they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of Long Leaves.[116]

A requirement of joining the Confederacy is having a Good Mind. As this passage showcases, Kan'nikonhrí:io is a political philosophy and state of mind; it lends itself to all aspects of Haudenosaunee life. The Good Mind guides individuals, families, communities and nations.

Kan'nikonhrí:io is closely related to the healing journey. It is a state of mind that one strives for when people are dealing with traumas, substance abuse, and the effects of colonization and assimilation. Holly Brant's work focuses on folding the Good Mind as a schema into social work and notes that the Good Mind extends beyond the mental:

> The phrase a *good mind* can be deceptive when read by a person who is not Haudenosaunee. It could be understood as some one who is smart or can figure out abstract thoughts, or refer only to the mental astuteness of a person, but for the Haudenosaunee it is much more. The idea is that each quadrant [mental, spiritual, emotional, physical] affects the other parts of the person as a whole.[117][118]

[116] Arthur C Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations, or, The Iroquois Book of the Great Law* (Ohsweken, Ont.: Iroqrafts, 2006), 31.

[117] Holly Brant, "Aboriginal Mental Health or the Good Mind Model Ka'nikonhri: Io from a Haudenosaunee Point of View." (Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada = Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, 2010), 53.

[118] The four quadrants that Holly Brant speaks of in this passage are referencing the four directions medicine circle. Some Haudenosaunee elders embrace this symbol, while others tend to avoid it given that it does not necessarily come from a Haudenosaunee context. It is something that I am not completely familiar with, or comfortable enough to use in this research project. With that said, odds are that it will come up in some ways during my fieldwork and interviews. I will do my best to explain the medicine circle that respects its origins as well as the Haudenosaunee interpretation of it.

This is a principle to understand the theories behind the Good Mind. It starts with the mental and connects to the physical, emotional and the spiritual. The Good Mind can be a powerful agent of change and can address the traumas of colonization and assimilation. It centres on individual experiences and allows for community support to assist in the healing journey.

Much like healing, the Good Mind is not static but a process. It is the principle of being a good member of the Haudenosaunee. It is the foundation for the Confederacy and a part of our creation stories. In the Sky Woman story, the Good Mind is an essential component that distinguishes the twins from one another:

> In John Napoleon Hewitt's modern version, taken from the dictation of Chief John Gibson, the two grandchildren of Skywoman had very different mental tendencies. Skyholder, the maker of the first man and woman, was peaceful and desired all his creations to have *contented minds.* Flint, his jealous brother, was constantly making mischief and created animals with fierce tempers. Flint's grandmother sided with him against Skyholder and together they acted out their malicious feelings.[119]

The Good Mind is a state of being that manifests in judgement, emotions, and thoughts. In the Haudenosaunee view and history, the absence of the Good Mind leads to strife amongst ourselves, be it familial or between the Five Nations—anger or sorrow can lead to decisions which can cause more anger and sorrow.

The story of the Peacemaker, the one that brought peace to the original Five Nations, was guided by his understanding of having a Good Mind.[120] In early translations of the story's creation of the Confederacy, the Peacemaker is viewed as the embodiment of the Good Mind. The healing of the Tadodaho, the Onondaga chief who was the last chief to accept the peace, is framed as a rejection of the clouded mind. Scott Pratt, in his discussion of the Confederacy's impact on the American philosophical tradition, suggests that contrary to the notion that Indigenous people did

[119] Granville Ganter, "'Make Your Minds Perfectly Easy': Sagoyewatha and the Great Law of the Haudenosaunee," *Early American Literature* 44, no. 1 (2009): 134.
[120] Ganter, 126.

not have a philosophical tradition, the founding of the League of Six Nations is based on a deep intellectual tradition. Pratt notes the importance of the Good Mind as being central to the social, historical and political fabric of the Confederacy:

> The story parallels the creation story. Here The Peacemaker, who embodies a character of peace and concern and a 'constructive mind,' transforms the 'evil' mind of [Tadodaho] from a destructive one to a constructive one so he can join the creation of the 'Great Peace.' The image of the great council tree, the symbol of the Confederacy, is intended, according to Parker, to recall both the work of the Peacemaker and the work of the Good Mind.[121]

Kan'nikonhrí:io guides the Confederacy and all those who abide by the Great Law. In my framework, the Good Mind is what people heal towards. One could, understandably, assume that the Clouded Mind is something that can be banished away. Healing is often framed as binary; a person can go from unhealthy to healed, but this is not the case in the Haudenosaunee model. Along with the concept of Wake'nikonhrèn:ton (Crooked Mind) and Kan'nikonhrí:io (Good Mind), there is the understanding that these are not static, and a mind that is clear can become clouded.

The Good Mind is central to the functioning and well-being of the Confederacy. It underpins the political processes that are at the root of the Confederacy. The importance of having a clear mind in decision-making is exemplified in how the Mohawk nation is organized around clans; Ohkwaho (Wolf), A'nó:wara (Turtle), and Ohkwa:ri (Bear). The Bear and Wolf clans' families sit on the north side of the Longhouse, and the Turtle sits on the south side. The Wolf families will come up with an initial proposal, and once it has been deliberated within the Wolf families, it is sent across the Longhouse to the Turtles, who then deliberate the proposal. After which, it is sent to the Bears, who will, in turn, deliberate over the proposal. The Turtle and Bear

[121] Scott L Pratt, "The Influence of the Iroquois on Early American Philosophy," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 32, no. 2 (1996): 292–93.

will speak amongst each other and then send it back to the Wolf. It is this process of deliberate consensus which requires unanimous decisions and a Good Mind. The function of the Confederacy requires that all are involved and that all parties come together in agreement and unity. This process can take a long time because of the need for consensus, and patience is essential to having a Good Mind.

The ways in which the clans of the Mohawk nation deliberate amongst ourselves. The Good Mind is rooted in how citizens conduct themselves and extends out to how we interact with our neighbours, communities and other nations. Ganter writes: "The spirit of goodwill reflected in the condolence portion of speeches reflects the larger meaning of the Great Law – [The Good Mind] – which is that people need to treat each other, even their enemies, with kindness and humanity."[122] The Good Mind is a principle that allows for thoughtful and considerate decision-making processes, and that process must require constant attention and dedication. Fundamental is the understanding that there are going to be cases when the peace or the mind is clouded, and there needs to be a way to address these issues, whether it is with an individual or with a treaty:

> The term they used was 'brightening the chain of friendship.'…Periodically the chain could become rusty. Settlers might trespass; traders might be murdered in arguments. Regular councils were expected to settle the conflict that might arise. Participants in these councils had the opportunity to sound out the minds of each nation as to its generally attitudes towards peace. These practices took time, and were seen by the Six Nations as the foundation on which agreements were made.[123]

This framework suggests that no treaty, nor any mind is static and in a permanent state of peace or clarity. Condolence is used when this clarity is loss. Condolence and the Good Mind helps raise individuals and communities who are grieving or have gone through trauma. To clear the mind,

[122] Ganter, "'Make Your Minds Perfectly Easy': Sagoyewatha and the Great Law of the Haudenosaunee," 130.
[123] Ganter, 128.

there is a process called the Condolence Ceremony, which is a critical component of the Haudenosaunee IK.

Condolence

The Good Mind is the optimal mental state of the people of the Confederacy; the Condolence Ceremony is the process by which clouded minds are made clear again.[124] It is a healing ceremony rooted in the perspective that healing is a process. Condolence is a part of the Haudenosaunee model of healing. To be condoled is to have one's mind lifted off the ground, but it is something that is not done alone; it comes from families, friends, community members, and nations. It is a process that is not limited just to the person who needs to be condoled. It is an active process that involves people with different roles and different ways of helping those who are in need.

Holly Brant relates the power of the Good Mind to the importance of the Condolence ceremony. She notes that the condolence ceremony now is a part of the grieving process for members of the Haudenosaunee community.[125] It is something that helps community members who are working through grief and anguish. She suggests this ceremony and the conceptual schema around it are deeply rooted in Haudenosaunee understandings of grief, anger, and death:

> It is a strong ceremony; it is to bring condolence and healing to the minds and bodies of the loved ones and help resolve their loss. The ceremonies are a way to stay connected to the Creator and stay grateful. They are a wonderful way to remember our history and ancestors and instill the presence of the *good mind.*[126]

Brant's observation stresses the importance of the Good Mind in communities, as well as the role that ceremonies play in community maintenance and coherence. The existence of the ceremony

[124] Kayanesenh Paul Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa: the Great Law of Peace*, 2018, 4.
[125] Brant, "Aboriginal Mental Health or the Good Mind Model Ka'nikonhri," 39.
[126] Brant, 40.

points to an important component to the Good Mind; it is something that can be lost, or clouded, but at the same time, is something that can also be regained.

Traditionally, the Condolence Ceremony is reserved for political leaders and prominent members of the nation: "Condolence law states that the dead chiefs must be mourned, the minds of the mourners elevated, and empty seats in the council filled with persons of the name before society may continue and business be transacted."[127] This passage refers specifically to a political ceremony, but the ideas that underpin Condolence are essential for the maintenance of the Confederacy. The Great Law points out how grief affects families and how communities are involved in its process:

> When a dead person is brought to the burial place, the speaker on the opposite side of the Council Fire shall bid the bereaved family cheer their minds once again and rekindle their hearth fires in peace, to put their house in order and once against be in the brightness for darkness has covered. He shall say that the black clouds shall roll away and that the bright blue sky is visible once more. Therefore shall they be in peace in the sunshine again.[128]

Other nations are required to provide support for the families of the bereaved. It is understood that the family is going through grief, which affects their day-to-day lives. Grief, and by extension death, is not a singular experience. All members of the community and nation have roles to play in a family's grief. The last passage of the Great Law specifically points out that community members are engaged in helping out the family: "This is to the one who did the cooking while the body was lying in the house. Let her come forward and receive this gift and be dismissed from the task. In substance this shall be repeated for everyone who assisted in any way until all have been remembered."[129] Grief and the Clouded Mind are not framed as bad, but simple as inevitabilities.

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[127] William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series, v. 223 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 99.
[128] Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations, or, The Iroquois Book of the Great Law*, 59–60.
[129] Parker, 60.

It is the duty of the community and the Confederacy to help individuals and families navigate these times. The Good Mind is the guiding principle in the Confederacy, and Condolence is the way in which we provide support for people whose minds have become clouded and support them to gain the Good Mind again.

In all the creation stories of the Confederacy, there is a portion where the Peacemaker meets a cannibal.[130] When the cannibal encounters the Peacemaker, and sees the Peacemaker's peace and serenity, the cannibal's mind becomes unclouded, and he decides not to eat people anymore. The cannibal states that he is regretful of his crimes, but he does not know how to atone for his crimes. According to Wallace's version of the story, the Peacemaker states:

> Thou hast changed the very pattern of thy life. The New Mind has come to thee, namely Righteousness and Health and Power. And thou art miserable because the New Mind does not live at ease with the old memories. Heal thy memories by working to make justice prevail. Bring peace to those places where thou hast done injury to man.[131]

The cannibal's change of heart on eating people is quite a quick turnaround. It does reveal an essential part of Condolence and the Good Mind. It shows that the Good Mind is something that anyone, regardless of what their past is and what their actions have been, can gain in one way or another. The Peacemaker does stress that it is not something that happens overnight, nor is it something that is easy, but the cannibal can heal by working for the communities he has harmed.

One of the central figures in the story of the Great Law, Hayonhwatha, is overcome by grief and anguish. The Peacemaker recognizing him as a great leader helps him overcome his clouded mind in order to help establish the Great Law: "My junior brother, your mind being cleared and you being competent to judge, we now shall make our laws and when all are made we shall

[130] In some versions the cannibal turns into Hiawatha, in others, the cannibal is just some nameless person who eats people. In the Wallace version of the text, the Hiawatha is the Cannibal. Later in this section, there will be a different story of Hiawatha being condoled, which will be noted as coming from a different version of the story.
[131] Paul A. W. Wallace, *White Roots of Peace: The Iroquois Book of Life* (Saranac Lake: Center for Adirondack Studies, 1980), 18.

call the organization we have formed the Great Peace. It shall be the power to abolish war and robbery between brothers and bring peace and quietness."[132] This narrative stresses the importance of Condolence as a model of healing in the Confederacy, where the absence of the Good Mind can lead to extreme behaviours like cannibalism. It also suggests that actions can be corrected and atoned for by taking the appropriate actions and approaching them with the proper thoughts and mindset. Condolence Ceremony frames healing as no person being beyond help; regardless of what they have done in the past, their minds can be reached and elevated off the ground to be right again.[133]

Community and Identity

The research looks at the role that Indigenous originations have in the healing journey of Indigenous men. These networks of programming and services are crucial components to Indigenous communities. Both Indigenous identities and communities have a role to play in the healing journey. Jeff Corntassel argues that a fundamental to Indigenous life is the continued renewal of languages and relationships that tie a person to their heritage, communities, and peoples:

> If one thinks of peoplehood as the interlocking features of language, homeland, ceremonial cycles, and sacred living histories, a disruption to any one of these practices threatens all aspects of everyday life. The complex spiritual, political, and social relationships that hold peoplehood together are continuously renewed. These daily acts of renewal, whether through prayer, speaking your language, honoring your ancestors, etc., are the foundations of resurgence. It is through this renewal process that commitments are made to reclaim and restore cultural practices that have been neglected and/or disrupted.[134]

[132] Parker, *The Constitution of the Five Nations, or, The Iroquois Book of the Great Law*, 24.
[133] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 174.
[134] Jeff Corntassel, "Re-Envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 89,

For Indigenous scholars, thinkers, and activists, Indigenous identity is a part of resurgence and Indigenous health. McKegney, in his work on Indigenous masculinities, notes that a lack of Indigenous identity is a crisis affecting all Indigenous peoples: **"**The systematic decimation of traditional Indigenous social systems and the suppression of traditional roles and responsibilities has indeed created significant crises of identity for many Indigenous people."[135] The disruption of Indigenous communities and cultures affects Indigenous identities and masculinities. Janice Hill points to the lack of positive male identities in her home community of Tyendinaga because of the effects of colonialism: "Most recently, men aren't learning those roles [how to be a good man] themselves because there's nobody to teach them, or very few people to teach them, which goes back to the residential school era."[136] Her observations speak to how Indigenous identity and masculine identities are shaped by the community and how deep colonization injured our communities and our identities.

The community's family system has a direct impact on the children. Diane Hill, in her discussion of "ethnostress," notes that familial disruptions and dysfunctions can fundamentally damage a child's identity, which can have longstanding ramifications. She writes:

> [I]f our family experience and beliefs about family stem from a history of family violence and confusion of identity, then the child's loss of faith and belief in self and about family in general is disrupted. The loss of this sense of self and confusion in identity is reinforced and held in place by the emotional pain and confusion in belief that we have inherited from our family of original (early childhood stress) and from generations past. Failing to evaluate our beliefs and leaving our emotional pain unresolved allows us to carry these beliefs and pain into adulthood where we tend to act them out on our own children.[137]

[135] McKegney, "Warriors, Healers, Lovers, and Leaders: Colonial Impositions on Indigenous Male Roles and Responsibilities," 255.
[136] Kanonhsyonni Janice C. Hill and Sam McKenzie, "Where Are The Men?," in *Masculindians: Conversations About Indigenous Manhood*, 2014, 17.
[137] Hill, "Ethnostress: The Disruption of Aboriginal Spirit," 4.

The damage and trauma done to Indigenous peoples and our identity can have deep-rooted consequences that are replicated over generations. The development of a positive identity and a set of values, cultures and perspectives that promote positive relationships with oneself, one's family, one's community and the land can be powerful motivators in the healing process. Given the far-reaching damage that alienation through colonization has on Indigenous peoples and communities, a framework that promotes re-orienting oneself can be a massive step on the healing journey.

Donald M. Taylor and Roxane de La Sablonnière suggest that the collective identity of Indigenous people is one of the essential aspects of identity formation and one of the critical ways to rebuild communities in the wake of ongoing colonization and assimilation:

> The importance of collective identity for personal identity has surfaced in a variety of contexts in social psychology. Most directly for the present context in our own research indicates that, for real cultural groups, including one First Nation group, a clearly defined cultural identity is associated with a clear personal identity, which is then linked to self-esteem and well-being…in the case of Aboriginal Canadians, cultural continuity and control are important factors for well-being.[138]

By an active and prolonged assault on the collective identity of Indigenous communities, the Federal government has managed to destabilize communities, cultures, and identities. They go even further to suggest that the collective and cultural identity are the most critical facets of a person's own identity and well-being: "We argue that cultural identity is the most important collective identity for most people, most of the time…many people do not consider their religion to be central to every aspect of their lives. By contrast, their cultural identity is inescapable."[139] Social settings in Indigenous communities are foundational to how Indigenous people

[138] Donald M. Taylor and Roxane de La Sablonnière, *Towards Constructive Change in Aboriginal Communities: A Social Psychology Perspective* (Montreal & Kingston ; London ; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 98.
[139] Taylor and La Sablonnière, 101.

conceptualize themselves and our relation to one another. The presence or absence of a sense of community and identity can have a wide-ranging impact on an Indigenous person.[140] A person's identity and community connection, whatever that community looks like, are robust support systems for a person who is in the process of the healing journey.

The organizational approach is about addressing people's unique needs and backgrounds with respect to healing and cultivating a sense of communal support. Rupert Ross, in his analysis of the Hollow Water's Community Holistic Circle Healing program, notes that a collaborative component is essential to Indigenous healing. He notes that individual's experiences with traumas, women who have experienced sexual abuse and violence in his study, can be isolated and insular. He speaks to the power that Indigenous-led programming, which focuses on communal experiences, can have: "As I have since realized, a host of important healing steps were just beginning to occur to [the client], and all of them came from the fact that [the client] was in a group of healing people, not sitting alone on a couch with a single therapist nearby."[141] The development of community and belonging is why Indigenous-led programming is a critical component of the healing journey. As Ross continues to point out, Indigenous-led services and programming rely on creating a space for honest reflection and healing but also support the idea that people do not heal on their own.[142]

The community, in whatever form that takes, is an integral part of the healing journey. Rod McCormick, in his discussion of the healing path, stresses the need for a community's involvement in a person's healing because of the connections and supports they offer: "Connection can mean

[140] Side note: While cultural practices and community supports are important to identity formation and the development of healthy habits and decisions, I am not suggesting that these are the *only* determinants of well being health, nor does the presence or absence of particular community or individual supports determine a persons life trajectory.
[141] Ross, *Indigenous Healing*, 198.
[142] Ross, 198.

the process of dealing with problems with the assistance of others and not by oneself. Assistance can be obtained from friends, from family, the community, and in the context of group counselling or on a social basis."[143] In McCormick's work, community and the connection to something, friends, family, or group counselling facilitates healing. The component is that the work of healing, in an Indigenous framework, is something that is not done alone; it involves (re)connections to something larger than oneself:

> [T]he goal of traditional Aboriginal healing was not to strengthen the client's ego, as in non-Aboriginal counselling, but to encourage the client to transcend the ego by considering himself or herself as embedded in and expressive of the community. Like family therapy, systems therapy, and community psychiatry, Aboriginal healing promotes the idea of bringing together many forces to best utilize the powers that promote health.[144]

The community, in whatever form the community takes, can be a source of strength in Indigenous healing. McCormick suggests that the healing journey (or healing path in his text) is broken up into four stages, with the first stage being separating oneself from the unhealthy behaviours and lifestyles that are influencing one's life.[145] The second stage is the individual seeking out: "social supports and resources, the individual seeks help and support from others and establishes social connections with others…The individual feels socially connected when he or she is able to get beyond his or her own world through social interaction."[146] The third stage is experiencing this healthy living while continuing to embed oneself in a healthy community, and the fourth is maintaining the progress that has been made.[147] Reorienting oneself towards a community and

[143] Rod McCormick, "The Healing Path: What Can Counselors Learn From Aboriginal People About How to Heal?," in *Integrating Traditional Healing Practices into Counseling and Psychotherapy*, ed. Roy Moodley and William West, Multicultural Aspects of Counseling and Psychotherapy, v. 22 (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2005), 300.
[144] McCormick, 301.
[145] McCormick, 302.
[146] McCormick, 302.
[147] McCormick, 302–3.

being connected to said community can be an excellent way to continue on the healing journey, especially when someone needs an anchor during trying or stressful times.

Lisa Monchalin suggests Indigenous communities have communal measures to address crime and criminality; crime prevention programming is oriented towards the collective: "Although the exact structure and organization of the various nations would differ, they all had a strong commitment to family file, healthy and durable community bonds, and an emphasis on raising children in a culture of respect, familial support, and love."[148] A communal approach to healing and support flows into Indigenous programming and service delivery. The community component of Indigenous recovery is critical to supporting the people who go on these healing journeys.

The work that has been done around understanding the complexities and nuances of identity have highlighted that Indigenous identity is a process. Indigenous identities are not static, nor are they locked into the same system as an ethnic identity. Indigenous identities include languages, histories, politics and nationhood. Essential to those ideas is how they are rooted in connections to other people. My identity as a Mohawk man is connected to a specific community and a larger political structure, as well as a relationship with the land that I live on.

Spirituality

I wanted to have spirituality as its own section, somewhat separated from Indigenous Knowledge, for a few reasons. For one, spirituality is its own phenomenon, particularly within the context of religious studies. There is a long academic tradition of understanding spirituality, and it has a specific position within Indigenous contexts. It was also important to highlight that though spirituality is placed within Indigenous Knowledge, there is no one-to-one translation. Indigenous

[148] Monchalin, *The Colonial Problem*, 309.

Knowledge contains spiritual elements within it, but it also serves a robust legal and political system.

Spirituality is something that a person can carry with them as they make their way through their life journey, and it can also be a rock upon which to centre oneself during a time of great stress. Religious and spiritual expression and ceremonies can be building blocks for the maintenance of a person's or community's identity. Ceremonies and spirituality are potent guides for action and thought and can be the foundation of the self.[149] The resurrection of spirituality and traditional Indigenous ceremonies have been a feature in the resurgence of Indigenous cultural and political life. There is a reason that Canadian Indian policy focused so much on suppressing the ceremonial and spiritual life of Indigenous people. Ritual is a community-building mechanism. Ceremonies and rituals are the actions that express a person or a community's spiritual beliefs, history and relationships. Robert Segal suggests that rituals and ceremonies are ways to express belief and can also be the way in which beliefs are instilled:

> Ritual has come to be embrace as folk religion, religion as it is lived. Most scholars of religion today view religion as ritual first and belief second…Even though ritual has remained action, that action has come to be regarded as the *expression* of belief and even the *instilment* of belief.[150]

Important to this project is that ceremonies and spiritual practices can be the entranceway for Indigenous men to begin the healing journey and understand what it means to be Indigenous in general.

Ritual and regulation can be a powerful stabilizer for someone who is working through re-establishing a sense of themselves or is going through the healing process. For many, the

[149] Timothy A. Sisemore, *The Psychology of Religion and Spirituality: From the Inside Out* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2015), 243.
[150] Robert A. Segal, "Myth and Ritual," in *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, ed. John R. Hinnells, 2nd ed (London ; New York: Routledge, 2010), 387.

ceremonies and practices are essential for connecting to Indigenous identity, healing, and overcoming addictions, as Herb Nabigon suggests:

> Spiritual growth is an intense process and it is not always comfortable. I had to admit deep down inside my heart that I was weak. I had to admit it not only to myself but to another human being and to the Creator. The process of admitting my weakness and character flaws helped me rediscover my spiritual strength…When I was drinking, I had little or no discipline. Changing the pattern has not been easy because I had lived a very undisciplined lifestyle for so long. Now I try to live on a more scheduled routine and this takes time.[151]

Nabigon is speaking about the power of ceremonies and teachings for overcoming addiction or trauma, and one of the powerful aspects of Indigenous spirituality is that it is decentralized. Waldram, in his work with prison Elders, notes a distinct difference between the expression of Indigenous spirituality as opposed to Christianity: "The men are taught that spirituality is both a collective and an individual experience. They are taught to be independent in worship, in contrast to the hierarchical approach of Christianity."[152] He goes on to suggest that in this schema, inmates have the capacity to worship at any point in their day, anywhere. Like Nabigon and other thinkers and elders, spirituality is not confined to a particular date, time, or space.

The ceremonial component of healing, from participating in a sweat lodge to smudging in the morning, is a form of healing unto itself. Anne Poonwassie and Ann Charter note that ceremonies are a powerful avenue for Indigenous peoples and communities to heal. The note: [C]eremonies are considered to be a part of healing in contemporary Aboriginal societies, because they either confirm or reconnect Indigenous Peoples with their ancestral roots and belief systems."[153] In the same monograph, David Paul Smith stresses that Sweat Lodges, at the time of

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[151] Herb Nabigon, *The Hollow Tree: Fighting Addiction with Traditional Native Healing*, McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series 49 (Montreal ; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 103.
[152] Waldram, *The Way of the Pipe*, 130.
[153] Anne Poonwassie and Ann Charter, "Aboriginal Worldview of Healing: Inclusion, Blending and Bridging," in *Integrating Traditional Healing Practices into Counseling and Psychotherapy*, ed. Roy Moodley and William West, Multicultural Aspects of Counseling and Psychotherapy, v. 22 (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2005), 20.

writing in 2005, were becoming more common as part of the healing for Indigenous peoples in the United States: "Presently, more than half of the U.S. Indian Health Service Facilities use the sweat lodge as a complement to their other forms of treatment."[154] The ceremonial and spiritual aspects of Indigenous programming are essential to guiding individuals through the healing journey. Poonwassie and Charter note: "Initiatives that originate in Aboriginal communities and that espouse those communities' worldviews, cultural imperatives, and traditional approaches have proven to be most successful in meeting their peoples' holistic health needs and in facilitating change."[155]

The intertwining of ceremonies and spiritualities with healthy social programming is beneficial programming in Indigenous communities. They point to a research project which surveyed 15 urban Indigenous domestic violence programs: "the core components of these projects were characterized by the valuing of traditional and culture; the inclusion of elders…and a need for a holistic connection of the body, mind and spirit."[156] As Poonwassie and Charter note, the ceremonial and spiritual components of healing programs are a way to facilitate the healing journey but also function as a way to re-orient the person towards the community. Likewise, Smith notes that the spiritual component of the sweat lodge in programming for healing focuses the individual to heal but also "reorients himself or herself to feel emotionally grounded in a greater source of meaning. My informants described it as "a way of getting people in touch with something greater than their selves."'[157] Sweat lodges, and more broadly, ceremonies and spirituality, can be powerful vehicles for Indigenous people who are on their healing journey. It is by no means the only way in

[154] David Paul Smith, "The Sweat Lodge as Psychotherapy: Congruence Between Traditional and Modern Healing," in *Integrating Traditional Healing Practices into Counseling and Psychotherapy*, ed. Roy Moodley and William West, Multicultural Aspects of Counseling and Psychotherapy, v. 22 (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2005), 197.
[155] Poonwassie and Charter, "Aboriginal Worldview of Healing: Inclusion, Blending and Bridging," 23.
[156] Poonwassie and Charter, 21.
[157] Smith, "The Sweat Lodge as Psychotherapy: Congruence Between Traditional and Modern Healing."

which Indigenous people can undergo their healing journey, but it can be a powerful helper on their journey: "In general, traditional healing can renew moral strength and help individuals to come to terms with trauma in a manner consistent with their sense of self and community. The sweat lodge can help create a cohesive sense of self, particularly in terms of Native American heritage."[158] Spirituality and ceremonies help ground people through their recovery and healing. They act as a conduit to connect or reconnect, in some cases, with their Indigenous identity, cultures and histories. Regular participation in ceremonies, both big and small, helps anchor people in the healing journey to something that is larger than themselves and also offers a social setting to interact with other people who may be experiencing the same things.

Summary

This project's theoretical basis is one that uses both Indigenous and Western theories to help design the project. The framework of Kan'nikonhrí:io (the Good Mind) and Condolence are essential parts of how Haudenosaunee understands healing and wellness. They are concepts that are rooted in our understanding of politics and political structures, but that also includes ensuring that citizens within the Haudenosaunee Confederacy are taken care of and supported. Incorporating ideas of community, identity, and spirituality are bridges that link how Indigenous people approach these understandings with more Western literature and work that has been done in those fields. The work that is being done with Indigenous peoples by organizations puts these theories into practice in their day-to-day work. The existence of Indigenous-led organizations showcases how interconnected these theories are and how important it is to have Indigenous perspectives and values at the foundation of programs and services.

[158] Smith, 206.

Chapter 4: Methodology and Data Collection

This research project uses an Indigenous qualitative method, which is centred around understanding and discussing elements of social life. [159] John Creswell, in his text on research design, notes that using a qualitative approach based on narratives is a popular tool used by the social and health sciences field.[160] This project focuses on Indigenous healing programming and service delivery, specifically for Indigenous men. An Indigenous and qualitative method is rooted in relationship, respect and accountability. Healing work is essential to Indigenous communities, and this research will be done in a way that respects the work that these organizations are doing while also maintaining the capacity for inquiry, analysis and critique. This project was not to be extractive, nor do I want to have this project be just a project for the sake of getting my Ph.D. This is why I have grounded my research in Indigenous methodology. It is a perspective and value system that centres on the experiences and voices of Indigenous peoples in the research. This is an avenue by which to conduct interviews in a thoughtful and sensitive manner while also holding myself responsible to the people, communities and organizations that I have worked with.

Indigenous Methodology

This research involves interviewing and analyzing the programming and services of Indigenous organizations. Given the nature of the work, I needed to approach the subject matter with care and respect. Indigenous-led healing programs and services deal with sensitive subjects and issues: "An Indigenous methodology must be a process that adheres to relational

[159] Steven R. Terrell, *Writing a Proposal for Your Dissertation: Guidelines and Examples* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2016), 146.
[160] John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 4th ed (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2014), 187.

accountability. Respect, reciprocity, and responsibility are key features of any healthy relationship and must be included in an Indigenous methodology."[161] The work is often tricky and, like other Indigenous initiatives, usually underfunded. My intention in the work is to not tear down or criticize but elevate the work and voices of the people who do this work. However, respect and care do not mean veneration; the project does not approach Indigenous-led healing as a perfected process; in many cases, this project highlights where there are gaps in what is available for support.

The traditional approach of academics is research *about* Indigenous people, and the research is filtered through the sensibilities of non-Indigenous researchers. Dr. Sinclair notes: "Much of [I]ndigenous culture and history, recounted by researchers and anthropologists, is a history of Native-White contact and non-Native perceptions of Native people and culture."[162] This perspective has slowly, very slowly, changed over the course of the 20th and 21st centuries; Indigenous voices emerged in research around the late 1990s/2000s. Dr. Sinclair points to the time around the publication of *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith in 1999 as being the start of Indigenous approaches to research.[163] Likewise, Shawn Wilson also points to this period of time, in part due to the publication of massive research projects like RCAP, as laying the groundwork for Indigenous approaches to research: "It was now the time, some government officials (and some researchers) believed, to hear the Indigenous voice. A place was made for collaborative research."[164] Indigenous methodologies rooted in reciprocity and relationships can be powerful avenues for knowledge.

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[161] Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing Co., Ltd., 2008), 77.
[162] Raven Sinclair, "Indigenous Research In Social Work: The Challenge of Operationalizing Worldview," *The Native Social Work Journal* 5 (November 2003): 118.
[163] Sinclair, 119.
[164] Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, 51.

The relationship, whether it is a long-term collaborative process or an hour-long interview, is a part of the research process. Relationship means that participants were not forced to ask any questions they did not want to or had the option to be anonymous for their own comfort. For the interviews, relationship meant being respectful and eliminating any implicit or explicit sense of a power dynamic. I am by no means implying that I have some power over people as an academic, but I also am aware of the long history of extractive research.

Going into the interviews with humility, curiosity, respect, and, importantly, a sense of humour meant that I was able to have a genuine conversation with the people that I had wrangled into the project. Relationships are a powerful way to approach research and are also a part of looking at healing and rehabilitation. Heather Howard's work discusses important frameworks for going about doing Indigenous research, which she describes as *healing* research: "Relationalism underscores the quality of social movements, agency, and power of action in the relational engagement of emergent Indigenous community and research practice, while centring healing and decolonization in the production of knowledge."[165] She frames healing research as a process that affirms Indigenous Knowledge and the decolonization of Indigenous people. It is a process by which Indigenous perspectives, voices and teachings are upheld, and still subject to the rigors of academic inquiry: "Healing research entails a change in the order of the world of production of knowledge, unsettling community-based, participatory approaches, and the politics of recognition through an Indigenist relationist epistemologies."[166] From a methodological perspective, this grounds the research in healing Indigenous Knowledge and instills a relationship between the researcher and the participants.

[165] Heather A. Howard, "Healing Research: Relationalism in Urban Indigenous Health Knowledge Production," in *Indigenous Research: Theories, Practices, and Relationships*, ed. Deborah McGregor, Jean-Paul Restoule, and Rochelle Johnston (Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars, 2018), 272.
[166] Howard, 272.

Focusing on healing also shifts the narrative to focus on growth and change, rather than trauma, colonization, and an absence of identity and health. Work that focuses on Indigenous people is often mired in unpacking and understanding how colonialism continues to affect our communities. It is important to understand this history and how colonialism is an ongoing process, but that does not mean that work that focuses on Indigenous people cannot also understand how Indigenous people have and continue to resist and work to undo the harm caused by colonialism. Howell notes in her work with Indian Residential School Survivors that taking this approach can be an essential perspective to have when doing research with Indigenous people, allowing them to: "shift the direction of social memory from one in which only the traumatic things about residential schools were recalled, to one in which the creativity and resilience of survivors was highlighted."[167] Indigenous people are not passive; we are active agents in our own stories and histories. My research focuses on healing; I need to focus on the healing part rather than look at what people are healing from; this is to ensure that the research is done in a good way and supports the non-extractive, non-triggering approach.

One thing that I am cognizant of is that one methodological approach supersedes the other. Given that I am working in a Western institution, there is a tendency to lean more toward Western methodology as opposed to the Indigenous methodological approach. This is a balancing act while I do my own research. Dr. Michael Saimi points to issues that non-Indigenous researchers have a significant problem with Indigenous approaches to research; it is not viewed as legitimate.[168] Western academics think that there are no metrics, or metrics that are familiar, for success or authenticity. There are several ways that Indigenous approaches to research to take this criticism

[167] Howell, "Stories of Transformation," 275.
[168] Michael Saini, "A Systematic Review of Western and Aboriginal Research Designs: Assessing Cross-Validation to Explore Compatibility and Convergence," 2012, 10.

head-on. Dr. Sinclair points out that the knowledge that is used and gathered in Indigenous research projects is from communities and Indigenous Knowledge and has to be directly connected to people and communities: "Because knowledge is a part of nature, as researchers we become caretakers of the words and knowledge carried by others; taking credit alone is profane."[169] Rooting the research in communities and people and being explicit about where the knowledge comes from acts as a safeguard and a metric of truth.[170] While Indigenous methodology exists outside of a Western paradigm, this does not mean that there are no metrics of success or guides for when I have stepped out of the boundaries of what is appropriate for research.

Through relationships and reciprocity, scholarly work can move from merely translating ideas from one cultural schema to another to something more aligned and more reflective of Indigenous perspectives: "Research is shifting from the "translational" model, in which data collected for Western scientific knowledge production is shifted down to inform behavioural change, to a relational model in which the personhood of researchers is transformed as an integral part of making research relevant, respective, responsible and reciprocal."[171] Research being respectful, responsible, and reciprocal, to me, are the metrics of meaningful use of an Indigenous methodology.

One of the tangible ways in which relationship and reciprocity are a part of this project is through gifting. While hopefully not an onerous process, I still wish to ensure that the people I spoke with are gifted something for their time. It is critical to this process, because these gifts of appreciation are signs of respect and relationship. The gifts themselves will be from an Indigenous vendor in the city of Ottawa to ensure that I am able to support Indigenous owned businesses.

[169] Sinclair, "Indigenous Research In Social Work: The Challenge of Operationalizing Worldview," 128.
[170] Sinclair, 128.
[171] Howard, "Healing Research: Relationalism in Urban Indigenous Health Knowledge Production," 278.

Indigenous methodology underpins how I approach and understand research. The Indigenous methodology allowed me to engage in qualitative data-gathering processes while also ensuring that I stay accountable. When I began to talk with people, I became cognizant that their time was valuable. People who work with communities, whether on their own or within an institutional capacity, wear several different hats; capacity is a long-standing issue with Indigenous organizations. It was important that the approach that I took to my research and questions was that they gave participants an opportunity to talk about their experiences and perspectives and respected their knowledge.

When I first was crafting the project proposal, I wanted to focus on people who were a part of Indigenous-led organizations that delivered healing programs or services. As I did my fieldwork, I expanded my parameters for participants as the people I talked to brought up topics that had not really occurred to me. For example, two of the early participants in my work mentioned that housing was a part of the healing and rehabilitation process. It is all well and good to have a slew of programs and services at a person's disposal, but if they are constantly worried about where they sleep at the end of the day, then those programs and services can only do so much. This comment made me really focus on engaging with the men-specific housing provider, Native Men's Residence. Another participant mentioned that education, in terms of educating people who use the programs and services along with those that provide them.

This prompts me to think about how education, as well as learning traditional roles, responsibilities and histories, is also a form of healing. This then led me to reach out to people I know who are also doing that work with new generations of people working in the field and in education. It was essential that I engage with a wide range of people from different roles and perspectives; healing and trauma are multifaceted, and there is no one-size-fits-all model of healing

programming, nor is there a singular definition of what healing looks like. This section of the thesis goes over the types of organizations and people that were reached out to and an explanation for why. Section Five then goes into my original intention behind the approach that I chose. Finally, as all good discussions around data collection go, the purpose then turns into what actually happens, which was not exactly what I expected.

Parameters

I avoided programs and services that were directly offered by Correctional Services Canada or by the Province of Ontario. I wanted to focus on Indigenous-led programs and service delivery; which by their nature are rooted in community needs and perspectives. The nature of funding in Canada means that the Federal or Provincial government is not entirely divorced from this project. The nature of the Indigenous non-profits in Canada means that there are still funding agreements, partnerships, and reporting. However, I wanted to centre the Indigenous community's voices and experiences in this project. The Great Law and the Good Mind are rooted in communities and in our Haudenosaunee laws and legal traditions. These concepts emerged from our communities as a response to specific needs at specific times in our histories. As such, I wanted to look at organizations and providers that likewise mirrored that history. Community-based organizations, service providers, and organizations emerge from communities and are designed to address specific needs; government programs are, by their nature, not specific to a community and are the result of top-down approaches through funding and administration.

My intention was to keep my research within Québec/Ontario, and specifically in Eastern, Central and Southern Ontario, and as far east as Kahnawá:ke. For the most part, I was able to keep my focus in this area. One of the participants, Tracy, was based out of Edmonton, Alberta. She had worked in children's and youth programming and was a part of the initiative to port the Kizhaay

Anishinaabe Niin (I am a Kind Man) program from Ontario to Alberta. This was an opportunity to talk with someone who had experience working with culturally specific programming but was working to adopt it within a completely different context. It is important that there were some differing perspectives brought into this project, which was informed by my experiences during the coursework portion of my Ph.D.

During my practicum placement for the Ph.D. program, I worked with the Tyendinaga Justice Circle. Members of the Circle said that while the organization is based in Tyendinaga, many of the clients were not from the community and were not even Haudenosaunee. They were from all around Ontario or even as far north as Nunavut. Indigenous-led initiatives are in high demand and do not operate in a vacuum. They need to be able to cater to a wide variety of peoples, cultures, histories and demands, even when the program is rooted in a specific program. This is one of the reasons why getting diverse perspectives from different geographies was crucial. The Tyendinaga Justice Circle offered services to Indigenous people who lived both on and off-reserve, and that is an approach that I would like to adapt to my own research. The practical consideration for engaging with both urban and reserve communities is that there is a relatively small pool of programs and services that are directed towards healing from an Indigenous perspective, and there is an even smaller pool of programs and services that are explicitly directed towards Indigenous men. It is important to understand the views and thoughts of people working with Indigenous people regardless of residency. I had to be cognizant and celebrate the differences between how urban and reserve communities navigate programs and services.

Identifying Participants

By taking the approach of looking at Indigenous organizations regardless of residency, I still needed to identify the organizations that I would contact. Identifying Indigenous healing

programs and services within the reserve context was relatively straightforward. Even though my dad's side of the family comes from Tyendinaga, which is a relatively large reserve, it is not impossible to find the programs and services offered in the community through their local community website and see what local services the communities offer. An additional step would be to see if there were any mentions of partnerships with other organizations in the community. Community band councils do offer a number of programs and services; it should never be assumed that everything is centralized and housed under one banner. Starting with the community's website, it is an excellent place to go to at least be introduced to the network of support.

In the urban space, things can be a bit more complicated. Urban areas, especially in cities, offer a wealth of programs and services. At an organizational and institutional level, there is a gradual shift in attitudes about Indigenous-specific programs and services. Some bodies have opted to offer Indigenous-specific programs or services within their organization. I wanted to ensure that I was looking at programs and services that are Indigenous-led so that they are rooted in Indigenous perspectives and values. An easy starting point for identifying Indigenous organizations was looking to see if there was a Friendship Centre in the city or town. Friendship Centres are the most expansive Indigenous civil society network across Canada; there are Friendship Centres in every province and territory in Canada except for Prince Edward Island. With that being said, there are no Friendship Centres in every town and city in Ontario, and in places like Toronto, there are multiple Indigenous-led organizations that are not a part of the Friendship Centre movement. A helpful tool is to look at municipal websites and see if there are any references to partnerships with Indigenous organizations or if there are community announcement pages. The Indigenous non-governmental organizational world is quite interconnected. If a particular organization, like an

Aboriginal Health Access Centre, knows the community they serve needs housing, there will usually be a reference to an organization like the Ontario Aboriginal Housing Services.

Identifying potential participants is a matter of understanding the general landscape that organizations exist on. These organizations and communities do not exist in a vacuum; they are a part of a large, interconnected web of relationships. Starting at one connection point on the web and following where it branches off can lead to another node with its own set of connections and relationships. These connections are either through collaborative programming, sharing employees, being related to people involved in other organizations, friendships, or other forms of relationships.

Data Gathering

I interviewed 14 people across 13 different interviews from the beginning of August 2021 to February 2022. The interviews themselves, for the most part, ran for about an hour a piece. I was not interested in interviewing people until I had exhausted them, nor was I interested in hitting an arbitrary minimum time. Some interviews ran over an hour, and a few ran under. For this project, interviews are the most appropriate form of data gathering for a research project of this type. It is inappropriate to do ethnographic research on what goes on in a sweat lodge or what is said during a support group meeting. While just focusing on interviews in other projects may limit the amount of data that can be gathered, as Dr. Judith Green and Dr. Nicki Thorogood note: "If we remember that what we are accessing in interviews are accounts, rather than subjective beliefs, or objective reports of behaviour, interviews are an invaluable resource. Analyzing interview accounts provides data on what people say and how they say it."[172] This is important to my

[172] Judith Green and Nicki Thorogood, *Qualitative Methods for Health Research*, Introducing Qualitative Methods (London: SAGE Publications, 2004), 89.

research; I am not out to prove the existence of the healing journey. I spoke with individuals to understand its characteristics and the context surrounding it.

I decided to take a semi-structured conversational approach and opted to use the terms "conversations" instead of "interviews" because equals have conversations, while interviews have a power and relationship dynamic that is wholly inappropriate. I opted for this approach to data gathering from the perspective of Margret Kovach. She has stressed that structured or semi-structured interviews can relay a particular type of information, but conversations allow for a more organic and equitable relationship. She writes: "An open-structured conversational method shows respect for the participant's story and allows research participants great control over what they wish to share with respect to the research question."[173] I have always enjoyed talking with people; it's always interesting to get people's perspectives on how they approach their work and the philosophy that underpins their understanding and teachings. I like doing interviews in a semi-structured approach; I have my questions, and I start with my first question and then follow wherever that leads me. My intention was for these conversations to be relaxed so that there is no power dynamic between myself and the participant; they have gifted me an opportunity to learn and talk with them, and that is something that I do not take lightly. Bagele Chilisa notes that a part of the process in an Indigenous model starts at the beginning: "It is important at the start of the interview to allow the respondent to relax by conducting introductions in a manner that encourages dialogue."[174] My conversations were based around building relationships with the people who work in this field to understand better the process of healing and what that entails. This perspective is grounded in the Indigenous methodological approach to conversations.

[173] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, Reprinted in paperback (Toronto Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 124.
[174] Bagele Chilisa, *Indigenous Research Methodologies* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, 2012), 222.

With that said, I am not against using Western approaches for my methods. The technique that I have found to be fruitful is a mixture of semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Bagele Chilisa notes that a semi-structured approach fits within the conventional Western interview method and that while it may be semi-structured, there still must be an intention to collect data from all participants that relate to one another and the research project.[175]

Joseph P. Gone conducted a research project focusing on the Pisimweyaply Counselling Centre in Northern Manitoba and had a similar approach. He used the interview guides as just that, guides. It was up to the participants and the conversations to organically generate data:

> interview respondents were almost never asked all the scripted questions owing to the length of their responses to earlier questions and their unavailability for follow-up consultation. This led to a fluid give-and-take during interviews in which relevant information was solicited at appropriate points during the interview, even if the requested information was officially scripted for later in the interview sequence. In addition, routine, unscripted follow-up questions requesting confirmation or clarification of respondent perspectives were typical.[176]

The language and perspectives that the participants use can be powerful tools for a better understanding of what healing is. Green and Thorogood, in their discussion of interview methods in qualitative health research, note: "Rather than being merely a tool for gathering facts about the world, which can be sharpened to measure more accurately, language is seen as the route to understanding how the respondents see their world (in interpretative traditions) or as the route to understanding the categories that shape the world (in more constructionist traditions.)."[177] Focusing on the responses to the questions, and as much as the language used in the answers to the questions,

[175] Chilisa, 205.
[176] Joseph P. Gone, "The Pisimweyapiy Counselling Centre: Paving the Red Road to Wellness in Northern Manitoba," in *Aboriginal healing in Canada: studies in therapeutic meaning and practice*, ed. James B Waldram (Ottawa, Ont.: National Network for Aboriginal Mental Health Research in Partnership with Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008), 137, http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/216188.
[177] Green and Thorogood, *Qualitative Methods for Health Research*, 82.

is an appealing approach for this research project. It allows for more freedom to reflect better the unique cultural context and viewpoints that everyone will have.

The people and the conversations I had are essential to this research. This research project would not have been half as practical if it had been based only on academic or grey literature. Healing programs and services are people-centred, and this project needed also to be people-centred in order to reflect the reality of the work. These conversations were illuminating and insightful and showcased how skilled and perspective the people who work with communities are. It also highlights how there are different perspectives and ideas around healing and wellness, but also how diverse approaches are rooted in ensuring the health and wellness of Indigenous peoples, families and communities.

The Participants

This is the list of the actual participants in my thesis project. I have kept the biographic information to a minimum, with preliminary details provided through interviews. This is to be respectful of the degree that the participants were willing to share. I offered a bit of information on the organization that the participants work at when appropriate. When participants have not specified an Indigenous community that they belong to, then it is assumed that they are non-Indigenous. There is one person who chose to be anonymous, and they have been assigned a pseudonym and will be referred to with the pronouns they/them.

The participants are listed in chronological order. The participants who did the survey will be included in the next section. When appropriate, I have provided a summary of the organization, program or service that the participants work for. Given that the interviews were conducted from Summer 2021 to Winter 2022, participants have changed jobs, titles and locations. For simplicity's

sake and respect to the participant's privacy, the job titles they held when I interviewed them will be written as though they still have them.

1. Joey David – Akwesasne Mohawk Territory[178]

Joey David works in the Wholistic Health and Wellness (Tekanikonrahwa:kon) as a cultural coordinator and addiction worker. He has worked in a variety of positions throughout the territory, from working at a Women's shelter to a family program coordinating a Men's Group, among others.

Wholistic Health and Wellness is a community-based service based in Akwesasne Mohawk Territory that focuses on providing holistic healing processes. It is housed within the Mohawk Council of Akwesasne's Department of Health. Wholistic Health and Wellness provides numerous programs and services that support Akwesasne and the surrounding area. A portion of the staff focuses on working with traditional medicines and as cultural counsellors. There are people in the program who focus on prevention measures, as well as addressing addictions. There are also trained psychotherapists and a registered social worker.

2. Stephen Green – Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory

Stephen Green works at the Tontakayè:ri'ne (It has Become Right Again) Tyendinaga Justice Circle (TJC) as an Aboriginal Youth Worker. He works with Indigenous youth who are being diverted from the justice system. He supports them through counselling, traditional teachings and planning out alternative measures to support the youths' paths.

[178] When referencing a Haudenosaunee community, I will only be referring to it, and not as a part of a province or state. This is to emphasize that these communities are part of a sovereign political system and nation that has existed long before the establishment of any province or country currently residing on Turtle Island.

The Tontakayè:ri’ne (It has become right again) Tyendinaga Justice Circle is a program that focuses on alternatives for Indigenous people involved in the justice system. It is housed within the First Nations Technical Institute (FNTI). It is important to stress that the TJC does not work exclusively in Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory but provides support to Indigenous people in the surrounding areas of Hastings, Prince Edward, Lennox and Addington, and the Frontenac counties. The TJC was initially explicitly focused on youth diversion, but they received funding for an adult diversion program as well. Its goal is to ensure that victims of crime are supported to address their grievances and that the offenders are given an opportunity to avoid prison.

3. Amy Edwards –Montréal, Québec

Amy Edwards is a member of Six Nations of the Grand River and is from Brantford. She works as the restorative justice coordinator at First Peoples Justice Centre of Montréal. She sets up alternative measure programs and community-based justice.

First Peoples Justice Centre of Montreal (FPJC) is an Indigenous justice initiative that was founded in 2014. The FPJC is housed within the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal and first started delivering services in 2017. This organization is based on creating alternative justice measures for Indigenous people who come into contact with the law. The FPJC offers restorative justice and alternative justice measures, supervision around community service initiatives, support for victims, Gladue reports, support transition for people coming from the justice system, and cultural and healing supports.

Amy Edwards and Corey Thomas were interviewed at the same time.

4. Corey Thomas –Montréal, Québec

Corey Thomas is Mi'gmaq from Gesgapegiag First Nations on the Gaspé Peninsula. He works as a community caseworker at First Peoples Justice Centre of Montréal, where he helps individuals get their community hours, acquire a job, and overall assist those who are transitioning from incarceration into the Montréal community.

Amy Edwards and Corey Thomas were interviewed at the same time.

5. Greg Doumalin – Barrie, Ontario

Greg Doumalin is an urban Indigenous person whose grandmother is Cree from Fort Albany First Nations. He works as the Kizhaay Anishinaabe Niin (Kizhaay) Worker at the Barrie Friendship Centre.

Friendship Centres are program and service delivery hubs that focus on supporting urban Indigenous people in urban spaces. There are Friendship Centres across every province and territory except for Prince Edward Island. The Kizhaay Anishinaabe Program is a program that is based in Friendship Centres all across Ontario. The program is based on supporting Indigenous men and male youth to end violence against Indigenous women, girls and 2-Spirit people. It helps guide Indigenous men and youths to be responsible and manage their emotions in a healthy way.

6. Wayne Monague – Midland, Ontario

Wayne Monague is Anishinaabe from Beausoleil First Nation. He is the Kizhaay worker at the Georgian Bay Friendship Centre in Midland, Ontario.

7. Holly Brant – Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory

Holly Brant is a member of Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory. She is a registered social worker with a Ph.D. Candidate in Canadian and Indigenous Studies at Trent University and works as the Indigenous Councillor with the Indigenous Service Team at St. Lawrence College.

8. Vyvian Mitchell – Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory

Vyvian Mitchell is a non-Indigenous person who works at the Enyonkwa'nikonhriyo:hake (Good Minds) program in Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory as a community support worker and is a facilitator of the men's group.

The Good Mind program is based out of Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory's social services infrastructure. They approach healing and wellness from a holistic approach in order to support community members with wraparound services. Their work also ensures that community members, both on and off the territory, are supported, which includes working with other programs and services. They provide counselling services, youth-oriented programming, grief counselling, ceremonies, addiction support, ceremonies and men's groups.

9. Selby Harris – Hamilton, Ontario

Selby Harris is a first-generation Welsh and Irish person originally from Erin, Ontario. He works as the Kizhaay worker for the Hamilton Regional Indian Centre in Hamilton, Ontario.

10. Robert Marcheterre – Kanehsatà:ke Mohawk Territory

Robert Marcheterre is a non-Indigenous person who is the case coordinator with Kanehsatà:ke Health Centre Inc. He also does mental health support, which includes anger, anxiety, and depression.

Kanehsatà:ke Mohawk Territory decided to transfer the responsibility to The Kanehsatà:ke Health Centre in 2006. The Kanesatake Health Centre Inc. was incorporated into a service delivery body in 2007. The Kanehsatà:ke Health Centre Inc. is a community-based organization that focuses on delivering health and wellness within the Kanehsatà:ke Mohawk Territory. The program and service are rooted in providing culturally appropriate and holistic care.

11. Tracy Zweifel – Grimshaw, Alberta

Tracy Zweifel is a non-Indigenous program manager with the Alberta Native Friendship Centre Association (ANFCA). She helps to administer funds and programming support for Friendship Centres all across Alberta.

The ANFCA is the Provincial/Territorial Association (PTA) for all the Friendship Centres in Alberta. The ANFCA is the provincial representative that advocates on behalf of Friendship Centres across Alberta. They coordinate and support the rollout of funds that go towards local Friendship Centres. They are also a member of the National Association of Friendship Centres, which is the national representative body for all member Friendship Centres and PTAs.

12. Joe Hill – Ontario

Joe Hill is a pseudonym for a participant who chose to be made anonymous. They are Indigenous and based in the Ontario region, where I have done the majority of my interviews. They have experience working on supporting Indigenous justice initiatives.

13. Steve Teekens – Toronto, Ontario

Steven Teekens is the executive director of Native Men's Residence (Na-Me-Res) in Toronto, Ontario. He is Ojibway from Nipissing First Nation.

Na-Me-Res is a housing and homelessness initiative that focuses on supporting Indigenous men and male youths. Na-Me-Res approaches helping Indigenous men transition away from

homelessness through a culture-based and holistic lens. Na-Me-Res works to ensure that the men and male youths who enter their doors have a place to sleep and can be supported to transition out of street life. There is a host of wrap-around programs and services that are rooted in traditional cultural practices and in practical day-to-day life skills like financial literacy. They are also one of the few housing programs and service providers that specifically focus on men.

14. Bobby Henry – St. Catherines, Ontario

Bobby Henry is a member of the Cayuga Nation and is from Six Nations of the Grand River. He is an assistant professor in the Department of Education at Brock University in St. Catherines, Ontario.

Data Analysis

Like any academic worth their salt, I am constantly battling imposter syndrome; once I was done with almost all my interviews, I was struck with a dread that I had not asked the right questions or that I had not done my due diligence in following up on particular ideas or concepts that my participants had raised. Fortunately, the people I talked to were eloquent and insightful and gifted me with more than enough information and insights. The actual analysis was done three times over the span of the year, albeit accidentally. The first initial round of study was done when I was working with the raw transcripts. I did all of my interviews over ZOOM, which does have its own in-house computer-generated transcription of a ZOOM call. Out of curiosity, I tried NVivo's in-house transcription software to see if it generated a cleaner and more accurate transcription, and there was not a significant difference when it came to transcribing. The actual quality of the transcription varied wildly from somewhat adequate to strings of nonsensical

gibberish.[179] The "success" of the transcription depended on a person's audio setup, how quietly or loudly they spoke, and their timbre and accent. Not to mention that transcription software is basically useless when dealing with Indigenous terms and names.

As such, I had to go over every single transcription. In this process, I would insert a very loose timestamp process (mainly when I noticed that I had not issued a timestamp in a minute or so), along with formatting the actual wording of the transcriptions. This included removing "ums," "likes," repeated words, or when individuals lost their trains of thought. My first mistake in this process was not doing the transcriptions as I went. At the time when I was doing interviews, I was working a full-time job, so I would only have a certain amount of time that I could take off from work during the actual interviews. As a result, after spending August 2021 to February 2022 conducting interviews, I had to go back and start doing the actual transcriptions. From March 2022 to August 2022, between 7 am and 9 am before work, I would do as much formatting and transcribing. This, as it turns out, was to my advantage, as formatting these transcriptions could take several hours to complete. It forced me to sit, listen, and spend time with the words that the people I interviewed gave me.

During this period of transcribing and formatting, I would listen, re-listen and read over what the people had said. This gave me a general sense of what would be significant themes throughout the analysis. To my mind, this was the first pass of research that I did as I worked through transcribing and formatting the interviews. I had an understanding of which participants discussed what and how they would connect to other participants. Once I had completed the

[179] So far the funniest, and most recent example was a question regarding the different nations that come to an urban area. The response was that they are "predominantly like artisanal bakery meat or the Haudenosaunee." The fact that the transcription actually got Haudenosaunee was legitimately surprising.

transcriptions, I put them all into NVivo, a data management program, for coding.[180] For the first round of coding, I used my research questions as the basis for the overarching categories of the thematic analysis which were: elements of service delivery, changes to service delivery, Indigenous Knowledge, Indigenous understandings of masculinity, and the justice system. Using these five pillars as the basis for the thematic coding, I then coded emergent themes as I went along, and allocated them into one of the five major pillars. The final pass of coding just used the literature review themes as the coding areas, with no sub-themes. This approach served as a solid foundation for the analysis, but it was too unwieldy. Eventually, the data analysis would turn into something a bit different which I will get into with Chapter 5.

[180] NVivo, English, Windows (Denver, Colorado: Lumivero, 2023), https://lumivero.com/.

Chapter 5: The Inner Fire – Masculinity

Initially, I intended to group significant themes and subthemes into a chapter that would flow from one section to another. This seemed like a good idea in theory; in practice, this single chapter would have almost been sixty pages. It would have been far too long, and these groups were not even most of the material and ideas that were a part of my analysis. This was not even included in my dissertation's findings and discussion portion. If I had stayed the course, I would have submitted something that no committee member, graduate student, or no non-academic would even remotely bother reading.

One of my committee members, Heather Shpuniarsky, suggested that I address the comical length of this chapter by splitting it into three chapters. I am talking about this to explain the thought process for the following three chapters. From the purely academic world, chapters five through seven are split into the micro, mezzo and macro. Chapter five, the micro, focuses on the experiences and behaviours of the Indigenous man or individual person who is working through a program or service; it focuses on the person coming into the program. Chapter six, the mezzo, focuses on the community aspect found within the program or service. How it functions, and what are the approaches and considerations that are taken into account when working with Indigenous men or working within Indigenous communities and contexts. Chapter Seven covers the macro, or how Indigenous Knowledge is crucial to these programs and services, as they are the ways in which Indigenous nations and communities are able to resist colonialism and rehabilitate the nations.

While I was thinking through the process of trying to frame these chapters, I was reminded of a teaching that my father gave me while he was still in this world. He talked about the

importance of fire to the Haudenosaunee and to men as firekeepers, as fire is a part of men's teachings. He also stressed that fire can be productive and positive, but if not tended correctly, it can be destructive. He told me that there is a great deal of power in fire, and as men, it was our duty to care for our inner fires as well as the fires that exist outside of us.

There are several fires that we, as men, will encounter throughout our lives. There is the inner fire, which is a part of our life's spark, our desire to protect our families and communities and to support those that we care for. Another fire is the longhouse, or community, fire; the fire that supports families, clans, and communities. This fire can heat homes, provide nourishment, and otherwise help provide care for those who are in need, whether it is within our families or within our nations. Another fire is the council fire, which sat at the heart of the Confederacy. This fire sits in the longhouse, during which important things would be discussed between clans and between nations. The Onondagas, one of the nations within the Confederacy, are the keepers of the council fire when the Confederacy chiefs convene. This fire speaks to the health and wellness of our nations; it provides a spot for those in the darkness to orient themselves and also signals the coming together of our leaders from across the nation. There are many more different fires that are a part of the Confederacy, but these three fires spoke to me as aligning with how to structure these chapters and oriented them in a way that centred men and masculinity within my research.

This chapter focuses on inner fire, men, and masculinity. When looking at masculinity, the process of colonization and subsequent trauma need to be analyzed because of how colonization reshaped masculinity. This section covers some contextual forces within masculinity, the behaviours involved in the expression of masculinity, and then shifts to looking at how Indigenous-led programs and services factor into the healing journey. Finally, there is a section that discusses some themes and narratives that emerged in the analysis.

Colonialism and Trauma

One aspect of Indigenous programming is understanding the effects of trauma on a person's life. Behaviours and traumatic responses are often the manifestation of the longstanding products of colonialism. This section is by no means an exhaustive discourse on the entire history of colonialism. The participants discussed how colonialism continues to affect Indigenous communities and how it shapes Indigenous people—the effects of how colonialism impacted communities, which manifests in behaviours, relationships and community dynamics.

Joey David, from the Wholistic Health and Wellness program in Akwesasne Mohawk Territory, discussed that intergenerational trauma needs to be addressed when working with Indigenous people. Trauma that people experience can manifest themselves in behaviour that can be damaging to the individual and their partners, families, friends, and communities:

> So, each field taught me a lot about different things. And you go into different aspects of a young boy's life. They experienced a lot of grief and loss. We are a product of our parent's society, and we are a product of our society as well. They have expectations of us and we feel that we fail or we have disappointment, because men can't handle disappointment very well. We have difficulties in expressing that the part of the vulnerabilities, and therefore the egotistical behaviour, is really strong. That causes us to behave in an unfamiliar way, and that's not good for men.

Historical and intergenerational trauma can manifest in damaging or toxic behaviours. The behaviours can be self-destructive and can impact the people they care about. That behaviour can manifest as a protection against being vulnerable.

Stephen Green, from the Tyendinaga Justice Circle, also observed that intergenerational trauma is a contributor to the behaviour of Indigenous men that he works with. Intergenerational trauma and colonialism impact communities and Indigenous men's roles and responsibilities within the community:

> There's a word for a male friend and a female friend, and there's a word for brother and your actual brother. The difference being clan people, clan families and your actual nuclear family, uncles and aunties and all those kinds things that male stigma broke that. So we're actually broken two ways from that. And then there's other intergenerational trauma stuff. Obviously, because of those things, [we've] got so much drinking and drugs, abuse, acting out because of it, fighting, there's breaking and enters. The list goes on.

The breaking of relationships has far-reaching consequences within communities. Without culturally grounded roles and healthy relationships, dysfunctional behaviours manifest themselves as a maladaptive coping mechanism. For an Indigenous-led program or service to work holistically, it needs to be aware of this breakdown to navigate it successfully. Stephen Green related that the complex relationships within Indigenous communities were destroyed by colonialism.

Wayne Monague, from Georgian Bay Friendship Centre, echoes that sentiment. His experiences within the I am a Kind Mand program and working within the Canadian correctional system highlighted the importance of understanding the impacts of trauma and colonialism:

> Because the source of many users or abusers is a lot of the times from their childhood. Some extreme traumatic events, unfortunately, in some cases. In other cases, it's historical things. Growing up on a reserve is not an easy thing to do. And one of the buy-ins that I have is that "hey, I've been there and done that too. You can tell me all the horror stories because I've seen them, I've been there, and I've done that. I made it out." Kind of idea. That's kind of the process of what I found the most successful. It kind of increases the willingness of the having the participant being involved.

Dealing with dysfunctional families or communities can impact how a person grows up. This can manifest in behaviours and coping mechanisms that can be destructive or harmful.

Robert Marcheterre, who works with Kanesatake[181] Community Service, notes that historical trauma is something that he has to work a lot with because of his work in Kanehsatà:ke.

[181] Note about spelling: There are numerous ways in which the Mohawk language is spelt. For the sake of simplicity, when referring to a specific organization such as Kanesatake Community Service, I will abide by the spelling of the

The effects of the Oka Crisis have a longstanding impact on the community. It also speaks to the importance of understanding colonialism as an ongoing and modern process rather than something that happened in the past:

> When we talk about trauma, and the trauma of the events of 1990 of the big challenges within the community as the enemy, so to speak, Sûreté du Québec are still the prevalent policing of Kanehsatà:ke. Even though the police that are there now weren't involved in the event. They have their views on the community. The community has their views on that uniform, and so they'll see that influence. I've observed that that's part of an impact as well that's relative to 1990. Then you have to consider all of the other aspects of, you know, traumas from residential school settings. The last school closed. I think, officially about 96-98? Residential Schools still exist, we just call them group homes right. So that's still an impact when young people are pulled out of their communities.

The events of the Oka Crisis and the ongoing experiences of colonialism can compound issues that can damage a community's health and well-being. The Oka Crisis speaks to how colonization is a process that Indigenous people continue to have to navigate.

Steven Teeken, in his work at Na-Me-Res, talked about the foundation work being done in Na-Me-Res, is based on addressing childhood trauma. The impacts of the child welfare system and Indian Residential Schools are still being felt within our communities:

> Sometimes it's just childhood abuse of all its forms. It could be sexual, it could be physical. It's very common for a lot of our guys who have gone through the child welfare system and several foster homes in their lives or coming from a lot of dysfunction.

This understanding of the effects of trauma on a person's life is central to working within the field to support healing. Unpacking the long-term effects of colonization and trauma is crucial to the healing journey for an individual, and it also provides a grounding space for programs and services to connect to the people who use them.

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organization. However, when referencing the community of Kanehsatà:ke, I will use the current spelling form from the Mohawk language. For example: Kanesatake Community Service is Kanehsatà:ke Mohawk Territory.

Behaviour

Connected to the impacts of colonialism were discussions about how men behave. From how their actions impact their friends, families loved ones and communities to how Indigenous men process and express emotion. There is a great deal of wisdom from the participants on how Indigenous men act. Along with this is the understanding and contextualization of why Indigenous men act counter to, at least within the Haudenosaunee context, the understanding and teaching of Indigenous Knowledge and historical community practices.

Joey David, highlighted that there is a connection between how the Haudenosaunee understand trauma and grief and how that connects to the approach to Indigenous men's behaviour and action in their programming:

> I was working with men, and some of them have different issues. They were having a hard time with alcohol, and they were having a hard time with relationships, engaging, building boundaries, and all those kind of things. You try to help them work on their emotional states, and why they behave the way they do. Their relationship or their behaviour is only reflecting their value system. We will make an emphasis on the value system. They can learn more about themselves and at the same time this is this grief. There is a combination of things that a man or men go through when he is in a relationship.

There is a value system that is either not there or not doing a good enough job of addressing the underlying issues. By building up their value systems, the men that Joey David and the organization work with can have the skills and tools to address underlying causes of behaviours. This helps address internal maladaptive coping mechanisms and can support healthy relationships with others.

Stephen Green talked about how Indigenous men have been shaped by colonialism and how that manifests in terms of how they carry themselves and their relationships with their communities, families and partners:

> Some of the first things that was coming to my mind when you were talking there is there's particular "troubles," for lack of a better word, with Indigenous men. It's two-fold. There's the stigma that just men have about things and things you have to do and man up. All these kinds of things that you have to be tough, and you can't cry, you can't talk about emotions. You don't express love the same. Men don't hug all these things that society itself puts on men.
>
> We carry that. But then there's all the intergenerational trauma that has happened. And that's not only that stuff, but quite honestly, the loss of that [relationships]. Because our people did have that. It was very common for men to embrace. This doesn't mean that they're lovers or anything, this was our customs to embrace, share with your friends and family. We have in the language, we have so many terms on how to address someone. There's always a category for someone to fall in and none of them are really distant. There's a word for a male friend and a female friend, and there's a word for brother and your actual brother. The difference being clan people, clans, family and your actual nuclear family and, uncles and aunties and all those kinds things.

Stephen Green's observations speak to how fundamentally Haudenosaunee communities have changed due to the shift in socialization stemming from colonialism. The stigma around men bottling up emotions and not expressing feelings is part of the manifestations of colonialism. This stigma is perpetuated by other Indigenous men and the broader communities in which Indigenous men live. The reworking of cultural practices and how we relate to one another in terms of affection and relationship have longstanding effects on a nation's behaviour.

Wayne Monague also noted that part of working with Indigenous men is undoing unhealthy assumptions about what it means to be a man or masculine. He stressed that providing context to what Indigenous societies and communities were like before contact:

> That same understanding [masculinity] of saying: "Wow, I didn't realize we weren't Tonto or those Hollywood portrayals." We didn't do that, we didn't fight

> everybody, there weren't wars. Were the conflicts? Well yeah. Conflicts, at times, were when the fishing wasn't good or our crops weren't good. We would go ask for help, and unfortunately, you put a lot of people together, there's going to be conflict. And that's a very general answer, but it led that in terms of process to explain that to [program or service users]. But at that point, they are open to who they are or want to understand who they are and go further into detail. Our Elders would say that our spirit is opening up. We believe in the process, we're taking the responsibility as well as learning it so we can change what the history was.

Wayne Monague's observations highlight how historical context is closely tied to how Indigenous men assume appropriate behaviour. What is striking when discussing colonialism is that it is not just a matter of colonialism disrupting communities and societies, but it is also a matter of replacing those Indigenous understandings with something different.

Holly Brant, a scholar and former social worker from Tyendinaga, likewise reflected on the impacts of colonialism. She stressed that colonialism reshaped Indigenous men and how they navigate relationships and communities:

> Men have learned different behaviours that was not necessarily traditional to us. I mean, even looking at our creation story. Again, I'm quoting Tommy Porter, he said: "I know that there's lots of different ways of how the woman fell from the sky, and our creation story goes off in different ways and some say that she was reaching and reaching and she just felt on her own. He said, "There's another version of where her husband had actually push her into the great hole. I find that very hard to believe because, traditionally, the Iroquois men, the Mohawk men, would never ever harm women. Because women had such an important role in that they are the heartbeat of our nation."
>
> Even at that point, he was talking traditionally about how that would be totally against what our teachings were to push. He said, "especially a pregnant woman to possibly cause harm." I think in terms of men being incarcerated, there's a lot of learned behaviour. And I think that there's been a lot of things that have happened through the years, where men have had their traditional roles skewed and taken away.

Holly Brant is not suggesting that Haudenosaunee communities are perfect, but she is emphasizing that the traditional teachings that are a part of the Mohawk nation emphasize the importance of women. Colonialism shifted how men and women related to one another and, as such, changed the power dynamic, which hurt both men and women.

Tracey Zweifel, who works with the Alberta Native Friendship Centre Association, discussed her experience while applying to the I Am A Kind Man program in Alberta. She also spoke about her work with teaching and supporting Indigenous men who were in the correctional system. A part of the process was helping to teach the men about how their behaviour was connected to colonialism:

> Our Elder says "That's why you're here, you went from there to here." And then the men would start telling stories about their dads and their uncles and really starting to understand why they acted, did the things they did and why their behaviours were a certain way. And you could see that light bulb come on. You could see how they were instantly forgiving, and excited then to have a conversation with them and excited to understand why they got to a certain place and know that they could do better for their kids.

As other participants have stressed, a core of programming and support for Indigenous men is contextualizing their habits, experiences and behaviours. This process helps people understand how their actions are frequently connected to things in their past rather than simply the result of an inherent character flaw.

Robert Marcheterre observed that a lot of his work is with people after a point where Indigenous men's behaviours impact themselves or others. His work with Indigenous men is often based on providing tools so that something that has already happened does not happen again:

> Oftentimes, I find, or I have found that with men, in particular, they're not as preventative as women are, so they'll be more post-vention. Something has happened before they need to respond, whether it's court-mandated. Sometimes, they come on their own, but it's maybe a recommendation from a family member or their relationship is in peril. Or at some point, sometimes they go to see the doctor because they're not feeling well…But in general, men will come in, only after the fact. Where women will come in because they are starting to see something. There might be a different awareness. I don't know why that's gender-related, other than it's obviously a socialization issue, and generational.

Robert Marcheterre has noted that Indigenous men are only often reaching out for help or support after an incident. He does observe that this is most likely a manifestation of how Indigenous men

are socialized to abide by certain stereotypes. The stereotypes of being stoic and “masculine” and not allowing the expression or experiences of feelings.

Engagement Strategies

This section discusses how the people who deliver programming to Indigenous men, and more broadly, Indigenous people, get individuals to engage with the process. Working on oneself or starting the healing journey can be difficult, and working consistently on oneself is also difficult. Getting people to be willing to work on that process requires skills and insights, which is why it was necessary to discuss how Indigenous programs ensure that people engage with and continue to follow through with the process.

Selby Harris, from the Hamilton Regional Indian Friendship Centre, discussed how he approaches engagement with Indigenous men who come from various nations. From a program and service delivery vantage, it was a matter of engaging them in a way that fit their needs. This helps personalize the approach of what the individual needs, and takes into account that different people from different nations use the Friendship Centre services:

> I just talk to them and learn from them where they're at. And then just build the relationship from there and just like meeting them where they're at. Walking with them from there, and then just as in doing that, just building up their spirit.

The core element is to make sure that engagement is being done that addresses what the individual needs. From there, a relationship can be built to support the person on their healing journey better.

During our discussion, Joey David stated that one of the best ways to get people to engage is to get them to focus on themselves. The prospect of learning and growing can be a way to ensure that people are involved in the process:

> Once they get into the areas of learning something new about themselves. Then you

> got them hooked. Right when you go fishing, your intention is to catch the fish. You're going to have dinner. As a counsellor, we all have our own bait, and our own knowledge of how to keep them engaged because a lot of men say: "I don't need this," and then they won't come back.

The initial engagement is crucial because there is a need to undo learned behaviours and thought processes that can contribute to violence or self-destructive behaviours. There is always the prospect that the person can reject the opportunity to engage in the process or not follow through with what is needed to address the issues.

Stephen Green discussed his approach to engagement by underlying that issues, are symptoms, not causes of behaviour. It is a matter of getting the person to start digging into themselves to understand where these issues come from:

> It's a really meticulous job to help somebody through when they do offend. Because oftentimes, as a diversion perspective, you're working with him on one thing that's happened. But that's not the only thing that's probably happened in their life. This is just something that has surfaced. Many times, you're dealing with something that's not even got much to do with what is going on [with the offense]. I'm working with a young guy right now who did a break-and-enter. As I delve into his situation. It has nothing to do with the break-and-enter; it really has nothing to do with that. It is a result of some substance abuse, and the substance abuse as a result of yada, yada, yada [colonialism].

The habits that Stephen Green often encounters are expressions of more profound issues or traumas. His approach is to begin working at addressing those underlying issues or at least getting the people he works with to recognize that the problems are there.

Wayne Monague talked about the core element of how people can engage with service users. He echoes Stephen Green's sentiment that a lot of the expressions of dysfunction and trauma are not the core issue but need to be peeled away:

> Starting from within yourself. They're created, and literally, that's where things start, and I've found that the most effective way in corrections and community is a lot of people, our people, have no idea of who we are and how are way of life actually promotes living in our area, we call it living the good life. And that's what

> it is. Well, what the heck does that mean? Discovering even just that term helps them understand and release, and that comes down to the next big step. Is that why are you drinking all the time? Because we have to discover that. And again, being that guide dog helps them understand that "okay, I'm not alone. Wow, that is huge." And just big steps like that. And again, that comes from that process of starting from the beginning. And giving them not a crutch, giving them tools so they understand where they need to heal from. Because the source of many users or abusers, is a lot of the times, from their childhood. Some extreme traumatic events, unfortunately, in some cases.

His observation is that a lot of the work is not necessarily oriented around addressing the immediate act or action. It often is a matter of focusing on what has happened in a person's pass that needs to be addressed. He also talked about how the process of buy-in is not rooted in guilt, or authority, but in a desire to help and support:

> You can tell by my hair, I served in the U.S. Army, so I'm a fairly intimidating person just by looking at me. Or so I've been told, so I don't know if that's something you get yourself. I'm high and tight for life just for that. I use that to my advantage. In fact, there's a lot of humour in terms of that. But it also gives me an upper hand in terms of understand what stress is. I use that to my advantage, what we used to call it in the programs within corrections is the selling point. How do I get the buy-in from participants? To me, it's content. Once I'm speaking about something, and they understand that I am a welcoming person as opposed to someone who has a badge in my pocket. I used to, but not anymore. But that's the idea. Really, it's the Indigenous way of life. We and our teachers, and our Elders have taught us that we are one regardless.

Particularly within the context of corrections, appeals to authority can only go so far. It is essential to see the humanity in people and reach out to them to ensure that they begin the healing process.

Robert Marcheterre also stressed that supporting a person's buy-in should be non-authoritative. He emphasized that it is crucial to be approachable and not to appear as a judging authority figure:

> I mean, you see my face, you see what I look like. I will jokingly tell people they expect Freud, and they get Sons of Anarchy, but that kind of helps them. It helps for a lot of these guys that I've met with that they see a regular guy in jeans and a T-shirt versus someone in a suit, someone who looks like an authority over them. We just really have a lot of casual conversation and get to know each other, and then over time, what's interesting is, towards the end of any service, one of us will

at some point say, “I think you're doing well enough.”

There is still a structure to the organization and the overall desire to ensure that the people who use the program are happy and healthy. The understanding is still one rooted in a non-hierarchical approach to Indigenous healing.

Vyvian Mitchell, from the Good Minds program in Tyendinaga, also highlighted that the process of support is different for everyone. Engagement and the programs that people use will look different at for everyone:

> And then, from that point on, and scheduling appointments with them. We don't have a set distinctive, one hour once a week, or one hour once a month thing. It's based off some of their time. I have one client with who I speak to two hours every Monday at 12 till 2. And then I have some that I just contact every couple of weeks and text them and say “Hey, how are you doing? How’s school? Do you want to set up a session and talk or anything like that?” It's just casual. It really does depend.

As other of the participants have discussed, Vyvian Mitchell has highlighted the importance of not having a disciplined approach to programming or healing. There needs to be flexibility to meet people where they are at.

Greg Doumalin begins the work that he does by talking with individuals about their background and the circumstances of growing up; a lot of the discussions focus on their past because that feeds into their behaviour:

> One hundred percent, I know that sounds like generic questions, but I just asked him simple questions like: “where do you think this all stemmed from? What would you say to yourself like when we talk about wisdom?” Just more or less just trying to get them to look inside. I think it has been the key to some of them. Some have a hard time with it.

Greg Doumalin and the other participants have highlighted that a great deal of the work being done is rooted in getting a person to talk about their past and understand how past behaviours and experiences contribute to current issues. The process of healing and wellness is a process that

requires insights into what contributed to behaviours and attitudes, which can act as a focal point for contemplation and growth.

Programming

This section examines the forms and actions related to men-specific programming. The participants discussed how the day-to-day programming functions and what the program seeks to do to help facilitate men's healing. The discussions were insightful in providing a baseline of understanding as to how Indigenous-led organizations conceptualize what they do and what the experiences are for the people who use their services.

Selby Harris spoke about some of the processes that go into providing programming for Indigenous men. He stressed that part of the program is teaching the individuals to understand their own sacredness or humanity:

> I start with each group or each one-on-one progress with them and talking or just thinking about what is kindness to them. What does it mean to be a man? And with differentiating answers to that. When we're done that first session, I do like a turnaround and be like: "This is you; this isn't this is me saying this is anyone else. Like this is you, this is your voice." I invite them after that to reflect and to remind them that these are all of the things that they have, that they understand that they are. And despite everything that is that you have been told, or shown, or experienced, or done like this is, this is you. And then so, this is where we restart. This is a new day and a reintroduction to yourself—the beginning of that healing journey and just acknowledging their sacredness.

A critical piece of Indigenous men's programming is ensuring that Indigenous men are given the opportunity for self-reflection and support. It is not based on guilt or punishment. The approach of guilt and punishment were strategies that were used to dispossess and assimilate Indigenous people in the first place. In order to help support someone's healing journey, it is crucial to approach healing and wellness from a place of care.

Greg Dumoulin's work on the I Am a Kind Man program also noted that the support between people going through the program was critical to its success. He also highlighted that this support happened outside of the parameters of the program:

> What I found working in this with the Indigenous men is that [Kizhaay Anishinaabe Niin] kind of morphed into something more. So originally, it was created to bring awareness to Indigenous women and girls violence and stuff like that. But what I found working with these guys it's almost like a support group as well. The issues that I face all the time that these men struggle with, although some of them are domestics, but a lot of them are just substance abuse, post-incarceration, like transforming into more normal life. There's a lot of guys just like to talk, and just talk about things.

The work being done in the program is to ensure that Indigenous men's relationships with their significant others are healthy. Still, it also becomes a place for Indigenous men to talk through their issues and past traumas.

Wayne Monague stressed that part of his teachings is to recontextualize what it means to be a man or masculine. He emphasized that Indigenous men have to move beyond the stereotypical notions of what it means to be a man:

> When we start in the beginning it helps the individual discover themselves, open themselves up to who they are. What that does is allows me at that time because they've become open to explain what our actual roles are as men, so they understand that we don't; I used to use the cliché "Listen, we're not what our role was." So that it does is that opens them up so we can give them traditional teachings from our regions, wherever they're from. Listen as men, maybe we were the hunters and gathers; maybe we were the farmers. We basically outline our roles for the understanding of balance. And that was always the key, the key phrase, in all of it. As men yes, we have responsibilities. Again, it came down to when you do that, for our region, whether it was Elders or ourselves illustrating the importance of the roles of every individual regardless of sex. The fact that, per region it varied, however every piece of that puzzle was required, and not one was greater than the other. It was changing. And a lot of cases a lot of individuals are from, grew up or came from urban areas, so they have no idea of traditional or wholistic view of things, so that was very introductory.

The lack of cultural or historical context to Indigenous men's roles within a community is one of the core things that Wayne Monague looks to address. This is because the lack of proper role models is filled with stereotypical behaviour that has been part of Indigenous people in the media. He points out that this idea of being a stereotypical warrior is at the crux of a lot of the work that needs to be done:

> A true warrior in our way of life has the ability to cry, laugh, and has the ability to express themselves, as opposed to looking stoic in the background on a horse. I realize that's fairly general, but the big picture is that there are so many areas that we need to cover in order to achieve that the idea. Our whole population, all of our people, need that help. It's the idea that women have and always have been doing so much great work for themselves, now it's our turn. We've spent so much time being stoic. We've been too busy being that cliché. Again, that's been my big-picture goal. Literally, as far back as when I was in corrections.

The work being done to support healthy Indigenous men covers a lot of ground, but undoing the stereotypes and negative behaviours embedded within Indigenous communities due to colonialism has taken front and centre.

Corey Thomas, who works for the First Peoples Justice Centre of Montréal, when discussing the nature of programs and supports for Indigenous men, noted that there is a significant gap in what can be provided specifically to Indigenous men. He notes that there are restrictions that are put upon Indigenous men once they leave the justice system:

> I think there's so much more that we could be doing to address men in incarceration. Indigenous men are probably, in Canada, the most incarcerated of any of any people demographically.
>
> I know that a lot of times there are conditions that men have to have that are pretty ridiculous. They could be involved in a crime that has nothing to do with any kind of domestic violence or anything like that, but are forced to report to their P.O. anytime time they talked to a woman, or have a woman approach them at any point in their life which is automatically a setup for failure, and is not necessary.

The carceral system in Canada has not been set up for Indigenous men to succeed. The restrictive measures put in place contribute to the over-policing of Indigenous men. He stressed that the lack

of programming geared explicitly towards Indigenous men is a severe gap and that it would provide a substantial support system for those in need:

> I think a lot of times, because as soon as Indigenous men get into the system itself, they become over-policed right away. Upon entering and upon leaving. I would like to see more relationship-building, like within men's circles, stuff like that. I know men circles are something that are done. But it would be nice to see more things like building stronger supports, having more of a connection.

He also stressed that one of the core strengths of these types of programming is that the support system often emerges organically among the people who use the programs or services.

Amy Edwards, who works with Corey Thomas, spoke about the diverse programs and services that are available in Montréal, reflecting the holistic approach to programming that Indigenous organizations have. They also stressed that while there are these large suites of support, there is a lack of support for Indigenous men in Montréal:

> Especially within the city there isn't too much that's specifically geared towards men. There is such an important need for spaces specific for women and also for LGBT, trans, Two-Spirit Indigenous people to have those spaces are so needed. I think the importance of having space where men can really go and work on their healing. There's a lot of housing supports especially that are missing that can be for men. I mean there's housing supports missing for everybody but, there's more female geared.

Overall, there is not enough support available to the Indigenous people who need it, but the scarcity is further compounded for Indigenous men. This gap covers programming geared explicitly to helping support Indigenous men, but also programs that would help ensure that Indigenous men are stable and able to address their needs, like housing.

Stephen Green also stressed that the programming within the justice system that Indigenous men and, more broadly, Indigenous people have is limited. He noted that an issue is the lack of time that can be afforded to help someone:

> The problem with some of the system is that we don't have that time. Sometimes that's years in the making. So all I can really do because, at maximum I'm going to have three to six months to really hold on these guys through the court system. They want to get them through so they don't want this stuff hanging over their head for however long because a lot of them are young, you know, 14, 15,16. They don't want to be dealing with a youth record when they're 18, and trying to get on with life. Time is kind of the essence with them but at the same time you don't get a lot of time to promote the healing so you're really. I find myself really with youth anyway trying to just plant the seeds of thinking and try to bring the issue up to them. So if I think it is back here [the past], which sound kind of mainstream or cliché, it's problem with [the past].

The limits of the justice system, or types of programs geared towards addressing a specific issue, is that the individual may not have the opportunity to spend as much time as is needed to address their needs.

Vyvian Mitchell, working with the Good Minds Program in Tyendinaga, discussed how a core concept of the group program is that there are interpersonal connections and there is the teaching of the culture:

> We work with pretty much anybody who identifies as Indigenous. There's no discrimination against that at all. And we work with anybody pretty much 15 years and older. And it's just a really good solid group of men. We have a lot of regulars, we have some irregulars, but they're still familiar with the other members in the group. They'll come in, and we do a medicine fire. And then we'll do a smudge, and then after that it's just a circle. The guys kind of talk about what's going on in their week, and how things are going on for them. Once you're finished out, we go have a meal, and they continue on with their circle and they're talking. And then after that, they'll generally will do like an activity. So for the past couple of weeks, we've been working on making hand drums.

The group coming together to work on traditional drum making and working with one another to support each other are critical pieces to Indigenous healing programs. She goes on to highlight that there is support for Indigenous men's programs:

> I know that our funders, for our group, have given us their funding because their belief is that if we have men actually accessing their emotions and the things that are affecting them in their day-to-day life, then it will help prevent other problems in their life. In terms of limiting the amount of abuse that happens, addictions that

> happened, things like that. It's a way to open themselves up and not barricade themselves down.

There is a growing recognition of the importance of programming directed towards Indigenous men, which could be transformative for Indigenous programs and service delivery.

Steve Teekens, Executive Director of Na-Me-Res, noted that the programming that is geared towards Indigenous men is wholistic in that it focuses on several crucial aspects of what it means for Indigenous men to live a good life:

> We have a life skills program called Apaenmowineen. And it's very much hard skills such as financial literacy, and academic upgrading. And then, soft skills like a circle every Friday afternoon to set the tone for the weekend with the guys. Ojibway and Cree language classes. They work in a medicinal garden and learning with medicinal qualities of various indigenous plants. So, that's a lot of cultural infusion within our programs. I think all of those put together really make it work for guys.

The work being done to support Indigenous men through Na-Me-Res focuses on ensuring that the men can focus on their healing journey and that they can live and help themselves once they leave the space.

Tracey Zweifel did speak to the fact that there is a strong desire to have a program that is specifically geared toward Indigenous men. She also talked about how men should ideally deliver the programs, but with a component that includes women:

> I think men want programming, first of all. I also think it should be delivered by men. And I think men should be should develop programming. And most importantly, there needs to be that Venus part. Like what the hell are us women about. I think there's opportunity in men's programming to bring in women speakers to talk about experience through a woman's eyes and not in a way of blame, but in a way of awareness.

The inclusion of women in programming geared towards Indigenous men is essential. It allows Indigenous men to understand better how their actions and behaviours can affect their partners, families or friends as well as themselves.

Holly Brant noted that in her experience working with various Indigenous programs, the gap in support for Indigenous men is crucial. There is a need for Indigenous men's programming, and there is an opportunity to provide culturally safe support for helping Indigenous men on their healing journey:

> I have been a coordinator for a shelter for abused people for 17 years. So, that's a topic that's still near and dear to my heart. People that are abused or harmed. But I think that there's not enough program specifically for men. I think there needs to be more. I know when I was working in Ottawa, there was a program that a female and a male had run together for men and it was really successful. But I think one of the keys to that program is that we have traditional practitioners, as one of the people who are involved in delivering information. And I think it would be optimal if it was male. I know that the reason that the program was working well in Ottawa, that we have the different energy. The woman water carrier, and the male is the fire keeper. And that's a good balance but I think that those teachings, traditionally had come from the men. The men go with the men, and the women go with the women.

Holly Brant's observation that programming for Indigenous men, mainly centred on traditional teachings for men, should be delivered by men. However, she also stresses the importance of including Indigenous women so that there is a balance to the understandings that Indigenous men get.

In the programming that is delivered by the First Peoples Justice Centre of Montréal, Amy Edwards stated that while they do not expressly provide programming for Indigenous men, there is an informal network of support crucial to Indigenous men:

> A lot of the people who are coming out happened to be men and that we're hearing about our support services. Together they could all work together and figure stuff out to and when we do like land based activities they'd all like show up together.
>
> We've had recently had some men who are coming out, still like both Federal, but some doing three, five years, and then we had like some people out after like forty years and that have kind of cousin relationship and like mentor was so cool to see. Because it's really kind of older generation really supporting some young guys coming out, and helping. I think I'm making it in a way that's not as static, but, like a cousin or like an uncle vibe, like that to me is so important.

Cross-generational support has been crucial to facilitating Indigenous men's healing. The support offered by those who have been through similar situations can be essential. The work being done is based on supporting Indigenous men and communities.

Discussion

This portion has taken a high-level scan of the words and ideas from this chapter. It covers some core ideas crucial to connecting colonialism, trauma, behaviour and the programming itself. The work being done in programs and across Turtle Island are rooted in supportive approaches and encourages self-reflection. In many ways, these programs are focused on the happiness and wellness of the people navigating the programs; they are also programs and services that are oriented to undoing the ongoing effects of colonialism and the traumas that flow from that process.

Understanding the Impacts of Colonialism

> *When men use domestic violence against somebody else and are components of control. Those ways are not part of our system, those ways are foreign. When the ship came they brought those ways of power and control over the female. Our culture, we're supposed to respect the female, we're supposed to do a lot. But men, we live in the European mindset and we want to have domination over women and our children.*
>
> *Joey David*

The participants all stressed that colonialism is a process and something that is not relegated to the past but continues to impact Indigenous communities. They spoke about colonialism as a historical process used as a tool to analyze the underlying behaviours. As a diagnostic tool, it provides context for Indigenous men's behaviour without excusing the behaviour. Understanding and using colonialism as an element of a diagnostic tool is critical for both the person delivering the support, but equally important is making the people going through the healing journey aware of the effects of colonialism.

Many of the people I spoke to said that they often provide historical context and knowledge to the people who use their programs and services. Education and providing historical context about what colonialism is and how it impacts Indigenous peoples and nations was a consistent thread throughout many of the participant's observations. Understanding the impacts of colonialism was necessary for the Indigenous people who use healing programs and services. Participants noted that there was a lack of understanding of the full breadth of the effects of colonialism, from the roots of addiction and family dysfunction to the impacts and harms of being removed from a person's community, culture and language. These observations echo the work of Cunneen and Tauri. In their work, one of three pillars of Indigenous healing is a reclamation of history. They write: "Reclaiming history allows an understanding of the past and present impacts of colonialism – 'a journey that is both individual and collective in nature'."[182] Healing is both a collective and individual experience, and requires understanding the historical context from which the trauma emerges.

The work being done by Indigenous-led programs and services is based on supporting Indigenous peoples and communities. This work is inherently decolonial, but in order for the work to be successful, both the people delivering the program or service and the people using it have to understand the full effects of colonialism in their families, communities and their everyday lives. Self-destructive, abusive and dysfunctional behaviours that damage the individual and the people they are connected to are often a result of the longstanding and ongoing effects of colonialism. Whether it is abuse that they suffered at the hands of their parents or maladaptive coping mechanisms built up over a long period of time, the spectres of Indian Residential School, the Sixties Scoop, or child welfare, apprehensions haunt and affect people in their day-to-day lives.

[182] Cunneen and Tauri, *Indigenous Criminology*, 129.

Elizabeth Comack stressed that colonization is often conceptualized as existing in the past, and trauma is the effects of colonization, but like the participants stressed, colonization and trauma are intertwined and need to be understood as "ongoing processes that continue to generate trauma for Indigenous individuals, their families and their communities."[183] An aspect of healing that the participants and the scholarly work is highlighting is that behavior is tied to these ongoing historical processes. It is crucial to understand that, for example Indian Residential Schools closed in 1996, but even still after all of these years, they are continuing to have an immediate effect on the communities and peoples they impacted.

The understanding of the full scope and impact of colonialism includes how it reshaped Indigenous masculinity to either be negative or replaced with behaviours that do not reflect the values of Indigenous nations and communities. The replacement of traditional values and roles within communities deeply impacted how Indigenous men navigate spaces. It changes men's understanding of what their relationship and duty was to their friends, family and communities. This translates into domineering behaviour that can turn into abuse, which oftentimes replicates the actions that men have learned as children. The work of Robert Henry whose work focused on the role of street gangs in Indigenous masculinities, pointed to a study of Indigenous men's relationship with corrections in northern Australia has having parallels with what has happened in Canada. He writes: "Indigenous youth in northern communities saw that to become a "real" man they needed to be involved in the justice system. Therefore, incarceration and where one was incarcerated became the litmus test of masculinity for young men and was privileged over traditional masculinity rites."[184] The work that is being done is to replace the habits and behaviours

[183] Comack, *Coming Back to Jail*, 45.
[184] Henry, "Social Spaces of Maleness: The Role of Street Gangs in Practising Indigenous Masculinities," 186.

that are the effects of colonialism, whether that be maladaptive coping mechanisms, abuse, control or anger.

The participants also noted that a critical piece is the unwillingness to feel or express emotions or to look after oneself. A common thread was the idea that Indigenous men operate with the assumption that they have to be a "stoic warrior" or "man-up" when it comes to feeling hurt, loss or grief. Bottling-up emotions and feelings can poison a person or slowly build up to a situation where they explode or act out their repressed emotions. Mirroring the participants discussion, scholars like Krech also noted that stereotypes have infested ideas of masculinity and identity: "it is difficult for younger Native men to develop a healthy sense of self, when healthy role models either do not exist, or are based in inaccurate Hollywood stereotypes."[185] This idea of the stoic warrior is something that is rooted in European fiction and imagination of what an Indian Warrior is and how they act. The longstanding effect of this dominant cultural fiction was absorbed by Indigenous communities who were reeling from having cultural and social relations and practices broken. The mentality of a stereotypically stoic warrior would cause internal damage to Indigenous communities and Indigenous men who have internalized these ideas. This, in turn, manifests in damaging habits and behaviours, damaging to ourselves and to communities, people and relations that are a part of our lives.

One of the most striking things that was stressed was Indigenous men are less likely to seek out support until it is either too late, court-mandated, or after some event or outburst. Participants noted that there are fewer supports for Indigenous men, and those supports are only used when something has happened, as opposed to a preventative measure. As such, there has already been

[185] Krech, "Envisioning a Healthy Future: A Re-Becoming of Native American Men," 83.

damage done or strained relationships, and there is a requirement, either voluntary or mandatory, to address the event. Dumas and Bournival have noted that the representations of Indigenous masculinities have real work effects, with Western understandings of masculinity to ignore their health, be it mental or physical, engage in dangerous behavior, or reach out for support or help.[186] This pattern flows from the conception of Indigenous men needing to be stoic and not address or express their feelings in a healthy way.

Indigenous men in Programming

When people begin to understand who they are, where they come from, and where their identity lies. I think that's where healing starts. I also believe that people deserve a second chance. I think that people can change. And I think that people really have to have the wanting.

Holly Brant

Many of my conversations also discussed strategies and ways to get Indigenous men to begin their healing journey. Engagement can be a complex process because it involves recognizing the effects that their behaviour has on their friends, families, and communities, as well as the impacts that it can have on themselves. The work being done to support these men is ensuring that they have the correct tools to address the underlying issue and move forward in a good way.

Many of the participants discussed that a significant aspect of working with Indigenous men is a process of discovery for the men. The method of healing and rehabilitation is not simply a matter of recovering from an action. The healing journey begins with looking inward to understand what the men are feeling and what they have experienced that contributed to their current situation. It is not just a matter of logically recognizing the connection between action and history but engaging with it at an emotional level. Joey David highlighted that often, men live inside their heads rather than their feelings or emotions: "Men's hardest journey to make is from

[186] Dumas and Bournival, "Men, Masculinities, and Health: Theory and Application," 36–37.

the mind to the heart. There's only 14 inches." The work being done is attempting to ensure that the men engage with their feelings. Burying or ignoring their emotions and feelings mean does not make the emotions go away. It simply manifests itself in other ways, whether that is through substance abuse or other maladaptive measures.

During the discussions around men and men's behaviour, the people working in the field stressed that behaviour does not exist in a vacuum. Trauma, and the expression of trauma, does not stay isolated to a single person or a single relationship; it radiates out to the people connected to the individual. The participants stressed that it is crucial to get the men involved in these healing processes to understand that they are not alone in the hurt or experiences that they have had. It is also essential to get them to realize that their actions also radiate out to their loved ones. Addie Rolnick noted that trauma is something that is experienced by both individuals and communities, and it is something that compounds.[187] Trauma, and the response to trauma is cyclical, and a key focus of programming for Indigenous men is working on breaking the cycle. Making amends with their families, communities, and partners is difficult, but is important to the healing process. What is also crucial is ensuring there is also space to make amends with oneself.

Throughout the discussions, one of the critical refrains across programs for both urban and reserve communities is the lack of support for Indigenous men. Indigenous-based programs and service delivery are growing and expanding; there is much more of a confluence of supports that are rooted in Indigenous knowledge systems and perspectives. Many of the Friendship Centres have the I Am A Kind Man program, and there is the Native Men's Residence; among a few others, there was consensus that not enough is being done to address men's needs. There are many more

[187] Rolnick, "Locked Up," 40.

programs and support that are geared towards Indigenous women and people who are a part of the 2SQT+ community.

In general, programming and support geared towards Indigenous men were limited or non-existent at all. There are support groups that focus specifically on men, but there is not consistent or steady support across First Nation communities or cities. Reflecting the participants observations, returning to Dumas and Bournival in their work on Indigenous masculinities, stressed that the lack of support is reflected in how that the indicators for health between Indigenous men and women show that Indigenous men are by and large significantly less healthy than women.[188] The other thing is that the support that is being provided is limited in scale, scope and time; there are only so many hours in the day or week, and there is not the same degree of holistic support that is geared. Na-Me-Res is one of the few program and service delivery hubs that focuses specifically on men and that support covers numerous different venues, whether it be culturally-based or more day-to-day life skills.

Dynamics of Programming

You just try and plant those seeds and then later on down the life when the brain matures more. You hope that that thought comes back and maybe things will line up again for them.

Stephen Green

In the discussions around the actual process of delivering programming, a major topic was the genuine buy-in from participants. Setting up programs and services is foundational, but ensuring that people access them, and follow through with them long-term is equally essential.

[188] Dumas and Bournival, "Men, Masculinities, and Health: Theory and Application," 34.

Getting the men to engage came with a few different approaches. In some instances, in some of the conversations I had, they talked about getting the individuals to begin with to address what they did that led them to need the program or support in the first place. From there, they would start to dig into the underlying causes and feelings that contributed to the event in the first place. The underlying causes need to be addressed because if they are not, the patterns of behaviours will continue to replicate. What was striking is that there were different approaches to this process due to various circumstances.

Some of the people discussed that it was a matter of getting the person to reflect upon themselves over an extended period of time, either in a one-on-one or in a group setting. Engagement and buy-in often involve working on foundational ideas or concepts and then helping the person along to build them up. It is not a matter of success happening overnight, but engaging with the individuals in a way that encourages them to be self-reflective. Returning to the words of Naomi Adelson, she stressed that the Indigenous approach to healing and wellness in programming is a matter of supporting people in what their healing from, and as important a matter of what they are healing towards.[189] What is striking about the encouragement of self-reflection is that it reflects an Indigenous approach to healing and wellness. Many of the participants stressed that there was no one-size-fits-all approach to healing and the healing journey. The individual experiences of the people who use the programs and services are centred in order to facilitate healing better. There are overlapping experiences that stem from the experiences of colonialism, but the person's individual history and context need to be unpacked in order to lay the groundwork for healing.

[189] Adelson, "Towards a Recuperation of Souls and Bodies: Community Healing and the Complex Interplay of Faith and History," 274.

While each person's own journey is unique, the overlapping experience, whether it is prison, child welfare, or substance abuse, also acts as a bridge between people. The participants did discuss that there are many instances when Indigenous men who are going through a healing program will support each other. These programs and services create a space for self-reflection and healing and a space to connect with others who have gone through similar experiences, and those who are farther along on their journey than others. Returning to the work of Morgan and Freeman, in their work around the impacts of historical trauma, they noted that healing is not done in a vacuum, and support offered by others in their own healing journey is powerful: "it is understood that the power of healing comes from a spiritual source and is given to the people. In this sense, it is a renewable resource; i.e., the more the healing is received, the more there is to give."[190] This informal support system is crucial because it exists beyond the times of a program, and imparts the idea that the person going through the journey is not alone, and is supported.

Conclusion

The work being done with Indigenous men is rooted in a holistic understanding of healing. Starting the process of healing requires putting the person at the centre. In doing so, it allows for each person's journey to be unique to their needs and context. Looking at these themes within the context of the inner fire enforces the idea that healing and wellness are not abstract concepts but deeply personal processes that are different to every person. The people I spoke with understand the personal processes of healing and wellness. For some, the healing process happens as soon as they enter a program. For others, it is a matter of planting a seed of an idea that may grow tomorrow, next month, or years from now. Everyone's journey is different.

[190] Morgan and Freeman, "The Healing of Our People," 90.

Part of this context is teaching the individual a deeper understanding of what colonialization actually means to themselves, their friends, families and communities. Colonization can quickly be morphed into a theoretical academic concept. It is crucial to have Indigenous people on their healing journey understand what colonization is and does so that the individuals can take responsibility for their actions and better understand the root causes of their actions. Colonization is often framed as occurring at a community or national level. In the context of healing and wellness, the effects of colonization and trauma happen across Indigenous nations, but it is also important to remember that nations and communities are made up of individual people, and colonization and trauma are deeply personal experiences.

Chapter 6: The Longhouse Fire – Community and Service Delivery

Indigenous-led programs and services exist within a larger social context. There are overlapping stakeholders, communities and different geographic spaces that shape how healing programming and services are delivered. Chapter six focuses on critical elements that are a part of service delivery and the community spaces that the institutions and organizations exist in. It is organized this way to bundle the aspects of my research that exist at the mezzo level or, put it another way, at the community level. Within the Haudenosaunee understanding of fire, this is the longhouse or the community fire. This fire sits at the centre of the family longhouses to ensure the families have light, heat and a space for gathering and cooking. When there is the meeting of clans, the fire is also space at the centre of the longhouse, with the wolf and turtle on one side of the fire and the bears sitting on the other.

This chapter represents the Longhouse Fire, the knowledge and observations made by participants look at the community level, from how the community shapes a person's healing journey, to how urban and reserve spaces influence the ways in which a person navigates their healing journey. It also discusses how the participants understand and approach healing, which is crucial to the health and well-being of the individual and the community itself. Healing occupies a unique space within Indigenous Knowledge and within this project. It is something that is deeply personal and unique to each person who is on their healing journey. This chapter discusses how the participants conceptualized healing and wellness in terms of the individual navigating the space, and in how healing is contextualized and understood within the context of program and service delivery.

It was not my intention to make this dissertation topical, as in something that engages with the zeitgeist, but I need to highlight how the COVID-19 pandemic shaped and reshaped service delivery. The participants had different experiences with how COVID-19 impacted their approach to work. Even though COVID-19 is a global pandemic, it seemed appropriate to discuss it within the context of the Longhouse and community level. The pandemic impacted communities and restructured how relationships happened due to the nature of safety precautions and the need for isolation.

The work being done around healing is to support the people using the programs or services to ensure that they are able to get what they need to walk their healing journey. The work being done to support healing ripples out into the broader Indigenous community that the individuals live and work in. Whether it is urban or reserve spaces, the community shapes how a person's healing journey unfolds.

Community's Role in Healing

When talking about healing and wellness, the topic of community was brought up by the majority of people I spoke with. Within this section's context, communities are discussed within the urban and reserve context. Another aspect that needs to be highlighted in this section is not a simple wholesale endorsement of communities of support; some of the participants do talk about the limits and potential issues that come from having a community involved in a person's healing journey.

Some participants discussed how a sense of community and connection are foundational to healing. Selby Harris stated plainly the importance of community:

> I would say, communities, are the epicenter of that healing. It's the community that provides that healing and because of that community, there's safety.

Healing is deeply connected to community and community support. Selby Harris stresses that at least within the Friendship Centre model with the Kizhaay Anishinaabe approach, communities can support people who are doing the work to heal from their trauma or actions:

> A community helps with that healing journey, the community helps to facilitate that. And then different people within the community, and the relationships. Relationships are that healing journey. Allowing oneself to be a part of relationship and understanding that its those relationships that will help them along that path.

Shelby Harris's observation that community is a part of the healing process also highlights that relationships are at the core of this. The relationships between people and themselves can be complicated, but cultivating them is a powerful healing method.

Corey Thomas, when discussing community support in healing, mentioned that the community of care was often made up of people who were also experiencing their own healing journey. Corey Edwards noted repeatedly that there was an informal support system for those who were going through the same experience:

> I feel with specifically with the people that I work with, there is an unstructured support system for each other like Indigenous folks are very communal. I find a lot of Indigenous men, especially in the transition program, will work with each other will help people like find resources. I've seen that plenty of times. I've seen Indigenous men who are in the program, help each other just to ride around the metros and figure out how to get from point A to point B. I think that's amazing, and I think I would like to see that more as like a compensated role. Something that people can actually do to sustain themselves. People who have been through the same experience because a lot of this is finding people who have experience and resources to help other folks out in a way that gives Indigenous people more autonomy.

Corey Thomas is pointing to the fact that a community model of care means that there are people who work within an organization to help support people who are reintegrating into society or in their healing journey. This also means that this support system will include people who have been

or are going through the same experiences. He also discussed that fostering a sense of community is not just about being constantly self-reflective but also including engagement, socialization, food and other joyous activities:

> It doesn't sound that fun to just sit in a circle and talk about how you can express your feelings better. A lot of activities that we do, and conversations that we have, or indirectly, promoting that kind of thing. Whenever Amy and I do like a wellness barbecue or something like that it in reality. We're just trying to foster a more stronger community that's able to come together to enjoy themselves and be able to express themselves and have a great time really well.

Healing and support are essential, but as Corey and Amy's approach highlights, it cannot always be dower self-reflection. Indigenous people have a good sense of humour, and there is joy and laughter that is a part of the healing process.

Tracy Zweifel discussed her work in the schools and supporting Indigenous youth, as well as a space revitalization project that was geared towards Indigenous youths. Her stories highlighted how empowerment is a potent tool for providing healing and support:

> And I remember this one young man sitting there. I had like a skill saw and, you know, square and everything else. And I knew he came from a family that lived on the farm. I knew he had certain skills. I said "you want to give me a hand." And he's like "yeah okay what do you want me to do?" I said "well you tell me what do you think we should do with this, this and that." I knew full well what I wanted. He took that on. He taught people how to cut how to use power tools how to do whatever. I caught shit because I guess you can't give grade nines power tools but whatever.
>
> So he helped them, and it built his self-esteem and everything else. When we finally finished the courtyard. We did a launch, and we had a new kid in, and the new kid jumped up onto the Tipi poles and was swinging. And everybody. "You get down. This is what we did." And they took ownership of it and they took care of it.

As a result of Tracey Zweifel's initiatives, the children that she was working with were in a position to create and foster a sense of self-pride and self-respect. Her example also highlights that when

someone has self-esteem they can help out others who are not as knowledgeable or not as far along as they are.

Greg Doumalin, who works at the Barrie Friendship Centre, concerning the cultivation of a community of care, also noted the supportive nature of group support. It creates an atmosphere of familiarity, and can connect:

> In the group like they feel comfortable. They obviously feel more connected because of their heritage. But the guys are really good, they're really open about their struggles.

Greg Doumalin also stated that there is a shared experience of being Indigenous, which helps create links and connections between people. Greg noted that they can connect because of the underlying experiences of being Indigenous and how that can impact how they navigate Canada.

Robert Marcheterre spoke about how the men he works with are often referred to by family members. He did go on to discuss that the interconnected nature of the community does mean that trust can be built quicker:

> The therapeutic alliance can happen pretty quickly because someone is like, “my cousin worked with you, my brother worked with you. You’re a good guy.” It's interesting because I've never experienced this in many other places, but I kind of get interviewed by some clients just to see if I'm a stand-up guy. Or they want to know a little bit more about me. Sharing, where applicable is it's fine, as long as it's follows within the therapeutic alliance.

This highlights the complexity of working within an Indigenous community; the lack of anonymity means that some people are uncomfortable with seeking help because of the prospect of running into someone they know. It also means that there is also a network that would act as informal referrals.

Joe Hill, the participant who has worked in justice spaces, also discussed the importance of community within the context of healing. What they noted that was striking was that they reflected on the reciprocal nature of healing, justice, and community:

> Not understanding that work that's being done in those spaces is actually very important. It's relationship building, it's community building that's taking place in those spaces. And we need to elevate that understanding, so that the courts become aware, so that governments become aware, that that law is taking place in those spaces.

Joe Hill's comments note that community building and relationships are also the basis for re-establishing law and justice within Indigenous communities. These ideas are interwoven with one another, and respect and reciprocity are required for these systems of knowledge to flourish. It is also important to note that part of that process is educating those who may not be as knowledgeable about Indigenous legal systems and approaches to law and justice.

Stephen Green was asked about what the role of community has in a person's healing. His response highlights the importance of community and community support in healing, but he also stressed that it is not a completely perfect system or approach:

> I think that's good. I think you need you need supports. There needs to be a lot of support around, but they've got to be really good and solid support. And by that I mean like they can't be this way by day, this way by night. But at the same time, it's got to be realistic.

A supportive community is important, but at the same time, it does not have to be dogmatic or perfect. For example, when trying to support someone who is struggling with alcoholism, the community does not have to be abstinent. His observations mirror the idea that the healing journey, or the Good Mind, is not a static or perfect state of being. They are processes and there is always the possibility that things can interfere or impact those processes, and that includes community involvement in the process.

Corey Thomas noted that while community support can be crucial in supporting healing, rehabilitation and transition, an unstructured approach can be potentially harmful or at least overwhelming.

> I work with people to mainly get them sorted out into [culturally relevant or supportive work] and act as like an intervention worker. Through that process, I'm also doing work as a transition worker. I'm helping folks get settled in as they're recently leaving incarceration, being injected back into society.

While being a part of a community can be substantial, he stresses that there are certain pitfalls to this approach or understanding. He states that even though he works to get those people leaving corrections jobs, he also has to work as a transition worker because of the difference between corrections and regular public.

Likewise, Amy Edwards noted that the sheer variety of different support systems within a space like Montréal might not necessarily be supportive of healing or healing that is reflective of Indigenous values:

> A lot of support services out there are really static. If I was in [the service user] shoes I'd actually want to go to a barbecue. Or especially with carving, to seeing a lot of older generation teach some of like the younger generation different skills. It's just more relaxed and more like the community and family-based rather then: "Let me go to a meeting and talk about my feelings and re-traumatized myself after I got into this fight."

The wealth of programs and services available within a place like Montréal means that there are many opportunities for support. It also means that specific approaches can retraumatize people if not taken with the right path of cultural values.

Greg Dumoulin likewise stated that in other support groups that focus on healing and wellness, there can be a sense of judgment because of the person's Indigeneity:

> It's been challenging for the most part. The feedback that I have received from those that have shared that they feel is a place where they come and not be judged. As

> opposed to, I'll just use some of the other programs like, N.A. or A.A. where they still feel that type of stigma right. No one's saying that, but [the service user] still feels like "I'm Indigenous, so I'm here, so therefore like almost expect to be here."

Community support, whether it is organized within a program and service model or something less regimented, can have its barriers. The programs and services provided, which in theory, foster a community of care or healing model, can also perpetuate guilt, shame, or internalized racism.

Robert Marcheterre, who works as the case management coordinator within Kanesatake Health Centre Inc. discussed one of the problems of accessing mental health programs or support in the Mohawk community that he worked in:

> For a small community I think have a high number of people who could benefit. It just depends on the approach. You know how small communities are right? Like people don't necessarily want to speak with people from the community. Because they like to see me because they know what the end of the day, I get on the highway and I'm gone, an hour away. They don't go to the local store and then see their worker.

Because of the nature of some reserves, there is a lack of anonymity. Robert Marcheterre noted that the interconnected nature of First Nations communities could be a barrier to people accessing support. He did stress that while this can be a barrier to access to health, it does mean that the type of work he does with Indigenous men is often focused on the individual:

> One of the issues that I've discovered in my practice here in Kanehsatà:ke as well as my prior employment, is it gets a little bit hard to bring men together. There's this interesting pride thing that happens. I do have men who come in one on one, they seem to do very well within the one-on-one context, but within groups, it's a little bit more difficult especially with a small community where a lot of people are. I mean, they're cousins right? Or they're close and they either already know about each other's issues or they don't want to discuss them in front of others.

The community can be a crucial source to support someone going on their healing journey, but it also offers its own limits and considerations.

Urban and Reserve Spaces

I spoke with people from different cities, towns, and First Nations reserves for this research project. The participants were keenly aware of the importance of geographic space on how healing and wellness programs are delivered. Urban and reserve spaces contain unique advantages and circumstances that people must navigate to access programming and what type of programming or services they can get. While there were differences, what was also stressed was that these two geographic spaces often communicate with one another.

Corey Thomas, who works with the First Peoples Justice Centre of Montréal, discussed the nuances of service delivery in urban spaces. He highlighted how it takes different strategies to support people in an urban space as opposed to a reserve community:

> I find it's much different, because if I did this type of work like in my community. I feel like I would have a better idea of what cultural and social norms are involved in a situation. Let's say whenever I have to help somebody find some place for them, their community, or compensatory hours something like that. Or if I was talking to somebody, within the same region, there would be a general understanding of where they're from, their history, and stuff like that like. People in Gaspé are probably going to be much more well aware of Mi'kmaq realities.
>
> Whereas if you're working in an urban setting, it's multiple realities, it's multiple people, and it's multiple different services that they're gathering from, it's different realities. Such as people who might have been like 60s Scoop people, here there might not even have a connection to their community. They might be leaving their community because of trauma, so it's hard to figure out if you even want to take a fully cultural setup to this person's journey through the process. It's a lot more to consider I definitely think.

Both geographic spaces have nuances and issues that need to be navigated. It is still important to highlight how urban spaces, like Montréal, require flexibility and adaptability to provide support.

Selby Harris likewise highlighted the complexities of urban spaces. He discussed the wide variety of Indigenous peoples from all over the country that he works with:

> There's people that have moved from Six Nations, but there's all people that have moved to these areas from BC, from Manitoba, from New Brunswick, from Iqaluit. There's a lot of people that are living in these areas, from outside of their communities, that want to have a place to call home away from their home. And then, sometimes they haven't known a heart home. So those Friendships Centers provide that. They also provide with that community safety, also the knowledge, when necessary, that there are people there that will stand with them, stand beside them advocate with them. Teach them about how sacred they are. Teaching isn't the right word. Reminding them or evoking that sacredness that is that lives within them. And then to introduce them or reintroduce them to that knowledge that is they came to and that they've always had but haven't had those connections, to reignite that. To reintroduce them to their spirit. It's a lot more than a community that you would think of is like.

His observations also speak to one of the core aspects of community organizations like Friendship Centres. For Indigenous people away from their traditional territories or homes, these types of organizations can act as space to be supported and accepted by those who share the same or similar cultural perspective and history.

Wayne Monague, from Georgian Bay Friendship Centre, stressed that Indigenous Knowledge, and teachings are bound to a person. The person varies with them wherever they go:

> Our actual traditional practices, whatever they are for our region, we don't have to be in this great big Hollywood-style bush to have a sweat lodge, and I'm on top of a mountain and I'm the only Indian there. That's not the way things are. Realistically through our teachings, again they vary throughout, the creator and our spirit is with us wherever we are. Regardless, if we're on the subway in downtown Toronto or if you're up in the country up here in Midland looking at the water. The creator travels with you and your spirit with you, regardless of whatever things you have access to.

While there are differences in terms of geography and space between urban and reserve communities or urban and rural spaces, this does not mean that a person is automatically disconnected from their histories and cultures.

Holly Brant discussed her experiences of working in urban and reserve spaces as a social worker. She spoke to how important it is to understand one's role in the healing and how different perspectives and experiences can be used in contexts in other spaces. Positionality, in her

experiences, is crucial to ensuring that suitable supports are available to those regardless of where they live or whose territory they are on:

> Positionality is really important. When I meet somebody when I was working in the urban centers. And I've worked in urban centres not only in Ottawa, but I've worked in Sault Ste. Marie, as well being an Indigenous worker. I happened to be an Indigenous person working at the Health Center. Because I was, I was able to see other Indigenous people. So from my perspective, positionality is really important. I let people know. I introduced myself much the way that I've introduced myself to you. I let people know who I am and where I'm coming from. And this is where I can speak of.
>
> Having said that, that there are more similarities than differences that we have. And I think that's one of the premises that I'd like to go on, is that we're more similar than we are dissimilar. In terms of looking at different ways of healing. I am just learning about the Great Law. I'm just learned a ceremony. I am learning from people. I'm going to be 60 and I'm learning. I think that being genuine and saying: "This is who I am. I can only speak to this." But if I'm talking to someone from another nation. Then, for instance, I'm talking to someone who is Anishinaabe than I have a little bit of understanding about Seven Grandfather teachings. While those teachings are very specific, I wouldn't compare and contrast Great Law. What I would do is I would say is: "this is what I know and do you know anything from where you're coming from and what does that mean?"

Holly Brant emphasizes the importance of understanding personal traditions and teachings but understanding that within a context that is not culturally homogenous. She noted that there is no one-to-one translation, but there are some connective branches between different traditions and understandings that could be used to bridge the gap between people.

Joe Hill discussed the complexities of navigating service delivery and justice within an urban context. They wanted to highlight that urban centres are sites of great diversity, but there is a way to approach service delivery in a way that is respectful to the host nations and upholds the traditions of the people who are using the services:

> I think there's a lot of legal pluralism that needs to take place but with within the context of whatever Indigenous nation that it is. So not pan-Indigenous approaches to justice. I can only talk about what like the work that I'm doing this. So I'm always on Algonquin land no, no denying that. What I look towards are stories of our people coming to these lands and being be accepted as long as you do the right

things. like you. To avoid conflict you want to meet certain protocols.

> You know what comes to mind is performing ceremonies. Like nations coming together at Victoria Island, or what is now before an island. Mohawks come here. They would trade, there would be political talks, what have you. Treaty making taking place here, and so this was a site of multiple legal traditions, and it always has been.
>
> That history I think has been displaced, a lot. If we're going to think about Indigenous laws in the city, in a city like Ottawa, I think that we need to think about what it used to look like historically, and do our best to re-enact that today in ways that meet our needs.

Joe Hill's observations note that Indigenous presences in urban spaces existed long before the Canadian state occupied them. Urban areas do pose unique issues to navigate, but Indigenous people have been interacting with different traditions, perspectives and cultures for as long as we have had nations. Joe Hill's views are that traditions and teachings are not isolated to one group or another and that interactions between different communities do not erase what makes the communities distinct or unique.

Greg Doumalin noted that in his work in the I Am A Kind Man program, there can be a sense of alienation due to leaving the reserve, or becoming too successful. Echoing the ideas that Stephen Green spoke about on how community involvement can be powerful but also has drawbacks depending on the community, Greg stated:

> There's a couple guys that, for whatever reason, didn't really elaborate too much, but most guys really talk about growing up on the reserve. Even being for some that have done well, I use that term lightly like that, of off-reserve, urban, school stuff like that, that were teased because they left the reserve, like you don't want to be one of us. So then kind of struggled with that type of trauma where they're almost like being ridiculed for not staying.

What is striking is that Greg Doumalin also highlighted that there are biases that come from someone leaving their community or being too successful. This contributes to a sense of alienation.

Amy Edwards highlighted that the diversity of people is a crucial aspect to urban service

delivery. The work being in done in Montréal is being done in a landscape where the majority of the people that the organization work with are not First Nation, but Inuit:

> Especially in Montréal, majority of the community members we support at the Justice Center are Inuit. For Corey and I, we both come from like different First Nations perspectives, but a lot of those aren't really applicable to some community members we support. It's really about, again, grounding in what the person actually wants. If we know some of their family too, we can bring that connectivity in if they still want, not everybody has a good relationship with their birth families, so they have their chosen family as well. Because the Montréal Indigenous community is very diverse and there's bunch of different pockets.

Amy's observation notes that a crucial piece to service delivery in an urban context is ensuring that cultural grounding and safety are rooted in the people using the services. That is important to supporting urban Indigenous people in whatever capacity they need.

Steve Teekens, the Executive Director of Na-Me-Res, underscored an exciting aspect of service delivery within an urban space; Indigenous organizations and institutions can partner with community stakeholders to ensure that the people they serve have a wide breadth of opportunities and experiences to support their healing and wellness:

> We've learned to adapt. We are gardens at a park a few blocks away from us. The greenhouses at this place called the Stop, and we partner with an organization. They have like a big green space there and a greenhouse and their main deal is food security. They grow also plants in there that help these people. The guys spend time with their staff and they've hired an Indigenous staff person as well to work with them.

Na-Me-Res's approach is to work with other community stakeholders to ensure that Indigenous men have the appropriate services and activities. This is one of the strengths of urban spaces, as it allows a wide variety of stakeholders and organizations to come together to support those who need it.

Bobby Henry, a Cayuga scholar and academic, spoke to the biases and assumptions that Indigenous people in urban spaces face versus those who grew up in their traditional communities.

There is an assumed authenticity when it comes to reserve communities, which minimizes the experiences of urban Indigenous people:

> Just because they're off reserve doesn't mean they're less Indigenous peoples? No they're not. And so, we need to stop asking the question, why, how, urban Indigenous peoples are certain ways, whereas like the second the latter half of your question about how do we get back. Things are beyond our control. You, for example, you born in the city. You said in your own introduction, so that was done that's something beyond your control. So in this case, we need to stop treating one another that way because that's just internalized oppression. We're perpetuating a complex the Indian Act that has created in our minds. What it needs to be then, is we need to promote those finding those white roots of peace that do spread across the lands that we call Turtle Island. These people are to find these roots, and we are welcome them in. That's what our teachings are saying, there's processes of coming into our Confederacy and our nations but we don't exclude people.

Navigating urban spaces as an Indigenous person presents their own sets of difficulties, and internal biases influence identity and self-esteem. Bobby Henry's observations of the dichotomy of urban versus reserve communities highlight the ongoing impact of colonialism.

Aspects of Healing

This section discusses how the participants understood healing and wellness. The participants come from different programs, cities, reserves, and cultural contexts, but all had deep understandings of what healing is, and what the healing journey can look like. The discussions painted a complex picture of what recovery is, and how a person navigates the often complex pathway of healing themselves.

Amy Edwards discussed the complexities of healing can be different for everyone. She also highlighted that the goal of healing and willingness are not precisely straightforward or would fit in everyone's definitions of what healing is:

> Healing to me is a lot of people are like: "Oh, this person needs to go to AA, this person needs to do [XYZ]" No. Somebody healing is really just what they need to

> do for themselves, and supporting them in that, and really supporting people. Not putting so much pressure on them to like to say, quote-unquote “fix themselves” or quote-unquote “change.” It's really just supporting people in their journeys.

Amy’s observations highlight the complexity of supporting someone who is on their healing journey. The end goal is not to fix someone but to ensure that they can take care of themselves in whatever that may be.

Selby Harris echoed Amy Edward’s sentiment about healing being an individual process. It takes different approaches and methods for someone who is trying to heal or recover from experiences:

> That's a really broad thing but I would say it's individual path that each person has. Each person has their own path. Each person has their own instructions. The healing journey, I guess is firstly bringing themselves back to that path through connecting with others to help them to see themselves, to re-introduce themselves. And to navigate through the historical and direct traumas that they've suffered in their lives. There is no one journey, per se, it's a very personal thing. It has many has many layers. It has many, many, many stages. And many generations. So, even within like one person that's on that healing journey. There's, there's a lot for that for that person to unfold. I would say every day that you're on that journey is healing. It’s constant, care and reassurance and love.

Selby Harris’s observation highlights how the healing journey is based around the individual but also includes relationships as a part of that process. He also notes that a key part is understanding the impacts and contexts of colonialism.

Robert Marcheterre, of Kanesatake Community Service, discussed what he understood at healing within the context of his approach to therapy. He stressed that healing is a process that can manifest in how a person talks about a given subject or event:

> It comes out through the story right. One thing that I've noticed is when a person stops talking about the issue, and starts talking about more positive experiences, then I think we know that we're in the right direction. When the narrative changes, when the story changes from problematic issues and problematic focus to more positive, then I can start making that change. When we see these types of successes, they're not necessarily measurable on a chart, but it's definitely progress for that

> person. And then we can start looking at that. My vision for what a healthy person is irrelevant. It's what their vision is. Every experience is subjective to the human being that you're dealing with.

He uses narratives and storytelling to better understand a person's experience and for the individual to express themselves. It also understands how the person's thinking and feeling function to allow him to see changes in their behaviour and mindset.

Greg Doumalin highlighted that healing has a visible effect on the individual. It is not just an internal process but one that manifests itself in actions and behavior as well:

> I do use the wheel, we do talk about that. From my observation I've been able to see people how they first come in. There was one individual who very angry and very like frustrated. He is very relaxed now. He says “I look forward to this every week.” When I see when I see guys in the group that break down emotionally. That tells me that they're there they're healing.

Greg Doumalin describes healing as a release of tension and built-up emotion. It is also for expressing emotions and feelings that otherwise would be covered up or suppressed.

Vyvian Mitchell, a non-Indigenous facilitator and counsellor working with the Good Minds program in Tyendinaga, highlighted that one key aspect of healing and wellness is the process of learning a person's history and culture:

> I had one young client who was only 20 years old, and he grew up on territory, he didn't know much about his life, doesn't know much about his ancestry. I got him a smudge kit and I was teaching him about it. He was just ready to start that chain reaction of learning and growing and challenging himself to things that he never would have thought about challenging himself to prior.

A core aspect of healing is not just self-reflection but understanding a person's place within the context of the history and culture of the Haudenosaunee. Understanding oneself within the large network of relations and histories helps a person feel like they are a part of something, which can encourage healing.

Selby Harris also echoes the idea that healing within an Indigenous context includes

understanding and learning about the traditions and history of the Indigenous people that a person belongs to:

> Some people will want to start to connect to the Longhouse. As such connect with Elders and Faith Keepers, and clan mothers and so on and so forth that facilitate those things. And learn about those things and learn about their lineage. When you go back to when you asked who I was and to introduce myself. There's many people in the community that don't know. They might be aware of their lineage but they don't know. They don't know who they are. So that healing journey can be part of that finding out. Finding out who their family is and then in essence like finding out who their clan is. Finding out who their nation is, finding out who their spirit is. And then as such will build up a grander sense of what and who their communities.

The colonization process has worked to ensure that Indigenous people's history and culture are something that must be sought out. The healing process involves learning the full scope of the histories and teachings of Indigenous peoples.

Wayne Monague, from the Georgian Bay Friendship Centre, likewise stresses that a critical part of healing is addressing core issues from a person's past. He also notes that this approach to understanding the impact of a person's personal history is necessary regardless of which culture or history the person comes from:

> Back to my history, everything is coming from the experience with work. In our area here, and across the country, culturally speaking, just in a different method for whichever area, nonetheless, the most effective was to have that buy-in. That buy-in, the purpose, is to help the person discover the beginning of themselves. You think about ceremony, you think about sweat lodges, what is it? It's the mother's womb. We have to help that individual return to their mother's womb. We have to help the individual get back to the beginning of that person. Yes, there are huge issues with substance abuse, with drug use, so on and so forth, which leads to domestics, blah blah blah. The most effective way that I've found to this point and like I said, I use within corrections, is helping, guiding that person literally, to self-discover their beginning and walk them through that.

He stresses that his role is not to heal a person but to ensure that the individual has the right tools and approaches to ensure that they go on that journey.

Stephen Green stated that healing and wellness are deeply personal processes. He

emphasizes that the focus on institutions, whether they are churches, Indigenous organizations, or even traditional institutions like Longhouses, do not have a monopoly on traditions or healing:

> You can go to a Longhouse or church or mosque or wherever it is that you go. Yes it can be a place of worship. Yes, you can go and rejuvenate there. But you actually, in our ways, should be able to do that right in your yard. You should be able to stand out in your backyard or the woods, or the swamp or wherever it is, and look out and be able to recharge that way. Because the earth is your mother and your belief is the Earth is your mother. She gave you life. Healing comes from that. If you really believe it, and you let that sink into you then healing comes from that. I feel like we're kind of missing a lot of pieces and stuff because of our approach of how we're doing things now.

He also stresses that the process can happen wherever a person is, and does not necessarily require a structured approach or institution. Indigenous Knowledge, and healing are not bound by bricks and mortar buildings, they are carried with us wherever we go.

Impacts of COVID-19

One of the unique pressures discussed during the interview was how COVID-19 impacted program and service delivery. While it was not my intention to have this project be topical to events that were going on, the impacts of COVID-19 had far-reaching effects that changed how people approach programming and service delivery. Several of the people I spoke with discussed issues or limitations that came with transitioning to online or over the phone.

Stephen Green discussed the limits of working with people over the phone and ZOOM instead of in person. He stressed that there were reasons why some of the people he worked with were reticent to speak over the phone:

> [COVID-19] made me appreciate the face to face more. Because working with youth especially in the youth center and care, trying to have conversations over the phone doesn't fly. A lot of these lot of these kids don't really have communication skills so it's hard for them. What you really appreciate is the face to face because

> you kind of depend a lot on body language, stuff like that, to really know where they're at and how they're really feeling about things we ask.
>
> Plus, they'll tell you more in person than they will over the phone because they're afraid somebody's listening or whatever. So once you build that rapport if you just get under the tree, you get a lot more participation in the conversation than you do on a phone.

Doing things in-person with some individuals would be more accessible and would allow for a safer and trusting space. There are legitimate privacy concerns around the use of digital platforms or using telephone services that an institution provides.

Likewise, Greg Doumalin also noted that the initiation transition to delivering programs and services online had its own set of difficulties:

> What happened last year when I first started, we were doing in-person programming, up until the end of December, and then we were on full locked down on, and we started opening up back in April. I was doing most of the program on ZOOM for four months. And it was very challenging because some of the guys that do come to the program, they don't have access to computers or, or technology that type of stuff.

It is essential to highlight that not all people have readily accessible computers or internet connections to do programming remotely. There are advantages to having that type of programming available to people over the internet, but technological barriers can impede it.

Wayne Monague stressed that while there are certain restrictions to the process of program and service delivery, it is critical to remember that cultural practices and teachings can exist across cyberspace:

> Can we do phone calls? Yes of course we can. When I first started in corrections, ZOOM didn't exist, now I could. Because back then I would have to had flown, that's why I would have spent so much time in the prairies and what have you. It was believed by our Elders at time that "well we can't have that traditional ceremonies while we're there." Well very true, you have tobacco, I have tobacco. What we are doing is connecting our spirit, and if we're sharing it on the screen, then so be it. The actual physical ceremony or process happening for myself, happening for you, is happening for other people in their way. We're just seeing

> each other on screen. Traditionally looking at it, that's the way its supposed to be, even if we were together. That tobacco, or whatever medicine we're using, how it affects me is for me. It's not for the group, although we do blend better physically however, when we are together. But, that's not the purpose, although that's how its discussed, and we promote it, and we've done it always that way, we adjust as well.

At a fundamental level, the support going on between two people, along with the medicines, are not necessarily restricted to just doing things in person. Indigenous Knowledge and teachings are adaptable and can be made to conform to whatever circumstances they may be in.

Robert Marcheterre noted that there was a positive reaction to delivering service online or over the telephone in some respects. He said that because of the relatively interconnected nature of Kanehsatà:ke, doing work with individuals over the phone allowed for a certain degree of privacy:

> But in an interesting way, some people really did prefer that. We discovered that there are some people who, as much as they would like to come into the health center to receive services for their mental health, don't want to walk into the building because they're likely to see their neighbour there who's waiting to see the doctor, or whatever the case may be. So, we were getting quite a few calls from people who are like "oh I'm so glad that you could speak to me on the phone, because I don't really want to go into the center." Not that they don't care for the services not that they don't believe in the services. But it's pride or whatever it may be, in spite of the fact that, chances are the person seeing them go to see the mental health worker, and has done so themselves or know someone who has.

The inclusion of telephone or ZOOM access has seemingly allowed more people to access one-on-one services from the safety and comfort of their homes.

On the flip side, Steve Teeken noted that Na-Me-Res already had a preparedness strategy for a pandemic before the COVID-19 outbreak. There are still negatives to the program and service delivery:

> The other thing that's really missing that I think the guys missed dearly, I do too, is our sweats. Sweat lodge ceremony every single Wednesday. With the pandemic and the way the sweat lodge is with people breathing vapours in the air and stuff we don't think it's wise to do that right now. So that really put a damper on things.

There was an impact on cultural practices and elements to the programming that was being offered to the Indigenous men that Na-Me-Res worked with. With that being said, Steven Teeken did state that this was not the case across the board with the variety of programs and services they offer:

> In the warmer months we did have circles outdoors with our traditional teacher that did it. A lot of the life skills programs financial literacy and the academic upgrading that was done online as well. We're really quick to pivot going online, just the cultural programs suffered somewhat.

One of the advantages of offering a wide range of programs and services is that there is a great deal more flexibility in what can be translated to a digital space.

Discussion

This section looked at the aspects of service delivery and how they relate to service delivery. The participants discussed the importance of community, how different space influence healing and the availability of supports, how healing is conceptualized, and how the COVID-19 pandemic impacted those supports, highlight how these are interconnected. The need for support in healing and wellness is crucial, and a great deal of that is influenced by the community that the programs live in, and how the individuals that use them navigate that space.

Contours of Community Support

From what I understand about it is that the Good Mind is something that you possess so that you're good community member. and I try to practice it in different ways in my life. Not perfect by any means, but I think that the Good Mind, kind of has this really good balance between like social cultural expectations on people that are placed on people, community members, and an individual's agency to act in those social networks.

Joe Hill

Community support is central to healing. The participants stressed that communities are able to connect people together. Through these connections, informal supports are established and grow. It means that there are people who are farther along their healing journey that can then

support those who are new to the program or new to understanding what they are healing from. What is also striking is that the fostering of community is not something that has to come from programs and services but the informal process and connections that are a part of any social setting. Not all of the facilitation of community is directly couched in the language or programming of the community. Fostering a sense of community is a process of healing unto itself.

The group setting, which fosters connections and relationships among people, also can act as a safe space. Some participants stressed that when people are around others who have the same experiences or feelings, there is ease and comfort, which can mean that people are more open. Returning to the work of Rupert Ross when discussing Indigenous healing programming, he also stressed the importance of collaborative healing spaces: "As I have since realized, a host of important healing steps were just beginning to occur to [the client], and all of them came from the fact that [the client] was in a group of healing people, not sitting alone on a couch with a single therapist nearby."[191] A sense of community and connection are powerful vehicles for support and healing. One aspect that was striking was the notion that even when not in a group setting, relationships and communities can be crucial to supporting engagement in the healing journey. Informal references and referrals for potential clients mean that there was already a somewhat level of trust established when a person would engage in a program or service.

The dynamics of having community support are positive, but this is not a one hundred percent positive or supportive space. There are things that need to be taken into consideration when discussing the impacts of community on healing. In some cases, the participants noted that healing program supports are no good at providing a sense of community or connection and are only

[191] Ross, *Indigenous Healing*, 198.

focused on a stringent idea of what healing is. There is also the issue of people who are leaving the correctional system having to navigate a space that can be overwhelming. Navigating transportation, finding housing, or finding a job are all part and parcel of navigating community spaces, whether they are urban or reserve spaces. Along with that is, at least within smaller communities, a lack of anonymity that can be a barrier for people accessing programs and services. There is still shame associated with mental health issues and seeking out support, and there can be worry that they may be spotted going into mental health support. This was one of the critical differences between navigating urban and reserve spaces, privacy and anonymity.

The participants who work or have worked in First Nations reserves stressed that there is a uniform, or at least familiar and consistent, cultural and social norm. Being able to engage with Elders and knowledge keepers who are from a person's Indigenous background can be significantly more manageable in a reserve context. In the urban context, there are many Indigenous people from many different nations. The programming and services have to be cognizant of the diverse needs and perspectives that each Indigenous person and nation may need. This is not to say that the support provided on First Nations reserves is not equipped to address the needs of people from different nations; programs that are based on reserves often have people from the surrounding communities use the services offered.

Several of the participants stressed the importance of positionality in delivering programming or services. Understanding the background of the person using the program or service and framing that in the context of the person who is providing the program and service allows for a bridge to be built between people, even if they are not from the same nation. There are overlapping knowledges and perspectives, and those can be the connective tissue between the person using the program and the program itself. It also can be used as a starting point for someone

who is unfamiliar with their own background and teachings. The participants stressed that it does not mean that the one-size-fits-all that is the basis for pan-Indian perspectives is warranted but that there are ways to relate to people from different nations.

Healing and the Community

Healing is sometimes just making a little change, and it folds into other things.

Stephen Green

The most consistent refrain from the participants was stressing that every healing journey will be unique to a person's experiences and perspectives. The effects of colonization and trauma manifest themselves differently for everyone. As such, what is needed, wanted or required is different for each person. The participants stressed that programming and services provide guideposts and tools for every person who uses them, but at the end of the day, it is up to the individual. It is up to them to carry out the plans suggested by the program or service, or even to ensure returning to the program and service on a regular schedule or as needed. For some, as the participants noted, it is a matter of reconnecting to their traditional cultures and institutions, the Haudenosaunee Longhouse and clan system, for example. This can be a powerful way to provide stability and support for someone as they navigate addictions or maladaptive coping mechanisms. For others, there is already a cultural basis or community connection, and it is more of a matter of directly addressing maladaptive coping mechanisms. The participants did stress that there are surface-level issues that are often connected to deeper issues or traumas. Healing can be managing short-term or surface-level matters and working long-term on the underlying issues around trauma and colonization. Scholars have also discussed the importance of Indigenous Knowledge in the context of healing. Lavalle and Poole in their article talking about the connection between healing

and colonization likewise also stressed that engaging with Indigenous Knowledge as a means to support healing and wellness: “If one recognizes that the assault on cultural identity has played a significant role on the ill health of Indigenous people and that the spirit has been wounded, then healing activities need to include rebuilding the individual and collective identity of Indigenous peoples.”[192] The scholarship and participants stressed the importance of Indigenous Knowledge in relation to community support and healing. A crucial component to that is that regardless of the circumstances, the participants stressed that the work being done does not exist in a vacuum.

The community that surrounds a person's own healing is also crucial to that process. It acts as a network of support and connection, from formal organizations and institutions that provide gathering spaces, programs and services to the support that comes from other people who are navigating their own healing journey. The healing journey, while it is one person’s own pathway, is deeply influenced by the community that surrounds that person. The power of community and connections are foundational to Indigenous healing, as Jeff Corntassel stresses, Indigenous resurgence. He writes: “The complex spiritual, political, and social relationships that hold peoplehood together are continuously renewed. These daily acts of renewal, whether through prayer, speaking your language, honoring your ancestors, etc., are the foundations of resurgence."[193] Both urban and reserve healing and wellness programs are part of a larger tapestry of supports that can help facilitate a person navigating their own journey. The participants also pointed out that while the community is essential to supporting Indigenous healing, it is by no means a perfect system of support.

[192] Lavallee and Poole, “Beyond Recovery,” 275.
[193] Corntassel, “Re-Envisioning Resurgence,” 89.

The participants noted that the healing support is only as good as the community that is providing the support. Communities can be small or do not allow the sense of security that can come from anonymity. There are stigmas around seeking mental health or support. In smaller communities, the participants said that people would be less likely to use programs for fear of being seen by friends, family, or other community members. This also applied to those who worked within the organization; there was also the concern of being recognized by those who worked or delivered the support. Judgment, whether it is the judgement of values or actions, is a genuine part of communities. There were instances where some communal supports were rooted in the sense of judgement or guilt, or there were stringent ideas around what constitutes good behaviour. The participants stressed that the Indigenous approaches to healing and wellness were not based on judgement and shame but on support.

One of the interesting aspects of service delivery that highlighted many observations about healing and community support was how the organizations reacted to COVID-19. The response to the shift towards online or remote service delivery was varied. The participants noted that in some cases, the shift to online delivery was a positive because it meant that people were more likely to attend in-person sessions because of the fear of being seen and compromising their privacy. For others, people who used the programs and services were more comfortable talking over the phone or keeping in contact via text messages. On the flip side, participants did stress that the lack of in-person programming negatively affected the particular aspects of programming and service. It was more difficult to foster a sense of community when things were strictly remote. It was also challenging to discuss Indigenous Knowledge, ceremonies and teachings over ZOOM or other online platforms due to the sensitive nature of the information and the need for demonstrations of practices associated with the teaching.

Conclusion

Throughout the discussions with the people engaged in this research, ideas connected to community and connection were woven through their words and observations. When analyzing healing, it is essential to look at it as a process that is unique to the individual, as well as existing within a larger context. The community that the programs live within influences how the programs are delivered and what sort of support people can access. Our conversations highlighted how healing and wellness intersected every other aspect of Indigenous life and how vital community is to that process. The influence of community and its importance in the process exists within official capacities in influencing what the cultural basis of the programming is and to whom accesses programming and service, among others. It also shaped the informal supports that were available to people who were going on their healing journey. Programs that offer people a chance to interact and connect with others who have been through similar processes, to establishing a support system to support someone who may be new to the area. Community support can be dynamic and offer valuable support to those who are going on the healing journey.

The Longhouse Fire focuses on the health and wellness of families, clans and communities. The Longhouse fire is a way to bring people together to find warmth, cook, connect, and talk. This fire offers a space to each individual and their inner fires; while there are limits and considerations that are a part of belonging to a community, there is a great deal of support that comes from being a part of a supportive community. This fire also represents a transition point, from the fire that is within the individual to the fire that acts as a gathering space for the Confederacy. We move on next to the council fire, where the focus will be on broader issues that are crucial to healthy individuals, healthy communities and healthy nations.

Chapter 7: The Council Fire – Indigenous Knowledge

The council fire sits at the heart of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy when the Condoled Chiefs gather. This fire's function is to represent the gathering of the Condoled Chief's minds. The fire's smoke also travels up to the heavens, bridging the earth and the heavens together to represent the union between those on the earth and the ancestors and spirits that reside in the sky. It is a fire that encapsulates the entirety of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and connects all of the six nations. Throughout the past two chapters, there has been a journey from the inner fire or the person out to the community, and finally, this chapter ends with looking at things from the context of the nation and the confederacy.

This chapter focuses on the role of Indigenous Knowledge within the context of program and service delivery. I wanted Indigenous Knowledge to be a part of the macro stage of analysis because it is important to emphasize that IK is a part of the approaches around healing regardless of the nation or city. Indigenous Knowledge is crucial to the revitalization of Indigenous communities and cultures and is a part of every approach to healing and wellness. Indigenous Knowledge is central to my dissertation and central to the Chanie Wenjack School of Indigenous Studies. It was appropriate that this chapter ties the themes and discussions together through the context of Indigenous Knowledge.

Throughout this chapter, the participants discuss several different elements of Indigenous Knowledge, from the inclusion of cultural practices and ceremonies within programs to the importance of Indigenous languages and land-based learning. It also discusses how the Haudenosaunee's understanding of the Great Law, Condolence, and the Good Mind are

incorporated within program and service delivery. Finally, there is some discussion around significant themes and ideas that are a part of this chapter.

Cultural Service Delivery

One of the critical components of programs and services for Indigenous people is the inclusion of cultural practices, ceremonies and perspectives. It is important to stress that cultural practices and perspectives are not additions or extensions to programming but foundational. It is not enough for a program or service to have the trappings of ceremonies, dressing a standard Western program in buckskins. There is a concerted effort to incorporate all aspects of Indigenous Knowledge into supporting those who are on their healing journey. This is done intentionally so the program or service reflects the values and perspectives of the communities that they exist in, but also works to undo the effects of trauma and colonialism.

Steven Teeken spoke about how Indigenous Knowledge and cultures are a part of the programming offered at Na-Me-Res. This is crucial to the work being done there because of the ability to get the people at Na-Me-Res to engage with the programming. It also offers a means by which to undo the longstanding effects of colonialism that many of the men have gone through:

> More or less what we do, especially for those who've never been raised in their family, usually by non-native families in foster care. We introduced them into the culture. It's new for a lot of them, it really opens their eyes to things. For many of the men, they've been taught the negative things about our culture. A lot of the negative stereotypes you hear out there. So they've never really been exposed to knowing our culture in a positive manner. So often, it connects them, and makes them feel part of community. Often that's what a lot of our guys are just looking for, to find a sense of belonging and where they are in the world, and understand their traditional rules.

Steve Teeken is highlighting that cultural practices and traditions are a form of therapy. It is a way to heal from the trauma that an individual has experienced and helps them connect to a community.

Tracey Zweifel stated that cultural practices and traditional knowledges are critical to the success of programs and services for Indigenous people. She stressed that ceremonies need to be a part of the process:

> There's a lot of that history that needs to be shared. That is where you start. And then, as that happens, more questions will come. And I think most importantly, not only is what is delivered but how is it delivered. If you can't be on the land, be in a circle, because the circle holds strength. It is amazing, we did circles in school all the time, and kids would never lie in a circle. Never. Because they honoured the circle. There's a lot of strength in Indigenous ways of knowing and being so the activities that take place. Ceremony has to be introduced.

Tracey has highlighted the importance of Indigenous ways of knowing in program and service delivery. Her experience with the inclusion of ceremonies provided a positive space for the youths she worked with and a safe space for them, to be honest.

Holly Brant likewise stressed the importance of cultural practices in relation to healing and wellness. It can be a powerful vehicle for a person on their healing journey to learn their traditional cultures and histories:

> But I think that what I said before when, not just men, but when people begin to understand who they are, where they come from, where their identity lies. I think that's where healing starts. I also believe that people deserve a second chance. I think that people can change. And I think that people really have to have the wanting. And the whole concept of being able to lift up other people is also part and ingrained in who we are. Because when we're growing up, when we're little, we're given teachings to be able to stay within the parameters of good behaviour, of following what our teachings have been given to us since time immemorial.

She also highlights that the cultures and traditions of many Indigenous nations are oriented around health and wellness and ensuring that the broader community is healthy. It does not focus strictly on the singular experience or the individual.

Amy Edwards highlighted the inclusion of Indigenous cultural practices in their approach and organization. She also noted that it is a crucial piece that connects all the different programs

that are housed in the First Peoples Justice Centre of Montréal:

> A lot of that time there's a cultural component, as well. And that can connect between Corey and me in the work we do so. I facilitate the medicine bundle program and also a lot of community members we work with carve as well. So looking at supports in a way that's more holistic and more relatable to people rather than just the court.

Having Indigenous Knowledge and cultural practices ensures that the people who are using the programs and services at the First Peoples Justice Centre of Montréal have wraparound and holistic support.

Steve Teekens, the Executive Director of Na-Me-Res, talked about how cultural components are crucial to all of the programming that Na-Me-Res provides for the people who use them:

> Part of our strategic plan is helping teach our men our traditional roles within community and coming back from that traditional viewpoint. Primarily from Anishinaabeg culture, in some to lesser Cree culture, not so much Haudenosaunee. We talked about kindness with the guys.

Their approach to programming and services is deeply rooted in Anishinaabeg culture, and it is designed to ensure that the men get the support they need but are also supported in their healing journey.

Greg Doumalin discussed how cultural components of program and service delivery often act as a way to appeal to people to use the programs and services. He noted that when he first started at the Barrie Friendship Centre, the person he was replacing told him that there was an issue with attendance during the summer:

> Right now, averaging still about the same. The most I've had at one time was 17 guys and that was like in the middle of summer. Now the interesting thing about that is when I first started, the previous gentleman who did the program, he had said "When the summer comes, the guys wont show up, because the summer is around."
>
> I took that as an initiative to see what I could do to make guys come. I have been able to sustain that during the summer. I'm still sitting around six or nine guys. We're starting to do a little bit more workshops. I have a guy coming in and we're

> going to do some drum making, not this week but the following week. So just doing more things like that. I had another guy actually come by the center yesterday he would like to do some drumming as well. I do have a guy in the group that does singing a drum group, but he's busy doing things. I think things like that is going to continue to bring guys to the center.

The inclusion of Indigenous culture can be a powerful attraction for Indigenous people seeking program and service support. Given the longstanding suppression of traditional knowledge, ceremonies and supports, programs and services based around them are unique in a landscape of services offered elsewhere.

Vyvian Mitchell described how traditional teachings and cultural practices are incorporated into the Good Minds program on Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory. Vyvian describes her work as more in line with conventional forms of counselling, while she describes her colleague as being more aligned with using traditional approaches and medicines:

> I am the community wellness support worker, but then we also have a community wellness worker who, unfortunately is a way at the moment, but she does a lot more traditional teachings. What she does is, when she's working with her clients, she's teaching them about the sacred medicines and she's teaching them about different activities that they can do holistically to get themselves back into their traditional ways. She does gardening programming, as well, to teach them how to grow their own medicines, how to care for them and then use them in their everyday life. How to use your smudge, how to make smudge feathers for yourself, how to make different instruments to use for healing, it's a little bit of it all.

Her and her colleague's approach highlights an important aspect of Indigenous organizations. That these two approaches can happily co-exist within the same organization; one method that may work for an individual may not work for another, and vice versa.

Wayne Monague also noted that there are some issues with people who include traditional cultures and practices. He points to an example where people he has worked with have been concerned with the type of tobacco for ceremonies and gifting to Elders:

> An example of that is people saying is “Oh I need traditional tobacco, I can’t use

> the story bought stuff." It's like, it's still the same plant. I've even come across that debate with older Elders and younger Elder. A generational mix, and that was the debate "we cant use that it wasn't grown here." I understand, but its not 1491 anymore. It's still the same product, we never used that word for it, but it has become a product. But that is one of the teachings of this area is that we are an adaptive people.

His experience and observation that Indigenous people are adaptive highlights a core piece to cultural practices and Indigenous Knowledge. They are not frozen in time but can change and evolve as Indigenous people likewise change and evolve.

Likewise, Holly Brant has also discussed that some people have a rigid sense of how things must be done. There are correct methods to do ceremonies or teachings, and anything other than that is an aberration:

> When I talked to other nations of people, I'm not hardcore "You have to do things this way. It has to be done that way". And I know that there are some traditional people that are like that. "In order to do this, you have to do it this way, this way, and this way." And for me, I like to find out where the client is coming from. Where they believe that they need to go because it's not my journey, it's their journey. I think listening to where they feel they need to go, and where they feel they need to have information is important. Understanding those different elements that ties us together, of being kind of being honest, being patient, all of those things.

Holly Brant looks at the use of cultural practices and traditions as flexible and must be moulded to ensure that they fit with the person's needs.

Joe Hill noted that the Indigenous people who are working in justice and social service roles are putting in the effort to provide more cultural practices and systems to address their clients' needs:

> I think the fact that service providers are so willing to do that work is because they're their frontline workers. They see all the injustice. They see what poverty has done to our communities. They understand what colonialism has done to our communities. And they also know what it's like to work in those mainstream institutions, and to implement those mainstream tools and lenses and they're dissatisfied with that.

The work being done is at the grassroots level. Many organizations and individuals are working to provide culturally based programs and support to help get what their Indigenous clients need. They also emphasized that there is still a lot of work that needs to be done to make culturally-based programs legitimate in the eyes of mainstream practices:

> I believe there's still some assumptions that you have the law, mainstream white law. And then you have culture and traditions, but not seeing that culture and tradition is actually law. You have this very negative view coming from the courts about traditions. Thinking about it in the sense that if we just introduced this person to how to make a dream catcher, or learn about anger management, but through the lens of culture, then they'll become a better person. Not understanding that work that's being done in those spaces is actually very important work being done. It's relationship building, it's community building that's taking place in those spaces.

The cynicism is based on the assumption that Indigenous-led programs and services do not go far enough to punish and correct bad behaviour. They went on to highlight how this sentiment is found across the justice system and is not confined to a singular demographic:

> The way Gladue reports have unfolded in the North [Inuit communities] is basically offenders were getting who are charged with very serious charges are getting very light, lenient sentences. And maybe they're getting going through programming and whatnot, but there's a severe dissatisfaction with like what [the community feel's] like a slap on the wrist. And, and this is not coming from the perspective of like white Canadians conservative Canadians. "oh the Gladue system is just a slap on the wrist for these native people" No, they're like, super angry that the that people in their communities are getting away with it, but there's no sense of justice in what took place, there's no satisfaction and what happened. And so I think that we need to as Indigenous communities. as Indigenous people, we need to really think about what justice, looks like.

Joe Hill's observations are that there are concerns from within Indigenous communities about the effectiveness of these programs. There needs to be a balancing act within a program and justice context so that the needs of the community are in balance with the offender's needs.

Land and Land-Based Resources

A theme from the discussions was the need for, or use of, land-based teachings and knowledge. There was consensus among participants that engaging in some land-based component to a program strengthened the program. This was across all programs and transcended geographies. Even in urban spaces, land-based teachings were seen as crucial to the work being done to support Indigenous men on their healing journey.

Greg Doumalin discussed his plans for the I Am a Kind Man program and noted that an essential piece to the program that needs to be expanded upon is more land-based activities. He does note that the Barrie Friendship Centre is lucky because of it's proximity to land that can be used for ceremonies:

> I just started doing it this summer, we have access to park out here. It used to be a Provincial Park, but Christian Island has taken over it. We have full access, we do some [land-based learning], some circles out there. Next summer I want it to be a little bit more team building. I have been cleaning up the center because we're doing this renovation, and I found like teepee and I want to do like more group stuff. The core of it is helping ourselves, but also just a place where we can just hang out and have fun. Maybe have a lacrosse game, just to have the awareness there.

Greg has noted that there is a lot of potential to support Indigenous peoples healing through the use of land-based learning. What is striking is that he discussed how important a connection to land is to help facilitate awareness, connection and team building.

Stephen Green, from the Tyendinaga Justice Circle, discussed the importance of land and land-based learning. His observations highlighted a relationship with the land can be conducive to healing but that it can also lead to people making assumptions about their roles:

> I would like to see a lot of land-based stuff, and even by land-based I would actually like to see it conservation-based. I think having an understanding of those terms, because I don't think people understand that there are roles, but with roles are

> responsibilities. We say the words a lot, but we don't talk about it in depth. We have things like the men. Everybody wants to pump on their chest and go out there and say that men are the hunters. Not all men were hunters. Some men were builders, some stayed back and protected the village parameter. Not everybody was a hunter. It's a bad thing to say that everybody was a hunter. But if you are a hunter. Your hunter is a role, you have responsibilities in that. Part of the responsibility, you have to carry a lot of ethics. You have to carry a lot of ethics because if you go there, and you don't have ethics you're going to just shoot whatever, and you're going to take whatever shots. Go and bow hunt for one season. Don't take a rifle, go bow hunting and you will understand ethics. You will wait and wait and wait and wait and wait and wait for the right buck or whatever to come along.

Stephen Green's observations of land-based learning and relationships can inform a person's understanding of their roles, but that has the potential to perpetuate stereotypical gender roles and understandings. He highlighted that having a relationship with the land is essential, but it is also important to have that relationship be based on ethical relationships, not extractive.

Stephen Green continued to discuss the importance of having a relationship with the land, but making sure that it is a reciprocal relationship:

> And I think the bulk of stuff, I would like to see with that. And it sounds like it's not connected, but I really feel like there is a lot of healing from that. Because if you connect with something that you're innately connected with. You cannot deny that you're not part of the earth. There's no way you can.
>
> But if you can connect with that, then the other connections come easier. It's automatic. You have to learn trust, you have to learn honesty, you have to learn integrity, you have to learn humility. You have to learn all those things because Mother Nature is going to show you. If you open up to it, it's going to show you.

He stresses that conservation and healing are tied to one another. Taking care of something like land or nature, can help facilitate taking care of oneself. Reciprocally engaging with land can help teach them to better themselves.

Corey Thomas stressed that land and a relationship to land is critical to supporting Indigenous notions of justice and healing. Access to land is crucial because it is central to Indigenous understandings of law and identity:

> All of the agreements we've had all relate specifically to the Earth. So if we're going to understand justice in our own way, we should be able to have Canada perceive our version of justice. They have to understand how traditionally we have had agreements and laws with each other, with the land with, with our surroundings, our own people. It's literally involved in everything that we are, and we're very proud of that. Extremely proud of that and that's not something we want to give up. And that's why people fight so hard for environmental issues. Because it's not just an object to us, it's literally every being of our history, every being of who we are, and what makes us make Mi'kmaqi or makes us anything related to our culture.

Indigenous governance structures and understandings are rooted in a relationship with the land, and it is crucial to ensure that Canada understands that this factors into how Indigenous people understand justice.

Amy Edwards discussed that they have done work around land-based learning, but there are still barriers that need to be addressed:

> I think there could be if they really like tried and put effort into it. Mont Royale, the mountain, is like an important Indigenous space and then also with the St. Lawrence River and there's a lot of like green space and parks, but then also you have Kahnawake and Kanehsatà:ke really close by. We did a Strawberry Day in Kanehsatà:ke, but that's just because our boss is from there. So that connection was able to be fostered pretty naturally. So I think a lot more conversations and work be done. But even just outside of Montreal, there's like a lot of nature and spaces. Connections I think could be fostered more. A lot of the national parks or like provincial parks aren't really accessible to community members we support too, because you need a mode of transportation to get there.

While there are communities that organizations can reach out to, things like transportation are still barriers that can prevent access. Amy also discussed how, at least within the urban context, it depends on whether the city would support public spaces like Mont Royale for being available to Indigenous initiatives.

Robert Marcheterre, who works in Kanehsatà:ke, also noted that meaningful, land-based learning programs face barriers. There is genuine interest and desire from the organization and the community to develop these sorts of initiatives. He noted that one of the significant barriers of any land-based initiative is funding:

> We started an application, but we were given too short a timeframe to get it in. We really don't have anything currently other than meeting with support workers, generally me, to talk about violence prevention to offer support. We did look at a land-based program. We were looking at building a structure in Blue Mountain, which is not far from the community, a wonderful location where we could have done some land-based programming. You know, doing some baskets, doing some tops. The goal was to build, kind of like a cabin that could be like a Healing Center, where we would have had two workers working with the men to do some hikes and whatnot, just to spend some time.

The lack of funding is not always due to a lack of interest from the funder but can also be due to a lack of time to draft a successful proposal. Even with space that could be easily accessed, there still needs to be a financial base to ensure the programs are correctly delivered.

Tracey Zweifel, from the Alberta Native Friendship Centre Association, stressed the importance of land-based learning. She highlighted that having a relationship with the land is vital for both youths and adults:

> We developed a community garden. Begged, borrowed, steal, I talked to a farmer out of 10 acres of land, gave it to us for free…And we had the inmates come out and help us, because it was just there was no funding. I shouldn't say that. We had a little bit of funding I think, 20 grand from the Indigenous Summit thing. But for three years that didn't do anything, so I bought a rotor tiller and some troubles and stuff like that, and the inmates came out. And you could see them come out frustrated or whatever. And then once they dug their hands into the earth. They were calm, they would laugh, they would share. I would always order pizza or something men we'd eat together. They would always ask to come out. When I didn't need them anymore. It was towards the end of the season and that's when sage was ready. So, I talked to them about sage and about medicines and about how to gather and about offering tobacco and all of these things.
>
> And they would bring in loads of sage already tied. Our entire basement would be hanging with sage, and then we would teach them how to bundle it or, roll it, then how to smudge. The inmates which some were part of the I am a Kind Man Program. Then after that was done those other years, they would talk about being able to smudge and do all that.
>
> So anyway those are some stories. The reason I share them is, if you want an active men's program, and taking the experience of those young boys in school, all the way up to the guys working in the fields with us. They need connection to land for healing. They need to know their history. They'll develop identity through that. If you attach food as ceremony. It's important. Connection to land, Elders, and drumming.

Tracey Zweifel's experience with creating a community garden initiative highlights the importance of leaving a classroom or program space. It is not just an opportunity to work off the land but also gather teachings and histories so that a person better understands themselves.

Wayne Monague mentioned that land-based learning can be a powerful avenue to self-learning and discovery. It is foundational to helping people grow and learn, to better themselves, and support one another, but also helps facilitate language learning:

> Land-based. Why? Because that's where [language] is. That's the people that we are. What I'm seeing and what I'm noticing and experiencing is that in order to get there, we have to help them cleanse themselves with self-discovery. There's so many people unfortunately that have not self-discovered yet.

Wayne is stressing that language and land go hand in hand and can be robust metrics to help grow and heal.

Indigenous Language

Along with the discussion of land and land-based teachings, another critical aspect to Indigenous healing was the inclusion of Indigenous languages and language programming. The people I spoke with talked about how learning Indigenous languages offers a way to heal from the wounds of colonialism with language loss. It also acts as a way to reconnect people to their communities and introduce people to change how they think about themselves.

Bobby Henry, an academic and knowledge holder, stated that Indigenous languages (in his case Cayuga), are critical to Indigenous people and our well-being because they can convey deep concepts and ideas that cannot be relayed in English:

> And why I started with language. I think this is why everything needs to be rooted in our languages because not only are we speaking. These words that are means to communicate. We're also conveying our understanding. Because you start unpacking those words, and what they actually mean in a cultural connotation, you

start getting into philosophy in language.

Language has a way of conveying philosophical understandings that can help reorient a person toward their own identity and their community. As some speakers discussed, language and language learning can be critical to Indigenous healing processes.

Joey David highlighted an important aspect of Indigenous programming there should be a language component. He stressed that the repetition of language could help support healing:

> That trauma or memory is inside of us. Maybe we grew up and our parents didn't know the language, so they didn't know the culture and now we're going to learn. And now we're eager to learn. And maybe we're products of that, and we didn't have the access to language, like someone was born on the rez or raised in the city. You know that the language is very important aspect of delivering the medicine wheel teaching, because at the end of the program they have to speak the words of the Ohenten Kariwatekwen [Thanksgiving Address]. Because when someone is started in the program that it's pretty simple to memorize and to teach yourself how to give thanks in the morning. You have to say the words of the Creator the best you can.

Even though a program focuses on treating addiction or trauma, Indigenous languages can be a part of that healing process. It offers a way for a person to undo the effects of colonization and intergenerational trauma.

Stephen Green, from the Tyendinaga Justice Circle, likewise stressed that Indigenous languages can help healing because of how they cause a shift in thinking and perspective. He relates how, in Kanien'kéha (Mohawk language), some concepts are related to healing:

> Because the healing is embedded in our culture and it's embedded in our DNA, I believe. The fact that you walk up to someone and you say "Shé:kon, skennenkó: ken", means, "Is there still a Great Peace?" I mean, it literally means, "Is there still the Great Peace". So you're actually asking them, because we know the great peace is based upon two things: the Kayanerenkó:wa, the Great Law [23:00] and the Kayanerenkó:wa [21:01] which is a Great Natural Law. And in those we have those three things that we often identified: Karihwí:iyo [righteousness], Skén:nen [peace], and the Ka'shatsténhshera [power] [23:11] And because that stuff we're actually addressing those things there: "Is there a Good Mind with you? Is there peace in

> your heart? do you still have your strength and power?" because that's the Great Peace.

How we speak to one another in Kanien'kéha is rooted in our understanding of the importance of wellness and healing. It is a way to support healing, while undoing the damage that has been done to the Mohawk language.

Holly Brant echoed the sentiment that the Mohawk language can be a powerful force for healing and support. There is power in the Mohawk language, and it needs to be incorporated more fully into the programs and services:

> I think spirituality is really missing in healing programs. And the other thing is that, I can't say enough about, is our language. Our language sets us apart from other nations, and wellness is a part parcel of our language. How we speak to each other. Because Mohawk is just such a beautiful, beautiful language when we're given the opportunity. I think that there is opportunities in Tyendinaga to learn the language, and I'm happy about that but there are other barriers.

Holly Brant also connects the overlap between Indigenous languages and spirituality and how that can help support people going through their healing journey.

Wayne Monague, stressed that Indigenous languages and the revitalization of languages need to be a part of any long-term strategy to support Indigenous people:

> I'm not sure if your father was fluent or not. My mother, my parents are. I'm not fluent, however, they can't speak behind my back. But in that, the purpose is that all of our languages are so much more descriptive. And that's a key word that's used in all of our Indigenous languages. It's so descriptive, giving a teaching if we were to give it in English sounds simple. However when it's shared in our local languages it is so much more descriptive that we actually connect it to our spirit. And that is really the ultimate goal. If you look at what I've shared with you at this point, starting at the beginning. That's the goal, the goal is what you're talking about now. Full fluency, full understanding, full participation within ceremony whatever it is for the area.

Indigenous ways of understanding are rooted in language and can be a powerful vehicle to support healing and wellness. Cultural competency can only go so far, but it is crucial that the thinking

behind the language is revitalized as well.

A critical thing that Bobby Henry said was that Indigenous languages can be crucial to supporting Indigenous people. The other side to that for many Indigenous peoples, the ability to have access to language speakers:

> It's actually a weak point in our nations. Here's an example of languages, like we all have a few people holding this fire up. A lot of people chose not to, so in some way, they fell off this fire. So how do we then bring those people back together to strengthen that fire, so it can burn bright and cause this warmth into the area that is our home.

The power of language is why language revitalization is critical and why there should be some language components to healing programs and services. At the same time, he also notes that this is not an easy task because of the lack of language speakers in some Indigenous nations.

Haudenosaunee Knowledge in Practice

This section focuses on Haudenosaunee participants discussing the importance of the Great Law, The Good Mind and Condolence within the context of programming and service delivery. The participants in this section are all citizens of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and discussed culturally and politically specific elements of our governing system that have applications within the context of healing and wellness.

Joey David, of Akwesasne Mental Health, noted that in their program, the concept of condolence is a crucial part of Indigenous men's healing:

> We get a Men for change program, and we incorporated Condolences, the three bare words, the eyes, the ears, the throat. So and we try to adjust the men's issues from a historical perspective, especially with regards to generation and lateral violence, so dealing with them.

The Haudenosaunee framework of condolence looks at grief, anger, or negative emotions as extensions of historical processes that need to be tackled. He goes on to stress that condolence is an active process, and is something that needs to be engaged with by the person experiencing the negative emotion:

> So how I assess my client, say, How are you? What are you currently experiencing, what are you suffering? And the client will say, “I'm having a hard time in my relationship, I have an addiction going on, I’m suffering.” Whether it’s grief or whatever, them coming in here, they are able to share their feelings and understand them, but my job is to help them identify that and do the work on themself. You can bring the horse to water, but you can’t make them drink it.

Anger or grief can be a powerful agent for a person's suffering. Joey David stresses that a Haudenosaunee approach seeks to treat those emotions with support and healing to facilitate healing. This can be from grief, trauma or previous experiences with dysfunction:

> And when you go to a funeral we say these words again, as you talk about your mind when it's Down in the Ground, and how you Lift Their Minds Up. Jake Swamp-kaha, my uncle would use the culture as a way to help individuals rebalance. To balance the teeter totter, each one of those things is teeter-totter. Find balance and stability in your life. If they don't find it later in life men go through countless relationships, domestic violence and addiction will go hand in hand, substance abuse, as well.

The Haudenosaunee's understanding of the Good Mind is tied with understanding the effect of grief and trauma.

Stephen Green also stressed the importance of the Good Mind and wellness is a critical piece to the Haudenosaunee understanding that it is embedded within how we say hello to one another:

> The fact that whenever we meet someone, we asked them that. We're going to shrink it down and minimalize it now, because we have it as “Hello, how are you?” It’s not “How are you?” it’s “Shé:kon, skennenkó: ken?” So is there still this Great Peace?
>
> You immediately ask somebody to unburden themselves have anything that they're carrying when you ask them that. In our culture, we're listening to our brothers, our

> people. Listening to what they have to say, offering help. Because like I said, the most of my work is really just listening, or giving of information.

Part of the process of understanding peace and wellness within the Haudenosaunee context is that it is not necessarily monolithic. Working with the Good Mind can be as simple as offering an opportunity for someone to talk about their day or what is bothering them.

Holly Brant, a scholar and social worker from Tyendinaga, also stresses that healing and the process of healing are not necessarily one. She roots her understanding of healing and wellness in the Good Mind, but she also frames that as something that is a process and something that does not happen overnight:

> So it's not just me telling them what I think about what Haudenosaunee ways of having a Good Mind. What I would want to do is, I would like to see where they are and where they would like to go. Wellness is not necessarily "I'm ill, and now I'm well." You take that one step is that journey. In understanding more about their culture, they're one step further. And what I want to be able to do is help them continue to lift up their mind in that journey. And if they take a step back, for them to learn to be kind to themselves. Because oftentimes men who have been incarcerated already know how to be violent. They've already learned that. They learned how to be hard. And it's not just men it's women as well. They know hardness. So when they come to talk to somebody about healing and wellness. They need to now learn that there's that kindness within them, and they'd have to be shown that it's there.

She stresses that the end goal is not to "fix" an issue but to create a process by which self-growth and kindness can emerge. She highlights how Indigenous men, particularly Indigenous men who have been through the correctional system, often have the most unpacking to address these underlying issues. She also notes that this also impacts women, as Indigenous women also have to deal with incarceration and the justice system to survive.

Holly Brant also talked about the idea of condolence, the lifting up of people whose minds have fallen on the ground, is critical to any approach to healing programming. It is crucial because it is rooted in love and support:

> I think that what I said before when, not just men, but when people begin to understand who they are, where they come from, where their identity lies. I think that's where healing starts. I also believe that people deserve a second chance. I think that people can change. And I think that people really have to have the wanting. And the whole concept of being able to lift up other people is also part and ingrained in who we are. Because when we're growing up, when we're little, we're given teachings to be able to stay within the parameters of good behavior, of following what our teachings have been given to us since time immemorial. So I think that I think that people who want to be loved. People who want to be accepted, people who want to be a part of something bigger than them. Everybody wants to be loved. So I think that, I guess, I guess that's what's important is people want to be loved. And I think that the closer they get to their culture, more secure they are into who they are.

Condolence is rooted in understanding and empathy with someone experiencing pain, loss or grief. It is a matter of relationality and ensuring that the person in that relationship is helped and supported.

Joe Hill stressed that there is a shift in how non-Indigenous people, and particularly the justice system, are starting to view Haudenosaunee's understandings of wellness and healing:

> We are now shifting to that place where there is greater appreciation for Indigenous understandings and justice. We don't have to argue anymore that we have law or we had law. To hold that assumption that we didn't is backwards. Now that we're in a position where Indigenous legal traditions like the Great Law of Peace, the Kayanerenkó:wa [can be incorporated], there's multiple things that need to be done. I think Indigenous people that work in these structures as like service providers, maybe legal practitioners that are Indigenous, that are Mohawk, they need to just do [incorporate Haudenosaunee models of justice]. They need to possibly work with their clients, work with folks in a way where you're sharing this knowledge with folks, with the clients that you're supporting.
>
> But it also works the other way I think as well. Where those same folks are not only engaging with their clients, but they're also informing the core structures as well. If we want to increase legitimacy in the spaces, then that kind of knowledge sharing I think is going to be super important. To the point where those judges become experts in this stuff. I don't think that that needs to go that far, but I think they need to become aware, and I think there's a lot of room for this to take place. We're just in the right time I think right now to begin pushing for increased visibility for our traditions in these court spaces.

Joe Hill has emphasized that the approach of the Good Mind and Haudenosaunee teachings are not alien or incompatible with Western approaches to justice, or healing or wellness. They also

mention that the work that must be done to create space for Indigenous Knowledge, in case of Haudenosaunee Knowledge, must be done by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Bobby Henry relayed how the Good Mind is critical to the establishment of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy through the story of the Peacemaker. He also highlights that the Good Mind can be challenging to achieve and use because it requires sympathy and consideration for those who have wronged us:

> That's really how I see Good Mind. It's really meant to make us look and think differently, and to feel. It's just a way of life. Easy to shoot someone down. But that's not really a Good Mind because it's exclusion. Again, going back to what I talked about earlier, our teachings are not about exclusion. It's about inclusion. If we just shoot someone down because they're different than us, where the Good Mind has strength in that. It's a complicated question. Seeing past what's in front of you. Being able to see past what's in front of you, as an outcome of the Good Mind. But really it's about thinking, doing, behaving, feeling in a good way.

The Good Mind can be a powerful approach for supporting because it is not only a way in which people can be helped, but also relies on those who are helping to maintain the Good Mind.

Discussions

This section is focused on the role of Indigenous Knowledge within the healing journey. The participants all stressed the importance of Indigenous Knowledge as a way to connect people to their families, communities and nations. There was a great deal of discussion around engaging with Indigenous Knowledge to help support healing and wellness and to undo the ongoing effects of colonialism. This section broadly discusses key themes and ideas around Indigenous Knowledge and then zeros in on what components of Indigenous Knowledge are essential to healing from the Haudenosaunee perspective.

Indigenous Knowledge Role in the Healing Journey

Fire is a very powerful principle, it's a very powerful metaphor. You can make it do many different things, which is where trans-discipline works, as I said Indigenous knowledge is trans-discipline.

Bobby Henry

Throughout the discussions that I had, each of the participants stressed the importance of Indigenous knowledge to the process of healing. There was an understanding that IK was uniquely positioned to support Indigenous men's recovery, and the healing of Indigenous communities more broadly. IK is understood as including teachings and ceremonies as a part of programming; it also includes developing relationships with the land as well as cultivating a language base. It represents a complex system of knowledges that impacts every aspect of service delivery and modern Indigenous life. Indigenous Knowledge, and by extension, Indigenous people, are often historized as only existing within the past. Indigenous Knowledge is viewed as ancient knowledge, or knowledge that has no role within the modern context. The participants stressed that Indigenous Knowledge is crucial to Indigenous everyday life for a number of reasons. Indigenous Knowledge allows people to connect to their past and the history of their nation, but also grounds them in the present, and supports their wellness for the future.

Indigenous Knowledge helps people connect with their past, in that it offers a way to engage with knowledge systems that have existed since time immemorial, which connects them to the people that have come before, which helps support a connection to a community that they may have been disconnected from. Indigenous Knowledge, from ceremonies, teachings, and language initiatives, offer a way for Indigenous people to reconnect with a community or culture that they are disconnected from, or it can help support healing in a way that grounds the person more in line with their communities and nations values and perspectives.

In line with this notion of Indigenous Knowledge being a way to connect oneself to one's community, nation, and history, it is also something that helps connect people to the present. Indigenous Knowledge is something that is alive and breathing. Indigenous Knowledge is not simply a matter of understanding and learning ceremonies that are a part of the past; it is a matter of engaging with Indigenous Knowledge as a means to support the present and the future. Many of the participants stressed that Indigenous Knowledge can help support communities to be healthy, and also act as a way to connect people to the communities that they may have not grown up with. Indigenous Knowledges are active knowledge, and through engaging in ceremony, learning languages or learning off the land, people are slowly undoing the effects of colonialism on themselves and their nations. Marlene Brant Castellano discussed the contentions between land-based learning and healing in one of the reports that emerged from the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, an organization that emerged specifically to address the harms that flowed from Indian Residential Schools: "Land-based camps where Elders and youth could practice traditional hunting and gathering skills and natural surroundings where participants could connect with the earth and waters were also silent but powerful medicine."[194] Engaging with Indigenous Knowledge strengthens the teachings and traditions held by nations and also provides a solid basis for more people to learn about IK in the future.

For decades, Indigenous Knowledge did not have a space within healing and wellness programs or services. There was a lack of understanding of the degree to which Indigenous Knowledge could be used to ensure that people are supported on their healing journey. By engaging with IK through ceremonies, languages, and teachings, there is an opportunity to foster community in a way that is culturally based. Colonization was very specific in targeting and

[194] Brant Castellano, "A Healing Journey," 78.

removing Indigenous Knowledge from Indigenous communities, and in turn, re-shaping those communities to reflect the values and structures of the dominant Western society. What is striking is that the participants stressed the importance of Indigenous Knowledge in the context of healing, but also scholarly disciplines like social work have begun to recognize the importance of cultural and spiritual traditions in healing and wellness.[195] Indigenous Knowledge works as a way to undo this process and give people who otherwise would not have the opportunities to connect with others who are learning about IK, and who are on their own healing journey. It offers a bridge for connecting with a person's history, their community, the land and the future of Indigenous communities.

Haudenosaunee Understanding of Healing and Wellness

The Good Mind is a step towards that skén:nen [peace] that people are looking for. The Good Mind involves all four quadrants of self. So, it will be a part of who a person is. And in order to be able to be at that peace level all through four quadrants. All four quadrants have to be in balance. And in order for four quadrants to be in balance, the person has to be able to pay attention to each of the quadrants and polish them, much like the chain that we have to use.

Holly Brant

Throughout the interviews, the Haudenosaunee citizens discussed the Good Mind, The Great Law and Condolence and how they are connected to healing and the healing journey. These interrelated knowledge systems reflect the values and understandings that were discussed in the previous section. The participants all addressed the process of learning about Haudenosaunee knowledge systems as a means to support healing and wellness, as well as a means to rebuild the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The method of healing is embedded within the Haudenosaunee Knowledge and underpins the complex political system that gives the Confederacy structure.

[195] Xu, "Pargament's Theory of Religious Coping: Implications for Spiritually Sensitive Social Work Practice," 1395.

Within the constellation of Haudenosaunee Knowledge, the participants stressed that the Good Mind is the foundation for a healthy person, community and nation. The community is a powerful support system for the healing journey and maintaining the Good Mind. Through engaging in ceremony, discussions, and working with people who are there to help, a person can continue with their healing journey, and have a Good Mind and have peace within themselves. Community support are focused on maintaining the Good Mind, and comes from the Haudenosaunee understanding of Condolence. The participants described Condolence as bringing people whose minds have fallen on the ground back up to having the Good Mind. Returning to the work of scholar Holly Brant, she stresses that Condolence is an important process of healing and wellness: "The ceremonies are a way to stay connected to the Creator and stay grateful. They are a wonderful way to remember our history and ancestors and instill the presence of the *good mind."*[196] It is a part of the healing journey; it is a process that helps those who are grieving or traumatized. It also reflects the more significant ideas from participants that while healing is a process, much like condolence, it is by no means static or perfect. The Indigenous way of understanding grief and trauma means that there will be times when the Good Mind can falter or slip away, but that just reflects the human journey through the world. It is not perfect, nor is it permanent.

The Haudenosaunee perspectives around healing mirror the understanding around Fire, there are different elements that reflect other realms, from the individual to the community to the nation. The Good Mind, like the inner fire, is understood the most in the context of the individual. Each individual's experience with grief or trauma are valued, and each person has the capacity to achieve, or re-achieve, the Good Mind through engaging with their own history and experiences.

[196] Brant, "Aboriginal Mental Health or the Good Mind Model Ka'nikonhri," 40.

The act of Condolence also mirrors the values and perspectives of the Longhouse Fire. Condolence is conceptualized as occurring when the community surrounds a person or a family who are in the throes of grief or trauma. The community supports the people whose minds are spread on the ground, and works to help them back upright so that they have a Good Mind. As scholar Scott L. Pratt stressed, the process of the Good Mind and Condolence, which are healing practices, are foundational to the Haudenosaunee political systems.[197] Condolence also has a prominent role within the governing of the individual nations of the Haudenosaunee and the governing of the entire Confederacy. The fifty Chiefs that make up the representative of the six nations are referred to as the Condoled Chiefs. They are tasked with governing the Confederacy with the principles of the Good Mind. As such, it is up to the communities to ensure that the leaders are condoled to ensure that anger or grief is not clouding their decision-making process.

All of these concepts and teachings are to ensure that the principles of the Great Law of Peace are upheld across the Confederacy. The Great Law of Peace, like the Council Fire, applies all across all nations and communities within the borders of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The Great Law of Peace is what binds the nations together in peace and harmony, in the same way that the Council fire brings all of the condoled chiefs together to discuss pressing matters of the Confederacy. The Great Law of Peace is also the principle by which individuals and communities navigate the world and relationships. This includes the relationship with oneself. As one of the participants mentioned, the Haudenosaunee greeting translates into English as: "Hello, are you at peace with yourself?" or "Is there still the Great Peace?" While the Great Law of Peace is the legal

[197] Pratt, "The Influence of the Iroquois on Early American Philosophy," 292–93.

system that binds the six nations of the Confederacy together, it is also the principles by which the citizens of the Confederacy are expected to lead their lives.

For the Haudenosaunee, the concept of healing and wellness is at the foundation of our knowledge system. The existence of the Confederacy itself is rooted in putting down arms against our neighbors, letting go of the grief and trauma of war, and coming together to better our families, communities and nations. The citizens of the Confederacy that I spoke to stressed that Haudenosaunee knowledge, perspectives, and teachings are powerful tools for addressing grief and trauma. They are interwoven in our language and stories and how we conceptualize what it means to be a part of a community and a nation.

Conclusion

All of the participants discussed the importance of Indigenous Knowledge in the healing journey. The programs and services that help support people's healing journey are holistic. There are the teachings and values that come from participating in ceremonies or teachings from Elders. The participants also stressed that learning Indigenous languages is also vital to the healing journey, as it introduces the mind to different ways of thinking and understanding. There was also a great deal of discussion around the importance of land and land-based learning in healing. For many organizations, there is a desire to provide land-based opportunities, but there are funding limits, or even just a matter of access, that are barriers to having easily accessible land for programming and services. Overall, the participants all discussed how crucial Indigenous Knowledge is to the success of healing programs and supports; as they allow for flexibility in how they provide support to everyone's individual journey.

The discussions with citizens of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy crystallized the ideas about Indigenous Knowledge. Our understanding of healing and wellness ties together different elements of healing and wellness. It highlights how the Good Mind, the Great Law and Condolence are essential to the macro level as much as the micro level. Healing is a deeply personal experience, and each person's healing journey is unique, but it does not exist in a vacuum. A community has an important role in that journey, and that, in turn, reflects the importance of healing and wellness to the Confederacy. There is important work being done within the Confederacy, and within the other Indigenous nations, to support all those people that are on the healing journey. Indigenous Knowledges is the way by which to support that healing journey and strengthen the individual to support themselves, their communities, and their nations.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

When I first started the Ph.D. program at Trent, I did not expect to do my thesis project on Indigenous Men and masculinity. Throughout this project, I found that there was a major gap in the work on Indigenous men and masculinity. There is even less work that focuses on the experiences of Indigenous men in relation to healing. Because of this, I am glad that I had the opportunity to delve into and understand how Indigenous programs and services understand and engage with Indigenous men in the context of healing. While the COVID-19 pandemic shifted the angle of my research from the clients to the people who deliver the services, it allowed me to gain greater insight into the actual mechanics of program and service delivery. It was frustrating that I had to rework my proposal as I was just finishing it, but I am grateful that I was able to talk with the people that I did.

A great deal of knowledge and insights came from this research project. The people I had the opportunity to speak with were kind enough to lend their experiences and knowledge so that I was able to answer my research questions and deepen an area that has not been very well researched. Many of the participants were happy to talk with me because there was a general lack of support for Indigenous men, and there were few people or organizations involved in that work.

While there was a constant theme around the lack of support for Indigenous men, that is not to say that they are entirely absent. There are dedicated programs like the I am A Kind Man program offered by Friendship Centres across Ontario and Alberta. Na-Me-Res is a dedicated housing provider for Indigenous men in Toronto, and many of the people I spoke with, while not being in men-specific programming, recognized the importance of understanding masculinity to

support healing. The speakers all recognized the importance of men and masculinity in health and healing for the sake of the individual men themselves, their families, communities and nations.

As this is a Ph.D. thesis, I want to spend this last chapter covering some final thoughts and insights. There was a great deal of information, writing, and ideas that went through my project, and it can be challenging to navigate, let alone remember. This chapter covers the outcomes of the study, what this study contributes to the academic literature and the discipline of Indigenous studies, and what are areas of future research that I feel would be fruitful.

Returning to the Research Questions

To anchor the outcomes of the study so that it does not spiral wildly out of control into a long diatribe, I have structured this section around the research questions that started this project. There were many insights and observations that emerged from the research, but I wanted to ensure that the research questions were answered in some fashion.

Main Question: How do Indigenous Healing Programs and Services support men on their healing journey?

Indigenous-led programs and services provide an important support system within a man's healing journey. What was striking is that there was not one dedicated way in which that support looked like. There were many different approaches and contexts in which Indigenous-led programs and services helped Indigenous men. As such, I have highlighted a few key ways in which these programs or services are engaged in this process in different settings and contexts.

When it is one-on-one, it provides Indigenous men a space to reflect upon themselves and their histories and traumas. Understanding the effects of colonialism and trauma that Indigenous men experience growing up and how that feeds into maladaptive behaviour gives Indigenous men a baseline understanding of themselves and their experiences. This can provide them with the tools

to work on themselves so that they can be healthy and supportive of themselves and the people that they love and care for.

In the other context, when it was program and service delivery based around groups, the participants discussed how Indigenous men would come together and recognize that they were not alone in their journey or in their experiences. There was a power in facilitating a sense of community or connection between Indigenous men, because it meant that the men understood that they were not alone. Also, by facilitating connections, it meant that the men had people to rely on for support outside of the program or service delivery time.

In other cases, it is a matter of getting Indigenous men to begin to think about their experiences. Many of the participants stressed that the healing journey is just that, a journey, and there are people who may not be ready to begin walking down that path. It is a matter of planting seeds that will grow later in life when they are needed. All of the participants stressed that it is up to the Indigenous men to do the actual healing; the programs and services can offer support but cannot do the work for the people.

Sub-question 1: How does Indigenous understanding of masculinity affect programming and services?

The participants discussed the importance of undoing the effects of colonialism on Indigenous men. What this meant was teaching Indigenous men that the stereotypical conceptions of the stoic warrior, or needing to "man up," were just that, stereotypes. These concepts were harmful to Indigenous peoples and communities. The participants wanted to highlight that men and masculinity were multiple diverse things, and there was space for warriors and protectors as much as there were spaces for builders and farmers. The effects of colonialism and the breaking of traditional understandings of masculinity were profoundly harmful and it is crucial to teach

Indigenous men that masculinity is something that can be healthy and supportive without being domineering and violent.

Sub-question 2: What are the successes, challenges, dilemmas and tensions for programming and services geared towards helping Indigenous men on their healing journey?

A significant challenge for programming and services for Indigenous men was the overall lack of support for Indigenous men. Participants did talk about how, in general, there are many more supports available that are rooted in Indigenous perspectives, teachings and values. There have been significant leaps in the growth of Indigenous-based programs and services. There was also mention of a growing recognition of the importance of having culturally safe spaces, particularly from mainstream and Western institutions. This emphasized the strides that have happened over the past several decades. Unsurprisingly, the biggest challenge was the lack of support for Indigenous men. What was particularly important that was mentioned is that there is not a great deal of funding opportunities for men-specific programming. There is a desire to create these types of programs and services, but there is little opportunity for organizations to access funding for these initiatives.

Sub-Question 3: What are some critical components to service delivery and supports for these men?

The participants all stressed the importance of including cultural practices and perspectives in programming. There was an understanding that one of the significant factors contributing to trauma and harm that was experienced by people on the healing journey was dispossession from their families and cultures. The inclusion of cultural practices was not just a way to dress up Western approaches to health and wellness in buckskins and eagle feathers but allowed for a reconceptualization of what it means to be Indigenous and what healing and health actually look

like. It was critical that the work being done is reflective of Indigenous values and understandings of what it means to be healthy and well.

The other important thing was that the people who were engaged in the process had a firm grounding in understanding the history and long-term effects of colonialism. I was somewhat surprised by the near-unanimous discussion from almost all of the participants that education about the history and impacts of colonialism is a significant part of service delivery and support. Colonization is something that Indigenous people are very familiar with, but there are still elements that are not readily recognized as being a part of that process, or even the recognition that colonization is something that affects Indigenous peoples and communities to this day.

Sub-Question 4: How does Indigenous Knowledges on healing shape policies and programming?

Indigenous Knowledge was central to how Indigenous programs and services were delivered. It informs how people approach designing programming. Indigenous Knowledge and understanding were foundational to ensuring that there are connections to communities, either connecting a person to the community they live in or belong to or, when appropriate, developing connections between people who are on that same journey. Establishing or deepening a relationship is crucial to the healing journey because no person lives in a vacuum, and healing is easier to do when it is done with the support available.

Within the Haudenosaunee context, great value was placed on the importance of the Good Mind, Condolence, and the Great Law. The citizens of the Confederacy that I spoke with all stressed that using these traditional practices is a way to support the rebuilding of communities and instill people with a sense of belonging to their nations. This knowledge system is important to delivering programming because it gets participants to think about themselves as healing within

a broader context. It also allows them a way to connect with traditions and teachings that they may not have been able to access before.

Thesis Takeaways

There was a great deal of information and knowledge generated by this project for me to look at and analyze. It was incredibly easy to get lost in academic discourses or even in analyzing the impacts and importance of Indigenous Knowledge within a program and service delivery context. While all of that is spiralling in my head and in my writing, my supervisor asked me a very basic question: “What is the main takeaway from this project?” This very simple question did a very good job of stopping me in my tracks and forcing me to pause for minutes, trying to wrap my head around that question. In classic academic fashion, I will be answering the question, as well as leaving enough room for me to maneuver so that I can talk about a few main takeaways from the project.

Takeaway #1: Community and Healing

Looking back on the entirety of the project, the main idea or concept that crystallized was how healing and the healing journey were influenced by the relationship between the individuals themselves and the community. The healing journey is a deeply personal process; it requires personal introspection, as well as ownership of behaviours and actions that may have hurt friends, families, and others. While healing is based on the individual, the community, regardless of what that community is, plays an important role in providing support. The community of healing can be those in a program or service delivery role. Counsellors, Elders, coordinators, and social workers can be a significant support for a person's own healing journey. They can provide therapeutic help or provide insights and perspectives that flow from an organization's perspective.

There is a sense of community and connection in a professional or organizational setting, equally important is the role that the non-organizational community has in healing. In this case, finding support from others who are going on their own healing journey was identified as a key source of support and strength for those going on the healing journey. People who have had similar experiences are able to help a person navigate difficult situations or just be someone to talk to about their lives. There is a great deal of strength from a community of people who have undergone similar experiences. The shared experiences can extend more broadly to connecting with their Indigenous community, whether that is in an urban or a reserve context. Working within and being a part of a community that affirms and celebrates a person's Indigenous identity is a crucial pillar of support in a person's healing journey. Regardless of whatever context community is being described, the community plays a significant role in a person's individual healing journey.

Takeaway #2: Haudenosaunee Knowledge as a Theoretical Framework

Moving away from the discussion of the specific subject of the thesis, the other key takeaway comes from the theoretical framework that I developed for this project. When looking into Indigenous healing and wellness, there was not a lot of work that is rooted in the Haudenosaunee ways of understanding. What is striking is that the understandings of the Good Mind, Condolence and The Great Law of Peace do function as means by which to analyze program and service delivery, and help understand the complexities of healing and wellness. One of the questions that my supervisor David Newhouse, asked was: "Why do you think that these principles work, particularly in the context of healing?" In retrospect, the principles of the Good Mind, the Great Law of Peace and Condolence work as a theoretical grounding for research around healing is because the foundation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy is in healing. These principles emerged directly from a period of time when the then-five nations were at war with each other and

at war amongst themselves. It was a multi-generational period of strife. It was only through the adoption of the Great Law of Peace, the principles of the Good Mind and Condolence, that the five nations would band together to create the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Equally important, these concepts were structured to create peace, but also ensure that there were mechanisms to maintain that peace.

As such, the principles of the Good Mind and the Great Law of Peace and Condolence offer a lens by which to understand the individual's experience of healing. It also offers a way in which to understand and analyze how the support system, whether it be organizational or communal, play a role in supporting healing, and ensuring that the person is able to maintain themselves on that journey. This constellation of interrelated ideas and theories rooted in Haudenosaunee understanding offers an effective lens by which to not only analyze individuals' experiences but also a way in which to approach organizational structures as well.

Contribution to the literature

Given the interdisciplinary basis of Indigenous studies, this project overlaps with a number of different areas, fields, and themes. Discussions around Indigenous masculinity in relation to healing are complex and require a holistic approach to its study. With that said, I wanted to focus on three areas that I believe this project contributes to in significant ways. This is not to be self-aggrandizing, but more to highlight areas that I believe still need considerable work done. This project contributes to the literature in three significant spaces: the workaround Indigenous masculinity, expanding on research that has been done on Indigenous programs and service providers, and finally, expanding on the application of Haudenosaunee Knowledge in theoretical

frameworks. This section re-establishes key ideas from the literature review chapter, and discusses where I believe my work contributes to those areas.

A refrain throughout my discussion with the participants in the project was that there was a general lack of support for Indigenous men. This is reflected in the service delivery space, and within academic literature. There have been a few books and articles that discuss masculinity, but there are still massive gaps in focusing specifically on men and masculinity. This project contributes to the area of Indigenous masculinity, but this field is still very much underserviced in terms of research. From focusing on the experiences of Indigenous men in terms of service delivery and support, to the conceptualizations of masculinity within Indigenous communities, this study helps provide some insights and sketches out some themes and ideas, but there is still much to say and learn about how Indigenous masculinity exists within Indigenous communities.

In order to address masculinity and discuss it with the participants , I needed to develop an understanding what men and masculinity meant in an Indigenous context. Returning to one of the key quotes from the literature that spoke to how much Indigenous men and masculinity was impacted by colonization comes from the work of Innes and Anderson when they stressed:

> The ways in which hegemonic masculinity has acted to subordinate Indigenous men encourages them to similarly assert power and control by subordinating Indigenous women and women of colour, as well as white women (when circumstances allow), other Indigenous men who are considered physically and intellectually weak, and those who do not express a heteronormative identity. [198]

This quote highlights how colonization, and the trauma that flows from colonization, impacts Indigenous men, and how that can radiate out to friends, families and communities. These attitudes around what it means to be masculine means that Indigenous men can act in ways that can bifurcate

[198] Innes and Anderson, "Who Is Walking with Our Brothers?," 11.

their sense of self which, they are both a part of the colonized but also acting like the colonizer.[199] Also a result of this complex interweaving of Indigenous masculinity and colonization, results in harmful behavior, which scholars point out, are harmful to the broader network of relations, but also more harmful to the long term health of the individual.[200]

After understanding how colonization reshaped masculinity, I needed to spend some time understanding the contours of colonization, particularly in the context of the justice system. While my research was not focused specifically on the justice system, it still was a major part of the landscape in which healing programs and services were delivered. The justice system that supplanted the various Indigenous justice systems were not rooted in healing and rehabilitation, but punishment and atonement; it was a system that deeply impacted Indigenous communities without reflecting our values, perspectives and laws.[201] Compounding that is the understanding that the current approaches of justice that are administered by the Canadian state are focused as specifically designed to facilitate the destruction or assimilation of Indigenous peoples.[202] Partnered with the justice system is the role that the child welfare system has in Indigenous communities. The scholarship stressed that the child welfare system was a indicator for also being a part of the criminal justice system.[203] While the child welfare system was not a direct target of my research, some aspects of it still needed to be understood in order to understand how it contributed to the current landscape that Indigenous people navigate in their day-to-day lives. The scholarship also noted that being a part of the child welfare system also increased the likelihood

[199] Duran and Duran, *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*, 36.
[200] Dumas and Bournival, "Men, Masculinities, and Health: Theory and Application," 36–37.
[201] Iacobucci, "First Nations Representation on Ontario Juries: Report of the Independent Review Conducted by The Honourable Frank Iacobucci," 4.
[202] Blagg, *Crime, Aboriginality and the Decolonisation of Justice*, 4.
[203] Moore and Trevethan, "Profiling Federally Incarcerated First Nations, Métis and Inuit Offenders," 7.

of maladaptive coping mechanisms that are extensions of trauma.[204] This complex system that has been imposed on Indigenous peoples in Canada required me to better understand the role of trauma in the lives of Indigenous people, and equally important was understanding how healing has been central to the resurgence of Indigenous communities.

My project is also a part of the growing body of literature around Indigenous-led programs and services. There has been research done on Indigenous organizations (and there is an increasing body of work that the organizations themselves are producing that is excellent), and my project is a part of that lineage. It contributes to this work by focusing on healing programs and services and doing so in a way that is explicitly about healing and wellness as opposed to couching things in a deep dive around colonialism. It also allowed me an opportunity to understand how Indigenous Knowledge is shifting from being a facet of program and service delivery, to being foundational to not only the programs or services, but the organizations as a whole.

I needed to ensure that I engaged with Indigenous Knowledge for this project before engaging with the people that are involved in supporting Indigenous healing. Colonization had wounded and disrupted Indigenous communities, and cultural practices and teachings were a way to help revitalize Indigenous communities.[205] In working with Indigenous Knowledge systems, there was a strength that was gathered, and it would help deal with the traumas and effects of colonization. A key theme that emerged through the literature was that land, and land-based learning was a crucial part to Indigenous Knowledge, and Indigenous approaches to healing.[206] From the perspective of the scholarship, while trauma is a part of the lived Indigenous experience,

[204] Tait, Henry, and Walker, "Child Welfare," 47.
[205] Lavallee and Poole, "Beyond Recovery," 275.
[206] Porter and Forrester, *And Grandma Said--Iroquois Teachings*, 37.

healing is also a powerful force within Indigenous communities, and our traditions and practices are critical tools to addressing colonization and fostering Indigenous resurgence.

The literature stresses the importance of Indigenous Knowledge in the context of healing and ceremonies, as well as within the context of justice. Indigenous notions of justice were important to this project because healing, for both victim and offender, are embedded within these systems.[207] This was a consistent refrain around the work that is being done in the scholarship around Indigenous justice. Returning to the work of Cunneen and Tauri, they succinctly summarize it as: "The Indigenous approach to *healing* is an integral part of Indigenous justice, and lies at the foundation of changing and reforming criminal behavior among Indigenous people."[208] Understandings of justice were woven through the participants experiences and insights. The work being done around healing and Indigenous masculinity are focused on ensuring that the men are healthy, and they are healthy by Indigenous understandings of health, rather than prescriptive behavior from a western perspective.

The literature around trauma and healing that was a part of this study was rooted in Indigenous understandings and perspectives. What was crucial to this process was emphasizing the healing rather than the trauma. It was important to understand factors and nuances of trauma, but I wanted to ensure that the research was strength-based. A key concept that emerged in the literature around trauma, was the emphasizing that trauma, like colonization, was an active process that is actively experienced.[209] In that same vein, the understandings around healing were also

[207] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 156.
[208] Cunneen and Tauri, *Indigenous Criminology*, 129.
[209] Comack, *Coming Back to Jail*, 45.

rooted in emphasizing that it is also itself a process.[210] What is striking in the literature is that there was an emphasis placed on reconnecting, or just connecting, with a supportive community.[211] The literature also emphasized the importance of Indigenous Knowledge and traditions as being critical to Indigenous understandings of healing and wellness.[212] How Indigenous people understand healing and wellness was crucial to this research. Historically, research that has been done has focused on colonization and the subsequent trauma experienced by Indigenous people. This project is rooted in a strength-based approach which highlights what Indigenous people are *doing* to address issues within our communities, rather than just focusing on what is being *done* to our communities. Indigenous people are active agents in our own stories, rather than just tragic peoples subject to the whims of history. Focusing healing allows for the perspectives, thoughts, actions, and teachings of Indigenous people to be front and centre in this project.

In particular, there has not been a great deal of work that focuses specifically on the Haudenosaunee Knowledge systems within the context of program and service delivery. It was essential to ground this work in my nation's intellectual traditions and teachings so that the work did not fall prey to pan-Indian platitudes or vagaries. The knowledge and understandings embedded within the Good Mind, the Great Law and Condolence are powerful and have strong connections to healing and wellness. This was important to my research because my theoretical framework was rooted in Haudenosaunee understandings of the Good Mind and Condolence. Using these concepts as the theoretical underpinning of my research allowed me an opportunity to learn more about my own people and history, as well as contribute to the ongoing project of

[210] Naomi Adelson, "Towards a Recuperation of Souls and Bodies: Community Healing and the Complex Interplay of Faith and History," in *Healing Traditions: The Mental Health of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*, ed. Laurence J. Kirmayer and Gail Guthrie Valaskakis (Vancouver, 2009), 274.
[211] Cunneen and Tauri, *Indigenous Criminology*, 130.
[212] Cunneen and Tauri, 130.

ensuring that Indigenous knowledge is a part of the academy. The participants and the literature around Condolence and the Good Mind highlight how powerful they are as processes for healing and wellness. Returning to the work of Holly Brant, her work highlights how complex of a framework the Good Mind is, and how it can be applied with the social work and healing context:

> The phrase a *good mind* can be deceptive when read by a person who is not Haudenosaunee. It could be understood as some one who is smart or can figure out abstract thoughts, or refer only to the mental astuteness of a person, but for the Haudenosaunee it is much more. The idea is that each quadrant [mental, spiritual, emotional, physical] affects the other parts of the person as a whole.[213]

This approach to healing and wellness was important for my theoretical framework. The Good Mind was a part of a broader process that is embedded within the Haudenosaunee intellectual traditions. Along with the conception of the Good Mind, Condolence also reflects the values that healing and wellness are processes. Condolence is a process by which family and community members help support those in need, and helps lift their minds back upright so that the affected person can have the Good Mind once again.[214] These intellectual traditions reflect the rich values and perspectives that are a part of the broader constellation of Indigenous Knowledge across Turtle Island. Framing the Haudenosaunee traditions as theoretical frameworks is crucial to my overall project. It was a way for me to not only contribute to the growing body of literature around Indigenous Knowledge, but it was also a way for me to contribute to the resurgence of the people that I belong to.

The project contributes to the body of literature around the lived experiences of urban Indigenous peoples and communities. This was particularly important because urban Indigenous peoples, communities and organizations have been historically viewed within a deficit context, or

[213] Brant, "Aboriginal Mental Health or the Good Mind Model Ka'nikonhri," 53.
[214] Brant, 40.

seen as a pale copy of a "true" Indigenous community. This project contributes to the work being done to highlight how urban Indigenous communities and organizations are supporting communities and fostering a sense of community in a context that can be quite different from reserves. Scholars, such as James Friederes have noted that Indigenous identity and connections to community are more difficult to maintain in urban spaces because, unlike reserve communities, urban spaces are not completely dedicated to Indigenous peoples. [215] What is complex is that the population of urban Indigenous people is steadily growing, and while the population is growing, the policies that are dedicated to supporting them often ignore the urban context. [216] It is important to restate that urban and reserve contexts are not completely divorced from one another, and that there is a great deal of communication and relationship between the two spaces. [217] It was important to stress that these are some differences that needed to be highlighted to ensure that the geographic contexts were a part of understanding the landscape of healing.

This project is also deeply in debt to the work that is being done around Indigenous Knowledge. Up until relatively recently, Indigenous Knowledge was not seen as belonging within the academy. It was viewed through the lens of cultural anthropology; it was an idea and ritual from ancient societies, rather than applicable and valuable within a modern context. Indigenous knowledge is central to this project, and through my discussions with people I spoke with, I learned that Indigenous knowledge is crucial to the work that they do.

It is also important to briefly discuss the contribution to the community that this project can have. When talking about this project with the participants, there was a great deal of interest

[215] Frideres, "Aboriginal Identity in the Canadian Context," 327.
[216] Collier, "Services for Indigenous People Living in Urban Areas," 6.
[217] Regna Darnell and Maria Cristina Manzano Munguia, "Nomadic Legacies and Urban Algonquian Residence," in *36th Algonquian Conference*, ed. H.C. Wolfart (36th Algonquian Conference, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004), 185–86.

in the outcomes of the project, particularly from program and service providers because of the lack of support for Indigenous men. Once this study is completed, this project will be condensed into a series of briefing notes, along with the entire dissertation, that will be distributed to all of the participants and the participant's organizations to do with what they will. I am a firm believer in ensuring that my work is of value to the community and that it can be used to support whatever goals that the organizations have in supporting their communities.

Areas of Future Research

As I was coding and compiling themes from the transcription, there were multiple things and ideas that were mentioned that I had not expected to be mentioned across various participants. With that being said, I would like to (briefly) highlight a few of the places in which I believe to be essential to the building up of this work.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this project, my original proposal was to interview Indigenous men who used healing programs and services. I was not able to do that because the COVID-19 pandemic had made in-person fieldwork impossible and unsafe. As such, this project is very much from the service delivery side, and the voices of those who use the programs and services are missing to a certain degree. I say to a certain degree because some of the participants did mention themselves going on their own healing journey. That is an important nuance to recognize, but it is also important to realize that these programs and services are there to help Indigenous men and their communities heal. This project is a solid basis for future research in which the voices and experiences of the Indigenous men who use the programs are centered.

In tandem with getting the perspectives of the Indigenous men who use the programs and services, there is also room to incorporate the understandings, teachings, and perspectives of

women and those who identify with the feminine. Some of the participants discussed how it is important to include Indigenous women's perspectives in discussions around men's healing, particularly considering how Indigenous women can experience family violence. With that being said, they also stressed that this is not to suggest that Indigenous women be the focus but to complement the work being done with Indigenous men to ensure that the approach is holistic and reflects the values and experiences of all community members.

Along those lines, one area that I did not engage with for the sake of scope was how masculinity and healing intersect with the 2SQT community. The literature and work around 2SQT are complex and overlap with the work being done with Indigenous men. There is a great deal of work that needs to be done to understand the contours and needs of the 2SQT community's experiences with healing. It is a massive subject that I did not feel equipped to tackle because of my experiences as a straight cis-gendered man. It is a relevant topic of research, and looking at the experiences of the 2SQT that identify with men and masculinity would be an entire project unto its own.

An overlap with the perspectives and experiences of the 2SQT community, there is also potential for work to be done to focus explicitly on the experiences and needs of Indigenous male youths. Numerous participants discussed how a great deal of the work they do involves addressing trauma and experiences from when people were young. The experiences of a child or youth do have long-standing consequences. Focusing squarely on the experiences of healing and wellness around Indigenous youth is a crucial area for a future area of study.

Lastly, a topic that emerged from a few of the participants, which happened to align with a field that I somewhat stumbled into, was the intersection between healing and housing. Corey Thomas, who is not involved in housing, noted that it is difficult for Indigenous men to focus on

their healing if they also have to worry about where they sleep at the end of the day. Likewise, Steve Teekens also discussed the importance of housing in healing. My experiences with the Friendship Centre Movement likewise allowed me to see how housing programs and supports could be developed so that they provide holistic, culturally safe support, providing housing along with support to ensure that people are able to focus on their wellness as well. This is particularly important because of rent increases and the shrinking of affordable housing across Canada, which will directly impact Indigenous peoples regardless of residency.

Final Thoughts

The focus of my research project was understanding Indigenous masculinity and how that is shaped or influenced by Indigenous healing. Throughout this project, I was constantly reminded by my participants that healing, from an Indigenous perspective, from a Haudenosaunee perspective, is a process. That is something that I have come to recognize and have (albeit slowly) incorporated into my understanding of who I am and what I represent as a Haudenosaunee man. This project has highlighted how vital men and masculinity are to the ongoing project of nation rebuilding and revitalization. There is a space for Indigenous men to do essential work but also to not be bound by assumptions and stereotypes that were imported into our communities. Masculinity and men are in need of support, and there are people who want to help, guide and teach.

The work being done by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who are working to support Indigenous men's healing is complex and breathtaking. While colonization may have damaged or broken nations and communities' knowledge systems and relations, there are people who are working to support and rebuild Indigenous nations. The process of healing is complex,

but it is a process by which a great deal of learning can be done. From learning about a person's own history to learning and engaging with traditions and perspectives that may have been seen as distant or alien beforehand, there are experiences and teachings that can help support someone who is in need. While I cannot say this entirely in my own language, I want to say nia:wen to those that I spoke with through this project. The people that I interviewed in the depths of COVID provided such a great deal of information and insight into healing, masculinity and significant parts of my own culture that I did not know.

At the same time, I would not say that completing a dissertation is precisely good for one's mental health. Understanding more about Kan'nikonhrí:io, the Good Mind, and the complex ideas, philosophies and perspectives that underpin the Kayanerenkó:wa, the Great Law of Peace, is part of my own healing journey. It also gave me an opportunity to understand a bit more about my own father. The work and world that supports healing of individuals is by no means straightforward. It is a landscape that is shaped by pain and trauma, but also by strength, resilience and reflection. My father would also talk about how in the context of his work, that he was just one man doing the work. While that is true that he was only one man doing what he could, he was also connected to a much larger web of relations and supports. Even though he would say his days of being a radical and ardent Mohawk nationalist were far behind him, whether he knew it or not, he was still a part of an ongoing project to revitalize Haudenosaunee Knowledge and teachings through his work. In one way or another, while he may have moved onto the spirit world, the work he was a part of continues; the work being done by those within the Confederacy and wherever Indigenous people live is a testament to our capacity for skén:nen, ka'shatsténhshera and karihwí:iyo.

É:tho'k nikawén:nake

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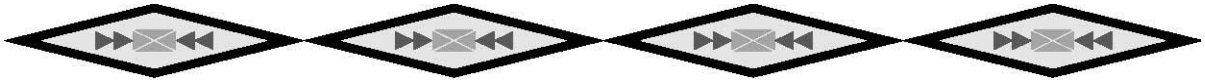
Appendix 1: Statement of Relevance and Benefit



Ph.D. Ethics Review Process

Statement of Relevance and Benefit

1. What is your personal interest in undertaking this research, and how do you see it benefiting you?

I owe my interest to this research to my father and mother. For 20+ years, my father worked in various capacities within the justice system. One of my earliest memories was my father working as a counselling coordinator for an Indigenous three-quarters house, Pinganoden Lodge, which offered a place to stay and support programs for Indigenous men who were paroled, or who were transitioning from homelessness. Later, he worked as a Native Inmate Liaison Officer, a Gladue writer, and finally settled in as an Indigenous elder within the federal system, providing support, counselling and conducted ceremonies for, as he was fond of saying, "rapists, murders, and thieves." Over dinner, he would occasionally tell stories of the people in penitentiary, or "the boys," their backgrounds, their histories, their trauma. My mother worked as a bureaucrat for the Federal Government in Ottawa, and in the last several years of her time there, she worked for the First Nations and Inuit Health Branch (FNIHB) of Health Canada, and she would talk about the systemic problems that FNIHB would have to address, and perpetuate, with First Nations peoples. So even though both of my parents worked in the public sector in some capacity, even from an early age I knew that there were deep problems with the organizations that my parents worked for.

I want to work with formerly incarcerated Indigenous people who are going through their healing journey. I believe this work will benefit me in that it will allow me to dive deep into a system of knowledge that I think can be an avenue for changing how Indigenous people live beyond the prison walls. I grew up with stories of the Peacemaker and the Great Law, but this is an opportunity to see this put into practice. With that said, given my work focuses on restoring the good mind, and I must myself, approach this project with the good mind. There will be actions and stories that people will tell that will be difficult to hear. One of the things that I am very aware of is how this project may affect me, emotionally, spiritually, mentally and physically.

2. How is this topic relevant to Indigenous scholarship and the Ph.D. vision statement?

My area of interest is important to Indigenous scholarship and the PhD vision because it looking at how community organizations provide support for people on the healing journey. Supports for Indigenous people who have moved out of the prison system are lacking, moreover, culturally specific support programs are essential and important to Indigenous people. From my perspective, Indigenous Knowledge and perspectives are essential to helping Indigenous people heal from trauma that they have experienced and also can help make people take responsibilities for their actions. The PhD program stresses the importance of Indigenous Knowledge in the

academy, but also emphasizes that the research project must help Indigenous people and the community in some way, and that I exactly what I hope for my project to do. I have framed my project into the three components to the Indigenous Studies vision of people, land and culture.

People: This project focuses on the Indigenous systems and supports for Indigenous men on their healing journey. My original intension was to interview the men who use these programs, to get their perspectives on what healing is, and how community organizations and groups help them along the way. Due to the suspension of in-person interviews due to COVID19, this became impractical and ethnically dangerous. I did not want to risk the safety of these men in talking about their journeys, and have no way to support them if their were to emotionally triggers because of the discussions. It's an unnecessary risk to talk about healing programs, and them to not have access to the programs due to the shutdown. My research shifted focus to look at the organizations themselves, and talk with the people that run them. Community organizations, and the communities themselves, are essential to Indigenous healing. Healing, in one respect, is a deeply personal experience, but that does not mean that the journey has to be done alone or in isolation. This research project focuses on the community aspect of healing, and it is my hope, that this project will provide some critically useful information to the organizations, as well as be the basis for these organizations to use for their funding pursuits.

Land: This is a complicated aspect to my research. In one capacity, Indigenous Knowledge and teachings are fundamentally rooted in relation to the land. The Thanksgiving Address is, in part, an address to thank and reorient the people to the land, and re-stablish a connection to the land. This project will look at a variety of different programs, and land-based healing is a critical part of the healing journey for many Indigenous people. This project will look at Indigenous organizations both on and off-reserve in Ontario. This will provide insights into how urban and reserve communities approach Indigenous healing, and what can be learned from the different approaches these organizations and communities use in supporting healing.

Culture: Culture and Indigenous Knowledge are going to be a fundamental component of my research. My focus looks at using the Haudenosaunee Condolence Ceremony, and the restoration of the good mind as framing device and as way to understand the healing journey of an Indigenous man from prison to becoming a healed person. Indigenous Knowledge's perspective on justice and healing are essential for my project because for a lot of Indigenous people who are incarcerated, that is the site where they first come into contact with the practices, ceremonies and traditions of Indigenous people. It when they leave the prisons and move back into communities and continue to engage with IK and ceremonies is where I will focus.

3. <u>How will this research benefit the professional, policy, or community needs and/or aspirations of Aboriginal peoples or Nations?</u>

This research will be beneficial to the Indigenous people because it will provide an opportunity to have a study done on the effectiveness of the programming. This research will also provide support for further funding, and as well as support for programs that are already beginning to expand their capacity. Having research that focuses on healing at a community-level is important to the continuing success of programming and services. A major component of my research involves looking into the challenges and successes that these organizations have

experienced. By understanding the organizational evolution will lend itself to insights to better develop policies and programming for the community. Unfortunately, the rates of Indigenous incarceration are increasing, and as more people go into prisons, more people are also leaving it. This means that these sort of supports and programs are going to be increasingly important in the health and wellbeing of the people and the communities. Any opportunity for this research provide some sort of support to these organizations is central to my research and my life's work.

4. How will Indigenous knowledge be respected and protected in this dissertation research?

The knowledge and stories that will be discussed or used will be protected in several different ways. For one, the community and people will be the ones that determine what is appropriate for me to describe or explain. There are several different protocols for healing circles, talking circles, or sweat lodges, where you cannot discuss what is said in them outside of the lodge or the circle. Given that my work focuses on the ways in which community supports and ceremonies help Indigenous men through their healing journey, I will uphold this confidentiality. I am not interested in fetishizing trauma, nor do I want to use Indigenous Knowledge in a way that disrespects or decontextualizes it for the sake of my research.

5. What other steps are you taking to ensure that this research is being carried out in accordance with the values of ethical Indigenous research? (e.g. following community consultation processes and protocols)

Given that some of the programs and services are housed in larger organizations (Friendship Centres or Health Centres), this project will abide by each of the organization and communities ethical frameworks. If a community does not have a research ethics framework in place, I will abide by the ethical frameworks developed by the Chanie Wenjack School of Indigenous Studies. It is essential for my work to support the men and the programs, and not impede or potentially damage the people and organizations that I work with. I am working under the understanding that I want my research project to be insightful, not invasive. The people I will be interviewing, are working in stressful circumstances, and this project, either not abiding by their protocols, or asking far too much of them, could and can, be psychologically damaging. This project is rooted in a deep respect for the hard work that is involved in helping people heal. This research is not designed to be extractive, nor is it intended to be a research project for the sake of a research project. Understanding what healing is and how programs and services can help facilitate healing is critical to the Indigenous future.

Appendix 2: Letter of Intent

Date:

She:koh,

My name is Gabriel Karenhoton Maracle. I am a doctoral candidate in the Chanie Wenjack School of Indigenous Studies at Trent University. The central focus of my thesis is looking at the healing journey of Indigenous men. This project seeks to understand what the healing journey is, and how community organizations, programs and services help Indigenous men continue their own healing. My projects asks about your perspectives on what healing is, how your organization goes about helping Indigenous men, and what are some of the challenges and triumphs that your organization experiences in this process.

This study involves two steps. The first is a series of survey questions in order to get a better sense of some of the broad strokes of your organization and your perspectives on healing. These questions would be used in conjunction with other respondents to get a better sense of the Indigenous healing landscape.

The second step, if you are interested, would be a conversation (over ZOOM, Skype, Google Hangouts, or any other online video chat program), in which we would talk about healing and your program in more depth. With your consent, the interviews would be recorded. Once the recordings have been transcribed, the recordings would be destroyed.

While this project could involve some professional and emotional risks, care will be taken to protect the identity and integrity of all involved. Participants will be allowed to make their responses anonymous, which involves removing specific biographic data while still maintaining the integrity of the responses.

All participants involved will have the right to end your participation in the study at any time, for any reason, up until August 31st, 2020. If any person chooses to withdraw, all the information related to them will be destroyed.

All research data, including recordings and any notes will be encrypted. Any hard copies of data (including any handwritten notes or USB keys) will be kept at my residence. Research data will only be accessible by the researcher and the research supervisor.

The ethics protocol for this project was reviewed by the Trent University Research Ethics Board, which provided clearance to carry out the research. Should you have questions or concerns related to your involvement in this research, please contact Jamie Muckle, the Certifications and Regulatory Compliance Office at: jmuckle@trentu.ca or (705)-748-1101 ext. 7896

If you would like to participate in this research project, or have any questions, please contact me at gabriemaracle@trentu.ca

Niawen'kó:wa,

Gabriel Karenhoton Maracle

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Title: Supporting the Good Mind and the Healing Journey: An Inquiry into Indigenous Healing Service Delivery

Date of ethics clearance:

Ethics Clearance for the Collection of Data Expires:

My name is Gabriel Karenhoton Maracle. I am a doctoral candidate in the Chanie Wenjack School of Indigenous Studies at Trent University. The central focus of my thesis is looking at the healing journey of Indigenous men. This project seeks to understand what the healing journey is, and how community organizations, programs and services help Indigenous men continue their own healing. My projects asks about your perspectives on what healing is, how your organization goes about helping Indigenous men, and what are some of the challenges and triumphs that your organization experiences in this process.

Participating in this research project would involve filling in a survey question regarding your organization and perspectives on healing. Once the survey is completed, there is the option to have a conversation over online chat to discuss your work in-depth as part of the research project.

This study will start on **[Date]** and will last until **August 31st 2021.**

I, _____, consent to answering the questions posed in this questionnaire with the understanding that it will be used in a thesis. This thesis is produced as a requirement for my degree and may be presented in academic and public for in the future. I also understand that at any point I have the ability to withdraw from the study, or opt out of answering a question.

Do you agree to be recorded: ___Yes ___No

Would you be interested in a follow up interview ____Yes ___No

Your name will be used in this project. You will be provided with a copy of the transcriptions with your and asked to verify that they have been accurately and fairly represented. If you do not want your name to be associated with your quotes, please indicate below. We will create a pseudonym for you so that your identity is not compromised.

I wish to be made anonymous: ___Yes ___No

At any point in time, you have the option to withdrawal from the study. To do so, you must indicate to me in writing that you wish to do so. Upon withdrawal any data that you have provided will be destroyed and will not be used in the essay.

You can email me at **gabrielmaracle@trentu.ca** with a copy to my supervisor, David Newhouse **dnewhouse@trentu.ca**

You will be given a copy of the research project once it has been completed.

The ethics protocol for this project was reviewed by the Trent University Research Ethics Board, which provided clearance to carry out the research. Should you have any questions or concerns related to your involvement in this research, please contact:

TUREB contact information:

Jamie Muckle
Ethics Office
jmuckle@trentu.ca
705-748-1011
Trent University
1600 West Bank Drive
Peterborough, ON K9L 0G2

Researcher Contact Information	**Supervisor Contact Information**
Gabriel Karenhoton Maracle	David Newhouse
Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies	Chanie Wenjack School for Indigenous Studies
Trent University	Trent University

DEPARTMENT OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES

1600 West Bank Drive

Peterborough, ON Canada K9L 0G2
Telephone (705) 748-1011 ext. 7466

Facsimile (705) 748-1416

Email: indigenousstudies@trentu.ca

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

_____ _____

Signature of researcher Date

Appendix 4: Survey Questions

1. How many employees do you have?
2. How many clients use your programing and services?
3. What does the Indigenous community you work with look like (urban, rural, one nation, many nations)?
4. How do you incorporate Indigenous Knowledge into your programming?
5. What role do Elders have in your programs?
6. What is your definition of Healing and the Healing Journey?
7. What is your operational definition of healing?
8. How has your program changed in the past five years
9. How does the community help support healing, or does it?
10. What are the healing programs you offer?
11. Do you have programming geared towards men? If so, how do you approach masculinity?

Appendix 5: Semi Structured Questions

1. What is your definition of the healing journey?
2. What does success look like you?
3. How has the programming directed towards Indigenous men changed?
4. What have been some of the challenges and triumphs that your organization has had to address?
5. Where do you see your programming going in the future?
6. How do you understand masculinity as a part of the healing journey?
7. How has the switch to remote program delivery due to COVID-19 changed your approach to healing?