**This artifact was an assignment that I completed for GEDU 9004/EDUC 8043 Focused Educational Studies*

An Initial Literature Review: How can Indigenous Storywork be used as a pedagogical tool to support decolonization education initiatives across all levels of education by unsettling the settler?

In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Freire (2000, p. 24) states that "the educator has the duty of not being neutral." I believe it is imperative that adult educators consider social action as a part of pedagogy. Like Indigenous scholar Marie Battiste (2013) in *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*, I refuse to accept situations that place human in positions of marginalization, violence, and powerlessness. This literature review explores this theme in a way that supports my interest in building relationships and creating new narratives between the Mi'kmaq and non-Indigenous Nova Scotians as initial steps toward reconciliation. The review was conducted from the perspective of linking theory and practice to explore the pedagogical potential of storytelling and the reconciliation process. Consideration has been given to the importance of the use of truth telling by settlers (non-Indigenous peoples who inhabit or inhabited Mi'kma'ki) as a starting point for decolonizing education. Connections have been made to a more ethical approach to learning through the mobilization of holistic Mi'kmaw epistemologies as deep platforms for viewing academia as social action. This literature review is a continuation of the literature review I completed for my recent Masters in Graduate Studies in Lifelong Learning at Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The mandate for the study in question is directly linked to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Calls to Action 62.i which asks all government bodies to collaboratively work with Survivors, Indigenous Peoples and educators to: "Make age-appropriate curriculum on residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal Peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada a mandatory education requirement for Kindergarten to Grade Twelve students" (Government of Canada, 2018).

Material for this literature review also aligns with the Nova Scotia Department of Education and their plans for the development of Nova Scotia Treaty Education. This endeavour requests that all Nova Scotians be responsible for learning about their shared history of Mi'kma'ki with the Mi'kmaq, especially as it relates to the many Peace and Friendship treaties that apply to Mi'kmaw territory today. As demonstrated by Mi'kmaw Elder Daniel Paul (2008), Mi'kma'ki includes Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, the Gaspe Peninsula of Quebec, and evidence suggests that they also inhabited parts Newfoundland and the state of Maine.

This literature review represents a place for me to begin my initial research. The question that guides my research is: "how can the practice of Indigenous storywork be used as a pedagogical tool to support the decolonization of education across all educational levels by unsettling the settler?"

The Term "Settler" and Its Implications

In Richard Slotkin's scholarly work, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (1992, p.2) he suggests that "[t]he term settler has most often been used to describe a pioneering individual who leaves their homeland with the intention of starting a new life living in a new place; "they were immigrants who have moved to the frontier, a geographical space which was considered wilderness and vacant of other people." As noted by Mi'kmaw Elder Paul (2008), traditionally, in North America (known as Turtle Island by the Mi'kmaq) the word settler has been attached to a nostalgic connotation of new inhabitants who were responsible for the "founding and building" of Canada and the United States.

This understanding of the term settler is in keeping with Emma B. Lowman and Adam J. Barker's work, *Settler, Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada* (2015). Lowman and Barker state that both the past and present use of the term "settler" is heavily tied to the notion of land. Their work reminds us that Europeans considered Turtle Island to be free for the taking, and they believed it could be claimed for ownership either by the state or by individuals. Mi'kmaw Elder Paul (2008) asserts that in contrast, from an Indigenous perspective, settlers are foreigners who stole Indigenous land, broke treaty obligations, and implemented other measures of "law" in order to maintain control of Mi'kmaw territory and their resources. These settler actions severely impacted Indigenous Peoples, such as the Mi'kmaq, and had devastating effects that are still experienced today.

Mi'kmaw Elder Paul (2008) states that by taking a long, difficult look at the term "settler" through an Indigenous lens, those who would describe themselves as descendants of settlers can begin to see both their ancestors and themselves in a different light. As Marie Battiste (2013, p.97) emphasizes, "Through an Indigenous perspective, settlers can come to understand how contemporary colonization is linked to relationships, structures and processes in Canada that are complicit in systems of violence and dispossession towards Indigenous Peoples." Battiste highlights examples of the modern negative impact of colonization such as inherent stereotypes, pervasive racism, marginalization of Indigenous Peoples which has resulted in their loss of connection and reverence to land, culture, and way of life.

In *Living Treaties: Narrating Mi'kmaw Treaty Relations*, Marie Battiste (2016a) reminds today's settlers of the ongoing Canadian government policy of ignoring Mi'kmaw treaty rights and of the constant land disputes that occur between the Mi'kmaq and the government or between the Mi'kmaq and resource-extraction businesses. For example, in Nova Scotia, the Mi'kmaq and Alton Gas (Luck, 2016) have been engaged in a dispute regarding the storage of natural gas on the banks of the Shubenacadie River for more than two years. Covering the story for the *CBC News*, reporter Michael Gorman (2016) reported several concerns expressed by the Mi'kmaq. Gorman expressed from the Mi'kmaq perspective, Alton Gas is trespassing on Mi'kmaq territory without permission. Gorman also stated that the Mi'kmaq communities are deeply concerned about the serious environmental impacts of this project that have yet to be addressed. The Mi'kmaq have been attempting to exercise their treaty rights to address these worries. Gorman says that the Mi'kmaq are requesting further research to be conducted regarding the

environmental impacts on the various ecosystems of the river.

Paulette Regan (2010) offers yet another cutting-edge approach to understanding the term "settlers" as it relates to colonization and power. Regan (2010) has vast experience documenting the culturally genocidal Canadian Indian Residential School system, as well as the Truth and Reconciliation process in Canada. *Unsettling the Settler within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* was written when Regan (2010) was Director of Research for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. In this work, Regan (2010) offers insight into challenges related to resolving contemporary conflicts between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians as a result of the colonization of Canada.

A critical and unique aspect of Regan's (2010) work is that she considers herself a settler and places her own privileges at the heart of her research. By following Regan's lead, other "settlers" can also begin to make this new ethical shift with respect to the term and its meaning. Regan states that tackling decolonization requires settlers to acknowledge the hard truth that the identity of a settler is not one of benevolent peace keeper as they have surmised. Instead the Canadian identity is linked to the perpetration of violence against Indigenous Peoples which has been hidden from public view.

By using critical theory, comparative analysis, and ethics, Regan's (2010, p.17) research methodology focuses on "the synergy of truth telling, as a pedagogical tool, by the settler to create counter-narratives which will dismantle the historical colonial legacy." Her research perspective requires "authenticity and reciprocity from settlers as they begin to witness firsthand the present-day struggles of Indigenous Peoples, such as those of the Mi'kmaq, that are tied to colonialism." Today's settlers must genuinely listen to the different Mi'kmaw narratives that are associated with colonization and its detrimental impact.

This divergent narrative thus challenges the story of the benevolent peace-loving settlers that was written from a Eurocentric standpoint in order to obliterate the Mi'kmaq. Regan's (2010) position is that when today's settlers earnestly become true allies with Indigenous Peoples, the potential for transformation is possible for everyone. Lilla Watson, an Indigenous Australian, visual activist, and academic, defined this ideology when she said, "If you are coming to help me you are wasting your time. But if your liberation is bound up with mine then let us work together" (Ablett et al., 2014, p.7). Many social activist groups have since used this phrase to emphasize the point that the liberation of oppression should not be viewed as a charitable act but rather as an emancipatory process for all. Watson prefers to credit the collective process of the Aboriginal Activist Group of Queensland in 1970 with the origin of this quote (Ablett et al., 2014).

Regan (2010) states that today's settlers may begin to understand the interrelatedness of the benefits they and their ancestors have reaped from colonization and the continued oppression of Indigenous Peoples. For example, many Canadians are unaware of the linkages between murdered and missing Indigenous Canadian women and resource extraction. Battered Women Support Services (Hunt, 2015) in Vancouver, British Columbia states that "Aboriginal women in violence, and the connection to resource extraction is overwhelming." Regan (2010, p.20) reminds today's settlers that when they "begin to understand themselves as the problem, there is

potential for social, political and cultural change. Transformational learning will occur when settlers speak hard truths, remain mindful and challenge the false innocence they understand as their history." Regan (2010) challenges this mythical and sentimental perspective of the term and its meaning. Instead Regan suggests using "settler" to include current-day descendants and other non-Indigenous Canadians. Regan, argues that in this way, it will constitute a pedagogical tool for instilling a better understanding of the colonial ontology of the relationships of power, the beneficiaries of colonization, and the systems of oppression in inherent colonial hegemonic frameworks. Regan's use of the term settler is intended to help people such as myself and others broaden our understanding of who we really are – rather than who we claim to be. Regan's choice of the term "settler" is to support a way of more fully comprehending the 21st century Canadian perception of colonization.

In her work, *Indigenous Writes A Guide to First Nations, Metis and Inuit Issues in Canada*, Chelsea Vowel (2016) devotes a whole chapter to support using the term settler as a contemporary term for non-Indigenous Canadians. Chapter Two of Vowel's (2016) book is called *Settling on a Name: Name for Non-Indigenous Canadians*. Vowel (2016 p. 18) contends that "just like we need terms to define Indigenous Peoples (which she does in Chapter One) we need terms to define non-Indigenous Peoples."

However, Vowel (2016) states that there is no perfect generalized label that describes the historical, contemporary and future relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples. Vowel (2016, p. 14) believes this is because "the majority tends to have the power to sanction and widely accept terms and does not have much cause to refer to itself." The point that Vowel (2016) is making is that it is very important to choose a modern-day term for people who are not Indigenous in Canada in order to understand the relationship between Canada's colonial legacy and how this informs present day relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples.

One of the reasons that Vowel (2016, p. 16) chose the term settler is because she feels it is "a relational term rather than a racial category." Vowel (2016, p. 16) says that using the term *White* for example is complicated because of its complex connections to race and "whiteness as a system of power and privilege." Since the term *White* is tied to race, Vowel (2016) argues that it often becomes a contentious choice which may result in shutting conversations down.

Vowel (2016, p.16) chose the word settler because it is a "shortened version of settler colonials." Vowel's (2016) deliberate connection to settler colonialism is to bring to the forefront that Canada's origins are based on intentional physical occupation of land as a method of asserting land claims and resource ownership. In Vowel's (2016) view, settler colonialism is still occurring because people outside of Canada continue to move or settle in Canada. As well, Battiste (2016) argues that land ownership, land occupation, land dispossession and resource extraction are still very much tied to the Canadian European colonial modern-day mindset which negatively impacts Indigenous Peoples. Ironically, Vowel (2016) observes that sometimes people who move to Canada have been forced to leave due to colonialism that is occurring in their own homeland.

During our conversations on almost every topic, Elder Joe often says to me, "It's complicated."

Similar to Elder Joe, Vowel (2016, p. 18) reminds us that relationships between Indigenous Peoples, the Canadian government and settler Canadians are complex and based on colonial ideology which supported an imbalance of power that negatively impacted Indigenous Peoples. Therefore, I feel Vowel's (2016) choice to use setter is a suitable term that helps people recognize how past and present events impact the current relationship between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Peoples. The term settler places an emphasis on the intersections of the many types of relationships (historical, modern-day and future) that exist and that Vowel (2016) argues are directly related to occupation of land and resource extraction at the expense of Indigenous Peoples today.

Decolonizing education

Marie Battiste (2013) offers a theoretical framework for decolonizing education. Drawing on her extensive Indigenous (especially Mi'kmaw) knowledge, lived experiences, and the works of other Indigenous scholars, she documents the nature of Eurocentric education models and their tendency to ignore Indigenous knowledge. In her scholarly book, *Decolonizing Education, Nourishing the Learning Spirit*, Battiste (2013) demonstrates how racism is inherent in colonial systems of all education. Adult educators may perpetuate common stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples and others, or view their own race, upbringing, and style of education as superior to those of others. Battiste (2013) instead introduces Indigenous epistemologies as a creative model for beginning the process of decolonizing adult education.

Like Regan (2010), Battiste (2013) asks non-Indigenous and Indigenous Canadians to take initiative and demand education that is socially just. In a dominant culture where bias exists in how mainstream history is taught at all levels of Canadian education, Battiste (2013) offers a novel vision that can further advance radical educational reform in Canada. Jim Silver (2014) also lays out a comprehensive Indigenous community based educational approach in *Moving Forward Giving Back, Transformative Aboriginal Adult Education* that resonates with Battiste's (2013) Indigenous transformational education initiatives. It should be clear that Battiste (2013), Regan (2010), Lowman and Barker (2015), Silver (2014), and others all request that any Canadian citizen who reaps the benefits and privileges of colonization at the expense of Indigenous Peoples must take responsibility for decolonizing this detrimental legacy.

Like Battiste (2013), Regan (2010) also invites today's settlers to take responsibility by becoming involved. Regan (2010) affirms that it will be the settlers' ability to embrace their colonial legacy as an initiative for change which will create new knowledge. She predicts that this shifted mindset will keep the status quo of colonizers and their benefits in tact or encourage settlers to take initiative in supporting decolonization as they become inspired by the need for social equality and justice for all.

Battiste (2013) concludes that if settlers help to mobilize decolonization, the result will be that there is a better chance that they will become active initiators of social change and support Indigenous ways of knowing. Battiste (2013) believes that in order for power relations to change, the mainstream must believe in the power of Indigenous epistemologies. In her recent book, *Living Treaties, Narrating Mi'kmaw Treaty Relations*, Battiste (2016a) provides an up-to-date account of different understandings of the 19th century Peace and Friendship treaties. These treaties were originally created by Britain and the Mi'kmaq but have now been extended to

Canada as a whole. She uses contemporary narratives from Mi'kmaw People and Indigenous allies to challenge the Crown's version of the treaty interpretations and obligations. Battiste (2016a) demonstrates the many layers of tension surrounding the treaties including, for instance, the controversy over land control, rights, and ownership. She also recounts a variety of ways in which the British and now the Canadian federal and provincial governments have not lived up to the terms of the original treaty commitments and have broken numerous promises.

Battiste (2016a) has collected stories from a variety of authors and their families in order to weave an intimate storytelling tapestry that conveys the ongoing dispute between the government and the Mi'kmaq concerning the Peace and Friendship Treaties. Her current research illustrates the constitutional significance of the original treaties signed between Indigenous Peoples, such as the Mi'kmaq, and the British Crown. For example, with respect to Mi'kma'ki, she sets out the fine points of the 1752 Peace and Friendship Treaty, which has been used as the central focus in several recent court cases. Under this treaty, specific clauses guarantee Aboriginal hunting and fishing rights throughout the Mi'kmaw territory. Chief Gerard Julian (2013) summarized these rights during a presentation to the United Nations. He stated, "In 1999 the Supreme Court of Canada found, in the Donald Marshall case, that the Mi'kmaq, as guaranteed in the 1760-61 Treaties, have a right to fish for a Moderate Livelihood" (p.3). In his address, Chief Julian (2013, p. 1) points out that "the Mi'kmaq are holders of the covenant chain of treaties and rights included in the Peace and Friendship Treaties of 1725 and 26, 1749, 1752 and 53, 1760 and 61." Julian (2013, p.1), also speculates "there may be other treaties yet to be discovered or disclosed."

Chief Julian (2013) and Battiste (2016a) both demonstrate that it is important for all Canadian citizens to understand how treaties are relevant to contemporary life. Treaty education and its implications are critical for opening up a space for conversation to begin not just between non-Indigenous Canadians and the Mi'kmaq, but also between all Indigenous Peoples and other Canadians.

Marie Battiste's (2016) publication, *Visioning a Mi'kmaw Humanities: Indigenizing the Academy*, illustrates the relationship between Eurocentric institutions and knowledge production as a function of power. Battiste (2016) and other researchers expose the hidden hegemonic framework of Eurocentric discourse in its many forms, and how this ideology has dominated Canadian education in the liberal arts disciplines such as philosophy, history, theology, languages, literature, and other subject areas at the expense of Indigenous Peoples.

Battiste et al. (2016) challenge the current vision of the humanities that Battiste (2016) calls "cognitive imperialism" and that Battiste (2016) states is the cognitive equivalent of racism. Instead, Battiste (2016) and other authors provide an alternative to the subversive discourse of the Eurocentric humanities that has silenced Indigenous worldviews and knowledge-based systems. They envision Indigenous Peoples and settlers collaboratively and respectfully working together to create an educational approach in the humanities that celebrates Indigenous ways of knowing.

Of particular interest is Nancy Peters' contribution to *Visioning a Mi'kmaw Humanities: Indigenizing the Academy* (Battiste, 2016) and her discussion on the ability of colonial narratives to be used as a tool for decolonization. Like myself, Peters (Battiste, 2016) is a settler who is

examining her Canadian colonial history, and her position in relation to Indigenous Peoples such as the Mi'kmaq. Her research seeks to uncover what this means as we move forward in the truth and reconciliation process and decolonization of education (Battiste, 2016).

Further, Peters' (Battiste, 2016) research uses discourse analysis to examine the Nova Scotia school curriculum, and its underpinning historical narratives that substantially marginalize and silence the Mi'kmaq on many fronts. Peters' study confirms how various myths and stereotypes such as "peaceful settler", "savage warrior", "uncivilized people", and "*terra nullius*" (Latin term for vacant land which was free for the taking) were used for colonial discursive action in both the subjectification process of the Mi'kmaq, and justification for settling and resource extraction of their territory known as Mi'kma'ki (Battiste, 2016, p.178-179).

Even though I agree with Peters (Battiste, 2016) and her research efforts to include settler allies as part of decolonization of the humanities, I have concerns about her choice to use shame as a pedagogical tool and catalyst for decolonization (Battiste, 2016). Although Peters (Battiste, 2016) explains how shame can be used as a method to help contemporary settlers become critically self-aware of their own assumptions, biases, and benefits stemming from colonization, I have concerns about its overall effectiveness to enact real change. This is in part because of the well formulated Eurocentric colonial discourse that has been in place for over four hundred years. I believe it is difficult for many non-Indigenous peoples to understand how they are complicit in past colonial acts. Therefore I am not sure that using shame is the best avenue to influence change.

Psychology Today recently ran an article by Krystine Batcho (2017) titled *Why Shaming Doesn't Work: The Wounds of Shame Can Be Deep and Enduring*. In this article, Batcho (2017) emphasizes that shame centers around the underlying principle that a person feels they have done something wrong. I see shame as being problematic because many people today don't see themselves as connected to the spurious actions of our colonial ancestors. Therefore, they do not understand themselves as being complicit in the unacceptable or erroneous behaviour of the past.

Gershen Kaufman (2004) examines the many faces of shame in *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-Based Syndromes.* Looking at the concept of shame from a psychological perspective, Kaufman (2004) demonstrates how shame is a painful effect or state connected to emotion. Kaufman (2004) states there is a tendency to follow a pathological protocol when a person's overall mental health is compromised due to feeling an overwhelming amount of shame. Peters (Battiste, 2016) use of shame may be helpful for some individuals to develop empathy and a moral conscience because of a newfound discomfort surrounding their Canadian colonial legacy and its impact on Indigenous Peoples. However, I am concerned that for most it may have negative ramifications, and thus not be well received by the mainstream. In fact, I fear that shame could turn into anger for some settlers, and the intentions as a pedagogical tool for decolonization could backfire.

Further, Peters (Battiste, 2016) has done extensive research on the history of education in Nova Scotia and the intentional colonial discourse that uses curriculum gatekeepers to shape colonial knowledge production. This type of discursive action uses mainly white settler historians as primary text resources in the school system, and either mention the Mi'kmaq in derogatory ways

or exclude them entirely – especially as it relates to pre-European Colonization. Peters' (Battiste, 2016) exposure of various historians such as Thomas Chandler, Beamish Murdoch, and Thomas Raddall, or academics such as Abraham Gesner, J. B. Calkins, and Wilson Wallis is important to note as it demonstrates how Eurocentric discourse dominates and shapes a biased and racist Nova Scotia curriculum.

Even though Peters' (Battiste, 2016) work scrutinizes the invisible authority of non-Indigenous authors, I think it is important to note that there are some settler scholars who have made significant contributions to validating Mi'kmaw epistemology, ontology, and axiology in education. For example, John Reid's (2009, 2004, 2004a) scholarly works on imperial and Indigenous issues in Mi'kma'ki is so well respected that he been called as an expert witness in several court cases regarding Mi'kmaw and Wulstukwiuk Treaty rights. The most famous is *R. v. Donald Marshall Junior*. Reid's (2009, 2004, 2004a) works offer evidence of the strength, power, and sophisticated ways of the Mi'kmaq.
Further, William Wicken (2002) is a historian who has done extensive research on the Friendship and Peace Treaty of 1725-1726 signed between the British colonial government of Nova Scotia with the Mi'kmaq. Wicken (2002) closely examines this treaty and discusses its relevance to the *Marshall* case. Wicken (2002) also demonstrates how treaties apply to the interpretation of law, and the long-standing relationships between the Mi'kmaq and settlers today. Wicken's (2002) work demonstrates the importance of understanding how these many living doctrines can be implemented by new policy in Nova Scotia education called Treaty education initiatives.

Geoffrey Plank (2003) is another settler historian whose seminal text provides excellent documentation on the removal of the Acadians by the British in Nova Scotia during early colonization. Most importantly Plank (2003) explains the Mi'kmaw and Acadian perspective surrounding the complex relationships between the British, Acadians, and Mi'kmaw during this time-period.

Like my personal settler heritage, Jon Tattrie's (2017, 2013) family also has colonial connections to the founding of Lunenburg. Tattrie (2017, 2013) has an interest in truth-seeking narratives that challenge dominant Eurocentric discourse. For instance, his extensive work exposed Governor Cornwallis and the British plan for absolute control of Mi'kma'ki and the destruction of the Mi'kmaw Peoples. Tattrie's (2017, 2013) research does not center on inflicting shame or guilt to unsettle the current day settler. Like myself, his ancestors date back to the colonization of Mi'kma'ki and he has a genuine interest in learning all the narratives that come from where he and his family have lived for over 400 years. Even though Reid (2009, 2004, 2004a), Wicken (2002), Plank (2003), Tattrie (2013, 2017) and others are non-Indigenous scholars, I believe it is important to mention their work. They represent an alliance and a collaborative relationship that already exists between contemporary setters and the Mi'kmaq. This serves as an example of how some settlers have become Indigenous allies and are already supporting decolonization efforts in education.

Indigenous Stereotypes and the Canadian Myth

Regan's (2010) scholarship presents an excellent case that reveals the hidden agenda of

mainstream Eurocentric Canadian colonial history as it relates to stereotypes and myths. Through her research, Regan (2010) points out the negative influence of Indigenous racial stereotypes and exposes the intentional reasons behind the fabricated creation of the myth of the peace-loving Canadian. Further to the point, Regan (2010, p.11, p.213) has shown how settlers deliberately use myths such as "the benevolent peace-keeping Canadian" and stereotype of "the Indigenous warrior" as a means of deriving value and worth from colonial history. She further exposes the role of myths and stereotypes that help maintain the benefits of colonization for the status quo at the expense of Indigenous Peoples.

Regan (2010) suggests that the origins of the popular "benevolent peace-loving Canadian myth" began with the colonization of Canada. She shows that this term was intentional and was used to create a façade that makes the settler appear to be peaceful and not perpetrators of violence. She makes a distinct connection to the tremendous hidden power of the benevolent peace-loving myth that reinforces Canada's celebratory colonial narrative. For example, the colonization of Canada, especially as it is juxtaposed to the overt colonial violence of the United States, has traditionally been portrayed as a relatively peaceful process and intentionally excludes the purposeful violent injustices done to the Indigenous Peoples such as the Mi'kmaq. Regan (2010, p.11) argues that, "a purpose of this benevolent peacekeeping myth is to create a positive national image, which helps to deflect the hidden realities, which are the systems of oppression placed on the Indigenous Peoples in order for colonization to work."

Like the benevolent peacekeeping myth, the purpose of the Indigenous warrior stereotype is multifaceted. Since the foundation of Canadian colonization was based on colonizers stealing land and resources from Indigenous Peoples, such as the Mi'kmaq, there was bound to be conflict. The conundrum facing the settlers was the huge reverence and respect that the Indigenous Peoples had for maintaining peace at all costs. Battiste (2016) reminds us that many Indigenous Peoples used specific ceremony and protocol to instill a sense of peaceful relations between the colonizers of North America. For example, Battiste (2016) points out that Indigenous Peoples, such as the Mi'kmaq, often performed a ceremony called "Burying the Hatchet" which on many levels represented the practice of living in peace and harmony with each other. This sophisticated Indigenous ceremony was steeped in tradition and had significant purpose and meaning with respect to keeping the peace. Battiste (2016) reminds us that part of the treaty negotiation process between the Mi'kmaq and the British included the "Burying the Hatchet" ceremony. This Mi'kmaw custom helped conclude the end of a war that had been going on for over seventy-five years and solidify the reverence of peace, neutrality, and conciliatory practices between the Mi'kmaq and the English. Battiste's (2016) work often highlights, that the British, other settlers, and, more recently, the Canadian Government, have often ignored these treaties. Instead of peace signified by "Burying the Hatchet", there have been many cases of violence toward the Mi'kmaq including actions that nearly exterminated them.

Vital to my research interests is trying to create an awareness of the contrast between the settler and the Indigenous view of Canada's history. Both Regan (2010) and Battiste (2016) describe this contrast and the inherent hidden perception of violence that forms the foundation of Indigenous-settler relations. Like Regan (2010), I am interested in understanding the "role that myth, stereotypes, ritual, and history play in perpetrating violence" against Indigenous Peoples (p.12). My emphasis will be on the way that deeply rooted patterns of perpetrator/victim

behaviour by settlers over the Mi'kmaq, for example, are connected to intentional narratives about colonial history. It is through myths and stereotypes such as the benevolent peace lover and Indigenous warrior that settlers can justify claiming land and resources.

Indigenous Research Paradigm

Since my research is directed at creating space for Mi'kmaw narratives as they relate to educational reform, it is important that I follow an Indigenous Research Paradigm. I see this process as an initial step in reconciliation as defined by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (Government of Canada, 2018). This means that I must follow Indigenous ways of being, knowing, and doing which emphasize Mi'kmaw knowledge-based systems as the underlying principles and protocol for my research. Shawn Wilson's (2008) commitment to the application of Indigenous research methodologies and Indigenous philosophy is crucial to my understanding of what is meant by Indigenous research. Wilson's (2008) work, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, exemplifies the relationship between Indigenous epistemology, ontology, axiology, and methodology. It also lays out how to use these tools when conducting research.

Battiste's (2013) work also clearly demonstrates that, historically, Indigenous paradigms have not been given much merit and agency in mainstream academia. As Wilson (2008) has shown, an Indigenous research paradigm is often seen as entertaining and creative, usually just tolerated, and not often elevated to the status of being equivalent to other types of research. It is very different from traditional scientific protocol, which requires the researcher to remain neutral and objective. As noted by Wilson (2008, p. 40), "Key to the Indigenous research paradigm is that the researcher is subjective, builds [a] relationship with the research, and views research as [a] ceremony of maintaining accountability to these relationships." Integrating my research to be accepted by the mainstream education system is an essential aspect of my research.

Another influential text that emphasizes how to incorporate the Indigenous research paradigm is *Principles of Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit* by Jo-ann Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem (2008). As explained by Archibald (2008, p.129), Indigenous storywork is an Indigenous pedagogical tool, which uses the power of oral narratives as a tool for deep learning. Archibald's seven Indigenous storywork principles of "respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy" are foundational to recognizing the importance of my accountability when conducting Indigenous research. This accountability includes many aspects of my research such as being accountable to Mi'kmaw Elders, Mi'kmaw scholars, Mi'kmaw community, Mi'kmaw knowledge-based systems, my relationship with my research choices, and the selection of data collection methods.

Incorporating Archibald's (2008) research techniques, allows for the introduction of decolonizing space that makes room for the inclusion of the history and narrative of the L'nu or Mi'kmaw People. The intention of Archibald's (2006) Indigenous storywork is that an accurate, more balanced, and truthful story will emerge. A key element which respects Indigenous research methodology, is honouring Archibald's (2006) principles of respect, reverence, reciprocity, responsibility, holism, synergy, and interrelatedness. These will be used as important learning tools. Since Archibald (2008) has demonstrated how to use this theoretical framework

so stories can become important tools for teaching, I will continue to follow her methods in my research.

This literature review examines the Two-Eyed Seeing (Etuaptmumk) methodology created by Albert Marshall in 2004 as a guiding principle for integrating Indigenous and mainstream research frameworks (Institute for Integrative Health and Science, 2004). Two-Eyed Seeing is a type of Mi'kmaw epistemology that celebrates an integrative co-learning journey between the Mi'kmaw People and the learner. According to Bartlett, Marshall, & Marshall, (2012) Two-Eyed Seeing is a gift of multiple perspectives treasured by many Aboriginal Peoples which is a requisite for genuine transcultural, trans-disciplinary, and collaborative work to occur between the Mi'kmaq and non-Indigenous people. Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall (2012, p. 332) distinguish this way of knowing as "learning to see from one eye with the strength of Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing, and from the other eye with the strength of mainstream knowledge and ways of knowing for the benefit of all."

The use of this Indigenous pedagogical tool enables me to understand the multiple perspectives of the complex relationships between the Mi'kmaq, British and French during the settlement of Atlantic Canada. By adhering to this Mi'kmaw epistemology, I am also able to more easily integrate mainstream and Indigenous research.

An example of Two-Eyed Seeing (Etuaptmumk) is the incorporation of Archibald's (2008) analytical and theoretical oral storytelling tools with qualitative personal interviews. Building on Archibald's seven principles, I will incorporate Indigenous oral narrative pedagogy as an important research source while conducting personal interviews with my subjects.

When reading Linda Tuhiwai-Smith (2012), I must confess I feel at home. Tuhiwai-Smith's (2012) recent work, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, validates why I situate my research among other worldviews, such as the Mi'kmaq, who present an alternate epistemological landscape for learning. Tuhiwai-Smith's (2012), scholarly work supports research that is rich in opportunity, relationship, and human spirit and yet understands the intersectionality and complexities of Indigenous research and colonial oppression that use objectification and pathology as research tools. Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) provides clear examples of how Indigenous Peoples and settlers can work together in multi-disciplinary participatory action style projects that support Indigenous self-determining efforts such as Indigenous storytelling.

Eve Tuck (2009) is another Indigenous scholar whose writing and lifework is committed to decolonizing education. Tuck (2009) primarily focuses on how Indigenous social knowledge structures can be engaged to create socially just education and policy. Her recent article called *Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities* investigates how western research styles benefit by using common stereotypes that depict Indigenous communities as either victims or perpetrators in need of help. Tuck (2009) examines the long-term impacts of this damage and provides key insight into why researchers, communities, and educators should change how they conduct research in Indigenous settings. Tuck (2009) offers a research method that does not use objectification of Indigenous Peoples, but centres on a desire-based framework that considers the complexity, contradictions, conundrums, and self-determination of Indigenous communities.

Tuck's (2009) vison of research is summed up in a statement made by Maxine Greene (2000) in her work, *Releasing the Imagination: Essays on Education, the Arts, and Social Change*. Greene's (2000, p. 16) words were, "All we can do, I believe, is cultivate multiple ways of seeing and multiple dialogues in a world where nothing stays the same."

Although I agree with Tuck's (2009) overall perspectives on a paradigm shift in research practices, I see many stumbling blocks along the way. I think Tuck (2009) is spot on when she says that research protocol must shift the discourse away from damage towards desire and complexity. However, I also believe that applying this different approach to how research is practiced will be challenging. Since academic institutions have their origins steeped in western thought, which uses pathology and problematizing as research methods, reframing how research should be done will therefore be a long arduous task met with resistence.

As noted by Leslie Margolin (2015) in *Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack: The Invention of White Privilege Pedagogy*, a particularly hard hurdle to overcome is that researchers carry many personal biases, blind spots, and western viewpoints that interfere with their ability to understand Indigenous research methodologies such as the one that Tuck (2009) offers. Despite genuine attempts at respecting and attempting to learn about Indigenous research methodology there are many implicit nuances regarding Indigenous epistemology, ontology, and axiology that a researcher may unintentionally miss. In general, Canadian Eurocentric epistemology creates views and biases towards Aboriginal history, culture and heritage – past, present and future. This Eurocentric based education and upbringing clouds the ability for researchers to comprehend alternative ways of interpretation and understanding. Non-Aboriginal researchers may misrepresent Indigenous ways of knowing because of a lack of fundamental understanding of the culture, heritage, and ways of life.

As described by Battiste (2016) in her most recent book called *Visioning a Mi'kmaw Humanities: Indigenizing the Academy Historically*, Aboriginal teaching and learning practices connect the head, heart and spirit, which is nested in experience, storytelling, ceremony, and ritual. Further, Battiste (2016) asserts that Aboriginal ontology is the philosophical study of the nature of being, becoming, existing, and reality in relationship to oneself, community and environment. Regan (2010) states that on a rational and Eurocentric level this type Indigenous praxis is not supported and difficult to comprehend for most settlers.

Like myself, Tuck (2009) and Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) both emphasize a paradigm shift in research. Specifically, Tuck (2009, p.416) calls on researchers to move away from "damage centered narratives" to research that is steeped in desire, vision, and hope. Like me, both these authors envision future research as a collaborative effort between non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples that focuses on the strengths, sovereignty, and resistance capacities of Indigenous Peoples.

Since Archibald's (2008) framework is an important tool for my own research, it was wonderful to see both Tuck (2009) and Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) honouring her Indigenous storywork principles as a purposeful research methodological approach. Archibald's (2008) storywork principles offer a unique research approach for the collective good, which is centered on what Tuck (2009) refers to as research that rests on the abilities of Indigenous Peoples as opposed to

deficits of Indigenous Peoples. Tuck (2009) and Tuhiwai-Smith (2012) note that Archibald's (2008) principles demonstrate ways in which non-Indigenous researchers, who do Indigenous research, can practice relational accountability. Tuck (2009) and Tuhiwai-Smith (2008) affirm that Archibald's (2008) storywork principles support a collaborative relationship between research and participants that places an Indigenous community's interests at the center of the research.

Research Challenges

Regan (2010) states that all over the world scholars have discussed the problems of structural change associated with symbolic patterns of violence which are embedded in the history of Indigenous - settler relations. John Lederach (2001) expresses concerns in *Five Qualities of Practice in Support of Reconciliation Processes*, that breaking free from these cycles of inherent violence will be a challenge of authenticity and ethical cognition for both non-Indigenous and Indigenous people with respect to determining how to transcend from the past, present, and into the future.

Battiste (2013) asserts that the decolonization of Mi'kma'ki history is an excellent starting point for critical analysis that will challenge the personal privileges, belief systems, assumptions, and biases that are deeply embedded in current culture and history. As Regan (2010) has argued, the real challenge will be the ability for today's settlers to truly remove their mainstream lens and look at life critically. Further to the point, Regan (2010) states that when the current non-Indigenous Canadian population questions the moral foundation of settler society they will have two options. The first choice is to continue to deny the hidden violent colonial conflict that was directed towards Indigenous Peoples and its impacts today. The second is to question the myths and stereotypes that they have come to understand as their history. Battiste (2016) states that by taking a decolonizing approach, settlers have an opportunity to transform the current relationship between themselves and Indigenous Peoples and develop a relationship that is more diplomatic and peaceful in nature.

However, Regan (2010) argues that even though today's settlers believe that they are looking at their own colonial history in a different way, their ontology will always be clouded by their own inherent beliefs, biases, and experiences. Lederach states (2001) that in order for the settler's conscience to welcome this new mindset, they must embrace the possibility of change, and not be fearful of what may transcend as a result. For most people, this is easier said than done. For example, it is one thing for a twenty first century settler to acknowledge that Nova Scotia is considered unceded Mi'kmaw territory, according to the Peace and Friendship Treaty of 1752, but what are the contemporary ramifications of genuinely living up to this statement?

The study by Susan Dion, Krista Johnston, and Carla Rice (2010), *Decolonizing our schools, Aboriginal education in Toronto school district*, suggests that the concept of decolonization in theory is a wonderful term for the achievement of Indigenous resurgence and self-determination. However, upon deeper reflection, Dion et al. (2010), state that it becomes obvious that this will be an uphill battle until non-Indigenous Canadians become actively and genuinely involved in true social action. In agreement with Regan (2010) and Battiste (2013), I am of the opinion that challenging one's own belief system is a trying and distressing process because of the difficulty

of acknowledging that our origins are tied to the alienation and degradation of Aboriginal Canadians, African Canadians, immigrants, and others.

Le Baron's (2003) work titled *Bridging Cultural Conflicts: A New Approach for a Changing World,* acknowledges that for settlers to become Indigenous allies they must consider how their own cultural biases will affect the outcomes of intercultural struggles for how reconciliation will come about. This means that by choosing to become Indigenous allies, today's settlers must freely embrace the journey as emancipatory and transformational for both themselves and Indigenous Peoples.

Regan (2010) discovered that The Truth and Reconciliation Commission revealed that more than 67% of Canadians believe they have a role to play in reconciliation. However, Regan (2010, p. 20) also notes "when the legal consideration is removed, the emphasis for reconciliation is placed on Indigenous Peoples to heal themselves and reconcile with non-Indigenous people so that Canada can put this history behind and move forward." This viewpoint demonstrates the influence of the mainstream lens and mythology that sees as a viable solution an overemphasis on closure, moving on, and the glossing over of Canada's violent colonial past.

In *Who Gets to Say What Happened? Reconciliation Issues for the Gitxsan,* Val Napoleon (2004) states that if any type of social justice is ever going to happen for Indigenous Peoples, there must be a shift in dialogue to move beyond rhetoric and include considerable change[s] in Canadian society that contend with the disproportionate power relations, illegal land occupation, and resource extraction. Napoleon (2004) concludes that such a shift will require those who are the beneficiaries of colonization to challenge their own interpretation of colonial history, and to choose to act differently, which may impact their future privileges.

The Literature Gap That This Dissertation Seeks to Fill

As already discussed, most research connected with Indigenous Peoples is done using mainstream qualitative and quantitative approaches which supports a colonizer ideology and continues to devalue Indigenous ways to transmit knowledge. As noted by Tuhiwai Smith (2012, p.1) "the term research is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonization." Further to the point, Smith (2012, p.1) asserts that "When mentioned in many Indigenous contexts, the word research stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful."

This literature review provides clear evidence as to why more scholarly work is needed to begin the process of decolonizing education. In fact, to support the gaps in understanding the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, the Canadian government (Government of Canada, 2018) recently established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission tasked with discovering and revealing past wrongdoings to residential school survivors. The result is the mandatory Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action and the Nova Scotia Treaty Education initiatives. Both endeavours request that actions be taken which support the process of dismantling the Eurocentric settler hegemonic frameworks as part of Truth and Reconciliation.

Aman Sium and Eric Ritskes' (2013, p.2) recent study called: *Speaking Truth to Power: Indigenous Storytelling as an act of Living Resistance. Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society,* speaks to the intricate and elaborate use of Indigenous storytelling as a framework for Indigenous knowledge production. Sium and Ritskes (2013, p.2) express that the purpose of a story is "to be disruptive, sustaining, knowledge producing, and theory-in-action." Sium and Ritskes, provide confirmation that more work needs to be done in Indigenous storywork as a natural platform for decolonization. Like Battiste (2016), Sium and Ritskes demonstrate the link between decolonization as a transforming potential in the journey of settlers like myself to becoming Indigenous allies, and in the self determination of Indigenous Peoples such as the Mi'kmaq.

Conclusion

This literature review provides numerous examples of scholarly literature that validate the power of storytelling as a pedagogical tool. Specifically, this literature review demonstrates how Indigenous storywork can be used to support a culturally responsible approach to the decolonization of the settler that supports the resurgence of Indigenous Peoples, such as the Mi'kmaq in Mi'kma'ki.

This literature review examines how settlers can become allies and support Mi'kmaw resurgence by disrupting and decolonizing their own cultural being. The samples of literature serve as an example of an anti-colonial projects that are both community based and culturally respectful to Indigenous ways of knowing and emphasize the educational importance of storytelling.

This literature review supports participatory style approaches to research between the Mi'kmaq and settlers using Indigenous knowledge structures to challenge mainstream epistemic framework and enable teaching, learning, and healing to occur. It is through unlearning, relearning, and embracing Indigenous ways of knowing that Indigenous allies begin to understand the inherent racism embedded in their adopted colonial system of culture and commerce. Upon disruption of this colonial fabrication, a more balanced and ethical understanding can emerge. Through Indigenous epistemology, truth and reconciliation become transformational approaches for liberation, emancipatory growth, and insight.

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