Settler roles and responsibilities: Engaging Indigenous rights in Canadian environmental activist organisations post-TRC and #IdleNoMore

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I declare on this <u>19th day of November 2018</u> that the work presented in the thesis is original and attributable to the candidate, Karen Ella McCallum.

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I investigate how settler environmentalists in organising hubs in Central and Eastern Canada were engaged with Indigenous rights issues through their environmental activist work in 2014 and 2015. I consider how settlers in these hubs understood their roles and responsibilities to the project of advancing Indigenous rights alongside #IdleNoMore – a broader Indigenous-led movement. I also consider how settler activists acted out their roles and responsibilities towards Indigenous peoples in relation to the politics of reconciliation and Indigenous rights that emerged in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

In 2015 Canada concluded the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2008-2015). This commission took place at the same time as the #IdleNoMore social movement (2012-2014) was springing up around the country, demonstrating Indigenous aspirations for changed political relationships. A long history of dispute, conflict and even animosity undergirds historical Indigenous / settler relations. I sought in this research project to understand how settler environmental activists engaged in relations of responsibility, reflecting an urgent interest amongst settlers to incorporate Indigenous rights into their mandates. This research looks through the lens of settler colonial studies and social psychology to ask why, in an age when information about Indigenous aspirations and goals are so readily available, settler publics still find it difficult to engage with forwarding Indigenous rights goals.

This thesis provides a framework for understanding the reasons why settlers sometimes struggle to work with Indigenous peoples towards decolonisation and reconciliation through the lens of understanding settler emotions against the backdrop of Indigenous human rights abuses in Canada. Ultimately I argue that if environmentalists want to bring an Indigenous rights lens into their activist workspaces they should avoid precipitating self-referential emotions such as shame and guilt. I recommend that they work to increase organisational capacity to take collective responsibility for doing Indigenous rights work. I also argue that settlers should avoid directing energy towards self-referential strategies designed to relieve uncomfortable emotions; specifically, settlers must centre the aspirations of Indigenous peoples in their environmental activism work.

This thesis is the product of bringing together multiple disciplines that do not speak enough to each other: social psychology and settler colonial studies. I looked at settler colonial studies through the lenses of feminist theory and Indigenous theory. The critical insight I gained from feminist theorists was to look for theory in the details of unexceptional stories told by the people I interviewed. Rather than focus only on their narratives of participating in overt political organising, I asked them to tell me about their families, their relationships, their memories of the ways Indigenous rights issues had crossed their paths throughout their lives. Indigenous theory framed my overall conceptualisation of the research problem. As a Canadian settler researcher I acknowledge my relationship with the larger project of decolonisation of Turtle Island and place my study in the midst of an Indigenous-centred critique of colonial Canada.

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Acknowledgements

I do not know how to take the easy road. When there is a ridge way, I take the low, valley road. I follow the river as it wends its way through lush brush, along paths easily lost. It is a leap of faith to follow me on these twilight-time, sun-dappled adventures and a testament to the integrity and strength of character of my loved ones if they made it all the way with me to the end of this road.

In Oxford, thanks to the whole Broken Spoke and Team Beryl crew – you helped keep my hands dirty and my mind focused all these years. Thank you to all my friends, housemates and writing buddies for bearing witness to the thesis throughout many stages of production.

Thanks to my family, especially to my Oma and Opa, who taught me the power of stories. Thanks to my Mom for teaching me resourcefulness and to Denise and Bob for all the day-to-day support. A special call out to the following: Ellie, you believed in when I was unable to do myself the same favours; Kelsi, you are living proof that kindness does get you somewhere in the end; Jo, you are, as always, in possession of the finest good judgement around.

To my brother and sister, Mitchell and Kelly: before I knew about social justice, I fought to protect you, Mitch, and before I knew about ethics, Kelly, you showed me respect by teaching me honesty. Jessica, you taught me more about empathy than anyone else ever could. LJ, you are my north star. Finally, Jonathan, thank you for everything.

Finally, to my supervisors, Annis May Timpson and Sue Onslow: you combed through my ideas and agitated for order, structure and clarity of thought. You helped discipline my practice and your belief in my abilities sustained me and taught me a limitless amount.

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
#INM	#Idle No More(2012-2013)
CYCC	Canadian Youth Climate Coalition
IRS	Indian Residential School System
LSPIRG	Laurier Students Public Interest Research Group
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples(1996)
SLAPP	Strategic Lawsuit Against Public Participation
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2008-2015)
UNDRIP	UNDRIP: United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008)
WASP	White Anglo-Saxon Protestant
WPIRG	Waterloo Public Interest Research Group

PART A: SETTING CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1
The problem of fraught relations

> In some cases these alliances have scored important victories that neither environmental nor indigenous [sic] activists could likely have achieved on their own. But for every success story, for every productive alliance between environmental advocates and indigenous [*sic*] peoples, there is a matching horror story, a story of misunderstanding and conflict (Nadasdy 2005, 292).

This thesis is concerned with understanding the psychology of settler environmental activists endeavouring to work on Indigenous rights issues. My wish to contribute to this area of settler studies stems from my interest in the long history of frequent social movement conflict between Indigenous organisers and setter environmental activists. In the thesis I will show how this conflict has frequently come about because there have often been tentative grounds for solidarity between Indigenous organisers and settler environmental activists as well as longstanding difficulties between them.

This thesis provides a framework for understanding the reasons why settlers sometimes struggle to work with Indigenous peoples towards decolonisation and reconciliation through the lens of understanding settler emotions against the backdrop of Indigenous human rights abuses in Canada. Ultimately I argue that if environmentalists want to bring an Indigenous rights lens into their activist workspaces they should avoid precipitating shame and guilt-based responses and build capacity for taking collective responsibility for doing Indigenous rights work. Specifically I argue that to work effectively settlers must centre the aspirations of Indigenous peoples in their environmental activism. I also argue that settlers should avoid unnecessarily directing emotional energy (EE) towards self-referential strategies designed to relieve uncomfortable settler emotions.

I believe that studying emotions from a psychological point of view is very important because much of what I see published often by settlers in the field of settler colonial studies addresses settler decision-making around Indigenous rights issues as primarily a moral issue. Settlers are often given directives that are fair and logical but fail to engage the settler as a psychological being. Belief, action and motivation are the purview of psychology. Studies interested in motivating settlers to engage with issues like learned racism and to disavow national identities that paint Canada as a peaceful nation can incorporate the psychology of human behaviour to understand not only what

the problem is but also how to fix it. Some of the Indigenous rights issues that currently exist in Canada – children are unable to go to school in their home communities, Indigenous families do not have access to clean drinking water – should have simple solutions. Many of them are not hard issues to address. Some of these issues relate to sovereignty and land repatriation and are more difficult to administrate legally.

My hunch through this project has been that Canadians know most of what they need to in order to meet the needs of Indigenous peoples in ways that would satisfy most if not all Indigenous rights directives in documents such as the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The barriers to achieving these goals can be boiled down to those of the heart and mind. Settlers and their governments have attachments to the way things have been and it goes against the psychological grain for settlers to endorse measures that threaten their sense of their group as good and themselves as innocent. In this thesis, I discuss psychological phenomenon in reference to contact theory, group position theory and social identity theory, as they provide empirical support for the insights derived from the interviews herein. This is not unique to Canadian settler colonialism or even to settler colonialism. There is strong scholarship from social psychology that can help inform settler colonial studies scholars on the path to understanding how decolonisation can be something endorsed and forwarded by everyday settlers.

All interviews in this thesis took place on treaty territory governed by political agreements including the Two-Row Wampum in Ontario, the Peace and Friendship Treaties in the Maritimes and Treaty 1, which includes Winnipeg. In such jurisdictions we know that Indigenous peoples want settlers to engage with Indigenous organisations as peoples who have treaty-based obligations. The support of settlers is critical for the Indigenous minority and decolonising the relationship between settlers and Indigenous peoples can only happen when it becomes no longer a niche issue of morality but a broad agenda of changing how settlers engage as treaty people with each other, with their history and with Indigenous neighbours.

1 Thesis contribution to settler colonial studies

The research project that underscores this thesis was premised on my hunch that the study of emotions was under-theorised in the field of settler colonial studies, a field I introduce in more detail below.

My conviction from early in the stage of research design was that there was something about settler and white settler activist psychological approaches to Indigenous rights issues that discouraged settlers from engaging with Indigenous aspirations. I suspected that emotions were tied to the phenomena of settler engagement with Indigenous rights work. In this thesis I provide empirical evidence and develop several models to help explain how emotions interface with settler engagement with Indigenous rights. My contribution to the study of Canadian settler colonial studies is to provide an explanation into how emotions affect and impact the actions of Canadian non-Indigenous environmental activists endeavouring to work for Indigenous rights. I do so in the hopes that better understanding of this psychological territory will enable settlers to become more accountable to Indigenous peoples in social justice struggles.

In the sociology of emotions literature I was able to find evidence-based work outlining the phenomenology of individual emotions, allowing me to differentiate between different emotions and what they predict in terms of motivation to action. As I will explain in the section below, there is a frustrating obscurity around the study of emotions in settler colonial studies. However, the sociology of emotions literature provides rich and well-developed analysis and insights into a range of emotions. The main contribution of my thesis is to offer an empirical study that offers nuanced analysis of emotions, offering a level of detail often lacking in this area of study. I found that the activists I interviewed for this study seemed to experience emotional encounters with difficult Indigenous knowledge as transformative to their identities as settlers. I describe this in my work as the process of settlers re-scripting and re-storying their identities in relation to Indigenous peoples and knowledges and describe the catalysing moment or moments as a type of encounter.

I called this type of encounter a transformative encounter and discuss throughout the thesis what conditions might lead to one. Transformative encounters are sites of learning – such as those produced in cross-racial alliances – and they can

represent opportunities for settlers to re-script their selves and re-interpret their relationships as they re-story themselves into a narrative that centres Indigenous rights (Davis and Shpuniarsky 2010).   Re-storying is the phenomenon taking place, re-scripting is the method.   Further, if re-storying is the phenomenon and re-scripting is the method, the transformative encounter is the catalyst to the whole process.

The hypothesis I test in this thesis is that settlers are less likely to sustain engagement in solidarity or Indigenous rights over time if they experience it as high-risk in terms of EE, a concept I introduce in more detail later in this chapter.   Maintaining sustainable levels of consciousness and EE, I have found, is key to engaging an ethical stance.

A key implication of my research is that facilitating transformative encounters where re-storying takes place amongst settlers can reduce levels of hyperconsciousness in the longer term.   Re-storying in this context refers to settlers re-orienting their subjectivities in relation to a story that not only includes but is oriented around an Indigenous version of reality and events.

I showed that different initiatives can be taken by activist groups to promote engagement and suggested that building relationships and facilitating spaces of reflection can support the re-scripting of self-referential 'me' scripts.   I showed how these strategies can, 1) decrease hyperconscious, 2) help support people as they re-write their me scripts and thereby experience less intra-psychic distress, and, 3) facilitate settlers in locating themselves within the ongoing story of Canadian colonialism, connecting themselves also to the story of decolonisation and reconciliation.   Creating shame-free opportunities for processing learning, using the calling-out method of giving feedback sparingly, setting reasonable expectations for work levels and working alongside Indigenous partners are all strategies that can benefit activists.   These kinds of strategies are designed to reduce levels of hyperconsciousness in organisations and amongst individuals, which would promote cultures of conscious activist organising that operate at a higher emotional tone.

For this thesis I investigated how settler environmentalists in organising hubs in Central and Eastern Canada were engaged with Indigenous rights issues through their environmental activist work in 2014 and 2015.   I considered how settlers in these hubs understood their roles and responsibilities to the project of advancing Indigenous rights alongside a broader Indigenous-led movement.   I also considered how settler activists acted out their roles and responsibilities towards Indigenous peoples in

relation to the politics of reconciliation and Indigenous rights that emerged in response to Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the #IdleNoMore social movement (described below).

Settler environmentalists and Indigenous peoples, as I will further explain, have often found themselves fighting in tenuous alliances against environmental degradation but from differing perspectives. When they have done so, they have often come to those alliances with widely divergent views of desired political, economic and social outcomes. Environmentalists whom I interviewed often explained that they wanted to understand how their organisations could work more effectively with local and national Indigenous organisations. However, to paraphrase some, they also used common justifications for why they did not:

- There is not enough money / staff time to do outreach into First Nation communities or to commit to developing relationship;

- It is tricky to work with First Nation communities because the community is not always in agreement;

- Our organisation is nervous about working on Indigenous issues because we don't know if it would be considered 'political' and threaten our charitable status;

- Ultimately, we need to prioritise the protection of the environment(as distinct from people) because it doesn't have a voice and people do;

- We are afraid of engaging in neo-colonial relations, so we do not want to connect at all.

These decisions not to engage or to limit political engagement were sometimes the result of conscious decision-making processes carried out by individuals within organisations. However, it also seemed that settlers often wanted to engage but were averse to so doing for reasons that need to be explored.

This aversion could reflect how rhetoric about decolonisation, reconciliation, and the intention to engage in re-structured relationships now permeates Canadian environmental and societal discourse. However, it is not clear what this means in practice for settler activists.

For settler peoples seeking to work with Indigenous peoples, contemporary expressions of allyship are fraught with linguistic, cultural and epistemological

challenges. Working together is a project not only of translating across difference but also of recognising the complicity of settlers in the colonisation of Turtle Island, a process that has resulted in many centuries of Indigenous dispossession (Henderson 2000, 32; Walia 2012, paras. 6–9). This coming to terms with settler complicity in human rights abuses is, I argue, at the core of the aversion settlers sometimes feel. Ultimately I expect that taking time to think through the psychology of why settlers do or do not engage will allow the broader Canadian citizenry to gain insight into how to maintain commitment to Indigenous rights even in the face of feeling guilt and shame. Environmental organisations can be proactive about better understanding how to overcome psychological barriers that limit settler engagement with Indigenous rights and reconciliation.

This thesis is the product of bringing together multiple disciplines that do not speak enough to each other: social psychology and settler colonial studies. I also applied Indigenous and feminist methodologies alongside narrative inquiry methods to guide this research project. I looked at settler colonial studies through the lenses of feminist theory and Indigenous theory. The critical insight I gained from feminist theorists was to look for theory in the details of unexceptional stories told by the people I interviewed. Rather than focus only on their narratives of participating in overt political organising, I asked them to tell me about their families, their relationships, their memories of the ways Indigenous rights issues had crossed their paths throughout their lives. Indigenous theory framed my overall conceptualisation of the research problem. As a Canadian settler researcher I acknowledged my relationship with the larger project of decolonisation of Turtle Island and placed my study squarely in the midst of an Indigenous-centred critique of colonial Canada.

1.1   Context of research project

The main thread of this thesis is how activist organising cultures, interpersonal norms and behaviours and internal narrations of settlers interface with settler understandings of their roles and responsibilities in the achievement of Indigenous rights. I focused this study on settler roles and responsibilities because the TRC closed its official proceedings only in 2015 and its implications are still being negotiated. This federally funded project of documenting human rights violations against Indigenous families officially began in 2008 with an official apology by former Conservative Prime Minister

Stephen Harper, following a 2006 Indian Residential Schools settlement agreement that stemmed from a class-action lawsuit filed by residential school survivors. Testimony given over seven years by Indigenous survivors was made available in part online after the closure of the project in 2015. It has also been synthesised with considerable context in the final report of the commission, *What We Have Learned: Principles of Truth and Reconciliation* (2015). At the same time as the TRC was taking place, the most widely spread peaceful demonstration of Indigenous power and presence in living memory in Canada was springing up all over the country: #IdleNoMore (2012-2014).

#IdleNoMore was originally a sentiment expressed as a hash-tag over Twitter to advertise a teach-in on Bill C-45, the *Jobs and Growth Act*, which was tabled in Parliament on March 29, 2012 and received Royal Assent on December 14, 2012 under a majority Conservative government (Bill C-38, *Jobs, Growth and Long-term Prosperity Act*, S.C., 2012, C. 19). The Bill generated concern amongst many Indigenous peoples and environmentalists because it enacted changes to regulations on the protection of waterways as well as to Aboriginal treaty rights but was uninformed by consent or engagement with those affected by the changes. Indigenous women were particularly perturbed by this violation as it proposed changes to their treaty rights and to water: the Bill removed legal protection of a significant proportion of fresh-water rivers and streams.

The protection of water is the traditional responsibility of women in many First Nation communities. This sense of the responsibility of women for water was one of the driving forces behind four women (three Indigenous and one allied settler) responding to the threats to water catalysed by this change of legislation by founding this movement (Anderson 2010, 7–9; McAdam 2015, 2–5). The movement quickly generated support throughout the continent as #IdleNoMore became a rallying cry and platform for a variety of needs and desires shared by Indigenous peoples in many different nations. Though not originally geared towards settlers, the movement gained some wide-spread settler support particularly because its organisers focused on the responsibility of all people to protect water for future generations.

The recognisable calling card of the movement was the round-dance flash mob, a simple dance performed with hands held in a circle that could happen anywhere and include anyone. Over the winter of 2012 and even into 2016 these dances were held all over the country – in malls, on Parliament Hill, on campuses, in the middle of urban centres – and the participation of all was encouraged (The Kino-nda-niimi

Collective 2014).   When I carried out my interviews with activists in 2014-2015 I solicited opportunities to speak with settlers who were already engaged in some capacity with these issues and many had participated in actions related to #INM. These interviews were also collected against the backdrop of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was ongoing and often in the media at the time, though the final report was not readily available before late 2015.

There were two main reasons why I chose to focus on settler environmental activists to study more general settler responses to the TRC and #IdleNoMore and calls to reconcile and decolonise the country.   The two initiatives combined to put Indigenous rights and Canadian perpetration of human rights abuses at the forefront of Canadian media and public consciousness.   Public conversations about Indigenous rights and settler responsibilities sometimes became heated.   Questions around relations, responsibilities and rights have provided controversial content for debates amongst family members, over the national Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) radio station and in University classrooms (Wornoff 2013; CBC 2013).

At the time I was forming my research question there was a growing tension in activist communities around the question of how white people should engage as allies. Articles such as "True Solidarity: Moving Past Privilege Guilt" by Jamie Utt (2014) articulated some of this tension and built upon work such as Shelby Steele's formative essay "White Guilt" (1990).   Ngọc Loan Trần's 2013 article "Calling IN: A Less Disposable Way of Holding Each Other Accountable," explains that activists often fear reprisal from other activists and invest energy into policing themselves to avoid attack. In the epigraph to this chapter Paul Nadasdy underlines the context in which conflicts frequently occur between Indigenous communities and environmental activists.

In Canada resource extraction forms a dominant part of the national economy and many of the resources sit atop or beneath unceded or contested Indigenous territory (Preston 2013, 44–48).   Activists have been criticised by Indigenous organisers for, at times, adopting a neocolonial approach to resource protection and management, sidelining Indigenous peoples as stakeholders and simply for having different objectives that do not fit within Indigenous frameworks (D. Lee 2011, 133–35; Willow 2012, 372–73).   Because of the consistent lobbying by Indigenous organisers and leaders, environmental activists were becoming increasingly concerned with getting activist solidarities right (Willems-Braun 1996, 7, 25–26).

In Canada Indigenous peoples are organising in many areas to improve their life prospects. They are injecting new ideas into the cultural, social, and political spheres and settlers can support them in achieving their goals of rejuvenation and empowerment. Additionally, in the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Indigenous organisers have called upon settlers to engage as allies in the fulfilment of Indigenous aspirations. My aim is that this research help members of the academic and activist communities understand how activists become and stay motivated to direct their energy towards working on Indigenous issues as settlers.

Despite the wide availability of policy directives pertaining to this area, settlers in Canada are often unsure about their responsibilities. The environmental activists I interviewed were increasingly aware of the damaging legacy of colonialism for Indigenous peoples and appeared to be linking colonial injustices with environmental injustices in their advocacy and activist work. The TRC and #INM had spurred a burgeoning awareness amongst settlers of the detrimental effects of colonisation for Indigenous peoples. However, they often expressed a lack of clarity around how to turn awareness into action.

In this thesis I present theory to explain why settlers might in some cases find engagement with Indigenous rights work difficult and may be influenced not to undertake it. My theories apply social psychology lenses to problems in settler colonial studies in an effort to increase overall understanding of the issue of how settlers can engage ethically and meaningfully to advance Indigenous rights goals.

Settlers have been repeatedly and consistently called upon by Indigenous peoples to adopt appropriate levels of responsibility for colonial injustices and, further, to adopt a role as members of a treaty nation. Settlers from the grassroots to the top of policy-making bodies are now in the midst of trying to understand what this means for everyday life in Canada. Throughout the thesis I demonstrate that Canada has a settler problem and describe how decades of political pressure from bold Indigenous organisers have brought this situation to a head.

This work is heavily indebted to the Indigenous scholars who have inspired the field of settler colonial studies and whose work forms the backbone of this thesis. I have been particularly influenced by the work of Minogiizhigokwe / Kathleen Absolon, Margaret Kovach, Jeff Corntassel, Lisa Monchalin, Lee Maracle and Patricia A. Monture-Angus amongst countless others for reaching me profoundly with their words

and bringing me into new levels of understanding about the roles and responsibilities of settlers to Indigenous peoples today. They cannot be named in full but I have also been deeply inspired by the Indigenous academics, activists and professionals of my own generation who are carving out spaces for Indigenous power and presence in music, university classrooms, hospitals, community leadership spaces, visual arts, journalism and radio, libraries, media and design, law, film, international NGO platforms and beyond. Vitality and strength live in Indigenous communities today as surely as they have since time immemorial. There can be no doubt that the Indigenous youth and young adults of today are the harbingers of the best possible future I can imagine for the land often referred to as Canada and for much longer has been known by various names in various languages, including Turtle Island.

Throughout this thesis, I refer to the land variably as Canada and as Turtle Island, the latter being an English translation of a word many central-continental Indigenous nations use to describe this land. Later, in Chapter 2, I refer to an excerpt by Elder Fred Kelly, a citizen of the Ojibways of Onigaming, further explaining the origin of Turtle Island as a concept. Naturally, Indigenous nations have many different origin stories and words for the land we also call Canada, but Turtle Island is used commonly in the territories I conducted my interviews and was known to many of the settlers I interviewed as well. Diversity within the group I refer to as 'Indigenous', which I explain more fully in section 1.2.c will mean that readers from some Indigenous groups will not relate to or recognise the experiences or theories of some Indigenous peoples and settlers detailed in this thesis. This is a challenge faced by scholars across disciplines working with the concept of Indigenous identity and I accept responsibility for any inaccuracies which must arise from my general use of this term.

My thesis presents recommendations for how organisations and individuals can develop activist praxis and theory that is guided by a good understanding of how settlers are accountable to Indigenous peoples. The context that frames this work is very important especially to enable an international readership to understand why Indigenous rights organising is so poignant in Canada in the early decades of the twenty-first century. The following section introduces some of this context.

1.1.a Introduction to settler colonial studies

Settler environmentalists are part of an environmental social movement and sometimes an Indigenous rights movement. All settlers I interviewed identified as doing environmental work, though they identified as members of the ingroup

'environmentalist' to various degrees. They did all self-identify as working on Indigenous rights in their environmental work. They were all part of the ingroup 'Canadian citizens', identifying at the group level as Canadians, and none resisted the label settler with many noting that recognising their membership of the ingroup 'settler' was a part of their growing consciousness. Because of these layers of affiliation I looked to social movement studies and settler colonial studies for work on emotions and social interactions amongst people of different ingroups. I found that in both areas of study scholars offer social and group psychology insights into the phenomenology of emotions relating to group membership in ways very helpful to theorising in settler colonial studies. However, scholars in settler colonial studies often preferred to think about individual accountability rather than address what social psychologists describe as the phenomenology of emotions. Studies in the phenomenology of emotions engage with empirical evidence to suggest the predictability of certain actions or attitudes following the experience of particular emotions. This area of study lends precision to the study of how our emotions can impact how we think and act.

The field of settler colonial studies grew out of the broader field of social movement studies and is influenced heavily by Indigenous political theory. Scholars of social movements are concerned with creating theories of action to guide movement actors. They agree that emotions are critical to protest and that social psychologists insist that emotions influence our behaviour (Jasper 2011, 286–89). Therefore, rigorous attention to emotions should underpin theories of action.

Settler colonial studies is a newly fledged area of analysis of the phenomenon of "circumstances where colonisers 'come to stay' and to establish new political orders for themselves, rather than to exploit native labour" (Veracini 2013, 313–25). This area of analysis emerged in the mid-1990s and addressed long ignored questions about the creation of settler polities and the tension between creating home on top of the home of someone else. The term 'settler' positions European inhabitants of North America in a historical framework that acknowledges colonialism and pre-colonial societies and insists upon the colonial present (Cavanagh and Veracini 2013, 1). From Veracini's definition, it is worth noting that while European colonists originally intended the first order of colonisation, the exploitation of native labour has also been a hallmark of Canadian colonisation. Examples of this include Indigenous war veterans who received unequal acknowledge or repayment after service to the First Nations, Métis and Inuit children whose school experiences in the Indian Residential School System

were characterised by being forced into manual labour to support the very schools they often detested.

Within this field a major node of analytic concern is the role of the settler agent in achieving the political, cultural and social aspirations and rights of Indigenous peoples. In their discussion of the terminology of settler in colonial studies literature, Corey Snelgrove and colleagues note that the use of the term settler "can be paralysing for some non-Indigenous people who are absorbed by guilt, or it can mobilise action" (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, and Corntassel 2014, 14). There is widespread acknowledgement amongst scholars working in settler colonial studies that settlers respond emotionally in this process of 'unsettling' settler desires and identities (Morgensen 2011). This phenomenon of unsettling appears akin to challenging the good moral-standing and the material entitlements of the ingroup, a process that has been shown to prompt particular emotional processes such as moves to disavowal and / or guilt (Regan 2010, 61, 227; Bobo and Tuan 2006). Similarly, Emma Battell Lowman and Adam Barker have referred to settler fears and 'moves to comfort' (Barker and Lowman 2015, 99). However, while the role and presence of emotions are commonly noted in settler colonial and social movement studies, the specific emotions that may be at play are often undifferentiated.

To illustrate, Carrie Mott describes "politicised social encounters" between Tohono O'odham organisers and their non-Native allies in southern Arizona as being dense with powerful emotions (Mott 2016, 2–9). She ascribes "this challenging density" as being the reason why many endeavours towards solidarity flounder and fail in regional anarchist organising networks. Her approach on the one hand attempts to register the emotional selves of activists as a "nexus for linkages that transcend space and time, through attachments and aversions to moments which are outside of ourselves but which nonetheless shape who we are" (2). On the other hand, she references 'emotions' (and variants, 'emotion work', 'emotional attachments', 'emotional difficulty' etc.) seventeen times in her sixteen page article in *Antipode* without identifying the emotions to which she refers. While she flags some common issues and describes processes by which settlers can "work through" difficult emotions and towards meaningful political solidarity and notes that emotions rear up as a major factor affecting how settlers engage in environmental activism, her references to emotions are oblique (16–17).

Carrie Mott offers by way of a partial theory of action that activists must undergo constant and ongoing self-work while knowing that their settler and white

privilege is a problem they cannot solve (Mott 2016, 9). In her view self-work and finding 'peace' with the problem of social inequity is how settlers can solve the problem of being inhibited by their emotions. This betrays a weak understanding of how emotions interface with actions and indeed how individual experiences of activist solidarity translate into structural change. There is no clear directive here for how settlers might engage in such peace-making with their emotions, a problem both noted and perpetuated by the author. It is Mott's strong conviction that settler struggles with identity and privilege are emotionally fraught and that these emotions inhibit good activist relations. Nonetheless, she engages no investigation of the phenomenological specificity of emotions.

Jenny Pickerill also found in her study of Indigenous and settler groups establishing common ground that emotions came up, amongst other factors, as barriers to dialogue. She found that many "social, economic, legal, institutional, emotive, and scientific" factors formed barriers to finding common ground in practice (Pickerill 2009, 77–78). Pickerill explains further that "[M]oving beyond a colonial paternal sense of responsibility, [*sic*] to a dynamic and engaged mutuality of concern for both processes and outcomes has resulted in gradual, small and progressive steps forward" (Pickerill 2009, 78). As well as moving beyond a colonial pattern of responsibility, she identifies listening and taking mutual ownership of issues as accomplishments of this case study of cross-cultural organisers. However, like Mott above, she alludes to emotions and emotive barriers without developing a psychosocial framework to understand emotions.

I realised early in writing this thesis that social movement studies and settler colonial scholars were often not aware of studies being done in social psychology about how activists and members of the public responded to discussions on race and racism or on colonialism. Settler colonial studies literature reflected a strong bias towards identifying the methods and nature of ethical praxis that might characterise white solidarity work but did not reference social psychological research into the nature of learning and emotions. The impact of this bias is that there is a strong literature outlining problems but few empirical studies that query settler activists as psychological beings with any depth. I soon recognised that the empirical evidence from social psychology could be useful to understanding problems in Canada to do with reconciliation and could aid settlers in acting and sustaining action towards forwarding Indigenous aspirations for increased political self-determination.

Making ethical decisions is a psychological process, one that engages with morality but also with our human cognitive processes. Social psychology research on the study of emotions can contribute substantially to settler colonial studies. This research project contributes to what I hope is a growing body of understanding settler psychology in more nuanced terms.

1.1.b Introduction to the study of emotions

The modern study of emotions began in the 1970s with the publication of work investigating affect and social action (Heise 1979), emotion management and "feeling rules" (Hochschild 1979, 1983) and power and status in social interactions (Kemper 1978). The burgeoning field was indebted to much earlier work by Karl Marx on negative affect and its role in motivation, Émile Durkheim on collective effervescence and embodied reasoning and Charles Horton Cooley on the social referents of pride and shame. Albert Memmi was an early voice on the psychological dimensions of the maintenance of the structural relations between coloniser and colonised, implicating the psychology of the coloniser in social outcomes for the colonised (Memmi 1965). Emmanuel Lévinas likewise began to address emotions and their presence in ethical work between individual others (Lévinas 1998). These early scholars notwithstanding, interest in the empirical study of the role of emotions in theories on social interactions arrived late to the history of sociology (Turner and Stets 2008, 32). By the 1990s interest in emotions and social interactions became popular within social psychology circles and began entering the social movement studies literature.

There is some investigation of emotions in the study of activist burnout. Scholars in the field of human rights practice have identified that people who engage in social justice and human rights activist work are particularly prone to emotional and physical exhaustion (Maslach and Gomes 2006, 43–49). Activists tend to experience intense pressure to work long hours and they accept ultimately debilitating levels of work-related stress because they are motivated by awareness of injustice and exploitation (Chen and Gorski 2015, 13; Kovan and Dirkx 2003, 107). Activist workspaces are often dominated by what Kathleen Rodgers referred to as a "culture of selflessness" or even "guilt culture" and what Cher Weixia Chen and Paul Gorski agree is a "culture of martyrdom" (Chen and Gorski 2015, 16–17; Rodgers 2010, 282). In another realm, scholars and activists have described encounters with guilt-ridden histrionics referred to by many using terms including 'settler guilt' or 'white fragility'. These terms identify the ways that primarily white settlers tend to take up limited space

in organising networks to process their emotions (Kegler 2016; Tuck and Yang 2012, 1). Emotions in this sense are framed as antithetical to effective practices of solidarity.

Social movement studies quickly adopted the study of emotions to help explain social phenomenon but did so in an unsystematic way. In a review of two decades of research on emotions and social movements, James Jasper found that "Emotions are present in every phase and every aspect of protest … They motivate individuals, are generated in crowds, are expressed rhetorically, and shape stated and unstated goals of social movements. Emotions … can help or hinder mobilisation efforts, ongoing strategies, and the success of social movements" (Jasper 2011, 286). Yet Jasper also notes that social movement scholars have not rigorously engaged with the three major scholars on sociology of emotions (Heise, Hochschild and Kemper) noted above.

The field appears to lack engagement with social psychology research that might support research into emotions and social movements. Due to this lack of engagement there are ongoing problems in the study of emotions and social movements. For example, the field is haunted by the dualistic intellectual move to position emotions as against rationality. This has resulted in a lack of comparative studies of particular emotions and led researchers to ignore some emotions because they have not used frameworks that can differentiate between types (Jasper 2011, 287). There is a tendency to use colloquial understandings of emotions, ignoring careful understanding of the phenomenology of specific emotions and describing emotions in models without specifying (or possibly without being aware of) which emotions are being noted. This results in models being difficult to replicate, as emotions are in fact not interchangeable in terms of their phenomenological outputs (Jasper 2011, 286).

We know that how we understand emotions in organising has bearing on the logistics of how we can most effectively organise. For example, Ingrid Huygens published a study on Pakeha (the Maori word for non-Indigenous peoples) strategies for contributing to Maori-led decolonisation initiatives. Huygens explains that in a workshop setting where Maori and Pakeha participants were strategising on how to decolonise New Zealand society and implement Treaty-based relations, Pakeha participants reacted emotionally to learning difficult information (Huygens 2011, 67). Treaty workshop leaders found that mixed-race participant groups did not serve Maori participants because the needs of participants differed. The central responsibility of the Pakeha participants was to unlearn racism and this could be best achieved in Pakeha-

only groups where emotional support was provided (Huygens 2011, 61–69). She describes the impact of difficult learning as an emotional 'shock wave', similar in meaning to the 'shock and immersion' encounter type I later develop. However, the section in even this article on emotions is heavily under-theorised without reference to empirical studies into the psychology of learning and emotions.

This is why in my research I bring social psychology research to bear on settler colonial studies literature. Social psychology provides much more sophisticated tools for analysing what is happening amongst settler learners where we know emotions influence learning and action. As I have shown, the literature on settler colonial studies is rife with evidence of emotions being studied – they are just not studied in a way that makes use of decades of research on interpersonal and intergroup relations and emotions. I contend that this tendency towards a shallow study of emotions limits the ways that research in this area can inform practice.

Having introduced my focus on emotions and the study of the social psychology of emotions, I explain in the next section the frames of reference I had in mind when capturing and analysing the data. I kept the following frames of reference in mind to conduct my analysis: a) Multiculturalism, decolonisation and reconciliation: terminology and linkages; b) Reconciliation and the TRC; c) Indigenous identity and epistemology: considerations of legal status and lived experience; and d) The colonial present.

1.2   Frames of reference

In this section I outline four main frames of reference. The first is the Canadian context of decolonisation, the second is reconciliation and the TRC, the third is the legal formation of Indigenous identity and theory and the fourth is the colonial present. These frames of reference provide the basis for understanding Canadian settler colonialism as it is investigated in this thesis. These frames of reference enable me to begin to explain why settler engagements with Indigenous rights issues are so fraught. Having established the broader context I explain why I believe studying settlers, and specifically settler environmentalists, will help us improve our societal understanding of how settlers might engage with Indigenous rights issues moving forwards.

1.2.a Multiculturalism, decolonisation and reconciliation: Terminology and linkages

At the time I conducted field work for this project the terms decolonisation and reconciliation were circulating widely in Canadian media and in academic work. They were sometimes used interchangeably and without clear attendant definitions. I define these terms here from within the Canadian context because they will recur throughout the thesis and in the narratives of my interviews:

- 'Decolonisation' refers in this thesis to a bourgeoning area of academic and activist interest in the material, financial and legal uncoupling of aspects of Indigenous governance, jurisdiction and territory from Canada, i.e. through forms of restitution and resurgence of Indigenous sovereignty. For both settler colonial theorists and Indigenous theorists the term often refers to a psycho-social process of subverting colonial power arrangements in social, organisational, and even personal settings. This acknowledges that Indigenous nations are still colonised and does not take for granted that Canada has legal authority to govern Indigenous nations.

- 'Reconciliation' refers more broadly to a coming to terms with the past in a way that moves towards healing the breach between settlers and Indigenous peoples. The phrase was used extensively in the state-sponsored Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2008-2015) and in the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). A state-led project of reconciliation in some sense cannot but focus on recognition and the promotion of sympathy in lieu of justice. The concept of reconciliation with Indigenous populations in lieu of an intractable settler colonial state is a particularly difficult project for a state-initiated process (Hayner 2002, 14).

Both terms focus on making changes to the relationships between settlers, Indigenous peoples and the state.

Part of the journey of reconciliation is to restore and restructure relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples. For example, the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) noted that "We need to restore the balance that has been so profoundly disrupted for so much of the time we have lived side by side in Canada" (Canada 1996: 662). Restoring relations refers here to an intention to engage in reconciliatory nation-to-nation relations between Canada and Indigenous nations.

In this context, not everyone agrees with the basic framework of reconciliation. Glen Coulthard argues that in decolonisation frameworks members of Indigenous nations who are seeking to restore the wellbeing and political agency of their nations are the main subject and beneficiary of organising efforts (Coulthard 2014, 154–59). By contrast, settlers are the focus of reconciliation processes because reconciliation is mainly about Indigenous peoples struggling to be recognised by settlers. Coulthard argues that the TRC process enables settlers to disavow responsibilities for colonial injustices (106–7).

Recognition for minority groups is managed in Canada through a multiculturalist framework. In this framework minority groups are frequently called on to produce static versions of their cultures that are assessable and demonstrable in the round as a whole entity with a legible and linear history. Charles Taylor argues that the politics of recognition that underpin multiculturalist strategies of social organising came about because of the collapse of honour-based social hierarchies. For him they represent a burgeoning sense of the import of individualised human dignity (Taylor 1994, 27–28). Accordingly, we all have a right to dignified recognition as equal subjects. Further, if this recognition is withheld from us this would constitute a form of oppression (36–37). Will Kymlicka argues, however, that the system for recognising rights for minorities in a nation-state is inconsistent. For example old homeland minorities and new homeland minorities tend to be granted different entitlements to rights; again, Indigenous groups are granted different entitlement and rights than are non-Indigenous minorities (Kymlicka 2008, 19–21). He argues that multiculturalism is operationalised politically and is responsive to the aim of balancing freedom of expression with harmonising minority and Indigenous groups' claims with dominant political norms.

Multiculturalism relies on a state-centric politics of recognition that emphasises circumscribed celebration of apolitical cultural differences but this approach to cultural inclusion recognises the Other of the historical past and cultural present while affirming it as deviant if it engages with the political (Gosine and Teelucksingh 2008, 46–49; Bourgeois 2009, 41–44; Coulthard 2014, 31–33). Canadians seem proud to embrace Indigenous culture yet confused about decentralised political leadership and intolerant of politically-motivated direct action by members of Indigenous communities (Coulthard 2014, 165–69; Coates 2015, 101–8; Scott 2015).

While Indigenous peoples struggle for recognition, dominant cultural groups are assumed to engage in culture as a dynamic and fluid process (Eagleton 2000, 27).

As postcolonial theorist Ashis Nandy argues: "A living culture has to live and it has an obligation to itself, not to its analysts. Even less does it have any obligation to conform to a model, its own or someone else's" (Nandy 2009, 82). In this vein David Newhouse notes that there is always ambivalence amongst Indigenous peoples as they negotiate identity as they are judged to be 'inauthentic' if their identity becomes hybridised (Newhouse 2007, 296–98). The argument is that Indigenous culture is as dynamic as any other and is always in a process of forming in relation to myriad influences, rendering an uneasy fit within the multiculturalist recognition framework.

In Canada Indigenous peoples' rights have been denied because their cultures have evolved and remained socially and politically viable in changing environments, for example, through engaging in modern colonial economies (Monchalin 2016, 202–7). In *Mitchell v. M.N.R., [2001]*, Chief Justice McLachlin argued that for the practice of an activity to be accepted as an entitled Aboriginal right it must be shown to be consistent with the "practices, traditions and customs that existed prior to contact with the Europeans" (*Mitchell* v*. M.N.R.*, [2001] 1 S.C.R. 911, 2001(S.C.C), para.5). This required Indigenous peoples to create a link between the present day and activities that took place potentially hundreds of years in the past, a challenge made difficult given that many Indigenous political and cultural activities such as the sun dance, potlatch and traditional methods of governance were criminalised up until 1951 (Crean 2009, 56–57; Milloy 1999, 21, 197). The criminalisation of cultural practices mirrored and supported the political control of nations (Alfred 2009a, 28). Given this history, performing cultural responsibilities towards land can be considered a political (Monture-Angus 1995, 36).

Canadian political culture stems from a blend of conservative, liberal and socialist philosophies developed in contemporary Canada into strong legal infrastructure protecting peoples' equal rights before the law (Horowitz 1966, 154; Harring 1998, 12). The irony of the situation is that liberal philosophies have purportedly aimed to create non-violence or a minimisation of violence in society and yet violence is the mode and method of colonisation (Monture-Angus 1999a, 45–46). Non-violence has been equated with civilisation and equality but Canada was founded violently, suggesting that neither civilised behaviour nor equality are founding tenets of the state (46). If settler Canadians can only imagine Indigenous aspirations in terms of their cultural elements they suppress the political aspirations embedded in Indigenous cultural resurgence efforts, an especially violent act given the history of settler legal suppression of Indigenous communities (Alfred 2009a, 70–79, 97–98).

As well as being misrecognised as deviant, Indigenous peoples have frequently been misconstrued as either a dying race or a problem people in dominant Canadian discourses (Cameron 2008, 384–85; Monchalin 2016, chap. 1). Jeff Monaghan and Kevin Walby reveal the extent to which Indigenous organisers have been targets of state surveillance and policing because they have been politically engaged on Indigenous human rights issues (Monaghan and Walby 2012, 143–45). Inappropriately acquiescent settler citizenry and state policing forces have often mistaken any kind of politically motivated gathering of Indigenous peoples as an attack on public and national safety.

Reconciliation sits against the backdrop of multiculturalist policy that has sought to contain Indigenous political rights and identities within established hegemonies of centralised, nation-state governance. Many forms of reconciliation appear to further this attempted containment. Indigenous challenges to reconciliation and multiculturalism on the grounds of its failure to handle the colonial problem is one source of emotional conflict within the settler psyche, given how lauded Canada has been as a multicultural success story.

1.2.b Reconciliation and the TRC

Reconciliation, in theory, has been envisioned by theorists such as John Lederach as a liminal space of encounter wherein truth is publicly acknowledged – perhaps for the first time (Lederach 1997, 26–30). In this space people embroiled in conflict can reconcile their versions of the truth, both past and future, in order to prevent future conflict. This space should be non-confrontational and be about relationship building (34–35). It should not be about reconciling and forgetting about injustices but about remembering and changing the future for the better (Lederach 1998, 245). This makes the concept of reconciliation fundamentally different from the philosophies that underpin the criminal justice systems typical of the states within which a TRC is taking place (Short 2005, 269; Turner 2011, para.7). Truth and reconciliation commissions are not about delivery of justice per se, but about everyone having access to knowing about the injustice. The aim of reconciliation is "acknowledgement of the past through truth-telling, recognition of interdependence, and desire or necessity for peaceful co-existence in the future," and also about "healing relationships, building trust, and working out differences" (Rice and Snyder 2008, 45–46). However, reconciliation is not only about relationship and peace-building but about the politics of reifying the state.

Dale Turner explains that reconciliation is necessarily political. He contends that if the TRC is going to achieve its stated goal of reconciling estranged groups then it must engage with the political aspirations of Indigenous peoples to self-determine (Turner 2011, 14–15). This process is hampered by the constitutional impetus that any interpretation of Indigenous political rights be "consistent or compatible" with Canadian common law. The Canadian TRC adopts a survivor-centred approach that purposefully does not challenge the continued social dominance of the dominant settler group. Symbolic acknowledgment works to manoeuvre around more difficult political implications and complicities (James 2012, 2–3).

The TRC (2008-2015) succeeded in documenting many stories of the survivors of the Indian Residential School (IRS) system, making it more like a public inquiry than a commission. In fact it was not the first public inquiry-like commission that Canada has sponsored relating to the rights of Indigenous peoples (Stanton 2012, 82–83). The TRC was the result of a settlement from a class-action lawsuit brought forward by survivors of the IRS system and negotiated between the federal government, the four main perpetrating churches, the Assembly of First Nations, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), independent counsel, and IRS survivors (Green 2012, 134). Survivors later fought for the TRC because of the failure of earlier attempts to address and compensate for the impact of the IRS (Nagy 2013, 57–58).

In some ways a precedent to the TRC, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was established in 1991 in response to the violent clash between settlers and First Nations organisers in the 1990 Oka Crisis. However, the comprehensive five volume Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples containing recommendations to improve the situation for Indigenous peoples and the relations between them and settlers went largely unimplemented (Hughes 2012, 101–8).

Allegations of cultural genocide outlined by the TRC (2008-2015) were also iterated in Jim Miller's history of the IRS system, which was published the same year as the RCAP Report (Miller 1996, 317–42; Canada 2015, 5). Activities carried out by the Canadian government and specifically the act of forcibly removing children from their families are described as genocide in Article 7.2 of the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations 2008, 18). Other scholars conceive of environmental destruction as another form of genocide and speak of genocide as a matter of the administrative or industrial acts that a state allows to happen that result in the destruction of life and or health to Indigenous communities and individuals (Neu

and Therrien 2003, chap. 1; Huseman and Short 2012, 221). The concept of modern reconciliation exists as the most recent iteration of a way to conceive of the relationship between the Canadian state and its citizens and Indigenous citizens of Canada and of Indigenous nations. The recent memory of cultural genocide is part of the history of reconciliation efforts.

On 7 January 1998 the Honourable Jane Stewart, then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, read a statement of reconciliation in front of the House of Commons. In it she described the Government of Canada's profound regret for harms done to Indigenous peoples (Canada 1998, para. 21). The *Statement of Reconciliation* recognised that Indigenous peoples had occupied the land for thousands of years under their own forms of government, had been organised into distinct cultures and had contributed to the development of Canada. She acknowledged the attempt to suppress Aboriginal peoples and dispossess them of their lands. She admitted to the general government attitude of racial and cultural superiority regarding Indigenous citizens, vowing to make amends for these wrongdoings (paras.10–15). Considering the content of Stewart's comments – inspired by both the 1996 Final Report of RCAP, and the 2015 publication of the Final Report of the TRC – we can say there is data available to inform practice and policy. However, reconciliation is about knowing what to do with that data – and then have the tools and motivation to do it.

A key issue with the healing and peace-building framework underscored throughout the TRC is that reconciliation and justice are sometimes functionally mutually exclusive. As Matt James has argued, the TRC's focus on victims and survivors made it difficult for the Commission to "uncover and convey in appropriately detailed ways the individual and institutional acts of Canadian decision making responsible for … injustices associated with the operation of Indian Residential Schools" (James 2012, 3). The TRC process suggested material opportunities for self-governance and nation-to-nation diplomacy that could be opened up by its completion beyond individual healing. However, interpretation and implementation of the document are ongoing.

Some argue that reconciliation as a process is designed to avoid criminal justice for atrocity and to encourage peaceable relations between Indigenous nations and the state (Rotberg and Thompson 2000, 3; Short 2005, 268). Specifically, it aims to minimise political engagement with the issue of systemic state criminal action against Indigenous peoples. The state is more able to side-step accountability by

appealing to unifying claims of nationhood and toothless acceptance of responsibility when criminal activities are seen through this framework of healing (Short 2005, 274). Robyn Green argues that "[R]econciliation as cure functions as a means to foreclose on the colonial past without investing in structural and epistemological 'transition' to a decolonised relationship between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people" (R. Green 2012, 129). In this way, the TRC can be understood as an exercise of recognition compatible with multiculturalism (Coulthard 2014, 154–59).

Scholars have argued in addition that the supposed curative function of the TRC is at odds with Indigenous approaches to healing and that there is still a huge gap between the provision of services and the needs of survivors (Nagy 2013, 60–61). Indigenous conceptualisations of healing envision this as a radical process meant to instigate future actions including such initiatives as "cultural and language revitalization [*sic*], decolonization [*sic*], the redistribution of land, and the introduction of Indigenous methodologies into the public sphere" (R. Green 2012, 135–36). Many are concerned that the intention of the government in commissioning the TRC was to settle land claims and conclude the process of healing from the IRS experience. Calls for decolonisation, as iterated by Green above, refer to "the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms" indicating an opening up rather than a closing down of inquiry (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2000, 63).

While some settlers went so far as to make public statements, speak as honorary witnesses and to attend TRC events, many worried that the absence of perpetrators and of a larger proportion of the public suggested that broad paradigm changes in the Canadian public or in law were unlikely (Stanton 2011, 5–6; Hughes 2012, 103–4). This has led some Indigenous leaders and scholars to argue that the TRC was not an end in itself and its success as a process will only be proven by what happens next (Flisfeder 2010, 8–11). The response of settler citizens to the TRC is ongoing but this event was significant in bringing the history of the IRS to the public's awareness. Again, these discourses around reconciliation are forcing the country to contend with their understandings of settlers as innocent beneficiaries of colonial violence. The TRC and debates over reconciliation are debates about moral responsibility and what settlers are willing to do to make up for cultural genocide. These questions are closely related to the emotional core of identity.

1.2.c Indigenous identity: Considerations of legal status and lived experience

The ways that settlers see, think about and attempt to address, manipulate and record the world are often at odds with Indigenous epistemological and ontological understandings of the world and of knowledge (Little Bear 2000, 82–84). Colonial discourses and worldviews have been forced on Indigenous peoples who have mastered these languages and systems to try and make gains for their communities and nations. However, Dale Turner asserts that these colonial discourses and systems are inherently problematic and continue to be used to subjugate, distort and marginalise Indigenous thought systems (D. A. Turner 2006, 325).

As James Sákéj Youngblood Henderson explains, a core discrepancy is that Indigenous political systems did not resemble European ones and were assumed to be uncivilised because they were different. European thought systems and their derivatives were first influenced by natural philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). As Henderson argues "The savage state envisioned by Hobbes provided more than the force creating and sustaining law and political society, however; it also created a spectacular repository of negative values attributed to Indigenous peoples" (Henderson 2000, 17). Despite this negative repository, Henderson argues that members of some Indigenous and colonial nations did historically engage in treaties that at least nominally respected the sovereignty of equal parties.

In any political historical analysis of treaties, it is important to consider the conditions of consent that mediate any negotiated agreements. For example, from very early in the colonial relationship settler diseases severely impacted Indigenous populations and uneven power imbalances became evident between particular Indigenous nations and particular colonial nations. Colin Samson describes the modern day continuation of these imbalances and how they make consent an impossible feat in Comprehensive Land Claims (CLC) negotiations between the government of Canada and some Innu communities (Samson 2016). Colonial negotiations from very early days have been moderated by the ambitions of colonists to seize power, resources and control over Indigenous lands and these colonial and imperialist ambitions make it difficult to describe early European colonial incursions as or modern land claims as 'negotiations' where real consent can operate.

Although differentiating Indigenous and Western thought systems is both productive and necessary, it is also problematic. Wendy Shaw and her colleagues

argue that it is misleading to bifurcate the two thought systems (Shaw, Herman, and Dobbs 2006, 267–276). John Borrows similarly argues that his Western and Indigenous identities intertwine to create a hybridised theoretical perspective (Borrows 1994, 6–7). In agreement, Leroy Little Bear acknowledges that under colonial conditions of duress and forced assimilation, to some degree "everyone has an integrated mind, a fluxing and ambidextrous consciousness, a precolonised consciousness that flows into a colonised consciousness and back again" (Little Bear 2000, 85). The consciousness and identities of individual Indigenous people have been shaped by different influences and across Turtle Island different nations and peoples have experienced colonial incursions and respond to them in culturally contingent and localised ways.

Nonetheless, there is a basis for shared Indigenous identity rooted in shared multigenerational experiences of oppression and dispossession. Indigenous peoples come from families affected by globalised moves to remove groups of people from land, educate their children in state / church schools, eliminate languages and usurp their traditional systems of justice and conflict resolution (Niezen 2003, 2). The condensation of this lived experience into the term "Indigenous" is a phenomenon of the latter half of the twentieth century. It is "both a fragile legal concept and the indefinite, unachievable sum of the historical and personal experiences of those gathered in a room who share, at the least, the notion that they have all been oppressed in similar ways for similar motives by similar state and corporate entities" (Niezen 2003, 4). Similarly, Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel explain Indigenous identity as formed from the colonial experience:

> INDIGENOUSNESS IS AN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTED, SHAPED AND LIVED in the politicised context of contemporary colonialism. The communities, clans, nations and tribes we call Indigenous peoples are just that: Indigenous to the lands they inhabit, in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from Europe and other centres of empire. It is this oppositional, place-based existence, along with the consciousness of being in struggle against the dispossessing and demeaning fact of colonisation by foreign peoples, that fundamentally distinguishes Indigenous peoples from other peoples of the world" (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 597).

These injustices against Indigenous peoples in the Americas, Australia and the South Pacific have only at the turn of the century found a meaningful hearing at the international level.

During the last century colonised peoples began to mobilise collectively. Organisers built a social and political movement based on the collective, multigenerational injustices experienced by members and ancestors of their groups

(Niezen 2003, 13–14). Collective Indigenous identity came into being for the purposes of political mobilisation out of a shared experience of colonial subjection.

Colonial nation-states have also enforced legal definitions of Indigenous identity. For example, the Canadian state sought to control Indigenous populations through regulation of women's bodies as reproducers of nations. The state is responsible for systemic under-investigation of violent crimes against Indigenous women and conducted programmes of forced sterilisation (Ralstin-Lewis 2005, 83–84; Peach and Ladner 2010). A sexist basis for Indigenous identity formation that aimed to legally disenfranchise generations of Indigenous peoples from their birthright began early in the history of Canada. In 1869 the newly fledged nation-state adopted *An Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, the Better Management of Indian Affairs, and to Extend the Provisions of the Act 31st Victoria, which* provides,

> [A]ny Indian woman marrying any other than an Indian, shall cease to be an Indian within the meaning of this Act, nor shall the children issue of such marriage be considered as Indians ... [and] any Indian woman marrying an Indian of any other tribe, band or body shall cease to be a member of the tribe, band or body to which she formerly belonged, and become a member of the tribe, band or body of which her husband is a member, and the children, issue of this marriage, shall belong to their father's tribe only. (*An Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians, the Better Management of Indian Affairs, and to Extend the Provisions of the Act 31st Victoria* [R.S.C. 1869, c. 42]).

This provision meant that Indigenous women as well as their children legally lost their Indian status if they married non-Indigenous men and were prevented in such cases from living and raising their children on their home reserves amongst family (McIvor 2004, 112–13). Section 12(1) of the *Indian Act* re-inscribed this state of sexist identity regulation with the following passage: "The following persons are not entitled to be registered, namely ... (b) a woman who married a person who is not an Indian." (*Indian Act*, S.C. 1951, C. 29, 15 GEO. VI)*.* The *Indian Act* retained this provision until 1985 when it was amended by Bill C-31, An Act to Amend the *Indian Act* (R.S.C. 1985, C. I-5). However, even in this amendment sex discrimination was retained through the continuation of intergenerational loss of status for many peoples' descendent from Indigenous women historically disenfranchised under these laws (McIvor 2004, 120; Hurley and Simeone 2010, 3–6).

I use a definition of Indigenous identity modelled after Hilary N. Weaver's argument that Indigenous identity is formed through a combination of self-identification, community identification and instruments of external identification (Weaver 2001, 243–47). While many Indigenous theorist argue that instruments of identification are unnecessary to justify Indigenous identity, Weaver includes it in this definition because

of the impact colonial technologies of identity regulation have had and continue to have. The importance of the community identification element of identification serves to mediate self-identification and external instruments to protect the validity of Indigenous status claims from settlers with some Indigenous ancestry erroneously claiming Aboriginal status rights for personal economic gain despite having no community connections to lived Indigenous experience (Vowel and Leroux 2016, 34–36).

This definition depicts Indigenous identity as composite and contextualised within colonial relations. Understanding the formation of colonial Indigenous identity is an essential part of understanding non-Indigenous settler identity. This shared experience of oppression amongst Indigenous people can form the basis for productive solidarities between Indigenous peoples and members of other oppressed groups. Solidarities of this kind come with their own set of challenges as, for example, black Canadians might struggle for inclusion in Canadian political space while Indigenous peoples struggle for acknowledgement of the illegitimacy of the Canadian state to be political power brokers over Indigenous peoples or land (Lawrence and Amadahy 2009, 119–20). White settlers in contrast have been the unambiguous winners in history, enjoying inclusion and representation in all powerful social spheres. I identify non-Indigenous peoples as settlers to signal their identities as relative newcomers with ethnic origins outside the region. This identification with settler can itself be an emotive process as a white settler comes to understand themselves not just as a Canadian but as someone who has come to be Canadian only through the violent colonisation of Indigenous peoples and lands.

1.2.d The colonial present

Indigenous and postcolonial scholars have argued widely that Indigenous nations are currently colonised. Bolivian academic and politician Álvaro García Linera, paraphrasing French historian Fernand Braudel (1902-1985), has dubbed this period in which we live the "longue durée" of colonialism (Linera 2006, 74). Linera writes that official decolonisation of former colonies in the post WWII era signalled less the end of colonialism than it did the beginning of its next phase. Ashis Nandy similarly describes the current organisation and flow of global power through Asia as "the colonialism that survives the demise of empires" (Nandy 2009, xi). He speaks to the ways in which colonial systems continue to organise biopower long after the overt mechanisms of foreign colonial governance have dissolved, a phenomenon he calls the second colonisation.

Salman Rushdie also describes the 'empire within' as a key organisational factor of modern liberal democracies (Rushdie 2010, 129). He argues that when former British colonies were politically decolonised the racial and cultural hierarchies that organised the relations between colonies and Britain did not dissolve. Rather, 'decolonisation' marked a new phase of the inscription of racial hierarchies and colonial relations. Racial foundations and drivers of inequality are reinforced by agents of the dominant society as they continue to organise the nation according to race-based markers of who makes an authentic citizen (Varadharajan 2000, 146; Rushdie 2010, 137–38). Decolonisation signals a longer process of a nation-state developing anti-colonial economic, political and social relationships internally and with other states.

There are dozens of different Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups and nations living in occupied Canada. Each is constitutive of different family lines, legal histories, territorial affiliations, language groups and relationships with other stakeholders (such as with different arms of colonial or Canadian government or with companies). Indigenous scholars differ in their attitudes and beliefs regarding how different Indigenous nations should engage with the Canadian nation state today. There is bound to be tension and non-universality at play amongst Indigenous thinkers from diverse national, geographical, cultural and political contexts but this is a hallmark of democracy and diversity (King 2014, 151–52). Tension can be productive, of course, and a lack of tension can signal repression of voice. Nonetheless, many members of Indigenous nations living in Canada widely agree that they constitute a politically distinct people and that they endure conditions of modern colonialism.

Thinking about Canada as a situation of ongoing occupation is the final frame of reference that I believe constitutes the basis for settler emotional unsettlement when they think about Indigenous rights issues. Indigenous theorists very much agree on the present-ness of colonialism and settlers wishing to work with Indigenous organisers on issues of decolonisation and even reconciliation must come to terms with this collective understanding of the active nature of colonialism. This framework challenges an unambiguous Canadian identity. It underlines the ways violence is still perpetrated in the present through means that may not always appear violent to settler observers. Reframing colonisation as ongoing frames all interactions between Indigenous nations and the Canadian states as potential sites of colonial control. This unsettles the ways settlers think about relationships of all kinds as single interactions can be measured against a backdrop trend towards re-iterating Canadian colonial power and dismantling Indigenous claims to sovereignty.

1.3 Chapter overview of the thesis

This thesis is organised into three main parts.

Part A focuses on the context in which theory about Indigenous / settler relations has developed in Canada. Part B introduces the analytical framework that informs my analysis of interviews. Part C presents the methodology for interviews and narrative analysis of my interview data. Part D analyses my interviews and explores factors that block settler engagement with Indigenous communities and considers the interface between themes and data. The final chapter of Part D, Chapter 10, concludes with an overview of my key findings, my contribution to settler colonial studies and names key questions for future research. Below I break these sections down in more detail.

Part A - 'Setting Context" - spans Chapters 1 and 2. In this first chapter I introduced several areas important to understanding this research project. I began with an explanation of how my research contributes to the field of settler colonial studies, demonstrating where I have identified and sought to fill gaps. I then presented a section on the context of the research project, gave a more detailed background on the field of settler colonial studies and introduced the study of emotions. I followed this with a section on frames of reference where I discussed Canadian multiculturalism, reconciliation and the TRC of Canada, Indigenous identity and the colonial present to begin to demonstrate why settlers are emotionally unsettled when engaging with Indigenous rights issues.

In Chapter 2 I explain factors that shape the settler subject and explain how settler subjectivity attaches to different nationalisms and conceptions of Canada. I juxtapose these attachments with Indigenous political aspirations. I give an explanation as to why I studied settlers to understand a problem relevant to both settlers and Indigenous citizens. This chapter sets the historical base and modern context for thinking about the problem of fraught relations and political conflict between settler environmentalists and Indigenous peoples, including an exploration of competing worldviews. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the convergence of settler subjectivity with environmental thought.

Part B – Framing Analysis – includes Chapters 3 and 4 and is where I present the psychosocial analytical framework that informs my analysis of interviews in Part D. Part B begins with Chapter 3 where I show how settler engagement with Indigenous peoples and colonial histories can be analysed through psychosocial analytical frames.

I outline a framework to describe how settlers tend to respond to learning about their complicity in Indigenous human rights abuses. I refer to 'settler desires for absolution' and explain the psychological nature of settlers' moves to innocence in general, before moving towards an analysis of settler activists.

In Chapter 4 I introduce social psychological theories of emotion to explain how we can understand settler responses by paying attention to emotions. These theories focus on the experiences reported in the interviews regarding the transaction of EE in social interactions. I introduce the concept of 'hermeneutics of settlerhood' to explain how the analysis of my interviews is structured and I show that the work of engaging in relationships is constitutive of highly effortful activities. In this chapter I also discuss theories on ethics and introduce the concept of the ethical stance to help depersonalise the ethically fraught nature of relationship-building. I frame the fraught relations as a predictable outcome of interactions between groups that are historically and contemporarily in conflict. I introduce three ethical imperatives that make up what I call the ethical stance: 1) settlers are accountable for unconsciousness, 2) conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection and 3) conscious recognition initiates a process. A key objective of this chapter is to introduce a framework to structure how to understand action, inaction and motivation in the interviews from within an ethical framework.

In Part C I begin in Chapter 5 to introduce the methodology I used for interviews and describe the analytic methods of narrative analysis that I used to read the interview texts. I describe how I recorded emotions and make the case for generating theory through an inductive process. I introduce the use of narrative and inductive inquiry and outline the theories and frameworks that I used to design and conduct research, which include feminist and Indigenous research methods.

In Chapter 6 I explain the details of my data collection methods, including a description of ethics in the research, and share the interview settings, regional trends and demographics of the people interviewed. This chapter offers an introduction to the people I interviewed and outlines how I conducted the interviews, including challenges I experienced in the interview process.

I begin Part D – Analysis of Interviews – with an analysis of the interview data, interpreting the interview data through the theories and frameworks outlined in Part B. In this section I argue that maintaining an ethical stance is an ongoing exercise, a cyclical and dynamic system of intellectual and ethical intervention into colonial

worldviews. An implication of this is that settlers can strategise about how they can maintain sustainable levels of EE throughout their activist work, decreasing high levels of investment in hyperconscious states using strategies I discuss in Chapter 9.

This section begins with Chapter 7 where I present and analyse empirical evidence from the interviews. I share narratives of activists to show how they make decisions that help them retain energy, illustrating their practice of avoiding the loss of EE. I introduce a four part system of categorising different encounters between settlers and Indigenous peoples / representations / theory and introduce the concept of the 'transformative encounter' as one that causes the re-scripting and re-storying of the settler subject.

The hypothesis I test in this chapter is that when people reported that their encounters left them with net negative values of EE – rendering a low emotional tone – they would be more likely to report not engaging with Indigenous rights in the future. My explanation of this phenomenon is that these types of encounters demand settlers operate in a state of hyperconsciousness. Hyperconsciousness in an encounter is associated with a high associated EE cost, which can generate an aversion to repeating the interaction. I discuss the relationship between intention, consciousness and EE to show how activists act in high energy-cost situations and introduce a framework for categorising encounters between settlers and knowledge about Indigenous issues.

In Chapter 8 I investigate the concept of both hyperconsciousness and ideal levels of consciousness, as introduced in Chapter 7, to help understand how settlers can think about the management of EE and hyper/consciousness to promote engagement with the ethical stance. I share examples of how different activist behaviours, like calling out, and environmental influences, such as the threat of charitable audits, can precipitate aversion and withdrawal from Indigenous rights work amongst settlers. My hypothesis is that some degree of consciousness is necessary to help maintain the ethical stance. However, when this high EE-costing state of awareness is entered or not alleviated this can signal settler aversion and withdrawal from Indigenous rights work. I discuss in detail the relationship between consciousness, hyperconsciousness and that of the ethical stance, as described in Chapters 4.

In Chapter 9 I develop my ideas around EE to suggest recommendations for strategies that promote ethical engagement. I synthesise ideas that lay the groundwork for settler engagement with Indigenous rights issues. I link the phenomenology of shame as

associated with the practice of calling out with activist capacity in the workplace and suggest ways to decrease shame and hyperconsciousness. In this final analysis chapter I show that settlers are able to increase activist workplace capacity through promoting and facilitating particular encounter types. I suggest two groups of strategies to guide how to support sustainable levels of consciousness: 1) Creating and cultivating shame-free activist communication norms and promoting taking collective responsibility for difficult learning, and 2) Referring to Indigenous organisers and resources authored by Indigenous leaders for suggestions about how settlers can increase their accountability. I also introduce three strategies that map onto each component of the ethical stance tenets, which I devote more time to explaining in the chapters to come:

1) Desensitisation: *Settlers are accountable for unconsciousness;*

2) Promoting relations: *Conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection;* and

3) Creating spaces of reflection: *Conscious recognition initiates a process of rescripting*

These areas are represented linearly but the narratives of the activists demonstrate that they all contribute towards stabilising the ethical stance. I refer to these three processes taken together as re-scripting – a process where hyperconsciousness decreases as identity scripts are updated, enabling settlers to expend less EE in self-referential states of awareness to maintain an ethical stance.

In the conclusion to the thesis, presented in Chapter 10, I synthesise the schema and frameworks created to aid analysis and re-iterate the main empirical findings and implications of the research for the literature. I present my ideas around re-scripting and re-storying for sustaining settler engagement with Indigenous rights work. I give an overview of strategies used by the activists and recommended by my analysis and suggest areas and questions for future study. My proposition throughout this thesis is that illuminating the psychological world of settler decision-making and showing how settlers are affected by fears, concerns and affective states can help settlers learn to organise in ways that avoid reinforcement of established pathways to inaction and paralysis.

CHAPTER 2
The settler problem: The role of the settler in reconciliation

Canada, a country that removed Aboriginal children from their homes to 'beat the Indian out of them', implemented the Chinese Head Tax, jailed thousands of Japanese-Canadians in internment camps during World War II, and whose previous federal administration introduced the Zero Tolerance for Barbaric Cultural Practices legislation just last year, doesn't have any moral high ground to stand on. But it won't stop some from trying (Drimonis 2016, para.8).

High in the tower, where I sit above the loud complaining of the human sea, I know many souls that toss and whirl and pass, but none there are that intrigue me more than the Souls of White Folk (Du Bois 1999, 17).

In this chapter I develop the concept of 'settler subjectivity,' and begin to assess how environmentalists have engaged with Indigenous peoples and issues. In so doing I signify why changes in the relationships between these groups is particularly significant to the question of Indigenous / settler relations in contemporary Canada. Without a grasp of the Canadian settler subject it will be difficult to understand why settlers would find it difficult to engage in forwarding the rights of Indigenous peoples. My exclusive focus on settlers in any understanding of Canadian processes of reconciliation is unusual and requires explanation. I believe this approach is productive for settler colonial studies because it identifies settlers as the problem people and puts preponderant responsibility on them to engage in the development of solutions.

The key message of this chapter is to establish that the settler has a describable subjectivity that warrants analysis and is not a neutral 'normal' subject against which Indigenous peoples are measured. Scholars of colour have consistently reminded the dominant 'neutral' Euro-American culture that people of so-called 'third world cultures' must be granted epistemological as well as political independence from their colonisers (Varadharajan 2000, 144; Mohanty 2003, chap. 1). Asha Varadharajan reminds us of the danger of imagining a homogenous West: "Such misconceptions serve to entrench perennial themes rather than allow individual cultures to develop into dynamic registers of historical and social becoming" (Varadharajan 2000, 145). Varadharajan argues that Canada is often said to have a non-identity, an abject identity, and that Canadians are constantly forming their national identity as not-the-

States (Varadharajan 2000, 144). Similarly, Amelia Kalant has described Canadians as having an anxious identity defined by a fear of Americanisation (Kalant 2004, 5).

While Canadians writing from the perspective of dominant cultures struggle to define their nation's identity, those from minority cultures have noted that the country does have a dominant normative culture. Neil Bissoondath argues that the constant emphasis on difference from the 'norm' and sometimes even the reification of cultural difference limits the type of Canadian a newly immigrated citizen can become (Bissoondath 1998, paras. 8–9). Some authors claim that some groups and people are inherently in conflict with mainstream Canadian identity due to being a person of colour or Indigenous (Varadharajan 2000, 144; Barker and Lowman 2015, 28). In this research I study the white settler subject to cast light on the subject of Canadian identity that often passes for neutral. By studying white, predominantly Anglo-phone settlers, I name their characteristics as not the natural default Canadian identity. I see the group as one that has dominated cultural and economic spheres and wonder about that dominance – what is it that keeps white settlers in positions of dominance in Canada and what supports the notion that white settler subjectivities are neutral and other combinations of identities are 'other'? I chose to engage non-Indigenous respondents in these interviews because Canada has a settler problem wherein white settlers are engaged in many areas with protecting the privileges they already have.

Overall, I am aiming to contribute to the literature that investigates settlers and settler worldviews and to resist normalising settler and colonial perspectives as neutral. Since first forming my research agenda I have also aimed to ground the project in Indigenous theory. Though I draw inspiration from Indigenous research methods, this is not an Indigenous research project. Instead, I have framed my research project in reference to substantive Indigenous perspectives. I have been heavily influenced by theory and scholarship developed by Indigenous authors, both academic and activist. My work centres around Indigenous perspectives on Canadian politics and settler subjectivities.

Understanding the non-Indigenous subject is enormously important to the concept of reconciliation because, for one, settlers wield the majority of political power in Canada. There are more settler peoples than Indigenous peoples represented in nearly every area of Canadian society. Settlers control most Canadian institutions of governance. It is important to engage also in the issue of settler accountability for reconciliation. As Joyce Green has suggested, settlers and their government representatives are preponderantly responsible for reparations for mass suffering

enacted historically and contemporarily: "Profound injuries exist in the bodies, souls, and histories of the indigenous [sic] now, evidence of 'Wrong Relationship' …The preponderant weight of this accommodative obligation falls to those who have benefited from colonisation" (Green 2005, 331). I aim to help support Indigenous aspirations for increased political power by aiming to help address Canada's settler colonial problem.

Settlers are the root of the problem, with some settlers wielding more power and influence over the maintenance of colonial systems than others. They are the constituents of colonial governments and they make up the majority of the population. Engaging the settler public in Indigenous-driven reconciliation projects and in ethical solidarity organising is critical to the achievement overall of Indigenous rights. In this section I explain who is a settler and offer an extended explanation for why I am studying settlers to understand processes of reconciliation, decolonisation and re-structuring relationships. It is vitally important for my project that questions about settler subjectivities be related directly to how settlers are responsible to Indigenous peoples through myriad connections and networks of political relationships.

My study of settler subjects should be understood as a project to understand how settlers affect broader questions around the realisation of justice for Indigenous peoples and the exploration of Indigenous political aspirations. In the following section I will narrow my discussion of settler subjects to introduce material particular to how settler environmentalists have been in relationship with Indigenous peoples. I have hinted thus far that environmentalists share a special relationship and history with Indigenous peoples because these groups often come together over land-based issues. In the following section I show how these relationships between Indigenous peoples and environmentalists have developed and changed over time.

My research project expressly focussed on *settler* environmentalists because settlers are the beneficiaries of the colonial project but are often assumed to have little agency over decolonisation. They are the ones sitting atop Indigenous resource bases and influencing Canadian politics. They are the majority of the population. To under-investigate this group is to expect the five per cent minority of Indigenous peoples in Canada[1] to do all of the conceptual, emotional, social and intellectual work of

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[1] Based on data collected in the last National Household Survey (2011) conducted before I began my research it was reported that, 'Aboriginal people' made up 4.3% of

fundamentally transforming the way Canada understands its relationship with Indigenous peoples. Engaging with settlers on this issue is both a practical and an ethical imperative for decolonising relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples. When I began soliciting interviews with settler environmentalists I was often referred by them to speak about environmental activist / Indigenous alliances with Indigenous colleagues. Potential and eventual participants were often surprised when I returned their kind offer to connect me with Indigenous colleagues with the interjection that, in fact, I wanted to speak with settlers. While settlers can always benefit from increased consultation and guidance from Indigenous experts, it is also necessary that settlers have conversations about how to decolonise relationships and engage directly with Indigenous rights in reference to information made available by Indigenous scholars, authors, artists and organisers. It is important that settlers become comfortable thinking and talking about these subjects amongst settlers. The discomfort evidenced by settlers in being asked to speak authoritatively in this area is testament to the experiences of aversion and anxiety I will discuss further in future chapters.

2   Defining the settler subject

In this project I took up the challenge of identifying possible antecedents and meanings common to the white settler experience of engaging in the emotionally fraught context of Indigenous solidarity activism in hopes that increased understanding could guide change.

I use the term settler to group together non-Indigenous peoples and set them apart as separate from Indigenous peoples. I do so in full recognition that this grouping is sometimes barely legible as a group. This grouping contains many different ways of entering into colonial relations to Indigenous populations. They do so vis-à-vis the original and subsequent negotiations and agreements made between alien visitors of a foreign colonial nation and Indigenous members of host nations (Johnson 2007, 27–29; Epp 2008, 133). The colonial relationship defines settler peoples as well, as they are defined through relations of dispossession and occupation in reference to Indigenous

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the Canadian population in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013, 4). Another report projects that by 2036, the proportion will rise between 4.6% and 6.1% of the total population of Turtle Island/Canada (Morency et al. 2015, 6).

First Nations (Memmi 1965, 56). Even settlers whose ancestors were not occupying Canada at the time of the signing of treaties are engaged in colonial relations. Treaty relations are an inherent contingency with being a non-Indigenous person in Canada though what it means to be non-Indigenous is inflected with differentials of power and status within Canada.

Lorenzo Veracini has attempted a loose differentiation between settler colonialism and colonialism with settlers, acknowledging that these notions often overlap (Veracini 2010, 4). He strives to define settler colonialism more precisely as a type of colonisation that occurs and is driven by forces inside a settler-defined political entity(6). Canada in the 21st century can be understood in these terms as a settler colonial state since colonists did not formally rescind power at the time of decolonisation. In this framework all non-Indigenous Canadians by virtue of being rights-bearing subjects of the Canadian nation-state enter into implicit obligations and responsibilities to Indigenous peoples.

Malissa Phung joins several scholars in exploring the politics of settlement and racialisation in the second volume of the three-part research series on reconciliation published by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Phung extends ground-breaking work on decolonising antiracism carried out by Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua (Lawrence and Dua 2011). She addresses the tensions of referring in monolithic terms to a settler subject as if any settler is "necessarily first and foremost only a settler" (Phung 2011, 293). To illustrate she explains that people of colour have often not enjoyed privileged belonging in Canada or entitlement to speak for others – or even for themselves. Phung describes the case study of Chinese settlers who suffered structural racism and legal discrimination throughout the history of ethnic Chinese peoples' migration to Canada. However, she resists mobilising histories of suffering and the eventual granting of citizenship to these migrants as a story of coming to belong. No, she argues, settlers are not monolithic and we must trouble the ways "belonging" to Canada seems to correspond to being subsumed into one diachronic settlement narrative that erases Indigenous title and narratives of systemic racism. But yes, she also argues, people of colour are settlers too (Phung 2011, 296–97).

Phung explains that the method and circumstances of colonial entry into Canada always engenders a colonial relationship between settler and Indigenous occupants. Sunera Thobani concurs with this notion, explaining that citizenship always entails complicity in a colonial relationship of domination with Indigenous peoples: "The extension of citizenship rights to … immigrants [has] resulted in their qualified

integration into the political community at the cost of fostering their complicity in the colonial domination of Aboriginal peoples" (Thobani 2007, 76). However, the diversity of the circumstances amongst immigrant groups and their settlement patterns nuances this experience (Phung 2011, 295–96). Canadian citizenship systems are structured in such a way that foreclose the potential of some possible alliances between newly emigrated people of colour and Indigenous peoples (Thobani 2007, 175). Similarly, Black people who may have no known Indigenous heritage may disavow their allegiance to the Canadian state. However, they may also find that they are compelled within that structure to try to increase the degree of political power enjoyed by their community members in ways that reaffirm the legitimacy of the settler colonial state (Lawrence and Amadahy 2009, 126).

Scott Lauria Morgensen argues that while all non-Indigenous peoples are settlers, it is important to identify the white settler as an agent who is located at a particular position of racial and colonial power (Morgensen 2014, para.6). This identification of the settler as white illuminates rather than obfuscates the relations of power that interpolate the nexus of relations between settlers. Canadian multiculturalism was founded upon the belief that keeping colonial identities intact would strengthen the empire. In that context it is relevant to consider that whiteness carries inherent social and cultural capital, even if this identity can be also nuanced by other identities.

In their study of attitudes towards Indigenous peoples and the TRC, Ravi de Costa and Tom Clark found that white settler students born as second or third generation Canadians were less sympathetic towards Indigenous peoples for colonial history than Canadian students born abroad or born to parents who were themselves of international origin (de Costa and Clark 2011, 330–39). This indicates an entitlement to privilege amongst white settlers not shared by newer Canadians. This mirrors the early acceptance of multiculturalism amongst immigrant Canadians in the 1940s not shared by British immigrants who had immigrated earlier (Henshaw 2007, 204). The term multiculturalism was probably coined by Ukrainian Canadians in the 1950s and quickly entered the discourse on diversity and nationalism. It was used in presentations made to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism throughout the 1960s, an era when Canada was engaged in an acute postcolonial identity crisis. Multiculturalism, therefore, did not signify a movement away from imperialism but instead signified a revisioning of ideas of imperial empire that embraced the lived realities of colonial people who possessed multiple identities

(Henshaw 2007, 204–8). We can theorise this difference between earlier to later migrants to Canada using group positions theory, as discussed further in Chapter 3.

It is clearly relevant in the case of Canada to distinguish white settlers from settlers who are people of colour. In this study I have only interviewed white settlers, the demographics of whom I describe in more detail in Chapter 6, because they are the majority in most places in Canada and are the ones least likely to feel empathy towards Indigenous peoples' political concerns. I interviewed those amongst this low-empathy group who were engaging with Indigenous issues.

Peoples who are non-Indigenous but are living in Canada without access to rights and protections as citizens or Permanent Residents such as undocumented workers have a special relationship with members of Indigenous nations. These people live on colonised land and are therefore in relationships with Indigenous peoples but not necessarily colonial ones. When I refer in this thesis to settlers I am bracketing off peoples who lack access to rights or privileges associated with the Canadian state.

2.a Why study the settler subject?

I approached the area of inquiry into relationships through an investigation of settler activists. I did so because I identified a tendency in settler colonial studies literature to scratch the surface of the psychological dimensions of settler struggles to engage in relations of solidarity without utilising psychological theory.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith is probably the Indigenous academic most often cited in the area of Indigenous methodologies. In *Decolonising Methodologies,* Tuhiwai Smith sets her work apart by centring the experiences and desires of "the people whose bodies, territories, beliefs and values have been travelled *through*" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 231). She argues that colonial academics have used Indigenous research subjects to prop up the non-Indigenous research academy for centuries. She notes that many Indigenous peoples are suspicious of academic research, describing the research done by academics "[B]oth in terms of its absolute worthlessness to us, the indigenous [sic] world, and its absolute usefulness to those who wielded it as an instrument. It told us things already known, suggested things that would not work, and made careers for people who already had jobs" (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 33). Western trained social scientists across many disciplines have exploited Indigenous peoples as research subjects through making their lives into objects, naming, claiming authority over their identities and commodifying knowledge about them.

Tuhiwai Smith does not see research as inherently exploitative; in fact, she would like to reclaim research for and by Indigenous peoples. Her indictment of the settler academy has laid the foundation for a critical approach to re-appropriating Western research methodologies to make research that is relevant to the lived experience – the actual lives – of Indigenous peoples (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 110–37).

Margaret Kovach has also spoken extensively of the assimilative influence of Western university institutions, identifying the problems inherent for Indigenous peoples with Western methods of research. She positions the relationship of Indigenous peoples to Western research academies in relation to Canada's IRS programme and contends that Western universities are not designed to meet the needs of Indigenous students or scholars. Further, she identifies that a core concern for Indigenous students working in Western institutions is that Indigenous epistemologies are often not commensurate with the Western ones that dominate traditional academies (Kovach 2009a, 54–60). She describes critical Indigenous methodologies as holistic, integrating specific tribal knowledge with more generalisable Indigenous approaches. The accommodation of embedded realities with wider frameworks forms an integrated approach to knowledge formation (Kovach 2009b, 176). Kovach outlines the increasingly urgent need for Western universities to make changes that will increase the hospitality of Universities for Indigenous learners and researchers (Kovach 2009a, 53–54).

The legacies of colonial education via the Indian Residential School System(IRS) and the Western exploitation of Indigenous peoples as research subjects are the backdrop against which Indigenous engagement with research institutions takes place today. Modern research ethics take into account these legacies of the burden of intergenerational trauma experienced by victims, survivors and their families (Weaver 1998, 206).

In my work I aim to flip this dynamic around. I wanted to understand Canadian trajectories of reconciliation. I decided that instead of becoming a traveller through Indigenous communities I would use theory published in the last several decades by Indigenous authors and academics. I would draw on these works to develop a framework for investigating those who have wielded the privilege of acting as "neutral" observers of Indigenous lives. As discussed, publications such as the Final Report of the TRC and the RCAP report set out directives for settlers and their governments to follow that would improve relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. These directives are evidently not enough. I believe that studying settler psychology

can get us closer to understanding why settlers struggle simply to pick up these directives and act upon them. This thesis is devoted to understanding what inhibits and motivates settlers in the realm of engaging on Indigenous-centred issues including decolonisation and reconciliation.

My fieldwork for this thesis, in 2014-15, coincided with the latter stages of the TRC(2008-2015). A key function of the TRC was to eliminate the feasibility of any pretence of ignorance. Accordingly, the need for further education features in two of the ten Principles of Reconciliation outlined in the Final Report (Canada 2015, 3–4). The RCAP Report also recommended the initiation of a major education drive aimed at settlers to understand Indigenous cultures, aspirations and ways of living. They believed that education was required to encourage positive public attitudes amongst settlers toward Indigenous peoples and their efforts at self-governance (Newhouse 2007, 289).

2.b Settler engagement with Indigenous rights through the lens of Canadian nationalism

Settlers have widely responded to the TRC with degrees of shock and sympathy. Nonetheless, as I argued above in Chapter 1, the TRC fits very neatly with a Canadian multiculturalist approach to handling difficult information about injustice and difference in a de-politicized, even anti-political, format. Many of the people I interviewed appeared to mirror this position, feeling righteous anger towards the historical state and church officials for their role in the IRS system, reporting sympathy for Indigenous survivors and communities. However, when asked to define what they thought they could do in the wake of the TRC their responses were often vague. They focused predominantly on the need to educate settlers about colonial histories. Few proposed material, policy-oriented, or political routes to addressing problems facing Indigenous communities. Other studies have found similar trends, showing that even highly engaged settlers tend to lose their confidence and conviction around proposals of responsible actions when pushed to think about highly material concessions such as land restitution (J. S. Denis and Bailey 2016)

When asked to define what kinds of changes they believed would be necessary to alleviate the causes of future suffering, or to support communities in their healing processes, their responses were predictably vague. They often focused on the need to educate settlers about colonial histories and were interested in initiatives such as art projects for the spreading of awareness. Very few proposed material, policy-

oriented, or political routes to addressing problems facing Indigenous communities. These suggested solutions struck me as particularly characteristic of the effect of multiculturalist culture and society on activist decision-making.

While I argued above that the TRC was designed to meet the aims and goals of the Canadian state, I would similarly argue that some of the solutions proposed by my interviewees were similarly focused on settler needs. Widespread education about residential schools may increase the level of empathy felt amongst settlers and it may be argued would decrease the level of racism directed towards Indigenous peoples across the country. Nonetheless, Indigenous peoples are not only calling for anti-racism campaigns but for a fundamental re-exploration of political governance models that would disassociate to some extent Indigenous societal organization from the Canadian state. I hypothesize that there is a filtering process through which settlers hear a range of needs and demands expressed by Indigenous organizers, ideologically support some of them and actually throw their material support behind a very few. This filtering process is influenced by the values I have described above wherein cultural diversity is celebrated – even reified – but political challenges to the Canadian state-centred system are rejected as unreasonable, as dangerous, perhaps even as 'un-Canadian'.

Understanding settler mindsets in regards to Indigenous challenges to settler sovereignty in Canada requires a deep appreciation of settler attachments to the concept of Canada. Canadians reach into an idealized colonial past rife with markers and stories that reify settler pioneer settlement, construct idealized versions of settler Indigenous frontier friendship and projects these stories onto a version of present and future Indigenous / settler relations that characterize Canada as beneficent, generous, accommodating and tolerant. Canadians engage with a moral and political phenomenon when they reach into the past and find ways to narrate an identity that is so charitable to settlers and so discordant with Indigenous perceptions of settler engagement on Turtle Island (Wallerstein 1991, 78). These positive and generous interpretations of settler Canadian identity are historically as well as politically contingent upon the development of law and social infrastructure that promotes the legitimacy of European expansionism and of colonial sovereignty (Kallen 1996, 77) Identities are made, mobilized, and resisted within political contexts and the identification of people born in Canada with the nation-state of Canada is moderated by their sense of belonging to it as well as their sense of entitlement to that attachment.

We do see evidence that white settlers whose parents were born in Canada experience a greater sense of belonging to Canada as well as a sense of their entitlement to that identity, evident through their greater likelihood of resisting alternative Indigenous re-tellings of history (de Costa and Clark 2011).   These attachments form the fabric of many white settler identities. When later in the thesis I discuss the process of re-scripting and re-storying that takes place as settlers learn more about Indigenous experiences of Canadian colonialism, we see evidence of importance of these attachments to Canada and of idealised Canadian identities through the emotionally charged impact that challenges to this identity has on settlers. Refutations of basic tenets of this Canadian identity can result in the transformative encounter and re-storying experience discussed later in the thesis. However, it can also easily result in many cognitive and emotional strategies to avoid learning from Indigenous peoples in favour of affirming these incomplete but comfortable ideas about Canadians and Canada, which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 4 in my discussion of desires of absolution.

Attachments to Canadian national identity are part of the fabric of the settler self system and challenges to these identities can elicit guilt and shame, which can form a further barrier to learning. These processes of learning difficult and challenging knowledge and re-scripting the settler self system in ways that centre Indigenous-centered versions of colonial history are the subject of Part C and D of this thesis.In addition to the above discussion on Canadian national identity, I have highlighted the backdrop of multiculturalism in Chapter 1 and provided the context of the TRC(2008-2015) in order to show how the socio-cultural and national environments might shape settler subjectivities. Together, these backgrounders will help the reader understand why Indigenous solidarity politics are charged amongst settlers working in this area. Dominant settler understandings of land are challenged by Indigenous perspectives in ways that cannot be contained within multicultural frameworks for managing difference. People wishing to address Indigenous rights issues find themselves in a position where they are challenging dominant norms and questioning the application of multicultural frameworks for handling all issues of difference.

2.b.I Settler solidarity engagement

Scholars note the existence of problematic discrepancies between theory and action amongst settler actors but then fail to explain possible reasons for this phenomenon. Carrie Mott's study of settler activists in southern Arizona, for example, deals with subject matter close to my own. Mott found that settler activists attempting to work in

solidarity with Indigenous organisers held a desire to be a "different kind of white person" or, as Andrea Smith has described it, "a fully-developed anti-racist subject" (Smith 2013, para.11; Mott 2016, 8). Explaining this activist desire Mott writes that "[I]ndigenous solidarity activism can be an experience that is deeply emotionally fraught. [N]on-Native activists struggle to come to terms with their privilege so that they might meaningfully and productively engage with indigenous [*sic*] activists. With conceptions of home, belonging, and privilege that are often widely different, there is much room for error and the need for negotiation and sensitivity is great" (Mott 2016, 9).

One variable factor in understanding how settlers might engage with reconciliation and decolonisation is the different understandings of the role of settler action. Some scholars argue that a key part of settler responsibilities to Indigenous peoples is to aim to unlearn their own internalised racism. As Carrie Mott has argued: "Despite ongoing efforts by white activists to distance themselves from the problematic aspects of whiteness as an oppressive social institution, these efforts inevitably fall short, and this falling short in turn becomes an important element of the ongoing nature of such self-reflection" (Mott 2016, 4). Mott designed her research to focus on the level of the individual: a subject is responsible for 'self-work' and for distancing themselves from problematic aspects of whiteness. In her conceptualisation the agency of the settler is important because it enables white activists to do a better job at collaborating with Indigenous organisers in social movement settings (16).

On the other hand, Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández has argued that there is a tendency for solidarity to become "a matter of self-empowerment" through which an idealised Western subject deflects complicity in the perpetuation of oppressive structures through claiming solidarity with an oppressed subject (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012, 55). Gaztambide-Fernández has extended the work of Sherene Razack to argue that people offering solidarity from a position of privilege tend to overemphasise their ability to counter balance their privilege in social justice. He writes:

> I am so afraid to acknowledge the privileges presumed in my particular mythology that I often fool myself into thinking that my work makes a difference, even when it is utterly clear that it does not. Or I seek to counter balance those privileges with a parallel mythology of innocence that makes me feel better about myself, even as my ability to mobilise that narrative presumes a particular kind of (unequally distributed and sometimes precarious) academic privilege. But this realisation might lead to a gross paralysis that will not lead to social change. This is the reason why transitive solidarity insists on praxis; to think of

solidarity as a transitive verb means to underscore that it demands that we act in the world (2012, 55).

His emphasis on solidarity as a transitive verb comes about because he believes it is quite dangerous – even paralysing – to over-state one's position as a presumed agent. Even between these two theorists of solidarity and settler colonial studies, the role, responsibility and even relevance of the settler as an agent is unclear. If debate is underway in the academic sphere it should not surprise that there is confusion amongst activist organisers working in this area about how to apply working theory that reflects responsible ethics of solidarity organising. Settlers, especially those who are conscious of colonial histories and motivated towards social and environmental justice actions, are unsure how to interpret theory to guide actions.

Processes of social change can be understood from both individual and collective perspectives. In fact, the success or failure of relationships between people can indicate what Mott as well as Häkli and Kallio refer to as activist topologies, the temporal, political, and historical context in which personal interactions occur (Häkli and Kallio 2014, 189; Mott 2016, 1–2). This close analysis of interpersonal "struggle" to which both Mott and Gaztambide-Fernández refer aids us in understanding how our personal agency is influenced by our historical, political and subjective contexts. However, over-emphasising the agency of individual settlers to reconcile and restore nation-to-nation relations through questioning their own privilege and pursuit of becoming an ethical settler subject may not be a helpful way to think about undoing unjust social relations.

Trying to control settler privilege may have little influence over structural power relations may lead to inertia and a sense of paralysis amongst settlers, which I demonstrate in my analysis of interview data, inhibiting processes of social change (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012, 55). Over-emphasis on settler agency also takes insufficient account of the procedural, material and structural objectives of a restructured political relationship between the state, settler citizenry and Indigenous nations. It is not tenable to organise en masse towards settlers achieving moral high ground as a decolonial strategy. I aim to show in this thesis how settlers can think about organising structural and collective support for the attainment of Indigenous political aspirations by creating good environments for organising where the settler self is de-emphasised.

Though the activists I interviewed often noted sincere desires to act in ways that promoted ethics of justice and fairness, they also reported not being aware of how

they could advance these goals when it came to Indigenous issues. Moreover they often appeared to become paralysed in their actions by their ethical quandaries and their emotions. One of my central contentions is that settlers can develop the skills to be able to hear and respond to calls to action. They seem to want many of the same outcomes as Indigenous leaders and thinkers, such as to steward liveable environments and decrease the political clout of corporate entities. But they do not yet have the frameworks in place to make Indigenous solidarity a normal part of their organising.

I researched people like myself, aiming to take some personal responsibility for reconciliation by illuminating and unpacking the problematic of settler subjects. I hope that doing so will be helpful to settler activists who aim to work in solidarity with Indigenous activists on environmental campaigns and that as a result this project will, in turn, be of interest and use to Indigenous organisers.

The history of environmental activism is particularly fraught with complicated relationships between non-Indigenous activists and Indigenous organisers. In this next section I outline some of the main epistemological challenges that come up between settlers and Indigenous organisers around environmental campaigns.

2.1   The settler environmentalist

One of the main differences between settlers and Indigenous organisers originates in differences between Western and Indigenous conceptions of land. In the traditional teachings of many Indigenous nations the ontological connection between land and theory is literal (Eikjok 2007, 117–18; L. Simpson 2013, para. 51). Land is the origin of life, knowledge and theory and is a place of constant cultural and spiritual rehabilitation, replenishment and continuity (Watts 2013, 23). Land is not important because of what it can do or offer. Rather, it is the foundation of nations on a spiritual and intellectual level. The way Aboriginal rights are construed and conferred in Canadian law is at odds also with understandings of the land rooted in Indigenous ontologies (Monture-Angus 1999a, 60–61). In fact, Kim Stanton argues that one of the social functions of the TRC should be to demonstrate to settler peoples that they have a worldview and that it differs dramatically from that of their Indigenous neighbours (Stanton 2012, 98).

2.1.a Indigenous and western worldviews

In colonial worldviews and thought systems land is something quantifiable and exchangeable. In Indigenous epistemologies, land is family. Elder Fred Kelly explains below why many First Nations refer to colonised North America as Turtle Island:

> If you listen to our Creation story, invariably we land on the back of a turtle. In our case, why do we call it Turtle Island? Well, this is the island that we were placed on, but in addition to that, to demarcate it, the Grandmother that lights the night sky, commonly called or colloquially called the Moon, in her full glory, comes out thirteen times a year – four seasons. Not twelve – thirteen times. And Indigenous place-thought and agency this is when she kisses the Turtle … Now look at the Turtle. Count the platelets on the back of a turtle. Thirteen. That is why we call it Turtle Island. Now, the difference in concepts with Euro-Canadian law is the concept of ownership and property rights. Wherein Euro-Canadians talk about property rights we talk about territory. It is the closest relationship. And it's the relationship to Mother Earth.

Kelly explains this sacred ontology in terms of how a literal interpretation of the story should guide human practice on the land. Specifically, he outlines the ontological impossibility of land ownership in First Nation legal systems:

> [I]f you understand Sacred Law and the Great Law, that you are an integral part of Grandmother Earth, then is it conceivable that you could sell her? Firstly, to sell her is tantamount to selling yourself. Can you do that? Not under Great Law, not under Sacred Law. So therefore, you can't sell your Grandmother. It's just not allowed. Let me put it another way - it's unconstitutional. It's against the law - it's illegal. So under Indigenous law it is not possible to sell any part of Grandmother Earth, because we have a sacred relationship to her. You are a part of that (Kelly 2005, 11).

If settlers engage with this Indigenous worldview and legal system they are called on to think less of land and resource ownership and more about taking responsibility for intergenerational stewardship.

While Indigenous groups all across Canada and indeed the world differ in the ways they conceive of the relationship between their societies and the Earth, they share aspects of a worldview that differentiate their divergent groups from colonial societies. Article 25 of the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard" (United Nations 2008, 10). This special request for protection acknowledges this special and distinctive relationship between Indigenous society's and their land bases. Other provisions, such as Article 24's articulation of the right Indigenous peoples have to traditional medicines and Article 20's interest in Indigenous peoples' rights to maintain subsistence based

economic arrangements requiring access to land. Articles 8, 10, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32 all explicitly declare rights for Indigenous peoples to carry out such acts as protect land and adjudicate land use and free, prior and informed consent are demanded in Articles 28 and 29 pertaining to issues of use, dispossession and adjudication of the use of land. As dispossession was a key tool of colonisation, a key component of reconciliation involves land restitution. Land is critical to the spiritual wellbeing and cultural and economic livelihoods of Indigenous people. Dispossession of land had been critical to disabling the economic functionality and in destabilising the wellbeing of Indigenous societies. While land is crucial to Indigenous visions of wellbeing and reconciliation, colonists and colonial thought systems are underpinned by the misguided idea that land use practices amongst Indigenous peoples were inferior to European ones. This idea was used to justify the theft of Indigenous land.

For example, work by Tom Flanagan demonstrates how normative values were assigned to different types of land use to justify colonial land theft. Flanagan asserts a Lockean moral justification for European colonisation. He argues that the land stewardship practices of Indigenous peoples at the time of colonisation were inherently uncivilised (Flanagan 2000, 42–43; Murphy 2009, 260–63). Flanagan argues that farmers (Europeans) have a right to land because hunters (Indigenous peoples) need a lot of land and he suggests that only farmers can produce enough food to increase population sizes. Large populations lead, he says, to civilisation. Land is a means to meeting the unequivocally important end of expansion, which he equivocates with civilisation. Eva Mackey has noted a similar trend amongst settlers who contest Indigenous rights assertions in Canada, describing their assumed right as "settled expectations." The notion of settled expectations relies more on an assumed superior settler usage of land, rather than of settler legal rights to land, to justify legally dubious forms of land acquisition (Mackey 2016, 8)

Other scholars have also noted how Western conceptions of land focus on how land exists external to humans and presumes that it exists to serve human consumptive needs (Braun 2002, 41; Robin 2007, 186). Colonisers are thus morally justified in separating land from Indigenous peoples because it is the "natural right of each person to acquire property by mixing his labour with unused soil" (Flanagan 2000, 59). In addition, Flanagan argues that sovereignty requires property rights and without property rights one cannot achieve "the civilised mode of life." Ergo, he proposes, if Indigenous peoples are shown not to use land in ways that invoke property rights they should expect to have it taken from them for the sake of the progress of civilisation.

The premise that civilisation only describes a group of people who practise a particular form of food cultivation techniques assumes the inherent moral goodness of growth. Further it conspicuously ignores Indigenous forms of sustainable food cultivation. For example Douglas Deur and Nancy Turner describe how First Nations of the Pacific Northwest engaged with land and resources in ways that prioritised ecological sustainability over limitless growth:

> Northwest Coast peoples, and perhaps many other societies classified as hunter-gatherers, practiced food production techniques in a variety of forms. Though these practices may not have been 'agricultural' in the conventional sense of sowing seeds of annual plants and reaping the harvest of staple grains or other vegetables, they arguably do represent diverse methods of 'plant cultivation' as that term is now commonly employed. These methods are aptly summarised in the translation of the Kwak'wala word sometimes used to describe the full range of cultivation methods described here. Shared with both Deur and Turner by Hereditary Chief Kwaksistala Adam Dick, this term is q'waq'wala7owkw, or 'keeping it living' (Deur and Turner 2006, 31).

Further, Hugh Brody has quipped that for the Dunne-za people, Creole phrases and idioms have been creatively constructed at the junction of farming and hunting, noting the non-binary approach of many Indigenous peoples towards food procurement / cultivation practices (Brody 2001, 106–10). That is to say, land and other beings have long been manipulated to support human life but without detrimental exploitation of these resource bases.

Just as land is different in Indigenous and colonial worldviews, the concept of environmentalism is likewise different. Some scholars of environmental philosophy have argued that Western thought has been over-simplified when it comes to the human / nature divide (Meyer 2001, 35–47). Nonetheless, early environmental thinkers such as Aldo Leopold relied upon the notion that in a Western / European worldview land was subservient to humans (Leopold 1970, 260–61).

Paul Nadasdy has argued in reference to his work with members of the Kluane First Nation that Indigenous peoples do claim environmentalism outside the context of the ongoing political conflicts raging in Canada (Nadasdy 2005, 315). However, for members of the Kluane First Nation control over territories and other beings that use the land are never just about specific environmental causes or goals. They are an expression and aspect of a broader philosophy of engaging in responsible relations (314). Patricia Monture-Angus further explains in her definition of sovereignty from an Indigenous worldview: "[S]overeignty, when defined as my right to be responsible… requires a relationship with territory … What must be understood then is that Aboriginal requests to have our sovereignty respected is a request to be

responsible" (Monture-Angus 1995, 36). Land is not external to humans in the way it is for people operating from a European worldview. For examples, members of the Kluane First Nation are unlikely to place themselves on a spectrum of environmentalism but would talk about having respect and reverence for the environment. This speaks to a different relationship between human and land for people working from the different worldviews (Nadasdy 2005, 321). The safety, fertility and wellbeing of land is directly related to that of the Indigenous body politic and to women in particular (L. Simpson 2011, 96–108). Struggles over land are inherently political when viewed through Indigenous knowledge systems because land is tied to questions of identity, perpetuity of culture and the politics of colonisation.

Indigenous worldviews can be put at the centre of governance models in colonial nation-state contexts. For example, Annis May Timpson describes the process of developing a culturally conscious public service in the Inuit-dominated territory of Nunavut in Northern Canada. This process was centred around Inuit defining how *Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit* (that which is long known by Inuit) should be systematically embedded within the public service and policy framework of the Government of Nunavut (Timpson 2009, 210–11). Her work suggests that, however complicated, there is scope to centre and formalize processes that reflect Indigenous worldviews in public organisations and governments.

In contemporary times, environmentalists have turned with increasing attention to Indigenous peoples for inspiration and guidance (Booth and Jacobs 1990, 41–43; Nadasdy 2005, 291). Competing discourses exist in environmental communities, making it difficult to make one all-encompassing statement on what constitutes settler environmentalist belies or thoughts – as it is impossible to make over-arching generalisations about what constitutes Indigenous knowledge (Dryzek 2005, 8–16). However, John Dryzek has argued that all Western environmental traditions share the fact that they originated in industrial and post-industrial societies as critiques of business-as-usual approaches to industrial, commercial exploitation of land and resources (13-14). In other words, environmentalism is a response to a crisis in environmental degradation, not a built-in value inherent to the cultures of the settlers now championing environmental rights.

Interesting to the purposes of this research is that many settler environmentalists and environmental thought traditions have drawn inspiration not strictly from Indigenous cultures but from the trope of the 'ecological Indian'. The trope

of the 'ecological Indian' has also played a part in creating misunderstanding between settler environmentalists

2.1.b Environmentalists and the 'ecological Indian'

The original seeds for the 'ecological Indian' stereotype were planted by the forefathers of early environmentalism in Canada and the US who argued that prior to colonialism Indigenous peoples in North America adhered to beliefs and practices that were coherent with a conservationist and / or preservationist agenda.

Inspired by the beliefs of Native Americans and Indians (from India), Henry David Thoreau in particular wrote passionately about appreciating nature for nature's sake. In so doing he diverged from theological and moralistic arguments to protect nature which had dominated previous colonial discourses (Thoreau 1854; Taylor 2012, 307). John Muir was also inspired by the religion and land philosophies of the Tlingit First Nation after which he modelled his own beliefs about environmentalism (Muir 1915, 235–36; Oelschlaeger 1991, 139–70; Nadasdy 2005, 296–99). Meanwhile, parallel to the development of Western environmental thought, Indigenous peoples and nations were actively resisting state incursions onto their lands and struggling against all odds to keep their cultures and peoples alive.

Settler environmentalists have made strident claims about the affinity between their beliefs and practices and the philosophies of Indigenous peoples (Nadasdy 2005, 299–300). However, in so doing, they enclose Indigenous peoples in a definition of the ecological Indian that reifies Indigenous stewardship practices and, in addition, imposes an ideal of Indigeneity that is not defined by Indigenous thought or practice. This 'ecological Indian' is inherently environmentally minded and noble but also passive and retiring into history.

The trope of the noble Indigenous person as an early environmentalist still has traction in environmental circles today. Attending directly to the manifestation of that claim to ecological nobility in today's world, Nadasdy charges that "environmentalists who invoke the image of ecological nobility do so primarily to legitimize their own political positions" (Nadasdy 2005, 314). He accuses environmentalists with co-optation of Indigenous peoples' actual philosophies regarding land, recognising that when environmentalists leverage or claim native cultural beliefs for their own campaign needs, they are asking Indigenous peoples to fit Western environmentalist ideals and frameworks. This claim to ecological nobility, as Nadasdy argues, is not wholly resisted by Indigenous peoples, but neither was it their creation (315).

Addressing long-standing debates about whether or not Indigenous peoples are inherently environmentalists, Paul Nadasdy analysed the discourse amongst members of the Kluane First Nation about their understandings of the relations between themselves and their land. He argues that "Most Kluane people are not environmentalists. This is not because they are *anti*environmentalists, but because the terms of the debate do not apply to them. First Nation people's beliefs and practices do not fit anywhere on the environmentalist spectrum, and any effort to pigeonhole them in this way has serious political consequences for them" (Nadasdy 2005, 322, emphasis in the original). The Euro-American value system that underpins environmentalism – most importantly, the inherent separation of human from environment – is incoherent to Indigenous stewardship practices. As mentioned earlier, there is also a key discrepancy between settler environmentalism as a response to centuries of uncontrolled exploitation versus Indigenous stewardship practices that have been developed since time immemorial that integrate long-term protocols for ensuring sustainable ethical resource use. The long history of dispute, conflict and even animosity that undergirds historical Indigenous / environmentalist relations can be contextualized within these fundamental epistemic and ontological differences.

My interviews with environmentalists in 2014-2015 reflect a burgeoning understanding of this disjuncture in environmental circles. They reflect a growing recognition that the evaluation of Indigenous stewardship practices through Western environmental thought is a form of colonial imposition. An expression of this changing atmosphere came in June 2014 when the executive director of Greenpeace Canada, Joanna Kerr, issued an official organisational statement: "Greenpeace apology to Inuit for impacts of seal campaign" (Greenpeace Canada 2014a). The statement contains a brief history of the organisation's involvement with promoting a campaign that had the effect of demonizing the traditional Inuit practice of hunting seal. In her statement she explains the atmosphere in Greenpeace circles from late 2014 to mid 2015: "In the eight months since I took on the challenging role of executive director for Greenpeace Canada, one thing has come up again and again in discussions with staff across the country: a deep desire to make amends with Canada's Indigenous Peoples for past mistakes, to decolonise ourselves, and to better communicate our policies and practices going forward" (Greenpeace Canada 2014a, para.4). In this statement Kerr reflects the high prioritisation of a desire to make amends, to decolonise internally and to communicate these priorities. Interestingly, her statement was referenced by some

of my interviewees who explained how similar intentions had developed in the organisations within which they worked.

In 2014 the Board of Greenpeace announced the *Greenpeace Policy Statement on Indigenous Rights*. This statement articulates an understanding of land conservation that accommodates the rights of Indigenous peoples to harvest and use the land traditionally, reflecting how Greenpeace has re-envisioned its environmental agenda around Indigenous conceptions of environmental stewardship (Greenpeace Canada 2014a, para.9).

Other environmental organisations have expressed similar attitudes, for example by linking land claims to environmental issues. This move towards naming Indigenous rights as a goal that advances an environmental agenda acknowledges the validity of Indigenous-centred ideas of sustainable and ethical stewardship. It diverges from traditional Western environmental ideas of the need to protect static, pristine non-human environments (Denevan 1992, 369–70; Vale 2002, 2). For example, in its December 2015 newsletter, Sierra Club BC noted that "Real climate solutions respect human and indigenous rights, help us get off fossil fuels, and don't take food production for granted in a world of extreme weather. Site C dam? None of the above!" (Sierra Club BC 2015, para.3).

Likewise, Indigenous organiser Clayton Thomas-Muller wrote for 350.org in October 2015 that "We need a calm, deliberate, and steady plan to wean Canada off volatile boom-and-bust oil revenues … We need to stop the violation of Indigenous rights, erosion of democracy, and complete disregard of scientific principles that has accompanied all-out government support for tar sands expansion" (Thomas-Muller 2015, para.6). Following Thomas-Muller's message but referring to the same environmental issue, Kiki Wood, Director of the Canadian Youth Climate Coalition, wrote in November 2015 about the collaboration and mutual recognition of shared concerns over stopping the Tar Sands between environmentalists and First Nations: "Yesterday, myself and 38 [*sic*] others risked arrest outside the gates of Rideau Hall, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's current residence. We sat in for just over 4 hours with gifts of scientific studies, economic reports and Indigenous Treaties 1 through 11 to confirm the scientific, moral, and ethical imperative that the tar sands must stay in the ground" (Wood 2015, para.1). The general attitude towards Indigenous issues amongst environmentalists seems to be changing towards one in favour of well-governed Indigenous-led resource management practices. They also reflect being

highly aware that 'decolonising ourselves' is now an important component to environmental organising work that engages issues of shared concern.

Some environmental organisations such as 350.org and Greenpeace have also prioritised hiring Indigenous peoples for lead roles in mobilising environmental campaigns. For example Thomas-Muller, quoted above, is a member of the Mathias Colomb Cree Nation (Pukatawagan) and is one of the most well-known environmental organisers working in Canada today. He has worked for several environmental organisations including 350.org and the Indigenous Environmental Network. These types of environmentalist engagements link the political with the environmental and demonstrate genuine interest in respecting Indigenous leadership on environmental issues. These statements suggest that environmentalists are beginning to organise around land and resource-based issues with a more thorough understanding of Indigenous relationships with the land in mind.

We see a burgeoning interest amongst settler environmentalists and other social justice advocates to realise policy objectives outlined in the 1996 Report of RCAP, *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan* (Canada 1996; Canada 1997)*,* as well as the final Report of the TRC, especially Principle 8: "Supporting Aboriginal peoples' cultural revitalization and integrating Indigenous knowledge systems, oral histories, laws, protocols, and connections to the land" (Canada 2015, 4). These objectives are meant to apply to all Canadians. While we do not see ubiquitous up-take of these policy objectives I argue that environmentalists are trying to lead in this work.

In the next chapter I begin Part B, Framing Analysis, where I outline the specific schema I use to analyse the interview data in Part D. In Chapters 3 and 4 I outline the psychosocial analytical frames I use to analyse the interviews, introducing and modifying frameworks of sociology of emotion for my purposes. I introduce a schema for understanding settler avoidance of engagement, which I have called 'desires for absolution'. I also introduce the concept I developed called the 'hermeneutics of settlerhood' to explain how I understood and analysed the interview data. In Chapter 4 I also frame issues of effort in relations through theories of how consciousness affects the relationship between settler and Indigenous subjects. This section allows for thorough and meaningful analysis of the interview texts in the subsequent sections.

PART B: FRAMING ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 3
Settler desires for absolution and the sociology of emotions

> We tried to see her without looking at her, and never, never went near. Not because she was absurd, or repulsive, or because we were frightened, but because we had failed her (Morrison 1999, 162).

> You can't change what you refuse to acknowledge. You can't acknowledge what you refuse to see (Drimonis 2016, para.6).

Indigenous and allied scholars argue that settlers are preponderantly responsible for making accommodations to Indigenous peoples for colonial injustices (Green 2005, 331). Nonetheless, literature on emotions and social movements shows that settlers and white people more generally often resist acknowledging or taking responsibility for the advantages they enjoy relative to Indigenous peoples and people of colour. Academic work in several fields including history and studies in emotions and social interactions demonstrates the modes through which settlers and white people avoid responsibility for racial and colonial injustices.

Using psychosocial analytical frameworks, as introduced in Chapter 1, I illuminate the complex processes impinging upon settler engagement with Indigenous peoples and colonial histories. In particular, this conceptual approach enhances our understanding of how and why settlers may struggle to translate knowledge about Indigenous lives into action towards supporting Indigenous aspirations. There are readily available primary and secondary resources – immediately accessible electronic digitized material in the public domain – that settlers and state government agencies can use to understand better what settlers might do to support Indigenous peoples in their active efforts to revitalise their political power in Canada. The problem is not access to information and so the problem must lie somewhere else. Eva Mackey has argued that a key barrier is that settlers feel anxiety over the material uncertainty Indigenous peoples and discourses of decolonisation would pose to their lives (Mackey 2014, 237–42). I argue in this chapter that settler avoidance of dealing with the implications of violence committed by members of the settler ingroup on others, in this case Indigenous peoples, is at the heart of the matter.

This chapter provides a basis for understanding the psychological depth of settler desires to avoid taking or accepting responsibility when people have suffered to benefit the white and / or settler ingroup. I aim to illuminate, through providing this content, the insidious, internalized factors that work against honest self-reflection and consequent action amongst settlers when they attempt to take on a stance of active responsibility.   Even amongst settlers who are trying to take responsibility, the dynamics and psychological phenomena described in this chapter form the basis of their own internal negotiations as well as represent the dominant attitudes of their culture.   As will be shown in the qualitative analysis of my interviews, these psychological phenomena are indeed relevant in terms of the conditioning factors around perception and processing of lived experiences by my interviewees.

With this chapter I begin a two chapter-part section called "Part B: Framing analysis." In this section I introduce the conceptual framework through which I analyse the interview data in Part D. In this section I provide a key finding of my research, generated inductively after investigation of the data: that settlers experience work on Indigenous rights issues to be high cost in terms of EE and this creates aversion to engagement. From this base I provide in Part D empirical evidence to support my hypotheses. I begin to investigate the phenomenological aspects below through thinking about different types of settler 'desires for absolution'. I have defined desires for absolution as the desire of settlers to avoid accepting responsibility or taking responsibility for injustices enacted by members of the settler ingroup that have harmed Indigenous peoples. This desire for absolution motivates people to generate patterns of thought that allow them to engage in beliefs and behaviours that side-step engaging in an ethical way with Indigenous peoples on Indigenous rights issues. I define ethical engagement more precisely in Chapter 4.   I begin this section with this chapter on settler desires and emotions, developing this material about emotions and especially the self-referential emotions of guilt and shame to go on in Chapter 4 to discuss ethics and the emotional costs related to transformative encounters.

3   Settler desires for absolution

In this section I discuss revisionist history and government apologies as manifestations of settler desires for absolution. In both cases I engage with studies that reference

emotions of settler guilt and shame because of the way these emotions can serve to mediate and motivate settler desires for absolution.

All of the settler environmentalists I interviewed for this study have accepted some degree of responsibility for colonial injustices of the past. This already sets them apart from a larger settler public invested in these desires for absolution. They know they are often unlike their family members or peers. A key way we can learn from these interviews is to understand how settlers move beyond settler desires for absolution and towards adopting a role responding to Indigenous directives for change. I explore these desires below in order to illustrate the socio-cultural and political back-drop against which settler environmentalists practice their environmentalism and citizenship. In doing so I aim to demonstrate why studying people who self-identify as engaging with Indigenous rights is useful to understand how to facilitate meaningful engagement.

3.a Absolution through denial and revision

In the field of history, Robin Jarvis Brownlie and Mary-Ellen Kelm have written on a trend in academic writing for settlers to seek absolution and claim innocence in the colonising project using particular framing strategies. They note that some historians tend to over-emphasise the altruistic intent of settler actors and downplay the negative impact of colonialism. These scholars often seek evidence for Indigenous complicity in colonial processes and then "turn Native agency into colonialist alibi" (Brownlie and Kelm 1995, 545). They join other scholars in suggesting that sometimes settlers aim to absolve their responsibility and culpability for damage through trying to explain exploitative historical relations as incidental to complex social relations (Nock and Haig-Brown 2006; Brownlie 2009, 21). These authors focus on interpersonal relations and downplay the ways colonial government agents have systemically aimed to disadvantage Indigenous peoples relative to settlers (Neu and Therrien 2003, 61–62).

To similar effect, well-known Canadian historian Ken Coates aimed to downplay systematic maltreatment of Indigenous peoples in Indian Residential Schools(IRS) by arguing that reports on the schools under-represented student success stories (Coates 2014). Crystal Fraser and Ian Mosby have unpacked Coates' argument, querying his desire that we focus on the 'positive' experiences of the programme (Fraser and Mosby 2015, para.4). The Final TRC Report does in fact report that in a few outstanding schools, such as Grandin College in Fort Smith and the Churchill Vocational Centre in Northern Manitoba, students reported having

consistently positive experiences(Canada 2015, 46–47). This may or not be correlated with the increase of Indigenous staff hired in the schools towards the end of the twentieth century.

Further, while sexual, physical, and emotional abuse, neglect and infectious disease were rampant in the IRS system, the Report notes that many individual staff members devoted personal resources to improving the inhospitable school environments (Canada 2015, 97–98). Nonetheless, Fraser and Mosby query the point of this revision to the dominant discourse stating that "we are unsure how focusing on the positive stories of residential schools that Coates wants us to place a greater focus on will change these realities of intergenerational historical trauma" (Fraser and Mosby 2015, para.11). This attempt to recover the handful of less-than abhorrent student experiences aims to absolve the perpetrators of their responsibility for abuse at the schools and for intergenerational damage caused by the IRS system (Weaver 1998, 205–6). The IRS system was designed on racist principles and had racist objectives (Canada 2015, 42, 103). Successes and positive experiences are happy exceptions to the rule. This is in no way meant to undermine the incredible resilience of Indigenous peoples who were able to find pleasure in aspects of their experience at residential school. However, revising history to incidentalise genocide aims to free Canada from legal or moral responsibility and to deny causality between the deleterious impact of Indigenous peoples' multigenerational trauma and Canadian state intentions or actions.

Settler historians often revise history in order to displace settler culpability for colonial injustices. Settlers also often resist retellings of history that centre Indigenous knowledge and experiences. Roger I. Simon has developed a useful schema for representing common settler responses to Indigenous-centred historical narratives:

Table I: Settler responses to Indigenous-centred narratives

Type of Settler Response	Characteristics
1) Relative indifference	What has that got to do with me?
2) Defensive skepticism [*sic*]	Settler waits for any historical inaccuracies in order to dismiss viewpoint.
3) Ethnographic curiosity	Subjects must reveal themselves as familiar to observer by being equivalent to another group; often begets a 'delusional empathy'.
4) Self-identification	Settlers identify with Indigenous peoples' struggle as if it was their own, resulting in prideful arrogance, self-suffering guilt or the adoption and presumption of a limited scope of Indigenous affiliated identities.

(Simon 2005, 18)

Settlers are shown in Simon's schema to engage in various forms of displacing and discounting Indigenous narratives in order to absolve themselves of becoming responsible for colonial injustices.

In the first type settlers refuse to recognise how historical actions relate to their own privilege. In the second type settlers commit nothing more original than a logical fallacy, charging that the presence of any single historical inaccuracy necessarily means the entire narrative is devoid of value or truth. In the third type a settler might listen to the retelling but then quickly attempt to displace the narrative by equating it to another group or situation. Here the settler demands that the narrator communicate claims or experiences in ways that are legible for the settler even if this compromises the accuracy of the representation of Indigenous realities. This sidestep also undermines the process of addressing how specific settler publics and members of particular Indigenous nations are historically, legally and culturally bound.

These types of settler responses were sometimes in evidence in the interview data I collected when settler activists described conversations they had with their parents and peers. For example, one activist described an interaction with her mother where she tried to have a conversation with her mother about Indigenous-centred histories and her mother side-stepped the conversation to avoid engaging:

> I started telling her about the experience … not a whole lot, but a few stories from my three days there. I learned about the terrible things that have been done because of our society to these people. My mom's first question was 'But what do you think about how much the First Nations chiefs get paid? Isn't that

outrageous? They just squander it all.' I was like, Mom … I'm talking about this situation that is completely unacceptable but you are coming at it from such a different perspective (Helena).

Here we can see Helena's mother do something that converges at least in part with Roger I. Simon's second type of settler response, defensive scepticism. More generally she engages in a denial of the topic of conversation, creating a straw man argument to dismiss the validity of Helena's information through trying to argue a peripheral point. This re-routing of conversation is disorienting and frustrating to Helena because it demonstrates much more than her mother not knowing these stories. It demonstrates her mother's active resistance to knowing anything that might challenge her understanding of First Nation peoples as a burden on the government. Helena's mother's determined conviction is consistent with an Ipsos poll that found that sixty-four per cent of Canadians across the country believed that Aboriginal peoples receive too much support from the national government (Ipsos Reid 2012, 2). This inaccurate perception about Aboriginal peoples being a burden on Canadian society is underpinned by a wrong belief in Indigenous peoples being a minority group requiring accommodation. Helena was trying to teach her mother a new way of thinking about the situation – that rather than being a minority receiving benefits they were a political block receiving reparations for genocide – but her mother was motivated by a desire for absolution to avoid this line of thinking.

On a larger scale, we might depict the TRC testimony-giving process as circumscribed by this problem of Indigenous peoples needing to perform to settler expectations. Ronald Niezen argues that testimonials were expected to conform to certain standards of performance such as being defined by a narrative trajectory of redemption and healing that were required to be sufficiently traumatic (Niezen 2013, 61–68). These standards and propositions for engagement were set largely by Indigenous peoples but implicitly reference a settler audience.

This fourth type of settler response sidesteps hearing Indigenous-centred narratives at face value for what they are for Indigenous peoples by the settler identifying personally with the experience. When a settler begins to self-identify as being like a survivor of the effects of historical and contemporary colonial injustices they displace the narratives of Indigenous peoples with their own. The Indigenous-centred story is re-centred around their settler experience of guilt, shame, or even cultural reverence but serves no purpose towards alleviating some of the deleterious effects of the IRS system on Indigenous peoples.

Ronald Niezen provides for another good example of this type when he describes his interactions with former Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, John Duncan, early in the launch of the TRC process. He describes how Duncan stated in a speech "I know about your culture. I know about your pain" but then flew out of the community shortly after delivering his addresses (Niezen 2013, 77–78). Niezen criticises what he saw as hollow sympathy when government and church officials who had been involved with the schools were absent from both podiums and testimonial-giving sites (78). Roland Chrisjohn and Tanya Wasacase argue similarly when they state that "truth and reconciliation are not justice, and the [Canadian TRC] will not produce justice even if successful in their mandate" (Chrisjohn and Wasacase 2009, 227). Any impetus to act or to take responsibility for colonial injustices is sidestepped in this form of absolution if the identification experience stands in for justice or response to Indigenous-led ideas about further action.

In all of these types, settlers hear and respond to historical retellings in ways that avoid any adoption of responsibility and so stalls any potential for engaging in practical ways to forward Indigenous rights as informed by Indigenous knowledge and experience.

Members of racially privileged groups are motivated to preserve the good moral standing of their ingroup, especially when this moral standing is questioned (Branscombe, Schmitt, and Schiffhauer 2007, 204). They often do so through engaging in rhetorical and logical strategies to deny that adverse events were caused by members of their ingroup or to justify adverse events (Augoustinos and LeCouteur 2004, 257–59; Branscombe 2004, 321–24).

The counterpoint to this aversion to accepting culpability is that studies in emotions and social interaction show that under certain conditions it is more likely that members of advantaged ingroups accept some degree of responsibility for adverse events perpetrated by their ingroup members. The experience of collective guilt in particular is shown to motivate ingroup members to take specific types of action to repair damages perpetuated by their members in order to restore the positive image of the group. However, as I will show, there are limitations to guilt-motivated action.

3.b Absolution through apology and reparations

When peoples' positive beliefs about a group of which they are a member(their ingroup) are challenged, they are likely to feel strong, unpleasant emotions (Branscombe 2004, 320). If white settlers do not engage in the strategies of disavowal

and avoidance discussed above, their emotional response often manifests as a self-conscious emotion such as collective (group-based) guilt and for some as white guilt. Shelby Steele writes of white guilt: "An ill-gotten advantage is not hard to bear – it can be marked up to fate – until it touches the genuine human pain it has brought into the world" (Steele 1990, 501). When people are made conscious of this pain it evokes guilt but also fear "of what the guilty knowledge says about us." This self-preoccupation with what the knowledge says about 'us' is about redemption and the "reestablishment of good feeling about oneself" (501).

First, what is guilt and when do we feel it? Aarti Iyer et al. define guilt as "an unpleasant feeling of self-blame that people prefer to assuage," which is associated with "efforts to make restitution to those harmed" (Iyer, Leach, and Pedersen 2004, 262–64). Both attribution and discrepancy perspectives to explaining guilt agree that guilt signals "an acceptance of responsibility for a moral violation that results in harm to another" and will predictably motivate people to take up specific forms of corrective action (Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 17). When they experience collective guilt, settlers have been found to take responsibility for some aspect of ongoing colonial injustices through making apologies and delivering limited reparations (Doosje et al. 1998, 877; Allpress et al. 2010, 81). The methods by which settlers alleviate settler guilt are usually self-focused, leading scholars to describe both guilt and shame as self-focused emotions. The main drive in guilt-based restitution initiatives is to alleviate emotional distress. However, guilt is differentiated from shame because whereas guilt motivates restitution efforts, shame motivates disavowal and withdrawal.

Both shame and guilt are associated with negative affect but there are important differences in their phenomenology. As Tangney et al. explain in reference to work by Helen Block Lewis, the antecedent of guilt is behavioural in focus (Tangney et al. 1992, 669–70, 2013, 487). We can feel guilty about things we have done in our past but we can also respond emotionally through feeling guilty when the moral violations of our ingroup are revealed to us (Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 17). Social identity theory demonstrates that because we associate ourselves with several levels of identity, we can feel emotional responses on behalf of things done by our ingroup members that violate moral standards (Tajfel and Turner 1986). Just as we can feel guilty on a group level, we can also accept responsibility at that level (Doosje et al. 1998, 884; Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 17). We are

vulnerable at the personal level to feeling both guilty and responsible for ingroup action and behaviours.

Guilt is one amongst many emotions settlers can experience on the path to taking responsibility towards securing Indigenous rights. It is an important emotion because while it stimulates aversion, it also correlates with people taking some form of responsibility (Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 31; Iyer, Leach, and Pedersen 2004, 278). Responsibility is a key antecedent for guilt meaning that when people feel settler guilt this indicates that they have accepted some degree of responsibility at least for harm done in the past (Branscombe 2004, 324–25, 330). However, researchers have also shown that when settlers see that their state government has engaged in financial or verbal conciliatory acts, they are more likely to believe that "they had shifted obligation to the victim group and improved their own image" (Zaiser and Giner-Sorolla 2013, 591). This finding is consistent with how Shelby Steele described the psychology behind white guilt as a feeling that generates self-preoccupation. It motivates the guilty group member to re-establish good feeling about themselves as a member of that group (Steele 1990, 501). Once good feeling is restored, motivation is lost for further engagement. The phenomenon under exploration in this thesis is how transformative encounters can support settlers in over-coming self-referential feelings, enabling them to reach a place of engagement where alleviation of their own uncomfortable feelings does not satisfy their desires.

Nyla R. Branscombe proposes that there are particular antecedents to guilt that show the catalysts that mediate whether a person will feel collective guilt for harms perpetrated by their ingroup:

a. Ingroup identification,
b. Ingroup responsibility,
c. Legitimacy and illegitimacy perceptions, and
d. Perceived cost and difficulty of achieving justice (Branscombe 2004, 321–28).

Feelings of collective guilt are in turn correlated with lower levels of denial of group-based responsibility (325). However, there are drawbacks to eliciting personal or collective guilt amongst ingroup members.

The experience of guilt is phenomenologically specific. We can define and understand guilt through what it does and should not expect more from guilt-based motivation than is reasonable (Frijda, Kuipers, and Schure 1989, 223–24; Iyer, Leach,

and Pedersen 2004, 279). It has been shown not to be strongly correlated with support for policies that address systemic change or other opportunity-oriented initiatives (Iyer, Leach, and Pedersen 2004, 279).

Further studies are needed to measure if there is correlation between the presence of group-based guilt about activities that took place in the past and a sense of responsibility for current or ongoing injustices (Iyer, Leach, and Pedersen 2004, 330). For example Mick Dodson noted that in the year after the Australian government apologised to Indigenous Australians(2008), the state remained resistant to even offering financial compensation (Dodson 2009, 113). Dodson affirms that "An apology in itself will not deliver appropriate public policy frameworks that will result in self-determination and, in turn, deliver self-government for Indigenous Australians" and urges that Australia must remain focused on the future post-apology (112). Reflecting on the Canadian apology, which was led by then Conservative PM Stephen Harper, Drew Hayden Taylor similarly notes that while he believes in the sincerity of the apology, he also reminds readers that the apology refers to a "Canadian issue that all Canadians need to address as part of an ongoing relationship" (Hayden Taylor 2009, 105–6). He signals that the apology is meaningful only as a signal of the beginning of a larger process.

Canada's apology refers to reconciliation as a renewal of the concept of multicultural tolerance and diversity in Canada (Younging, Dewar, and DeGagné 2009, 2:359). While both the Canadian and Australian parliamentary apologies refer to the future and make commitments to how their governments will attempt to repair damages but the apology does not question the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples in relation to the state, which is at the very heart of the debate from an Indigenous Theory perspective. Both apologies contain the spirit of adopting a stance of responsibility for "the moral burden of Aboriginal mistreatment" (Nobles 2008, 146). Neither commit to answering questions about self-determination or land repatriation that are central components to the United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples and are raised regularly by Indigenous political activists, theorists and leaders.

I classify guilt-based restitution efforts such as personal, organisational and national apologies as another form of settler absolution. If apologies are followed by meaningful and committed engagement with the pursuit of Indigenous directives for reconciliation, the apology becomes part of a more meaningful engagement but is only a signal to action not a stand-alone sufficient act of reparation or reconciliation. The settlers I interviewed all knew of the Canadian apology and an important outcome of

the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which began with the apology, is that it legitimised Indigenous rights issues in the public sphere. While the apology and TRC were seldom understood as adequate, they were understood as important to the public story of reckoning with reconciliation.

3.c Absolution through good deeds

Celia Haig-Brown and David Nock describe the complicity of well-intentioned early colonial settlers in the colonising project. They argue that early colonists were often motivated by a Christian-based form of desiring absolution from sin through conducting "good Christian work" in the violent colonisation of Turtle Island (Nock and Haig-Brown 2006, 1–26). Residential school staff members clearly demonstrate a desire for absolution from Christian sin as well as absolution from legal or moral guilt for perpetuating abuses against the human rights of Indigenous children and their families.

For example, IRS staff purported to believe that separating children from their families was to perform a civic and religious good (Canada 2015, 7, 15, 91). While some missionary school staff raised the neglect and mistreatment of the children as an issue with the schools, the predominant attitude in the schools was hostility towards the families and the children's cultures (95-96). The TRC Final Report includes the acknowledgment that "Former staff and the children of former staff members have expressed the view that much of the discussion of the history of residential schools has overlooked both the positive intent with which many staff members approached their work, and the positive accomplishments of the school system" (97). This statement is contextualized within well over one hundred and fifty pages of damning inquiry into the schools. The desire of these settler staff members to exonerate themselves from legal or moral guilt and have this perspective included in the official report is palpable in the self-referential focus of their defence. They ask for absolution based on the purity of their own intentions and impressions of their work, whilst diminishing the importance of the IRS experience for students, asking that their good intentions nullify culpability in cultural genocide (102).

The second example of settler desire for absolution through good deeds I will give here is the common settler activist practice of ritualized acknowledgment(or confession) of privilege (Mott 2016, 8). For this practice settlers position themselves relative to the others in the space they are occupying by, for example, describing a combination of their own ethnic and national history and affiliations as well as stating the name of the Indigenous group(s) whose territory they are currently on at the

beginning of a meeting. Whilst acknowledgment of positionality is concurrent with feminist and Indigenous research methods (Harding 1993; Absolon 2011), it can also perform the function of being a mode through which settlers understand themselves to alleviate temporarily the burden of white guilt (Mott 2016, 8–9). This ritualized acknowledgment is usually done in the presence of an Indigenous person or person of colour (Smith 2013, para.14). At the moment of acknowledgment or as Andrea Smith has put it, of confession, the settler attempts to prove themselves as a different kind of white person, one who is not guilty of the systems that created their privilege (Smith 2013, para.1). However, as Scott L. Morgensen puts it: "[T]he power of whiteness does not cease: even, or especially once I try to challenge it" (Morgensen 2014, para.14). This act assumes that stating settler privilege challenges the systems that create settler privilege, a premise that lacks empirical substantiation. When settlers engage in more outward focused acknowledgements, such as those of Indigenous territorial claims, it is possible to begin to trace the beginnings of an out-ward, Indigenous-facing approach to settler engagement. However, as I will show, both acknowledgements of settler privilege and of Indigenous territory can be stand in for meaningful engagement in many cases.

Activities such as the performance of doing good deeds as well as ritualized acknowledgment of positionality both aim to alleviate settler guilt while doing nothing to challenge unjust systems. Ritualized acknowledgment at least may have a place in a broader theory of action as this practice normalises Indigenous-centred histories and claims to land. Nonetheless, when ritualized acknowledgment of positionality fully stands in for any engagement with Indigenous peoples or rights issues this is best understood as the expression of a desire for absolution. This was made clear by one of my interviewed activists who related that, although her group always made a territorial acknowledgement at their meetings, they nonetheless had no Indigenous members and admitted to the absence of efforts to reach out to solicit more engagement:

> When we were formulating our mandate there is some language about environmental racism and front-line communities and where climate impacts us all. There was discussion about that and it was at that time that we decided we were going to acknowledge unceded territory at the beginning of every meeting. Other than that, though, there hasn't been an ongoing attempt to reach out or be present with or incorporate Indigenous issues or voices (Georgia).

While it is clear that her group had excellent intentions around engagement, their overall passive stance worked against their making any kind of difference in terms of forwarding Indigenous rights goals. In this case ritualized acknowledgement substituted for active engagement.

Due to the prevalence of these avoidant tactics discussed in this section, I purposely interviewed settler activists for my research who were actively engaged with questions of responsibility. I explain my research design in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6 but a key message from this chapter is that this literature suggested to me that if I surveyed attitudes amongst general members of the public I would likely find data skewed towards avoidance and desires for absolution. While this data would likely support the findings of the literature outlined in this chapter, I endeavoured for my research to inquire into the periphery of the settler community where more innovative work was being done on theories of settler responsibilities. My hope is that ideas from the periphery might be used to inform the mainstream majority.

3.1 A subset of Canadians? Considering group position theory

The people I interviewed represent a small subset of Canadians. In the first instance, this group of settlers was self- and peer-selected as people who are already interested in thinking about the role and place of Indigenous rights work in environmental organising. In Chapter 3 I discuss desires for absolution, noting that many settlers are driven away from an honest appraisal of the justice of the colonial situation by their fears and worries regarding what questioning their ingroup will do to their personal sense of affinity with it. Jeffrey Denis has also found supporting evidence for this phenomenon in his case study of the proposed relocation of an Aboriginal child welfare facility to a rural Ontario township. He found that white councillors and residents were overwhelmingly likely to respond to this proposed relocation through the tactics of delay, searching for race-neutral justifications, offering unsolicited advice, creating new rules and censuring ingroup 'traitors' (J. S. Denis 2012, 460–62).

This reaction is consistent with insights provided by group position theorists in relation to racial conflict. Group position theory can be traced to work by Herbert Blumer published in the 1950s who noted that prejudice is formed through a sense of group superiority and that this sense of group superiority elicits defensive responses towards members of other groups when the entitlement of the dominant group to rights and material resources is perceived to be threatened. He wrote that "the dominant group construes the crossing of the line, or preparations to cross the line, as threats to its status, its power, and its livelihood. It thus develops fears, apprehensions,

resentments, angers, and bitterness, which become fused into a general feeling of prejudice" (Blumer 1955, 13).

Lawrence Bobo and Mia Tuan have refined Blumer's (1958, 1955) work on racial politics to analyse the group positioning of white residents in a dispute over Chippewa fishing rights (Bobo and Tuan 2006). They demonstrated that much white opposition to Chippewa fishing rights was motivated by "a feeling of group deprivation" and a fear of their ingroup losing status and power (172). This is consistent with what Denis found above, noting that white residents often felt like victims in the dispute and positioned themselves as threatened by increased native presence (J. S. Denis 2012, 461). While it is clear that many whites react quite viciously to perceptions of white entitlement threat, fewer studies take account of the variance in white response.

One critique that might be made of the work of most theorists of whiteness is a lack of consideration for variance within the white group. Indeed, the model derived by Bobo and Tuan after conducting a multi-variate analysis only explains fifty-one per cent of the variance present in their study (Bobo and Tuan 2006, 168–69). Similarly, in the study noted above by Denis, we hear very little about the "few white allies" who supported the proponents of the Weechi-it-te-win Family Services team and can identify no clear voice from town residents who were not actively engaged in opposition or support for the proposed service centre (J. S. Denis 2012, 459). While the salience of the desires for absolution for some white settlers is palpable and very easy to record, there is a need to bring together existing literature from across disciplines to create a psychosocial profile of white settler activists who do engage with Indigenous rights work.

My own work has moved away from analysis of these adamant protectors of white group position and focused instead on the settlers who constitute the few white allies in the larger Canadian context. My empirical findings constitute a basis for considering the forces that can motivate a settler towards a desire for absolution or, alternatively, can help them deactivate their defensive tendencies. I have proposed in my study that these people have undergone a transformative encounter and that this has created conditions that promote their expending more reasonable amounts of EE as they remain conscious and engaged with Indigenous rights work. Further work is needed to improve understanding of what other psychosocial factors might be at work to influence whether a settler defends or bends in light of new, Indigenous-centred knowledge and ideas.

The model I have developed through this research would suggest that we should see overlap between settlers who react defensively to maintain their group position and settlers who are already operating with constrained EE resources. We may find that these settlers have transactional histories that reflect negative or perceived negative experiences in similar situations or otherwise note that while gaining EE is not possible for these people, defensive strategies that will help them retain what they have will be the most effective option for them to operationalise. In Chapter 4, I will introduce work by Erica Summers-Effler that further develops this notion of how EE levels can be mitigated by defensive strategies (Summers-Effler 2004a).

To return to the guiding question of this section, I believe that the group of people I interviewed are a subset of the Canadian population, representing a minority of Canadian thoughts and beliefs in this area. However, they are a critically important subset because through them we have been able to learn more about what can motivate dominant group members to overcome what group position theorists suggest is an ingrained and nearly inevitable part of white engagement with Indigenous rights.

There exists a general background desire amongst settler peoples – however unevenly acted upon – to absolve Canadians (their ingroup) from responsibility for colonial injustices. It is therefore imperative to recognise for the purposes of this study that settlers are likely to feel guilt and shame. We might predict that they should feel most comfortable engaging in strategies for absolution rather than substantively addressing Indigenous directives for change. The mobilisation of limited reparative initiatives in particular does not nullify responsibility for responding directly to the new principles and directives that they generate. Working from guilt is an unstable foundation from which settlers might engage on these issues.

In Chapter 4 I develop further the framework of psychosocial emotional analysis of settler activists by introducing a transactive view of social interactions. Working from a transactional perspective can help us understand how to mediate feelings of guilt or shame. In this way I show how we can describe and understand some of the psychological processes introduced in this chapter in more depth and with greater precision.

CHAPTER 4
Settler hermeneutics: Understanding ethical encounters as emotional transaction

> For white activists involved in solidarity work with indigenous [*sic*] people, there is often a desire to be an ally who works to redress wrongs and to be, in a sense, a different kind of white person (Mott 2016, 6).

In this thesis I bring together literature on ethics with an empirically grounded sociological analysis of emotional phenomenology, thereby making a unique contribution to the field of settler colonial studies. In this chapter I bring insights from the area of the sociology of emotions to bear on the study of settler environmentalist subjectivities by creating a framework for analysing activist activity through the lens of emotional transactions. I do this first by extending the discussion begun in Chapter 3 about emotions and social interactions, introducing a ritual interactional model focused on the transactional exchange of EE to explain social interactions. In doing so I refer primarily to work by Erika Summers-Effler (2004a, 2004b, 2006) and Randall Collins(1988a, 1988b, 2004) who both exercise a ritual interaction approach to the study of emotions. I incorporate work in areas of ethics and critical pedagogies on 'encounter', referring primarily to work by Emmanuel Lévinas (Lévinas 1998, 1990), Sarah Ahmed(2000) and Roger I. Simon (2005). I use this work to demonstrate why it is helpful to think of ethical work as inherently high-cost in terms of EE. It is my contention that assessing ethical work in terms of the cost of EE is helpful for the study of settler activist engagement with Indigenous rights issues because doing so contends realistically with the effort required to do this work well. Setting realistic activist workplace expectations around the work will help activists plan to engage in more sustained ways, as I will show in Chapter 9.

4 Emotional elements of a hermeneutics of settlerhood

My analytic framework combines theories of the 'ethics of encounter' with theories of emotion. This combination lends us the necessary language to describe the role of conscious intentionality (agency) in ethics without losing site of the phenomenological structures of social interactions that operate on would-be ethical subjects. In Chapters 7, 8 and 9 I interpret the data gathered in interviews using an approach described in this chapter, which I refer to as a 'hermeneutics of settlerhood'. Through bringing together social psychology literature with ethics and settler colonial studies literature I aim to generate a theory of action that can be applied by social movement actors to improve their organisational capacity to engage Indigenous rights in their organising work.

Hermeneutics describes a method of phenomenological inquiry in which reflective, contextualized and historicized interpretation of a text is done to attain a fuller and more meaningful interpretation of the text than is available from a literal interpretation. In a hermeneutical approach to studying phenomenon we register that "[A]ll science and scholarship is empirical but all experience is originally connected, and given validity, by our consciousness … it is impossible to go beyond consciousness, to see, as it were, without eyes or to direct a cognitive gaze behind the eye itself" (Dilthey 1976, 161). It follows that we can investigate a given text first by situating its author and then by considering possible stated and unstated meanings of the text based on our knowledge of that particular person as embedded in their attachments.

The first epigraph to this chapter reminds us that these interviews reflect a particular Canadian settler experience of subjectivity. For example, in Chapter 3 I discussed how settlers seek absolution through disavowal of Indigenous-centred accounts of history because they are motivated to maintain the good moral standing of their ingroup. In this chapter I discuss these phenomena through social psychology models, explaining the differences between guilt and shame. The phenomenologies of guilt and shame influence how people experience motivation to act.

While shame, like guilt and regret, is associated with self-agency it is also linked to the "the desire to disappear from view" (Frijda, Kuipers, and Schure 1989, 220). Similarly, Tangney et al. conclude that "[w]hereas guilt motivates a desire to

repair, to confess, apologise, or make amends, shame motivates a desire to hide – to sink into the floor and disappear" (Tangney et al. 1992, 670). People primarily feel shame not for what they or ingroup members have done but feel shame about events that have involved harm to their personal or group-level reputation or perceived level of competence. Lise Noël explains further the interdependence of these emotions below: "[The] impression of guilt is sometimes so closely intertwined with the feeling of shame that both persist for decades, even when it is obvious that a real injustice has been committed against the person" (Noël 1994, 124).

When people feel shame they tend to believe they somehow warranted the treatment rather than were wronged by an injustice. Their shame can persist over decades since the perpetrator of the injustice that shames the victim(s) will endeavour to maintain their position of social strength through a 'pedagogy of guilt' (Noël 1994, 125). In this pedagogy of guilt dominators will strive to make the victims accomplices in their own subjugation, allowing or even encouraging them to accept personal responsibility for the deeds of dominators. Social psychologists have found in studies of collective shame that a group will feel ashamed of actions done by their group members. However, if they believe they could have personally intervened to prevent the harm but did not, this shame becomes guilt (Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 29).

Shame often occurs when the status of a person or group has been lowered in the social hierarchy, or when a person or group believes they have been unable to meet the social or moral expectations of others. They have violated some cultural more or expectation and now believe other members of society to believe them weak or incapable (Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 29). Shame is a damaging emotion and is understood in the literature to be more overwhelming and painful than guilt and is also strongly associated with externalization of blame, anger and aggression (Tangney et al. 1992, 670, 673–74, 2013, 487). Guilt is uncomfortable (in proportion to the extremity of the situation) but is not experienced as severely as shame. Accordingly, people respond less defensively to knowledge of moral violations when they feel guilty. There is an inverse relationship between guilt and the arousal of anger, hostility and resentment (Tangney et al. 1992, 674). Guilt has the potential to motivate reparative initiatives, whereas shame does not. Rather, it is associated with the desire to withdraw rather than engage with the circumstances attending the moral violation (Tangney et al. 2013, 496–97). We can see that the phenomenologies of each shame and guilt contribute to different outcomes in terms of action and

engagement and therefore we want to pay attention to which emotions are precipitated amongst people we desire to take action.

The key difference between guilt and shame is the 'controllability of the outcome' (Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 28–29). The key predictor of whether a group member will feel collective guilt or collective shame about something committed by an ingroup member is related to their power to exercise agency in any given social situation. We can therefore predict that groups with relatively more social power will feel higher levels of guilt because they believe they could have intervened into harm-doing situations. Members of victimized groups are more likely to feel shame and subsequently anger at perpetrators because they believe that while they could not have prevented harm being done to their ingroup members, members of perpetrator groups could have prevented it (Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kappen 2004, 29–30; Branscombe, Schmitt, and Schiffhauer 2007, 211–13).

Using a hermeneutical analysis I show how we can read the presence of self-conscious emotions –guilt and shame – against settler engagements with Indigenous rights work. Clark Moustakas explains the reflective-interpretive process of hermeneutical analysis in the following way "[I]t includes not only a description of the experience as it appears in consciousness but also an analysis and astute interpretation of the underlying conditions, historically and aesthetically, that account for the experience" (Moustakas 1994, 10). Following with this approach I engaged in a reflective-interpretive process in this thesis beginning with an investigation of the historical context of settler / Indigenous relations as I move towards Part D where I analyse the interview data.

I located the settlers as speaking, at the time of interview, in a time post #IdleNoMore and pre-conclusion of the TRC. Registering how settlers responded at this critical moment of strong Indigenous social movement action and during Canada's TRC process is a good moment to look for emotional responses and barriers to engagement. Analysis of these responses and barriers underpin the recommendations presented in the final chapter to support settlers to mobilise Indigenous rights in their environmental activism.

I prepared for a deep hermeneutics of settlerhood analysis process by employing interview methods for this research project that aimed to capture settler desires and emotional states. I encouraged settlers to be as candid and reflective as possible and especially encouraged them to describe situations and questions they were uncomfortable talking about and reticent to address. In doing so, I aimed to bring

up content that they were averse to addressing or did not know how to articulate. I encouraged them to discuss topics in unfinished ways and to tell me what they could about topics on which they were unsure of their own conclusions. In this way I collected rich data full of stated and unstated meanings. It is the aim of a hermeneutical approach to understand the meaning of the narrative texts even more deeply than the text is understood by its author. This is made especially possible when the person is candidly developing the content of their thoughts.

In my hermeneutical exploration of the interview texts I found evidence to support the use of a ritual interaction model of analysis. In the following section I introduce ritual interaction theories and then explain my specific application of one of them to generate a model for understanding emotions in the social interactions of settler environmentalists.

4.1 Theories of emotions

Erika Summers-Effler developed a framework for thinking about emotions and social interactions that combines work on EE and interaction ritual chains by Randall Collins (1988b, 2004) with the self-expansion model introduced by Arthur and Elaine N. Aron (1986, 2000; 2013). I will both introduce interaction ritual chains theories and then the self-expansion model before turning to the main model I use.

4.1.a Interaction ritual chains

Randall Collins developed Émile Durkheim's (1912) work on collective effervescence and group solidarity to develop his interaction ritual chains theory (Collins 1988b). Collins borrowed from Durkheim, arguing that we give certain concepts moral force through performing collective rites which in turn generate high levels of EE and confer the feeling of moral solidarity (Collins 1981, 999). Durkheim was interested in problems of logic and epistemology and for *Elementary Forms (*1912) he analysed religious rites and rituals to understand morality and human reason. He believed that the creation of shared religious morals represented one of the most primordial social acts of reasoning (Durkheim 2008, 10–19; 457). He believed that knowledge about morality does not come from sense perception but from a collective 'opinion' held by a society. This collective opinion is formed through the process of 'collective effervescence', which describes the arousal and contagion of positive emotions

(Durkheim 1912, 457). The feelings of group solidarity this process confers has served as foundational material for much theory developed by ritual theorists since (Rawls 2005, 170; Turner and Stets 2008, 70).

Some researchers describe the creation of social categories and their associated attributes as prototypes (Abrams and Hogg 2010). They argue that people internalize these prototypes in order to govern their own behaviours in ways that cohere with group norms. Further, social psychologists working in social-categorization theory describe the ways the self system should be considered as a product of the self system at work, highlighting the contingent and variable ways a person engages with their self system as it shifts from personal to social identity constructs (Onorato and Turner 2004). These prototypes closely resemble Collins' opinion with moral force and function in the same way. When people in an ingroup come together to affirm their shared reality, they give moral force to the prototype they have developed (Hogg and Rinella 2018, 6–7). Michael Hogg and Mark Rinella have gone so far as to argue that people have a basic need to test the validity of their perceptions and ideas and do this through comparing themselves to others, deriving pleasure when ideas cohere with those of other ingroup members (Hogg and Rinella 2018, 6). Self-categorization is closely entwined with group identification and thus with the process of creating ingroup norms.

This concept of prototype has implications for this research because studies have shown that uncertainty around prototype and group boundaries is correlated with zealous identification with group norms. the more uncertain a person is about how to be a member in good standing with the group, the more they may over-compensate (Hogg 2014). In fact, researchers argue that a key motivation to group identification is around uncertainty reduction (Hogg and Rinella 2018, 8). In the case of settlers, the combination of motivation to reduce uncertainty can interface with a strong desire to alleviate guilt and shame to create conditions of zealousness we see evident in examples throughout the thesis.

Macro sociological structures are made up of micro sociological structures and therefore to understand society at the macro level we can attend to the flow of EE at the micro level. The micro-structural theory of interaction ritual chains is premised upon there being an emotional motivation for group interaction through chains. At the local or micro level people recycle EE up or down a chain of interactions, re-circulating ideas and affirming or deconstructing shared symbolic meanings (Collins 1988a, 245, 249). These flows of energy and ideas are contagious and cause local ripple effects. If

conditions are right these local ripples can influence macro sociological structures as they become the basis for climates of opinion or social movements (Collins 1981, 994, 1988a, 245).

The unit being passed on in this chain of interactions is emotion. Collins identifies two types of emotion:

1. transient emotions such as joy, embarrassment, fear, and anger that disrupt the rhythm of everyday life, and
2. EE, which is a longer-term emotional tone characterised by the "amount of spontaneity, confidence, and initiative … individuals show in social situations" (Kemper and Collins 1990, 41).

People are motivated to maximise their level of this durable EE and seek out social interaction opportunities to help augment personal levels of EE (Collins 1981, 999–1000, 1988b). In his own words, "[I]ndividuals move toward those interactions that feel like the highest intensity interaction rituals currently available; that is to say, they move toward the highest EE payoffs that they can get, relative to their current resources" (Collins 2004, 151). Collins posits that this negotiation of social interaction often occurs without conscious awareness (9). In pursuit of these payoffs, we gain EE through:

1. generating and sharing positive emotions through solidarity rituals, or,
2. transferring it in hierarchical settings where the more powerful person takes EE away from the person in a more subordinate position (Collins 1981, 999–1000).

Collins' development of the concept of collective effervescence, contagion and group solidarity provides for the foundation of the ritual approach to studying emotions wherein people are motivated to interact and exchange EE as currency. I now explain the self-expansion model, the other component to Summers-Effler's model, and then return to her model as it pertains to this analysis,

4.1.b The self-expansion model

Arthur Aron and Elaine Aron proposed the 'self-expansion model' for explaining social interactions (1986), suggesting that people are driven to augment their 'personal efficacy' through interactions that promote "acquiring new resources, perspectives, and identities that can facilitate the achievement of present and future goals" (Dys-Steenbergen, Wright, and Aron 2016, 61–62). This is achieved through including the other in the self by forming close relationships with them. Because we are intent upon enhancing our personal efficacy, we are driven to seek out new relationships, though

this drive is also balanced in their view by our drive for self-consistency and a stable, coherent sense of self.

A particularly interesting application of this self-expansion model is for understanding social interactions amongst outgroup members. In 2015 researchers applied the self-expansion model to show that a person's assessment of the quality of an engagement with an outgroup members was mediated by their readiness to engage in the process of self-expansion (Dys-Steenbergen, Wright, and Aron 2016, 66–67). People are often motivated to expand their selves through forming relationships with outgroup members except when influenced by particular inhibiting factors. This research suggests that people with particular personality traits – such as aversion to risk taking – may actually be empirically less likely to engage with more politically uncertain issues (Mackey 2014). This element of the ethics of settler engagement would benefit from further exploration. The self-expansion model counters the dominant trend in social psychology to study levels of distrust and avoidance between group members and posits a human drive towards self-expansion through novel relationship-building. It is this final caveat regarding readiness to self-expand that has the most salience for my research.

In the self-expansion model people are shown to be driven to expand themselves through making close relationships with others, however, a key area of inquiry yet to be fully explored is the factor of the drive to self-expand (Dys-Steenbergen, Wright, and Aron 2016, 68–69). I argue that while white settler people might be driven in general to building friendships with outgroup members, other factors are likely to mediate this drive for settlers and may cause them to avoid seeking self-expansion opportunities in Indigenous rights circles. Later in this chapter I explore further some of the factors that may incur avoidance of self-expansion opportunities.

4.1.c Ritual theory: A theory of the self, emotion, and culture

Erika Summers-Effler argues that while Collins provides the explanation for motivation, Aron and Aron provide the means to understand the process of goal attainment (Summers-Effler 2004b, 281–82). We are motivated intrinsically to pursue EE and we pursue this goal through seeking out opportunities in social interactions to expand ourselves. This model frames a person as a dynamic system, noting that the goal of expansion is never completely sated. She borrows from Norbert Wiley in her depiction of this dynamic human self (Wiley 1994).

Norbert Wiley's theory of the self-system, modelled off of George Herbert Mead's, is dialogic (Mead 1934). Consistent with Mead's theory of the self, Wiley models the self as constitutive of the 'I' and 'me' aspects, which he suggests engage in an ongoing internal conversation between the objective 'me' of the past and the subjective 'I' of the present (Wiley 1994, 46). The me part of the self includes moral codes and memories of the results of past action. The I is the acting self, a part of the self that is both contingent upon the me portion but also a free agent. Wiley suggests that time is the main mediative factor between these two selves, the me being the former free self and the I being the present free self (1994, 50–51). Wiley describes others as visitors to the internal conversation held between the me and I of the self and distinguished between temporary and permanent visitors. Permanent visitors are people or, more accurately, presences of people, who are always present for reference in the internal dialogue. They are often early-life others such as parents who have a privileged place in conversations and they speak explicitly but also as part of the regulatory aspects of self (Wiley 1994, 54–55). Temporary visitors are transients but they can be taken seriously and may considerably influence the internal dialogue.

Building on this extrapolation of the self-subject Summers-Effler posits that in social interactions people exchange EE and in so doing form ritual interaction chains. These interaction chains are coded in the me component of the dynamic self. The me of the self, she posits, encodes the results of the internal dialogue taking place when a person engages in an interaction with others (Summers-Effler 2002, 44–45). This information about ourselves and others converses with all influences in our me self and influences how both the present – I – self will make decisions and about how the future self – the you – will be likely to act (Wiley 1994, 51–52; Summers-Effler 2002, 44–47, 2004b, 281). Patterns in our emotional interactions over time influence our decision-making about future social interaction encounters.

When we are alone the internal dialogue that makes up the self goes slack, whereas when we are with others we are more alert, inter-personally conscious and outwardly oriented (Wiley 1994, 56). Summers-Effler theorises that when we are in society we become alert to the transaction of EE.

An important factor in this equation is that the drive for EE is a 'non-equilibrium control parameter' of our self-system. It is a non-equilibrium parameter because it cannot be sated. We are driven to meet many needs for which there is an achievable equilibrium; for example, if we are thirsty we drink water and are temporarily sated. On the other hand, a need such as the one to gain EE through self-expansion operates on

a principle of maximisation. We cannot achieve satisfaction or equilibrium for this need (Summers-Effler 2004b, 285). This contrasts to Maslow's classical view of the hierarchy of needs in which he surmised that we would only experience the drive to meet psychological and self-fulfilment needs once we met basic needs like those for food and shelter (Maslow 1943, 1954). Theorists of EE propose that the interactional dynamics through which we meet our needs are constantly changing in response to the shifting field of EE-gaining opportunities present in our environments. That means that the need for EE gain can surpass other more basic needs if we register good opportunities for making gains (Hausmann, Jonason, and Summers-Effler 2011, 325–26). The self is self-organising in response to dynamic opportunities to expand the self, to gain EE and sometimes to defend stores of EE through defensive strategies for minimising loss (Summers-Effler 2004b, 285–86).

Summers-Effler argues that we are inherently driven to socialization as a means to attain and maintain EE (2004b, 276). Socialization, however, opens the door to a complex and limitlessly varied field-site for gaining and losing EE. If we feel excluded within an interaction we are being denied the opportunity to self-expand and we will not gain and may indeed lose EE (281). If we are regularly excluded in social interactions then that will begin to influence our sense of our macro-level positioning and affect our enduring emotional tone.

One of Summers-Effler's most significant contributions to ritual theories of interactions is to suggest that our drive to self-expand can be subverted into strategies to defend against EE loss. Notably, if we have learned from the outcomes of past interactions that we are unlikely to expand our selves or gain EE in a particular social interactional situation, we may apply 'defensive strategies' to reduce EE loss. Through defensive strategies "one will seek to avoid interactions that are the most threatening to one's level of EE, and seek [instead] interactions that represent the greatest potential gain, even if they entail some level of cost as well" (Summers-Effler 2002, 46). Through defensive strategies we focus on losing as little EE as possible through avoiding particular actions that have triggered loss in the past.

Summers-Effler also introduced the notion of hyperconsciousness in strange situations to her model of understanding social interactions. Strange situations are those for which we have no matching interactional histories. In these situations we may lack what Nina Eliasoph and Paul Lichterman refer to as 'culture'. In these situations we lack knowledge about shared collective representations and therefore are not able to judge as easily as we would in familiar interactions how to behave in a

prosocial and acceptable way (Eliasoph and Lichterman 2003, 737–42). Because we cannot match the situation to similar ones from our interactional ritual chain histories, we cannot judge the impact that transactions in a novel setting will have on our EE levels. In response, we enter into a hyper-aware or hyper-conscious state of self-reflexivity (Summers-Effler 2004a, 312). This state of hyper-reflexivity is emotionally draining because while we are in it we attempt to take in as many environmental and social signals as possible in order to inform our judgment about how to protect or augment our levels of EE.

Other social psychologists working in the area of intergroup contact theory have also noted the salience of what they term intergroup anxiety. Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp defined this term to refer to "feelings of threat and uncertainty that people experience in intergroup contexts. These feelings grow out of concerns about how they should act, how they might be perceived, and whether they will be accepted" (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006, 767). A growing body of work in the area of contact theory shows that contact may result in reduction in intergroup anxiety and that this may contribute to prejudice reduction (Stephan and Stephan 1985; Dijker 1987; Islam and Hewstone 1993). Allport's original theorisations of contact theory were based on the assumption that most contact did not reduce prejudice and considerable literature has been built around the positive aspects of what does motivate prejudice reduction when it does take place (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006, 767). However, further studies are needed to unpick how intergroup anxiety is negatively associated with prejudice reduction in contact.

Intergroup anxiety stems from worries that members of the ingroup will suffer negative consequences during an encounter (Stephan and Stephan 1985). Walter G Stephan and Cookie White Stephan note that one of the major antecedents to ingroup anxiety may be having had minimal contact between in- and outgroup members. David Wilder and Andrew F. Simon even found evidence to suggest that intergroup anxiety might be involved with triggering simplified cognitive loops that may inhibit complex thinking, a finding that would agree with the trends explore in Chapter 3 under the desires for absolution (Wilder and Simon 2001).

This formulation agrees with that of Summers-Effler who found that our interactional histories inform our sense of a trend that tells us our social position as "established over many interactions" (Summers-Effler 2002, 44). This implicit sense of our position helps us judge whether we should employ opportunity-seeking, self-expanding strategies or loss-reducing, defensive strategies. In an Italian case study

Alberto Voci and Miles Hewstone have found similar effects, noting that intergroup anxiety and prejudice reduction is specifically correlated with positive intergroup contact (Voci and Hewstone 2003, 49). Summers-Effler has further developed these insights into a theory of longer term personal sense of position, describing how information from micro-level interactions informs our sense of macro-level, group position: "One's history of interactions, and therefore level of EE, is more likely than any single interaction to reflect patterns of macro-level inequality. Because macro-level positioning is indirect, and people's experiences are made up of face-to-face experiences, there is not necessarily a one-to-one relationship between macro-level position and one's level of EE. However, we could still anticipate that in general those who are subordinately positioned on a macro level will also experience a pattern of day-to-day positioning that will result in diminished levels of EE" (45). We learn to recognise patterns to augment or defend our levels of EE in reference to how we are normally positioned socially (Summers-Effler 2004b, 276). Our social learning gives rise to the emergent, highly reflexive self that can read situations, analyse likely outcomes and recognise sophisticated interactional patterns based on interactional histories, which in turn influences our decisions to engage or disengage in known or novel social situations.

Answering the call from social psychologists to improve our understanding of factors that might inhibit settler integration of Indigenous rights work in their activism, I have created a model that incorporates factors that have both positive and negative effects on motivation for engagement. The transactional view of EE shows how defensive strategies – and the ingroup anxiety that motivates them – are not actually 'negative' or inhibiting factors that are relieved by contact. I argue that ingroup anxiety is a symptom of this process of aiming to protect personal EE resources. The difference is subtle but important. The removal of hyperconsciousness, understood by some as group-level ingroup anxiety, is facilitated through the transformative encounter. However, ingroup anxiety posits anxiety as a wholly bad negative inhibiting process. My own theorisation suggests that hyperconsciousness exists on the same scale on which an optimal level of consciousness also exists. In contrast, there is no optimal level of anxiety. It is important to maintain consciousness, however, in order to maintain the ethical stance, which I go on to flesh out as a concept in the next section. A key insight of my research is that ethics is effortful and the transformative encounter is about optimising levels of EE expenditure in order that they can be maintained. It is not about removing all effort from the encounter. It is consistent across the theorists discussed below that intentional consciousness is a necessary antecedent to upholding

an ethical stance and we should thus protect the idea that ethical work is effortful in nature.

What is missing from this analysis so far is an acknowledgment of agency and ethics in social interactions. In the area of settler / Indigenous relations settlers are called on to work in situations that are sometimes both novel and provide very little in the form of personal gain. That is why we need to think about both phenomenology of emotions and ethics together when theorising about ethical intergroup engagement.

Work on ethical encounters that I include later in this chapter strongly suggests that settlers have a preponderant responsibility to engage in work that counters the tendencies towards racism and colonial logics. These ethicists bring the concepts of intentionality and agency squarely back into this analysis. However, the ethics literature cited below appears to be unresponsive to sociology of emotions theories. Based on the sociology of emotion literature I have reviewed, ethical, intentional action suggests a person would enter into a hyperconscious state of awareness, signalling potential loss of EE. After reviewing literature on the ethics of encounter, I return to how we can bring ethics and sociology of emotions back together for analysis of the interviews with settler activists.

4.2   Theories of ethics and encounters

An 'interaction' is widely referred to in social psychology literature to describe the "process whereby the behaviors [*sic*] of one or more persons influence the behavior [sic] of one or more others" (Turner and Stets 2008, 33). For the purposes of my study I prefer to use the term 'encounter' to describe meetings between others.

I found in my analysis that the social psychological terminology of interaction works well alongside encounter, though there are some differences in meaning. While interaction attends to behaviour, encounter attends to the stated and unstated meanings of the meeting and any subsequent behaviour (even if that refers to acts characterised by passivity and non-engagement). Encounters also refer to other-than face-to-face meetings, which make up a large portion of the meetings between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

Sara Ahmed engages the term encounter to mean a meeting of others that can be face-to-face but which can as easily be a visual or symbolic meeting. In fact it can in, she argues, even refer to the coming together of elements (Ahmed 2000, 7–8). Encounters are constitutive of behavioural effect but also of internal responses and struggles to place the other in reference to the past and to different others. Surprise, she argues, is premised on there being an absence of knowledge about the other. The encounter itself is the location where negotiation of control over the identity of the other being takes place (Ahmed 2000, 8–9). Encounters are spaces of negotiation and, most importantly, of learning about and defining the relationships that connect the self and the other. Adam Barker likewise addresses the need for settlers to anticipate surprise in their attempts at developing allyship with Indigenous peoples (Barker 2010). Social psychologists implicitly refer to interactions as sites where identities and relations are negotiated but the terminology of encounter puts to the fore how fraught and historically contingent the moment of encounter is as a site of the contestation of meanings.

Therefore, the language of encounter is the more useful frame through which to engage a hermeneutics of settlerhood.

I have argued that the relationship of emotions to political solidarities is under-theorised in social movement studies (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012, 45–46). Nonetheless, there is a considerable amount of work theorising the 'encounter'. In this vein of research on encounters, Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernández has provided the distinction in education between offering curriculum and facilitating transformative encounters. For him transformative work requires an encounter between subjects who are "made – and therefore transformed – in and through the encounter" (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012, 51; See also Todd 2001). For him and other scholars researching and teaching at the Transformative Learning Centre at the Ontario Institute for the Study of Education(OISE), transformative learning may be described as a "A deep, structural shift in basic premises of thought, feelings, and actions … a shift of consciousness that dramatically and permanently alters our way of being in the world" (Morrell and O'Connor 2002, xvii). Meaningful relations are contingent upon the experience of transformative encounters and are sometimes necessarily built upon an unsettling foundation of incommensurable interdependency (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012, 46). That is, we are often not in political relationships with members of other groups because we choose to be but because we are bound by the histories and the present that bring us together as interdependent on specific sites. Nonetheless, it is a key component of my analysis that while settlers are legally, historically and culturally

bound to Indigenous peoples in Canada, they are constantly making choices about how to engage in that relationship.

Working out how to be a settler who takes forward Indigenous rights from a position of incommensurable interdependence is a challenging ethical question. Engaging defensive tactics represents an easier and safer, if less ethically defensible, course of action for settlers aiming to protect their identities and attachments as well as to protect levels of EE. This is why settlers might defend themselves with strategies of denial, indifference or try to prove their exceptionalism and therefore colonial innocence, as discussed in Chapter 3.

In the section on 'Reconciliation' in the Final Report of the TRC, authors represent these relationships characterised by incommensurable interdependency in as positive a light as possible. Focusing on making sense of what to do with the damage caused by residential schools, the authors suggest that one way of thinking about reconciliation is through the lens of a family healing from internal conflict: "[It] is similar to dealing with a situation of family violence. It is about coming to terms with events of the past in a manner that overcomes conflict and establishes a respectful and healthy relationship among people, going forward. It is in … [this sense] that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has approached the question of reconciliation" (Canada 2015, 113). While the past is not forgiven or even gotten-over, and the subjects may have incommensurable differences, the relationships can still be improved. In this sense encounters between interdependent subjects who come from places of politically incommensurable difference can focus on respect and health as a first step.

In my analysis I describe a transformative encounter as one that is open to the past being left open and unforgiven while maintaining the current moment as one open to surprise. By surprise I mean that in a transformative encounter people are open to being transformed by the experience through the new relationship with the newly-recognised other. In this kind of encounter one does not seek to assimilate fully the other through self-expansion but to begin in a spirit of respect to understand who they are as a different being with incommensurable differences. This kind of encounter is open to surprise and therefore to the prospect of different kinds of relationships as well as non-relationships, exclusions and even unpleasant surprises. In these kinds of encounters, a settler is open and vulnerable not because it will gain them anything but because they have made a conscious commitment to maintaining an ethical stance. In

this setting, the settler is conscious, but not hyperconscious, as they maintain this stance.

4.2.a The ethical stance and encounters

I argue that when settlers encounter Indigenous peoples they are often exposed to information about Indigenous peoples that touches on previously held ideas about settler / Indigenous relations. If they allow this encounter to touch them, a transformative encounter may take place in which the settler re-orients their identity as a settler in reference to a story about colonisation that accepts systemic settler violation of Indigenous rights. They re-story themselves.

In thinking about the encounter setting where a settler may stand to gain nothing or even lose in EE, I have developed the following three tenets of the ethical stance as they relate to the settler in relation to Indigenous peoples. Establishing these tenets of the ethical stance is necessary to show the places where the drive to accumulate EE interfaces with ethical engagements across the self-system:

1) Settlers are accountable for unconsciousness,
2) Conscious recognition of the other can catalyse self-reflection, and
3) Conscious recognition can initiate future processes of reflection.

I expand on each tenet further below.

4.2.a.I Settlers are accountable for unconsciousness

Consciousness and intentionality represent intertwined processes of perceiving and coming to know – they happen together. Clark Moustakas describes intentionality as "the internal experience of being conscious of something" (Moustakas 1994, 28), positing that being conscious is intentional. J.J. Kockelmans further describes consciousness as "openness, directedness to the other … not pure interiority … [which] should be understood as a going-out-of-itself" (Kockelmans 1967, 36). Consciousness begins as an internal state through which we actively position the self in an outwardly-facing direction. Intentional engagement therefore requires, in its efforts to move beyond the self, some degree of self-consciousness and effort as one strives to maintain this outwardly-focused stance. In relation to ritual interaction theories discussed earlier, intentionality engages a conscious state of awareness. Because we are intending to open ourselves to surprise, we aim in this state to suspend scripts coded in the me aspect of the self, signalling entry into an EE-intensive state of being.

This focus on the intentionality / consciousness process underlines the ways in which settler subjects make meanings about Indigenous others through encounters. If we have a low emotional tone and rely on hyperconsciousness-infused past scripts to interpret social interactions, rather than adopt a conscious stance of availability to encounter, we may be prone to letting desires for absolution direct our reception of information and / or our actions. In the encounter between settler subject and Indigenous other, the low-cost state of awareness and decision-making could influence settlers to rely on the defensive strategies noted in the previous chapter: 1) Relative indifference, 2) Defensive skepticism [*sic*], 3) Ethnographic curiosity or 4) Self-identification. We wish to alter transactional scripts through re-scripting so that when theme encounters Indigenous content these encounters are not immediately embedded in expectations of high EE cost.

Recognition of the other as a being is therefore critical for encounter. Some theorists urge that lack of recognition or misrecognition is indeed a dire offence to the inflicted subject because it inhibits their ability to actualise their identity, a human need (Taylor 1994, 24–26). Recognition in an encounter setting is to identify the other as a person "with a face" (Lévinas 1998, 8–9). It means engaging face-to-face in such a way that affirms the full humanity of the other person. To this end Moustakas has written that "the act of consciousness and the object of consciousness are intentionally related" (Moustakas 1994, 28). In order to recognise another subject as a faced being, the first subject must have the conscious intention to recognise them. If consciousness is lacking, misrecognition can occur – likewise if intention to engage is absent.

In order to recognise a person as a human subject, you have to be conscious. In order to be conscious you have to have the intention to be conscious. Therefore, recognition of the other is pre-empted by intention to do so, requiring conscious effort. Because recognition requires conscious intentionality, settlers can be understood as active agents in this process. Therefore, settler subjects can be held responsible and accountable for misrecognition or lack of recognition.

4.2.a.II Conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection

Emmanuel Lévinas asserts that the humanity of oneself is affirmed upon recognition or consciousness of the other: consciousness of the self happens simultaneous to recognition of the other. This conscious encounter with the other may be described as meeting the other face-to-face, therefore, consciousness is always social (Lévinas 1998). He argues that our humanity and that of others is so ontologically intertwined

that in an ethical sense we affirm our own humanity through our willingness to recognise and acknowledge the other as an-other being (Lévinas 1998). While it is easy to think of scenarios in which a person sees another in the moment before doing violence to them, Lévinas refers to a special type of seeing-as-being, a seeing-as-recognition of humanity. To be in relation to the other face-to-face is to be unable to kill the faced being. This faced-one that the subject sees and cannot kill is a face that has depth. Critically, it is also a face that defies our control of it (Lévinas 1998, 10). In recognising the other faced being as uncontrolled by us, we accept that they are other to us. To recognise them is to acknowledge that they exist independently from us, a sovereign of their own singular experience that is different from our own.

Lévinas also acknowledges that everyone is separate from one another in a formal state of alterity but recognises no 'strangers' to whom one should necessarily be repulsed by or with whom one is predestined to relate to in bitterness (Lévinas 1998, 189). Lévinas sees the face of another as separated by formal (and mundane) alterity of otherness and, though this is never overcome, it is not a moral problem to extend ethics to someone that is not part of our self. To consciously see and perceive an other as a being with a face that we can neither kill nor control is to activate a sense of morality and ethical imperatives in relation to them (Lévinas 1998, 11).

Drawing our attention back to sociology of emotion literature, there is a problem in that the self-expansion model is premised on the idea that we are motivated to variable degrees to build relationships with others in order to expand our own access to resources, ideas and identities (Aron et al. 2013, 90–95; Dys-Steenbergen, Wright, and Aron 2016, 61–62). Yet, the reason that building relationships helps us expand ourselves is because we begin to think of other people as part of ourselves (Aron et al. 2013, 91). There is an inherent incommensurability, therefore, between the goals of an ethical encounter – to see another – and the goals of a social interaction in which we seek to gain EE through expanding ourselves. This tension presents further evidence to explain why ethical encounters would be experienced as tolerable but not necessarily as good. They are different from more mundane sorts of interactions because they demand conscious intentionality in order to work against being repulsed by the experience of not gaining EE.

Transformative encounters leave us open to unpleasant surprises and do not necessarily bring us gains in EE and yet they are the ones that might transform our internal scripts and, consequently, the way we view the world. This is a key reason why people may not be inherently motivated to engage in difficult ethical work and why

I argue organisational awareness of these psychological tensions can help settler groups prepare to do ethical work around Indigenous rights.

The degree to which a person can remain available and open to encounter is related to many factors. Factors include their macro- and micro-emotional tones and the degree to which they are intentionally making themselves available to encounter. Recognising the other is not necessarily always agreeable, but it is not intolerable and it is good (Lévinas 1998, 203–4). Lévinas describes the ethical stance in these terms in order to emphasise how doing what is ethical may be our imperative but we will not necessarily be rewarded with pleasure when we meet our ethical obligations. We may feel satisfied that we have done right but we may also feel uncomfortable in the immediate environment of the encounter. In the case of settlers working with Indigenous peoples or on Indigenous rights issues we should expect settlers to feel strange and sometimes unhappy. Settlers are asked on some level in transformative encounters to become open towards the possibility of accepting responsibility or complicity to Indigenous survivors of cultural genocide enacted on the behalf of settler Canadians. That kind of encounter will not ever feel comfortable but settlers can make choices about whether they will attempt to alleviate that discomfort through taking a route to absolution, or, by letting the encounter transform their me scripts.

At the core of Indigenous / non-Indigenous relations people are asked to contend with questions of humanity and of recognition: "who am I" and, correspondingly, "who are you, in relation to me?" While Indigenous and settler peoples have lived together on this continent for centuries, Indigenous people are still often construed as strange to non-Indigenous people. Settler people often do not know much about Indigenous people and are often resistant to learning information that does not fit easily with what they already think they know (Coates 2015, 112). While Indigenous peoples have been forced to become intimately familiar with non-Indigenous peoples and their worlds(languages, religions, rules, institutions etc.), Indigenous worlds and peoples remain exotic for many non-Indigenous peoples.

Settlers react emotionally and defensively to difficult information about Indigenous lives because, as modelled above, the ethical recognition of the Indigenous subject forces the settler subject to contend with their complicity and stakes in the colonial project. The willingness of the settler to recognise the Indigenous other affirms or counters the moral integrity of the settler ingroup. Recognition of the Indigenous other as a being with a face actuates consciousness and there is only a short distance between settler recognition of the Indigenous other and recognition of the moral failings

of the settler ingroup. Alternately, it is troubling to settler subjects if they initially failed to recognise an Indigenous other as a faced being and discover later that they were mistaken in that misrecognition (Steele 1990, 499). We can predict that settler recognition of Indigenous others should catalyse reactions including both defensive strategies and processes of self-reflection. It is in this sense that I argue that settler conscious recognition of the other in an encounter actuates self-reflection into the humanity of the settler subject.

There is a danger here that Lévinas' work be read as overly focused on the experience of the first self subject rather than that of the other. This risk inherent in his theory is borne out in practice as well. There is a risk and even a tendency, as discussed earlier, that not only does the encounter cause the subject to self-reflect – reflection is the total sum of all it causes the subject to do. The knowledge gained in the encounter also confers information about what recognition of the other demands of the first subject. If the other is recognised as a human subject then particular human-oriented ethics apply. In the following section I discuss how settler encounters with Indigenous worldviews and peoples might activate, along with self-reflection, action motivated by the encounter.

4.2.a.III Conscious recognition initiates a process for future engagement

The activation of morality is a conscious process and moral engagement with the other as a faced-being catalyses work that extends beyond the initial interaction. When one subject encounters another ethically they engage in a process that does not hold the other in place but, instead, opens up potential for alternate possibilities. The stance of encountering the other in ways that might take us to unexpected places is one open to "the possibility of facing something other than this other, of something that may surprise the one who faces, and the one who is faced" (Ahmed 2000, 145). Along similar lines, Lévinas calls for us to embody "innocence without naiveté, an uprightness without stupidity, and absolute uprightness which is also an absolute self-criticism, read in the eyes of the one who is the goal of my uprightness and whose look calls me into question" (Lévinas 1990, 48). Ethical encounters are constituted through the stance one takes towards the other, what Ahmed describes as the "modes of encounter" (Ahmed 2000, 144). In approaching the other expectant of surprise and in recognition that they are not ontologically bound by that moment of encounter, we begin a process that opens us up to the prospect of recognising the other as a being even if they are unrecognisable to us. This stance opens us to the possibility of responding to what they are and what they need, not just who we are and what we need.

As established, the ethical stance that leaves us open to encounter is not a goal but a process. The goal of that process can be understood as what Roger I. Simon calls remembering "otherwise" (Simon 2005, 8–10). This is a process of translating others' memories of the past as if they mattered rather than assimilating their memories into our own worlds, times, experiences, to live and remember in their right place. Simon's analysis of organised Canadian resistance to the Columbus Quincentenary celebrations also demonstrates how we create our sense of national identity and direct our futures through the way we choose to remember and publicly acknowledge the past. He argues that in this remembering "the essential first step for the non-native in confronting the issue of colonisation of indigenous [*sic*] peoples is to attend to indigenous [*sic*] efforts to reclaim, name, and tell their own histories – histories that are informing the struggles for Aboriginal self-determination taking place throughout the Americas" (17). His work on the ethics of remembrance makes use of Lévinas' insight about the uncomfortable-ness of encounter (Lévinas 1998, 203–4). He argues that we need to decide consciously if our aim is consolidation for the future or if it is to do justice to the past. He asserts that to do the past justice we need to keep channels open between the past and present so that the "eruptive force of remembering otherwise" (Simon 2005, 4) can move through to influence the future. He calls for technologies of commemoration and remembrance that interrupt the viewer's sense of independence and self sufficiency and demand attentiveness to other lives and experiences that cannot be reduced to one's own. We are called on to accept the other on their own terms in order to do them justice in an encounter.

Simon describes this willingness as principled action that comes with the risk of going beyond the common, familiar and understood. Under these conditions we approach conditions of democracy that can cope with difference. Differences in our accounts of the past should displace our sense of security, should be experienced as an "irruption [*sic*] that punctures the horizon" (Simon 2005, 6–7). He argues against forgetting the past to allow for some present 'peace'. Rather, he would have us all remember 'otherwise' as a requisite to working for social transformation. Simon describes this process of irruption as being 'touched by the past'. He is careful to specify that he does not encourage non-Indigenous peoples' to take on trauma or simply be moved emotionally by Indigenous realities. Rather, he describes this touch as being open and hospitable to the experience of being "haunted" by other pasts (4–5). That is, to allow the stories of others to return repeatedly to the present moment and to let them influence decisions that become part of how we establish the future.

Haunting and theories of hauntology describe the experience of how memories affect present encounters between others. Avery Gordon's *Ghostly Matters* outlines a sociology of haunting that describes a way of tracing the process of 'being haunted'. To be haunted is to allow unfinished endings, our "debts to the past," to interrupt knowledge transfer (Gordon 2008, 139–42). Being haunted opens us to encountering theory and knowledge about lives we have not lived in ways we cannot contain within our dominant narratives or histories. A theory of haunting accepts that "social memory is not just history, but haunting" insofar as memory is not there for the owning and that untold narratives remain out there for bumping into (65).

This formulation of encounter approaches the stories of others with not only openness to surprise but with expectation of it. The thrust of this theory is that the dominant narratives we "know" about any object or event is a severely whittled down version of events as told by those with the power and privilege to narrate. The untold fragments of other pasts haunt dominant narratives by challenging the conviction with which their authors declare them true and representative.

Simon's notion of remembering otherwise through allowing other pasts to haunt and challenge settler notions of truth is an important concept for understanding how settler peoples can engage with Indigenous issues. Remembering otherwise is what happens when encounters with difficult knowledge informs the ways settlers(re)configure settler responsibilities to Indigenous peoples. To remember otherwise is to take the memories of others as situated in their own worlds, times and experiences and to consider them as if they mattered. It is to re-write what is called the 'me' scripts of the self system, introducing – and welcoming – new visiting voices that challenge dominant colonial narratives and voices. Openness to the stories of Indigenous others renders settler stories available to re-assessment. In this way, settler-centred national stories and family immigration narratives can change in the process of accommodating knowledge of the pasts of Indigenous others. This is the work of transformative encounter – to let the encounter change the paradigms and priorities one relies on to structure their ontological reality. It is through this kind of transformation of ontological underpinnings that an encounter can orient settlers towards understanding their responsibilities to Indigenous peoples. In this thesis I refer to both remembering otherwise and its logical heir, what I have termed knowing otherwise – the experience of acting upon the world based on knowledge gained from this re-consideration of historical memory. When I refer to re-scripting in this thesis the concept can also be thought of as coming to know otherwise.

Theories of ethics in encounters call on settlers to take up an ethical stance that is open to the unfamiliar, uncertainty and to challenges to the illusion of settler ingroup moral integrity. Ritual interaction theories suggest that we would find this work hard and be motivated to avoid doing it. We must discuss these moral and phenomenological issues together if we are going to know how to sustain acting ethically even when this is uncomfortable and / or hard.

4.3 How theorising ethics and encounters enables us to analyse and frame emotions in interviews

One of the key methods I offer to address the bridge between settler desires to gain EE and to engage on Indigenous issues is to remember that colonial relationships are inscribed in stories. These stories are told in Indigenous languages and oral histories as well as inscribed in Canadian legal instruments and media headlines. Settlers can direct attention towards re-storying themselves and re-writing these stories.

Once settlers begin to question their role and responsibilities in colonial systems of societal organisation, they encounter challenging emotional terrain, as we might predict from our reading above of sociology of emotion literature as their ingroup moral standing is questioned.

In this chapter I argued that settlers are accountable for processes of consciousness and ethical recognition and shared work by scholars working on ethical relations that demonstrates the settler prerogative to engage in these areas. However, I also showed that if we think about the encounters from the perspective of social psychologists then we have great reason to expect that ethical imperatives alone will not be able to persuade settlers to engage in these areas. That is, I argue, because ethical consciousness demands high levels of inputs, accounted for in this model as EE. We are therefore given a problem that is undoubtedly common in other areas of society that ask ethical engagement from actors – acting ethically is necessary to facilitate good relations but is difficult to do. Bearing this tension in mind, in Part D I synthesise what we know about both emotions and about ethics in settler / Indigenous encounters to a schema. With this schema I analyse the interplay of the competing desires to retain and gain EE with the desire of settlers to act in ethical ways. I show how some encounters manage to engage the settler in a me script-changing

transformative encounter while protecting EE reserves from loss. Through understanding how to facilitate this kind of transformative encounter settlers can be empowered to promote this encounter type in their workplaces and communities.

In Chapters 3 and 4 I introduced theory to guide analysis of the interviews through lenses of emotions and ethics, drawing out the phenomenological pathways associated with transformative encounters. I predicted that we should expect people to have responded to feeling guilty by making apologies and supporting limited financial reparations. I also suggested that we should expect that when people expressed feeling shame they would be more likely to withdraw from activist work and that this negative emotional experience would manifest as 'paralysis' on the issue of Indigenous rights. These phenomenological pathways are linked to a person learning about colonial structures and, instead of re-storying themselves into an Indigenous-centred vision of Canada, becoming averse to Indigenous rights work.

However, before introducing the schema, I describe in Part C: Methodology of Interviews and Narrative Analysis how I designed the research side of my thesis, conducted my interviews and carried out my analysis of the interview transcripts.

PART C: METHODOLOGY OF INTERVIEWS AND NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 5
Doing narrative inquiry: A methodological framework

> It is important to understand this process of self-reflection as an obligation that I have as a First Nations person trying to live according to the teachings and ways of my people. However, it is much more than a personal obligation: It is a fundamental concept essential to First Nations epistemology. It is, in fact, also a methodology (Monture-Angus 1999b, 65).

In this chapter I explain the methodological approach through which I designed my research project and justify my use of narrative inquiry methods to analyse data. I introduce Indigenous and feminist methodologies and demonstrate why they are formative to my research project on settler subjectivities. I conclude this chapter by demonstrating how feminist and Indigenous theoretical literatures shaped my approach to using narrative inquiry methods to gather and analyse interview data.

5   Recording emotions

I analysed textual content gathered in interviews using qualitative analysis methods associated with narrative inquiry. I chose narrative inquiry methods because they lend themselves to the discovery of "novel or unanticipated findings and the possibility of altering research plans in response to … serendipitous occurrences" (Bryman 1984, 78). They enabled me to analyse inductively in response to findings. This approach is quite different to that of attempting to deduce a solution using a pre-determined metric wherein a study is designed for "fixed measurements, hypothesis (or hunch) testing." There are many practical differences between deductive and inductive research methods, so much so that good practice for one may be considered poor practice for the other and vice versa. These fundamental differences in the methods of generating knowledge can lead to some confusion across disciplines about what constitutes good social science practice.

I studied the relationship between encounters and emotions by first identifying actions in the texts and noting patterns that arose between emotional responses and

action taken. Through my hermeneutics of settlerhood I read the text as full of clues accessible to the researcher about motivation, justifications and the influence of environments.   In my first round of interview coding I embarked into analysis from a phenomenological approach that seeks: "[To] determine what an experience means for the person who [has] had the experience" (Moustakas 1994, 13).   My phenomenological reduction or bracketing off phenomena-as-experience extends to the point where I do believe my subjects when they tell me what has taken place. However, I disembarked from this approach on the second review of interview texts when I read the interview texts as key sites where the settler activist described emotions, actions or interactions I would call encounters. In this second round, I began to interrogate why certain phenomenon take place. For both rounds I coded the interviews in NVivo.

In looking for general patterns about actions I coded for themes including 'action described but not taken', 'action taken by subject', 'action taken by other' and 'theory about action'.   After the initial coding of interview data for phenomena, I returned to the data looking for emotions, reflections, and hypothetical commentary about encounters and about encounter-motivated action. Discussion of emotions as justifications for action and motivating elements were common themes in the interviews, often identified as having a deterring effect. Interestingly, my interviewees often referenced how self-conscious they were about describing emotions.   For example they stated that they felt nervous about admitting to feeling guilty or feeling ashamed. I found that there were patterns. For example, people described being nervous and afraid of taking action when they suspected they would be judged as being racist (or not anti-racist enough) by peers. Then they would describe how they felt paralysed by that fear.

An interesting analytic point is that people seemed to be more at ease when discussing organisational accountability to Indigenous issues than personal accountability. For example, when people were uneasy they would speak hesitantly, repeat themselves or even become incoherent. When they were at ease they spoke without hesitation and with conviction. Perhaps this reflected how making decisions as an organisation was understood to be a less personal process than were the decision-making processes of individuals operating within them. The emotions that surrounded topics of colonisation, accountability and racism were felt fiercely by interviewees. Interview subjects were obviously unsettled, especially initially, by the explicit discussion of issues such as racism and colonialism and required time to warm up

enough to speak candidly. Most tended to open up in a more unguarded fashion as the interview time lapsed. I encouraged them to speak about their emotions and not to hide them, ensuring they understood that I did not believe speaking about emotions indicated that they were any particular type of white person, a method and approach I explain further in Chapters 6. After seeing considerable evidence for them, I also began to code specifically for the search terms 'guilt' and 'shame' and looked in the interviews for examples of settlers describing these kinds of phenomena. I aim to demonstrate that the emotions activists feel during an encounter, a term I fully define with a typology of encounter in Chapter 7, can help us understand how to facilitate activists engaging with Indigenous rights work in the course of their activism. In this way I developed my research question inductively in reference to the data I collected. Inductive theory generation is consistent with narrative theory methods, which is an approach to research that attracts important criticism. I address this criticism below.

5.a The case for inductive v. deductive analysis

Critics of narrative analysis methods in the social sciences are often particularly invested in positivistic or deductive analytic approaches to research and specifically query the rigour of inductive modes of inquiry. As Theodore Sarbin explains, "Some critics are sceptical about the use of the narrative as a model for thought and action as they think storytelling is related to immaturity and playfulness associated with fiction, fantasy, and pretending" (Sarbin 1986, 12). To paraphrase Jeong-Hee Kim, critics worry that proponents of narrative inquiry do not inquire sufficiently into the narratives collected and ultimately adopt a relaxed analytical framework. Researchers who follow this common critique assume that people who use methods of narrative inquiry leave aside the 'inquiry' by removing analytic frames (Kim 2016, 20–22). Adding to this dismissive assessment , Tom Barone has noted that it may not be possible to make meaning amongst a seemingly cacophonic array of voices (Barone 2007, 463). These concerns are important interjections because they hold researchers who intend to use stories and methods of narrative inquiry to account. Margaret Kovach wisely warns that "researchers who employ story as part of their research framework will need to be aware of the objectivity bias in research so as to support their own claims," suggesting that story methodology is regarded with inherent suspicion across some Western social science disciplines (Kovach 2009b, 103).

With the interviews I conducted I intended to collect empirical data about how environmental activists were theorising the connections between Indigenous issues and their role as settler environmentalists. I was not testing a specific hypothesis but

endeavoured to understand how my interviewees, settler environmental activists, were engaging with Indigenous rights and political decolonisation through their activism. I collected data in the form of interviews, later transcribed into transcripts, which I analysed for themes. I inductively generated theory based on my analysis of these interviews, as analysed through the frames introduced in the previous chapter.

I gathered information about how settler environmentalists justified their actions and beliefs in the area of Indigenous / settler relations and environmentalist engagement on Indigenous issues. Through encouraging interviewees to tell stories, for example, about how they first became aware of Indigenous issues, I encouraged them to explain the significance of events from their own subjective experience.

I used narrative inquiry for several reasons. In the first instance, I needed a system of analysis that would allow me to generate theory after data collection because there is a paucity of work in the particular area within which I work. Few studies had investigated the meaning of phenomenology of psychosocial experiences amongst a purposive sample of environmental activists from a qualitative perspective at the time I designed my research questions (2013-2014). Instead of focusing on a particular case study and seeking to understand multiple stakeholder perspectives, I attempted with this study to capture a snapshot of the state of the field for settler activists who were trying to do this work. This type of inductively oriented, judgement-suspended research design has a rich history in the area of narrative inquiry.

I sought to investigate more deeply into psychosocial phenomenon than has been commonly done in the area of settler colonial studies. For example scholars such as Jeffrey Denis and Martha Augoustinos and Amanda LeCouteur have conducted surveys of settler attitudes towards Indigenous peoples that reached disturbing conclusions. Denis captured data about the prevalence of laissez-faire racism in Canadian settler populations even in population samples where there are high levels of inter-group contact (J. Denis 2015, 236). As discussed in Chapter 3, Augoustinos and LeCouteur found that Australian settlers commonly denied that adverse events caused by members of their ingroup resulted in adverse outcomes for Indigenous peoples. They found that settlers preferred to erase and alter history and ignore or forget the experiences of Indigenous peoples rather than accept that members of their ingroup could have been responsible for immoral, unjust behaviours (Augoustinos and LeCouteur 2004, 257–59). We understand that the average settler has a tendency to find ways to come to terms psychologically with the outcomes of colonialism in ways that help them continue to feel good about their groups and their own identity.

Fewer studies have sought to understand how highly conscious people who already aim to resist laissez-faire racism engage with difficult concepts in the settler / colonial context, though some recent ones have (J. S. Denis and Bailey 2016; Mott 2016; Bacon 2017). One example is the non-random, purposive sampling method developed by Joyce M. Bell and Douglas Hartmann in their study on American attitudes to diversity and anti-racism. Bell and Hartman describe their sampling method as "a purposive one, targeted to respondents who are *actively and self-consciously grappling* with issues of difference in their lives and who are thus both *well-informed and articulate about diversity.* " (Bell and Hartmann 2007, 898, emphasis added). In accordance with this approach, I was interested in speaking with participants who were self-consciously grappling with ethical and practical issues related to settler / Indigenous relationships and wished to speak with people who were well-informed on the topics. Conducting focused interviews with specialist participants who were vetted informally by peers proved an efficient interviewing technique, allowing me to capture detailed and nuanced data.

I wished to understand how some settlers are able to live with difficult understandings of culpability and responsibility. I think understanding their strategies might be helpful for understanding how wider settler populations can learn to live with themselves but still be open to being productively haunted by knowledge of Indigenous-centred experiences of colonialism.

Based on studies like these I expected that some of my interviewees, if 'tested' using the metrics proposed, would likewise have demonstrated a disconnect between their beliefs and their practices. Nonetheless, I wanted to understand what made these people resist the justification of colonial violence and seek instead to re-write colonial stories.

This research is original because it investigates why settlers find it difficult to connect their ideals and beliefs logically with their actions. Settlers have been infrequently analysed as research subjects and, as a result, there is a paucity of compelling empirical studies that indicate why white settlers tend to replicate colonial structures; though, there are many studies indicating that they tend to do so (Morgensen 2014, para.10).

Due to the lack of empirical data gathered and analysed on settler subjectivities, I determined that I would design my research project to accommodate

inductive theory generation. In the following section, I explain how I used narrative inquiry methodologies to interpret my interview data during the analysis stage.

5.1   Narrative inquiry methodologies

Narratives or 'stories' are often analysed as data by researchers seeking to understand women and Indigenous peoples. In these areas of inquiry narratives are commonly considered a route to uncovering underlying theories about the phenomena of everyday life. To this end Indigenous and feminist theorists have each developed robust and different ontological arguments to substantiate processes of doing narrative inquiry or story-telling methodologies in social science research (Kovach 2009b, 94–109). As such, stories have been described as: vessels for teachings, medicines and practices (95). An example of this difference between feminist and Indigenous approaches to research methods involving story is the central objective each group of researchers might have in seeking out stories.

For Indigenous theorists the study of stories as a methodology seeks to acknowledge that theory has been and continues to be kept and transmitted inter-generationally through oral knowledge transmission. For example, Leroy Little Bear notes that storytelling is an, "important part of the educational process. It is through stories that customs and values are taught and shared" (Little Bear 2000, 79). For feminist theorists it is often to find a way to include women in social science research and to make social science research more relevant for women by seeking out data in the domestic as well as public spheres of women's lives. For example Dorothy Smith wrote about the private sphere of the household using a feminist lens (Smith 1989). Caroline Ramazanoğlu and Janet Holland have also sought to illuminate the political nature of women's private lives through their study of women's intimate inter-personal ties (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002, 127).

Jerome Bruner outlined two modes of thought – in fact, competing epistemologies – for developing theory about the world: the paradigmatic mode and the narrative mode. The paradigmatic mode is one often used interchangeably with 'scientific thinking' and originates from a positivistic paradigm of conceptualising phenomena. It is used to "transcend the particular by higher and higher reaching for abstraction" and thereby its users aim to collect generalisable truths and universal patterns to explain the world (Bruner 1986, 13). The narrative mode can be described

as consistent with a postpositivistic paradigm wherein information derived through social communication and especially through interviews is considered fundamentally contingent upon the social circumstances of the communication act (Briggs 2003, 247–48).

The narrative mode differs from the paradigmatic mode in that it compels researchers to understand the meanings ensconced in the particulars of phenomenon (Bruner 1986, 13). Kim urges us to reach out to stories: "[To] understand the meaning of human actions and experiences" and to "put events into the stories of experience in order to locate the experience in time and place." In doing so, she contends, it is possible to incorporate "the feelings, goals, perceptions, and values of the people whom we want to understand," which leads "to ambiguity and complexity" (Kim 2016, 11). Narrative inquiry allows the researcher to access information about what takes place or has taken place. It encourages the researcher to analyse why something has taken place in a particular moment and interpolated location.

Importantly, people are only aware of some of the meanings of their own experiences and so reports of life experience can be understood as contingent upon the act of communication, amongst other factors. Critics may query experience as lacking in empirical value in so far as people cannot communicate their experience independently of the ideas it contains. This contingency makes it difficult to deconstruct or rely upon the truth claims of the connections between experience and reality (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002, 124–26). Additionally, critics claim, a person's experience is "limited" because it is "partial and socially located" and may also simply be unreliable, limiting the efficacy of experience to reflect general phenomenon and teach us about trends in social relations (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002, 125). However, as Joan Scott puts it, "Experience is at once always already an interpretation and is in need of interpretation. What counts as experience is neither self-evident nor straightforward; it is always contested, always therefore political" (Scott 1992, 37). My own view of this interview process is that it expresses and embraces the contingency of the contents of an interview upon the many factors and dynamics at work in the interview, including the dynamic between interviewer and interviewee. Given the contingency of narration as a mode of delivering information in the postpositivistic paradigm, it becomes more important to recognise the functions of construction rather than to deny their influence (Gubrium and Holstein 2003, 14).

Remembering is a constitutive process that says a lot about how people theorise their relationship with the past and hopes for the future. The interviews

contain, therefore, many layers of cultural and social meaning (Barclay 1994, 56–57). Nonetheless, they are embedded within communication norms that are biased towards narrative coherence (McAdams 2006, 111). People tell stories with a purpose and intent to be understood. This desire to be understood motivates people to create narrative coherence and structure out of fragments of memory.

The interviews allow us access to both stated and unstated reservations and challenges that the interviewees regularly face. As a researcher trying to understand as much as possible of the whole story, I did not want my interviewees to exclude aspects of their life stories that were painful to account and / or embarrassing to tell nor to exclude aspects that would, in their view, construct them as the 'wrong' kind of white person, i.e., racist or colonialist. I was aware that this element of coherence bias would be particularly relevant for this research where my interviewees would see me as a peer not so disconnected from themselves in Canadian environmental activist circles. Incoherence and contradiction represent rich seams to trace through the interviews, holding substantial potential for understanding barriers to intercultural allyship and relationship-building. I afford particular attention to contradictions and the presence of incoherence in the narratives because it is at these junctures that the narrator reveals the construction of the narration most clearly.

5.1.a Desire and narration

One key device that I sought in the interviews was the expression of desire: what it is the interviewee wants, wishes for and longs for as regards their work on Indigenous issues. An expression of a desire is interesting in this context because to desire something means to want it but not to have acquired it. In investigating barriers I am explicitly concerned with why settlers cannot or will not have what they often say they want in the form of engaging with Indigenous rights. Desire also operates in another way in the interviews as a rhetorical device that positions my interviews in relation to me and to others. This falls back on the defensive tactics wherein a person may desire to be seen as exceptional and 'good' as opposed to 'bad' like settlers who do or say the wrong thing.

There was often a strong desire present amongst many settlers I interviewed that they be perceived by me as someone on the 'correct' side of debate. My approach seeks to interpret the person's narration of their experience and representations of themselves in reference to both expressed and implied desires. At the site of desire we should see evidence especially of settler guilt and possibly shame because these

emotions are aversive in nature. The speaker may not be aware of the full extension of the meanings and interpretations of texts and my job as the researcher is to provide that extended analysis.

My definition of narration likewise accounts for desire: I define narration as the particular, temporally and spatially-situated telling of stories, delivered in the way the speaker believes will most effectively convey a desired understanding in the mind of the audience. Effectiveness of communication can be measured as a sort of interplay between desires that sometimes conflict. The first is the desire of the speaker to control how the hearer understands them and the second is the desire of the speaker to understand and respond to any implied or stated desire of the hearer for knowledge, i.e., to answer a question. I understand absences, contradictions and difficulties in re-telling as informative, meaningful aspects of people's life history recall and as expressions of these desires at work. I sought both to understand phenomena as experienced by the narrator and listened for evidence of their desires because the latter may link to the former in non-linear and unexpected ways.

Investigating these reconstructed sites reveals moments of meaningful tension in the experiences of the narrator. They do not indicate a problem with the narrator. Rather, they indicate that together in the interview setting we have created good conditions for candid recall wherein my interviewee does not feel pressure to manufacture coherence. The element of subjectivity also factors into coherence but at an analytic scale. Coherence can signal the degree to which multiple speakers share cultural representations and ascribe to common meanings. The meanings assigned to different elements in a story are subjective to the teller but they are informed by shared culture. Patterns in meanings amongst narratives provide clues about where ideas in society come from and how they spread.

Centring the experience of a subjective narrator does not resist the researcher recognising patterns or ask us to adopt a strictly relativist analytic viewpoint wherein no one story can be related to any other. In fact, the contrary is true. Recognising that familiar narratives are operationalised in a certain time and place and then inquiring into how phenomena trigger their utilization shows how we can stretch the recurrent stories narrated by individuals into theory about learned culture.

I used narrative inquiry to analyze my interviews because I am interested in the meaning of the connections between the personal stakes present for individuals in difficult social interactions. I am also interested in how these personal stakes interface

with organisational restraints posed by pressurized charitable organising environments. The interaction of stories told in one narrative can swing from the personal, to the anecdotal, to the speculative and to the visionary. Through teasing out individual stories from each narrative and analysing the group of interview texts together I was able to register common plot lines and themes framing personal narratives. I found that narratives were connected to each other through underlying theories about society, action, organising and Canada. Identifying common threads allowed me to deconstruct and theorise, against the backdrop of relevant literature, about the factors that motivated and inhibited settler behaviour around Indigenous issues. Understanding the meanings behind the patterns allowed me to generate theory about how settler activists could work to overcome inhibitions and promote critical alliance-building work. In the following section, I explain how Indigenous and feminist methodologies alongside narrative inquiry methods influenced this research project.

5.2 The influence of Indigenous and feminist research methodologies

I did not do Indigenous research but reading scholarship in the area of Indigenous research methodology and feminist theory profoundly affected how I designed my research project and conducted my interviews. In the interviews I asked people to narrate their personal arc from burgeoning political consciousness to the work they now consider important as adults. I encouraged them to tell me personal stories involving family members, early memories and, sometimes, those with painful or awkward associations. I interpreted these personal and subjective accounts as data containing important information about the trajectories taken by interviewees into activism and about the influence of dominant social contexts and attachments on the development of subjectivity. In the sections below I expand upon how keeping Indigenous and feminist research methods and theory in the back of my mind influenced the data collection and analysis aspects of my project.

5.2.a Indigenous research methodologies

Indigenous theorists of methodology such as Kathleen E. Absolon(Minogiizhigokwe)(2011), Leroy Little Bear (2000) and Shawn Wilson (2008) describe Indigenous methodologies as a route to understand, interpret and generate Indigenous knowledge from within an Indigenous paradigm. Western research

methods are designed for different data types and transmission formats and are organised around different ontological and epistemological paradigms. For instance Indigenous scholars have described the ethical imperative in Indigenous research methods as being more about relationality and less about liability (Kovach 2009b, 147). Trust is gained through specific methods of reciprocity and respect for protocol and research subjects should therefore expect to benefit from the experience of participating in research, which differs from many Western research ethics frameworks (Carlson, Elizabeth 2017, 509–10). Indigenous scholars have also generated a critique of colonial knowledge structures and systems of governance that settlers can now use to begin to critique and resist destructive and repressive colonial relations between Indigenous and settler subjects.

One Indigenous research method that I believe is critically important to this research project is the process of re-storying. In the preliminary chapter of *Kaandossiwin: How We Come To Know*, Kathleen E. Absolon(Minogiizhigokwe) describes the process of re-storying her own narrative in order to resituate herself within the epistemological frameworks she goes on to explore. She grounds her research in the premise that knowledge generation begins with recovering knowledge about the meaning of one's place in the world: "I now restore myself by re-storying myself into my doctoral journey on how we search for knowledge" (Absolon 2011, 18). She postulates that reclaiming, rejuvenating and returning to a state of cultural and self-awareness is critical to her practice of working with Indigenous epistemologies.

Further, Gregory Cajete explains that, "There is a shared body of understanding among many Indigenous peoples that education is about helping an individual find his or her face, which means finding out who you are, where you come from, and your unique character. That education should also help you to find your heart, which is that passionate sense of self that motivates you and moves you along in life" (Cajete 2000, 184). Indigenous education is about learning relationships in context, starting with your own personal place in your family and wider tribal affiliations and moving towards an understanding of your responsibilities in the wider world (Cajete 2000, 183–84; Kovach 2009a, 109–15). These explanations identify a central theme in Indigenous research and teaching methods: the researcher is within the subject of research and responsible to others for research outcomes.

In this thesis I identify a parallel critical need and process for settlers to re-situate and re-story themselves in the narrative of the Canadian nation-state. This involves considering how colonial relations as well as land-human relations studied

through the lens of Indigenous theorists can illuminate the implications of Western political, social and environmental theory. Indigenous theory about how settlers story themselves into settler or colonial subjects can help settlers constructively amend their working theories so that they work towards decolonial, reconciliatory and / or re-structuring goals. In later chapters I identify how people react emotively to challenges to their identities and entitlements to land as settled Canadian citizens. This unsettling of identities is a process of re-storying settler subjectivities so that they become aligned with Indigenous-centred histories of colonialism and of Canada.

To be rooted in the stories we narrate about how we are situated in the world is part of a method for building critical cultural consciousness around identity and privilege. This represents different processes for settler peoples than for Indigenous peoples because the groups have different histories on the land and different epistemological and ontological relationships to it, as outlined in the previous chapter. However, critical re-storying hinges – for both groups – on thinking critically about taken-for-granted narratives spawned through colonial thought and restoring in their place stories and theories that centre the experiences of the colonised. For settlers to centre stories and theories around ethics and specifically around achieving progress on Indigenous rights goals would be to embrace the modern day aspirations and identities of Indigenous peoples. Throughout this thesis I make the case that settlers have an ethical imperative to re-story themselves in ways that centre the experiences and aspirations of Indigenous peoples and they can be guided in doing so by the research outputs of Indigenous theory.

I argue that settler thinkers might similarly come to know their own identities through embracing and cultivating a critical consciousness about their own settler subjectivities as grounded in Indigenous theory. Illustrative of how one might do this, Victoria Jane Freeman focused her PhD thesis, " 'Toronto Has No History!': Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism and Historical Memory in Canada's Largest City," on her own familial colonial history in Southern Ontario (Freeman 2010). Her thesis shows one example of how settlers might re-story themselves from a base in Indigenous theory. Throughout the dissertation Freeman offers an in-depth investigation into her own settler familial history of settlement as an exercise in engaging critically with norms of colonisation and settlement. I re-quote a section of text authored by Rauna Kuokkanen, which partly inspired Freeman's dissertation:

> Sitting down to do homework thus compels us to examine that reality. Who is at home here? Who was here before "my" home? Are there others who are at home here? What and where are our academic homes? What are their

historical circumstances, and what is and has been the institution's role in participating in them? The responsibility of academics cannot be limited to neutral descriptions of who we are … it must also link itself to the concrete, physical locations of our enunciation. …Positions that assume impartiality perpetuate the status quo (Kuokkanen 2007, 117–18).

Freeman springboards off Kuokkanen's use of 'homework' to premise the study of her own personal family history "and its connection to the colonisation and dispossession of Indigenous peoples" (Freeman 2010, xv). Freeman re-stories her familial history in reference not to the usual settler fantasy of domination and valiant settlement but to the story of Indigenous dispossession. This new way of telling her settler family story restores a sense of ethics and responsibility to her engagement with Indigenous territory, nations and peoples.

Re-storying was a concept that many settler activists had a working understanding of at the time of the interviews. They often noted that they felt it was their responsibility to learn about their family histories and likewise felt responsible for thinking through how their actions reflected this knowledge. Despite recognising this as a responsibility, they also often struggled with knowledge about how their families were implicated in Indigenous dispossession. Understanding decolonial politics necessarily troubled their claim to a Canadian homeland. Many were trying to question conceptually what troubling that story might mean in terms of action. Re-storying one's identity in relation to colonial histories is an Indigenous methodological concept that could help settlers come into a working understanding of how to engage ethically with Indigenous neighbours.

The activists I interviewed often described their burgeoning openness to Indigenous ways of knowing. Several noted that they believed Indigenous epistemologies could teach settler environmentalists about how to live more sustainably on the land. Settler environmentalists were gaining insight and inspiration from their work with Indigenous peoples. They were also being influenced through cross-cultural partnered work because they were learning from a starting place in Indigenous epistemologies. They often described coming away from interactions with an altered sense of how they related to Indigenous others and to Canadian national stories. They were being exposed to new epistemologies about the world and being influenced by those encounters.

Indigenous theorists see Canada through different ontological, epistemological and methodological principles and often experience Canada in a way that settlers may not have done. Theorists of difference have argued that people in the margins can see

things that people in the dominant spheres cannot. Audre Lorde famously spoke of this epistemological phenomenon:

> Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference–those of us who are poor, who are lesbians, who are Black, who are older–know that survival is not an academic skill. It is learning how to stand alone, unpopular and sometimes reviled, and how to make common cause with those others identified as outside the structures in order to define and seek a world in which we can all flourish. It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support (Lorde 1984, 112).

Referring to the women's movement, Lorde made an incisive claim that it is because – and not in spite of – the marginal positionality of poor, lesbian, Black, and older women that they know how to survive. She argued that it is because they are marginal to dominant spheres that they can identify the master's house and tools as such rather than mistake them for neutral entities. These marginal subjects notice that women who rely on the safety of the house in question will also be the ones threatened by the disposal of said tools, explaining the racial divisions in the women's movement. I argue likewise that colonial theory cannot be used to dismantle colonial structures of power. Moreover, I argue that it is Indigenous peoples who are best poised to lead the development of theory around questions of how to re-story settlers and Indigenous peoples. After all, and as Mark Rifkin notes, "the persistence of Indigenous sovereignty would undo existing settler jurisdictional mappings." It is not often in the best interests of colonisers to decolonise, suggesting that leadership in these efforts ought to be guided and led by members of colonised groups. (Rifkin 2014, 113)

In their projects to outline the boundaries of Indigenous theory, Indigenous theorists have often defined colonial worldviews. Explaining the usefulness of this project, Leroy Little Bear explains that "If we are to understand why Aboriginal and Eurocentric worldviews clash, we need to understand how the philosophy, values, and customs of Aboriginal cultures differ from those of Eurocentric cultures. Understanding the differences in worldviews, in turn, gives us a starting point for understanding the paradoxes that colonialism poses for social control" (Little Bear 2000, 78). Indigenous researchers and postcolonial scholars have taken pains to describe in detail the ways that colonial worldviews affect reasoning, governance and social relations. Postcolonial scholars likewise resist colonial epistemes by working "against the grain" of colonialism and through drawing "attention to the shadows it still casts over the present" (Gregory 2000, 612–13). Settler peoples are responsible for their own

unconsciousness around Indigenous-centred critiques of society. Never before has it been more reasonable to expect that settlers would have access to sophisticated critiques of colonial relations and society.

In this chapter I have argued that Indigenous theorists and feminist theorists have introduced two key concepts that can enhance methodologies in settler colonial studies. The first is the insight that research and knowledge about the world begins with a process of situating oneself through story within the context of the research question. This process of re-storying has affective impact on settlers. New relationships are formed through learning, sometimes between Indigenous and settler peoples but often also between settlers and their country, peers and their own sense of who they are. Doing Indigenous rights work as a critical settler environmental activist requires settlers to engage this Indigenous research methodology of engaging in a project of understanding where they are in the story of Canada – past, present and future.

The second Indigenous research insight is to place the story of Canada in an Indigenous-centred frame. I begin my analysis with an appreciation that Indigenous and colonial theories and epistemes represent different systems of knowledge production. Colonial systems of knowledge production and governance have dominated Canada since early colonial history whilst Indigenous knowledge systems have been systematically and brutally repressed. However, contestations over these systems have been a constant feature of the Turtle Island / Canadian landscape since the earliest days of colonisation. Little Bear argues that "all colonial peoples, both the coloniser and the colonised, have shared or collective views of the world embedded in their languages, stories, or narratives" (Little Bear 2000, 85). In my project I aim to present and study a version of knowledge about colonial relations premised on an Indigenous-centred critique of contemporary colonialism.

I centre an Indigenous viewpoint of the problematic of ongoing colonial relations in Canada. This means that I assume it is of the utmost importance that settlers respond to the aspirations and directives set out by Indigenous peoples for addressing power imbalances and injustices that are products of colonisation. Indigenous scholars are making sense of how colonial norms and power structures persist. From my understanding, the role of settlers in this is to look at settler ideologies and societies through the lens of Indigenous theory and to use that insight to change colonial structures and power imbalances from that perspective. Then, it is to

theorise from their position as settlers with accountability to Indigenous peoples and training in Indigenous theory about how to engage ethically on Indigenous issues.

5.2.b Feminism and the research field of everyday life experiences

Since the 1970s academic feminists have generated a vast literature defining and contesting the methods and bounds of feminist research. Literature addressing the question of the legitimacy of the subjective experience as a resource for developing theory flourished in the 1980s. Influential texts such as Donna Haraway's *Situated Knowledges*(1988) and Dorothy Smith's *The Everyday World as Problematic* (1989) cleared space for understanding the lived experiences of women as information upon which to base theories of power and inequality. In addition, in her work on standpoint theory, Sandra Harding countered worries about feminist theory and women's theory being overly sensitive to the subjective. She unpacked and delegitimized contrived differences between the objective (masculine) and subjective (feminine) forms of knowledge and knowing. Indeed, Harding defined strong standpoint theory as a method that "sets the relationship between knowledge and politics at the centre of its account in the sense that it tries to provide causal accounts – to explain – the effects that different kinds of politics have on the production of knowledge" (Harding 1993, 55–56). Rather than call upon feminists to accept universal subjectivity and the impossibility of generalisations, Harding argued that knowledge is only objective when you interrogate the positionality of the people being researched.

Feminist theorists validated the lived experiences of women as data and thereby propelled women into the realm of being research subjects. Research methods developed for this area of study identified how critical insights could be gained by seeking theory in mundane experiences. I utilise this insight in my research project by speaking to an array of environmental movement organisers from across the lifecycle and by asking them to share life stories with me. I explain this in more detail below but the critical insight I gained from feminist theorists was to look for theory in the details of unexceptional stories told by the people I interviewed. Rather than focus only on their narratives of participating in overt political organising, I asked them to tell me about their families, their relationships, their memories of the ways Indigenous rights issues had crossed their paths throughout their lives.

5.2.c Synthesising the influence of Indigenous and feminist methods in this project

In keeping with my understanding of Indigenous and feminist story-telling methods I situated myself frequently inside the topic or inside the broad public debates in the interview setting. I identified with the people I interviewed, as a white settler with some activist experience myself, and reflected to them that I was also in the process of doing my 'homework'. I emphasised that I was seeking to think collaboratively and discursively to explore issues, draw some initial conclusions and contribute to a more complex understanding of their environmental activism. These practices acknowledged my position inside of the problematic as a fundamental part of the interview experience. It also contributed to my overarching project of increasing settler-accountability and responsibility in discourses about Indigenous / settler relations.

My approach is also shaped by Indigenous and feminist theory in that I aim to disrupt the false boundaries between subjectivity and objectivity in positivistic science. My approach is aligned with a post-positivist paradigm approach to research as I sought to gather accurate data through scrutinizing deeply the subjectivities of researcher and research subjects (Harding and Hintikka 1983; Haraway 1988). I also drew upon Indigenous research methods in the ways I positioned myself as a member of the settler community, implicating and holding myself to account as a researcher and as a part of the 'colonial problem'. It is us, settler people and primarily white settler people, who need to change in order to facilitate social equity and to prevent social dysfunction amongst colonised peoples living on Turtle Island. As a Canadian settler researcher I acknowledged my relationship with the interview subject and – most vitally – to the larger project of decolonisation of Turtle Island. I placed my study squarely in the midst of an Indigenous-centred critique of colonial Canada.

Though he has sustained criticism for being overly reductionist, Thomas King is perhaps the most famous First Nations theorist of stories. He famously gave the first CBC Massey Lecture by an Indigenous person and delivered it as a series of stories. This is where he first offered the since oft-quoted statement: "the truth about stories is that's all we are" (King 2003, 2). Stories are powerful; they shape our imaginations – the thoughts we can have – and so limit not only our pasts but our futures. Affirming the centrality of stories to theory, Craig Womack argues that "We [Indigenous theorists] believe theory, in fact, can emerge from novels, poems, plays, and many other forms, including life itself. We even claim these as prominent emergence points, important creation stories for theory ... stories are the birthplace of theory" (Womack 2008, 7).

The belief that stories are important sources for information and are in fact the building-blocks for theory is widely supported by many scholars of Indigenous research methods. For example, Mohawk scholar Patricia Monture-Angus has centred the experiences of Indigenous women in both autobiographical accounts – *Thunder in my Soul: A Mohawk Woman Speaks* (1995) – as well as more theoretical non-fiction – *First voices: an Aboriginal women's reader* (2009) – as a base for generating theory.

A primary insight to be drawn here and applied to the stories told by non-Indigenous peoples is to consider that we are all living out stories in our daily interactions as Indigenous and settler peoples. In many ways, Indigenous sacred stories and theory bring to the fore the fact that other stories are often told but coded as neutral in Canada. For example, Keira Ladner has referred to the Government of Canada's overstepping of the Constitutional legitimacy of Indigenous legal sovereignty as "legal magic," highlighting the ideological rather than logical or even legal basis for Canadian jurisdiction over Turtle Island (Ladner 2009, 279, 289–91). She contends that the concept of Canadian national sovereignty can itself be considered a colonial myth.

Amelia Kalant also outlines the mythology of Canada as a peaceful, law-abiding, community-oriented country (Kalant 2004, 8–9). One of the sources for this myth, she says, is the myth that land was empty and available for settlement when colonists arrived – terra nullius. This story demands the omission of historical records that verify continual land-use and occupation. Land, for example, the territories colonised by Champlain in the early 1660s was normally occupied but was vacant on the arrival of those colonists because the English and Dutch colonists had already waged biological and military warfare against its Indigenous populations (Kalant 2004, 95–97). Canadians are beholden to cultural stories, to political stories and to national origin stories that have the potential to constrain and facilitate relationships settlers have to the land and to Indigenous first inhabitants.

The great potential of the insight that theory and story are ontologically intertwined is that if we extend this insight into settler communities it follows that we can change theory and action by re-writing storylines and telling truer stories. Sheelah McLean, a settler and one of the four founders of the IdleNoMore# movement, explains that her philosophy about re-storying settlers into a better relationship with Indigenous nations is founded on a statement by Ben Okri: "One way or another we are living the stories planted in us early or along the way, or we are also living the stories we planted – knowingly or unknowingly – in ourselves … If we change the stories we live by, quite

possibly we change our lives" (Okri 1997, 46). Our praxis is formed out of the stories we believe and the stories we repeat.

Taken together, the interviews suggest where adopting a critical consciousness can help support burgeoning theory and practice in the area of solidarity work and re-storying settler colonial identities. By introducing new information and storylines settlers are able to change the reference points from which they generate working theories for action, activism and change.

In this chapter I have described the approach I took when formulating my research design and then later how I handled the data. I have represented in this chapter my choice to approach the generation of theory inductively, drawing from narrative inquiry methods to design and analyse my data. I indicated that Indigenous and feminist research methodologies were guiding influences of this approach, especially in terms of the feminist search for meaning in the everyday world and the Indigenous theory emphasis on understanding narratives in the context of the narrator and their world. I have shown how Indigenous theory and feminist theory have impinged directly on my framing and presentation of questions in the informally structured interviews. By adopting a unique multi-disciplinary approach to analysis, I have drawn from multiple sources to gain a deep and nuanced understanding of the slippery issues of ethics and emotions in a politicised context.

In the following chapter I conclude Part C with a chapter on the people I interviewed and the circumstances of the interviews. I indicate in Chapter 6 any challenges I faced in data collection and describe some of the limitations to my research methods and address how I resolved these.

CHAPTER 6
Gathering narrative data: The interview process

> Stories are wondrous things. And they are dangerous... So you have to be careful with the stories you tell. And you have to watch out for the stories that you are told (King 2003, 9–10).

> In their work of boundary setting, all stories are political (Frank 2011, 45).

This chapter proceeds in three parts. First I describe the methodology used to identify the people interviewed and explain how I navigated issues involved in this process of selecting the interview cohort. I then explain how I applied insights from Indigenous and feminist theorists discussed in Chapter 5 such as through including myself in the research problem as a white settler female, demonstrating how engaging in subjective frames of reference and building bonds of social trust allowed me more in-depth access to accurate data in the interviews. I explain how I developed a particular approach to gaining consent and permissions that protected the anonymity of the people I interviewed and allowed them to consent meaningfully to the products of the interview ultimately used. In the second part I indicate the limitations of my research project and then in the third part of the thesis I outline the ethics, risk and consent procedures I followed in the interview process.

I provide information about where the interviews took place and indicate some demographic information about the people I interviewed to help situate their intersectional identities to point to unspoken formative experiences.

6   The interview base: Locale and demographics of people interviewed

Between 2014 and 2015 I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with eighteen non-Indigenous / settler people according to a grounded theory methodological approach. I applied methods of grounded theory to collect data in the field on settler activist engagement with Indigenous rights in their organisational work because, as described in Chapter 1, I had a hunch early on in my development of my research

focus that called for exploration of phenonema rather than testing of a hypothesis. In Chapter 1 I noted that from my own previous activist experience and close observation, I knew there was something about settler and white settler activist psychological approaches and emotional responses to Indigenous rights issues that discouraged them from fully engaging with Indigenous aspirations. I applied a grounded theory approach to investigate this hunch.

Karen Henwood and Nick Pidgeon explain that grounded theory is an approach to research that employs semi-structured interviews, fieldwork observations, case-study notes and other forms of textual documentation to gather information prior to deducing a testable hypothesis (Henwood and Pidgeon 2003, 131). This approach offers the opportunity to address methodological difficulties related to needing to understand particular psychological, cultural and socio-political issues related to interpreting phenomena. It allows for aspects of interpretation and contextualisation of the incoming information to take place during data collection. The work of Wilhelm Dilthey, introduced in Chapter 4 in connection with the hermeneutics of settlerhood, comes also from this grounded theory approach as he argued that human scientists should inquire after not only causal explanation but also the meaning of phenomena in situ.

All of the people I interviewed were, at the time, working or volunteering substantively at 'environmental organisations' and were "Non-Indigenous environmentalists negotiating Indigenous / non-Indigenous relations" (see Appendix II). I will describe further below how I gained an introduction to these individuals and why I consider their interview data important for analysis in the section on connecting with activists.

I interviewed mainly in popular English-speaking hubs of environmental organising, focusing on the Maritimes: Halifax (9), St John (1) and Tatamagouche (1); the Prairies: Winnipeg (3) and Central Canada: Toronto (3), Ottawa (1). I interviewed 16 women and 2 men (in Winnipeg and Ottawa), 17 anglophones and 1 francophone (in Ottawa) and all activists I interviewed were white / benefitted from white privilege. Studies have also shown that the average mainstream Canadian environmentalist is phenotypically white (Gibson-Wood and Wakefield 2013, 644). While all activists were light skinned, 1 activist in Toronto identified culturally as Jewish while all others identified as culturally Christian. Religion was a central guiding factor for 1 activist in Halifax but was of peripheral importance to the remaining 17. Many of them described being afforded the advantages of economic privilege, such as growing up in middle-

class neighbourhoods, having parents in professional occupations and attending private schools. I found evidence of access to financial and cultural capital when, for example, people described having participated in opportunities to engage in environmental conferences and events. Several had attended Powershift, an activist conference for which they would have borne costs related to travel, registration and accommodation. Many described being engaged in volunteering activities from a young age and many had repeatedly been employed in precarious, contract-based or voluntary positions in environmental organisations, suggesting they were able to support themselves financially from other resources. None identified explicitly as working class.

In Table II I show the location of each interview, the year in which the interview was conducted and the chapter(s) in which I discuss data from the interview. I have grouped these interview locations into regions as this allows for easier identification of regional patterns and organised them alphabetically within each region.

Table II: Anonymised name of person interviewed with year and location of interview

Region	Name	Location	Year	Chapter where interview discussed
Maritimes	Amanda	Halifax	Summer 2014	8
	Andrea	Halifax	Summer 2015	7, 9
	Brooke	Halifax	Summer 2015	8, 9
	Fiona	Halifax	Summer 2014	8, 9
	Georgia	Halifax	Summer 2014	7
	Helena	Halifax	Summer 2014	7, 8, 9
	Josephine	Halifax	Summer 2014	7, 8, 9
	Patty	Halifax	Summer 2014	9
	Sarah	Halifax	Summer 2014	9
	Cassandra	St John	Summer 2015	9
	Jessica	Tatamagouche	Summer 2014	7, 9
Prairies	Carly	Winnipeg	Summer 2014	7, 9
	Pauline	Winnipeg	Summer 2014	7, 8, 9
	Sam	Winnipeg	Summer 2014	9
Central Canada	Lauren	Toronto	Summer 2015	8, 9
	Megan	Toronto / Oxford*	Summer 2014	7, 8, 9
	Tina	Toronto	Summer 2015	7, 8, 9
	Thomas	Ottawa	Summer 2015	8, 9

*I interviewed Megan while we were together in the UK about her time and activism in Toronto.

It was notable that I connected primarily with anglophone Canadians rather than francophone Canadians. The spatial geography of Canada has been divided since Confederation into English and French Canada. While unity of the territory is desirable from a federal level, at a provincial level anglophone governments in Ontario and the West have enacted policies that increased divisions in the latter half of the twentieth century. Even with federal governmental efforts to address both French and English concerns in the Constitution, such as through the Meech Lake Accord(1987), the nation is still spatially divided by language, culture and politics (Kaplan 1994, 599–601). I have lived in New Brunswick, where both national languages are officially spoken, and have seen how cities themselves are divided spatially into French and English quarters. My sense is that the activism taking place in French Canadian hubs – Quebec and New Brunswick, as well as in the Northern part of the Prairie and Central Canadian provinces – is conducted and organised in ways that do not always overlap with English Canadian activist networks or traditions. This divergence may account for why so few French Canadians were working in purportedly nationally focused environmental organisations that, despite being national in focus, may be said to focus on English issues, often publish and hire in English and operate primarily in English hubs. French Canadian-Indigenous alliances and activist partnerships deserve and require a separate investigation and are not represented in this sample or study.

I also need to acknowledge that while I did not seek interviews with women, eighty-nine per cent of my interviews were with women. This of course reflects a gendered element to the research and reflects gendered workplace practices in environmental groups. My being a woman does not necessarily explain why there is this tilt towards women in my overall interview cohort; I connected with ten people including the two men in the sample through my own connections (see Chart B on page 144 for more on connection route). A more promising explanation may be thinking about the economics of gender and age in the workplace.

My connections and the people they referred me to were often part of the millennial generation, defined by demographers as those born between the early nineteen eighties to the early two thousands. The majority of the people I met through my activist connections, a full ninety per cent, were in this millennial generation. Millennials were, at the time of my interviews, often working in junior positions in their organisations. Further, it is more often women who work in the junior positions in non-profit organisations.

Women are often over-represented in lower-paid junior positions in non-profit organisations in Ontario, as captured in a recent report (Canada 2018). The report suggested that seventy-five to eighty per cent of the non-profit workforce were women, men were overrepresented at senior leadership levels and that women earned less than men for the same jobs (31-33). The report notes that this industry is characterised by care jobs, a category of work often classed as best filled by women and the industry is shadowed by precarious work contracts, poor parental benefit schemes and low wages (27-28). This problem was reflected in commentary from one of the activists interviewed, Fiona, who was in fact in a high-ranking position in her Halifax-based, nationally focused organisation. She observed that men still dominated in the higher echelons of the industry while it was primarily women doing programming and delivery work:

> The top leadership of the environmental community is still male so, when they get together, it's almost all men. … It comes forward in meetings that women do a lot more but the men are talking more. And talking is good, I'm not diminishing men, but men are talking a lot and women are actually doing stuff (Fiona).

Valerie Kaalund describes an example of how environmental justice activists in the United States were adept at acknowledging the matrix of race in their organising but also often under-acknowledged the extent to which women were the driving force of organising efforts (Stein and Kaalund 2004, 82–83). It is therefore consistent with both workforce and socio-economic trends and with evidence from my interviews that the majority of the people in environmental non-profits and in junior positions in those organisations would be women.

I stayed in each location for about a week at a time except for Halifax where I stayed for three weeks. I stayed in Halifax for this length of time because I had previously been to the Maritime region and, while there, had been engaged with environmental activism projects that had allowed me to travel over two of the provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. I noticed that some of the inter-settler conversations I had there about settler Indigenous relations were more nuanced than I had found them to be in Ontario. Settler people seemed eager to think about Indigenous / settler relations but less sure than I was used to hearing. I will shortly come back to this dynamic.

While in the area I attended a celebratory feast put on annually to celebrate Acadian and Mi'gwaq historical relations where I enjoyed the hospitality of the Mi'gmaq hosts who shared food and local histories about settlers and Indigenous peoples in the area. I later lived in Moncton, New Brunswick for about six months and continued to

notice that settlers appeared more open to discussing relations and were less convinced that they understood the issues. In some ways the conversations seemed more in flux and nuanced, while the conversations I had heard and participated in while living in Ontario during University seemed more dogmatic and fixed in comparison. I began to suspect that speaking to people in the Maritimes about this subject might render more varied and interesting results than in other locations precisely because people were unsure of what they thought but were open to talking. There were other reasons to focus my efforts in a local regional Maritimes hub, Halifax, which I share below.

Halifax is the largest city in the Maritimes and, though a small city of 403,390 people, is home to 44% of all Nova Scotians, acting as an urban economic hub for the provinces of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and to a lesser extent Newfoundland (Canada 2016). Activist communities were in close contact with each other and I needed to rely on individuals to help me generate my interview base, snowballing my connections to include people from wider networks. I rightly suspected that people would be happy to share contacts and had a good understanding of what was happening across the region. News moved quickly and activism that was taking place would often be well-known. There appeared to be greater integration of activist networks than I had experienced previously in Ontario or in British Columbia, where I had also lived previously for a year. People knew each other, talked to each other and stayed abreast of what was going on regionally, rendering the Maritimes and Halifax an ideal environment to conduct interviews with an eye to understanding the activist 'feel' and priorities for a wider geographic area. In the Prairies and Central Canada, where I interviewed in a very limited capacity, I suspected that views and patterns would diverge substantially between rural and urban and between provinces simply because of the larger geographic distances. However, I took the opportunity to carry out a small sample in other locations beyond the Maritimes to provide an initial basis for comparison and to signal future research opportunities. I explain my samples from these latter two regions below.

I included Winnipeg in my group because I wanted to get an initial sense of how activists in a different small Canadian city were addressing questions of relations. I sought out and gained an opportunity to present an early piece of work at the International Association of Genocide Scholars conference in Winnipeg (July 16-19, 2014) and so set out to interview in Winnipeg in July of 2014. The conference organisers framed the Canadian state as committing genocide in Canada more than a

year before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada(2008-2015) named the Indian Residential Schools programme(IRS) as an act of cultural genocide, demonstrating their proactive approach to adopting Indigenous knowledge about history. Before the conference I connected with local activists, again initially through my connections from Ontario and through cold-calling. These interviews proved to be particularly interesting since Winnipeg is home to a much larger population of First Nations and Métis individuals than any other Canadian urban centre. While the 2016 census reported that just under 4% of residents living in private dwellings in the Halifax Census metropolitan area (CMA) reported an Aboriginal identity and just less than 1% of residents in the Toronto CMA reported the same, just fewer than 12% of residents in the Winnipeg CMA reported an Aboriginal identity. In the interviews I did find that organisers in Winnipeg had much closer contacts with Indigenous neighbours and peers than did those in Central Canada or in the Maritimes. This regional difference matters in terms of how people in diverse cities are able to be first in contact with Indigenous peoples and knowledge, creating opportunities for connection that I delve into in the section below.

There were a few outliers in terms of interview location. For example, I interviewed one person in each St John and Tatamagouche, in the Maritime region. I interviewed in these locations because people I interviewed in Halifax recommended I go out of my way to meet specific individuals there. In Tatamagouche there was an extremely important organisation operating called The Tatamagouche Centre. The aim of this organisation was to improve the quality of dialogues about all kinds of socially thorny issues. They ran summer camps for LGBTGI+ youth, annual Peace and Friendship Gatherings to talk about treaty relations and non-violent communication workshops and other peace-building activities throughout the year. They were a learning hub for Halifax activists and I interviewed a key organiser there at the suggestion of Halifax interviewees. The individual in St John was also recommended me by a Halifax individual for her commitment to grassroots activism. She was the least institutionally affiliated activist, organising locally in response to a specific issue and doing an incredible job of connecting with Indigenous organisers in her area to create strong allied relations. I discuss how I think her grassroots position affected her activism and her relationships with First Nations in later Chapters. I interviewed one person in Oxford, UK because that is where I and she were during the period I conducted my interview field work. This person was from Ontario, had grown up in Toronto and had done her activism on the East coast so we reflected during the interview on her formative experiences in Ontario and her work done in Halifax. I have

included her in the Central Canada sample because that is where she had most of her formative experiences and her interview included a greater weight of data about her formative experiences than of data about her activism.

6.a Regional trends

The demographics of location were very interesting and suggested trends in regional activist cultures. I noticed a few salient trends in my data, which are all represented below in Table III. The Prairie interview group members were very likely to be in their city of origin at the time of interview, much more so than members of any other group. People working as activists in the Maritimes were mostly not from the area. It seems then that in this sample activist jobs in the environmental non-governmental organisation (ENGO) sector were more likely to taken up by migrants to the area, rather than by locals. Prairie activists were also more likely than Maritimes activists to stay in their home city for their University degree. The implication is that Prairie activists were less mobile than Maritimes activists and this has implications for where they learn to be activists. People working in the Maritimes were from all across Canada while Prairie activists learned to be activists in the city where they had grown up and continued to live throughout University. As we later see in the interviews, growing up in Winnipeg means possible daily interactions between Indigenous and settler peoples and we can expect that in this region we would see that many of the activists were first exposed to Indigenous content and peoples through relationships. In the next chapter I introduce a framework for thinking about different learning pathways followed by activists and do find that Prairie activists often described personal relationships and learning from Indigenous educators as a primary route to critical learning. In contrast, Maritimes and Central Canadian activists often described learning from art or books but not from engagements with people or influential educators and exposure has important implications for level of EE expenditure, which I will further explain in Chapter 7.

Table III: Regional trends in activist mobility

	Proportion of respondents
Percent of total Interview subjects from Maritimes	28%
% of interviews done in Maritimes	61%
Percent of total Interview subjects from Prairies	21%
% of interviews done in Prairies	17%
Percent of total Interview subjects from Central Canada	22%
% of interviews done in Central Canada	17%
People who went to University in their home town	29%
Of that number, % from Halifax	6%
Of that number, % from Winnipeg	17%

6.b Connecting with activists for interviews

Having alluded above to accessing my own activist connections, I will now explain where those connections were made. While studying for my first degree in Southern Ontario, I organised frequently as a student activist on a range of issues. During this time I met several people who later helped me connect with activist networks in Southern Ontario, Toronto, Ottawa and the Maritimes. As a student in Ontario I was involved in food security and environmental justice activism primarily through the local Public Interest Research Groups (WPIRG and LSPIRG). Through this early activist work I became initially introduced to the politics and dilemmas I explore in this research project.

Before I began my first year of fieldwork, I created an Information Packet (see Appendix II) where I outlined topics that I believed would be important for my research subjects to consider. For example, I explained why I was conducting the research, how to get in touch with me, outlined any risks to taking part, detailed what participation in the project would entail and indicated how they could leave the project at any stage. I explained over two pages how consent procedures would work, offering participants the opportunity to consider in advance what kind of consent procedure they wished to follow during and after the project. I encouraged my well-networked community connections to send out my Information Packet to people they knew in other groups and across provincial and territorial borders who met the criteria of working in interesting ways on Indigenous and environmental issues. In this way I connected with people whom I did not know but who were known to connections of mine. I then sent a copy to each person who had agreed to participate. I answered questions about the

research from potential participants over email. In this way, the Information Packet provided additional information about the research before potential participants committed to participating.

I first asked people I had known from my time as an activist to connect me with contacts they thought were doing work to integrate Indigenous and environmental issues in their environmental activist work. This method of connecting to potential participants through other participants and through my own activist-community connections reflects a methodological approach rooted in Indigenous and feminist methodologies, as introduced in Chapter 5. Instead of attempting to create or impose the idea of 'objective' sampling, I purposively wrote to people working in the area already engaged on the issues. I sent around an Information Packet, available in the Appendix, where I identified myself as a settler grappling with these questions, situating myself in the research. As discussed in the section above, I knew that I would be more likely to gain access to interviews with this group if I highlighted the ways in which we shared mutual concern for understanding issues about settler – and specifically social justice activist settler – responsibilities towards Indigenous peoples.

I set out a structure for my questions in the interviews in a guidance note included as Appendix I: Topic Guide for Interviews (2014-2015). Though I did not offer this document to the people I interviewed, it informed my construction of the Information Packet that they did receive. I reviewed it before each interview in order to clarify for myself how I would guide and facilitate the interview. I did not provide them the topic guide because I was interested in being surprised by what they might say and to avoid over-determining what they might focus on. This is consistent with a life history approach where I was helping guide through narrating their story but was conscious of wanting them not to have pre-formulated their narrative prior to our meeting. They had access to the broad goals of the research project in the main Interview Packet available in the appendices of this thesis.

Chart A shows the connection patterns involved with meeting people for an interview. To reach the people I interviewed I drew upon connections I had made during my organising work. I personally knew only 1 interviewee casually before we interviewed. Mostly I asked peers who were already working on Indigenous issues in their environmental work to refer me to people they thought were doing the same and in this way was connected to 10 people for interviews. I connected to 5 of the interview subjects through interviews, snowballing my sample size as I went. I was able to secure interviews with 2 people through cold-contacting them. I pursued interviews

with cold-contacted individuals as well to enrich my data set by including more senior-level environmental activists who were not part of my wider network. In the case of cold-contacted people I identified them as being engaged with this area through comments they had made over public communications on behalf of their organisations.

This primarily peer-based recommendation system meant that people recommended those whom they considered experts with experience or who they knew would be able to converse in a sophisticated way with me about the topic so that 15 of the people were vetted by a peer. By asking members of the environmental activist community to tell me who they would nominate to speak on these issues, accessing a peer-based recommendation system, I created a selective, purposive interview sample with experts who were in a good stead to offer me rich data. I defend my use of this type of sample size below in this chapter.

I did not speak on record with people I was personally close to as I suspected the risks of bias would be too great so the friends who helped me connect with others were themselves not a part of the sample.

Chart 1: Connection Type
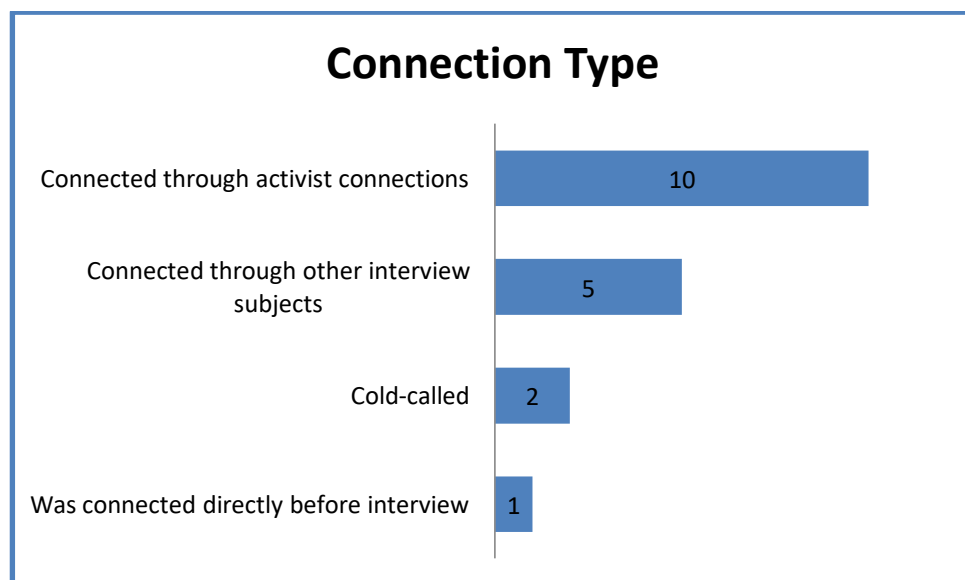
I connected with all the people I interviewed over email, setting up a time to meet and corresponding online.

6.c In the interviews

In a semi-structured interview setting I asked the people I interviewed to tell me retrospective personal life histories to identify factors and experiences influencing why they cared about Indigenous issues. I asked each of my respondents to tell their own life story and the main thread of the story was always for them to tell me how they got to be where they were today, an environmental activist trying to incorporate and address Indigenous Rights issues in their activist work. In asking them to begin with their life story I accomplished at least three objectives:

1. I was setting a dialogical, conversational tone for the interview;
2. I further elucidated the socio-psychological setting I needed to keep in mind to understand their stories coherently;
3. I was able to identify patterns in both the explicit references and the silences that formed the narration of their life stories.

In reference to feminist life history methods and Indigenous methodologies of storytelling from a place-based, situational knowledge base as discussed in Chapter 5, I sought contextual information about the subject to gather more information about the story being told. I sought both broad and specific information to unpick ideas and thoughts but also to gain a sense of desires and needs developed within the personal context of each interview. Collecting qualitative information through the life history method allowed me access to information about the narrative logic at work when people narrated past phenomena. It was critical that I solicit as much detail as possible from them so that I could later understand with objective distance where ideas were coming from and how norms were being negotiated. This method is consistent with Sandra Harding's approach to strong objectivity, wherein the accuracy and objectivity of data can be said to increase in relation to how much explicit context is given for the data (Harding 1993).

During interviews I deliberately sought to encourage people to speak about things they were not sure about and sometimes explicitly affirmed that I was not looking for 'right' or 'wrong' answers. I emphasised the importance of non-judgmental dialogue partly because I wished the people I interviewed to speak candidly to me and not to censor themselves as they may do with colleagues. This was part of my life history approach to gaining access to personal information through developing social bonds of trust. This was critical to my drawing out thick data for analysis and later reflection.

In order to encourage disclosure in the interviews I created an atmosphere that recognised mutual processes of learning and encouraged vulnerability. I

emphasised the fact that I was also a settler, also feeling pressure to be a 'good' settler, and someone who was also frequently at a loss to understand a best course of action in any particular scenario. By asking the people I interviewed open-ended questions about processes and positioning myself as also in that process, I created an interview space that expressly sought to counter their fears about judgment. I ensured as much as possible through my verbal and non-verbal cues that I was not there to judge them but to understand their experiences from the perspective of someone who had felt similarly to them at times. I built relationships of trust because of my position as a settler interested in understanding these issues – I was personally interested in my research question. This was clear to them in the interviews.

My facilitation of these sessions in this way led the people I interviewed to relax and open up more fully, especially towards the end of their interviews. I could sense their more relaxed state of engagement through their body language and in the way they would speak in increasingly off-handed ways towards the end of the interviews. In some cases they explicitly stated that they felt comfortable sharing something they had withheld earlier in the same interview. The interview space represented for some a unique opportunity to discuss their qualms, worries, anxieties and fears about settler-hood and the incorporation of Indigenous issues. All interviews were anonymised to protect the identities of activists.

I asked them to tell me about early influences, first memories and moments when they had felt they had undergone a lot of learning around the topics. I asked them about their activism and their relationships with their activist peers. I encouraged them to share incomplete thoughts and worries because I wanted them to tell me about things that were associated in their minds, even if they could not initially explain links in a coherent narrative. Below are two examples from the interviews where I encouraged more detail from uncertain people in an interview setting.

In the first example I show how I identified with an interviewee, Brooke, that I was also confused about a dilemma we both considered important. I clearly located myself inside of the problem we were discussing and even offered my own thoughts on the topic:

> Me: One of the things I've found interesting is that a lot of people have described their journey as an arrival. Like, they have arrived and now they're here with an understanding of Indigenous issues – they've got it now. Which is not exactly what I expected to hear, I expected people to be a bit more, maybe …?
>
> Brooke: In the process?

> Me: Yeah, in the process or [at least] recognising that they're in the process … !
>
> Brooke: Yeah, I definitely don't have it.
>
> Me: I don't consider myself to have it – and what is 'it'?

In this example, we both recognise that the process is poorly understood and open to question.

In the second example I affirmed to someone who was scared that she sounded incoherent that she was making sense and encouraged her not to worry about keeping her thinking linear. Helena was mid-way through telling me an interesting story about how gender politics played up in organisational meetings when she stopped abruptly to tell me that she was not being coherent. I interjected to tell Helena that she was on track and that I wanted to hear these kinds of stories:

> Helena: They [men] definitely still hold more speaking power, even when they acknowledge that women are people. There is still this social norm [pause]. You are so good at listening. I'm tangenting [*sic*] everything.
>
> Me: No! This is what I want to hear. … The messy stuff, I think that's it. That's what I wanted to talk about. Now, that is interesting. That comes up in a lot of activist circles, you were saying ... [she began her story again.]

In this example Helena was following her instinct for storytelling as she narrated a story about gendered politics at her workplace and how that affected organisational decision-making about campaigns they would work on. This pointed me towards some of the gendered lines of inquiry I mentioned earlier in this chapter. Nonetheless, she was unsure if she was making sense or if it was relevant, perhaps because she had never expressed this story before in relation to how decisions happen and the implications for working on Indigenous issues. However, these unpolished accounts represent excellent sources for new and nuanced data.

To conclude these examples, I believe this life history approach encouraged vulnerability and provided a basis for mutual learning and exploratory dialogue. I developed these techniques of encouraging vulnerability to minimise censorship and performativity in reference to Indigenous / settler relations. I was also guided in my technique development by feminist methods that de-emphasise the authority of the researcher to direct narratives and to seek theory in the mundane experience.

I also wished to encourage the settler activists to go off script. For many of them, messaging was a critical part of their job. For example, one woman I interviewed authored the newsletters for her major, national ENGO. If I wanted to gain access to thick personal data, it was important that I catch people in some ways 'off guard'. The life history / story-telling method where I asked them to tell me first about their most

early memories of connection with Indigenous peoples or ideas was a way of asking them to re-create their life narrative in a way that was novel and fresh. When I asked them to tell me about their personal journey rather than about their curated thoughts and beliefs they often had to stop and think, creating their story as they went, which indicated to me that they were not feeding me pre-planned messages. They were often finding themselves telling a story to a stranger that they had never even articulated to themselves.

This aspect of social trust created an exploratory tone in the interview and was crucial to their successfully sharing detail with me about their experiences and processes. It was very clear when this was not achieved. For example, one person I interviewed in Toronto never went off script. She remained guarded the entire interview and always gave short answers about her personal life, preferring to speak about the organisation. However, as soon as the recording device went off, she visibly relaxed. She told me details that I was bound by ethical integrity not to record but that would have been interesting for analysis. She would not allow herself to explore the narrative I was trying to get her to explore while being recorded. In a different way, this happened in the Maritimes as well, when I spoke to someone who had been interviewed before about her connections to Indigenous communities. The issue was that she was very good at narrating the story and I got the feeling that I was hearing a story that had been rehearsed and told before. This rendered the interview interesting because she had done so much previous reflection but I noticed there were few contradictions in the narrative, which was unusual in the interview data set. I received a polished narrative that may have already been curtailed to exclude analytically interesting or difficult content, making me less confident of the veracity of the entire account. The more candid accounts were less subject to authorial processes of calculated excision.

The other sixteen were, I believe, very successful in that they offered the activist an opportunity to coalesce a story they had not previously been able to narrate while I gained access to rich data in all its complexity. This was exactly the type of data that helped me think later with nuance about the psychological processes at work in the interplay between belief and the motivation to action.

In Chart B I have categorised the interview setting as either private or public. I gave the people I interviewed full control over where we met and talked, often asking them to make recommendations of places we could talk freely. The chart indicates that most people chose to meet at a café near their home or place of work(eight of

eighteen). It also shows that there is no clear tendency for people to choose a private location over a public one as they chose private and public spaces with about equal frequency.

Chart 2: Interview Environment
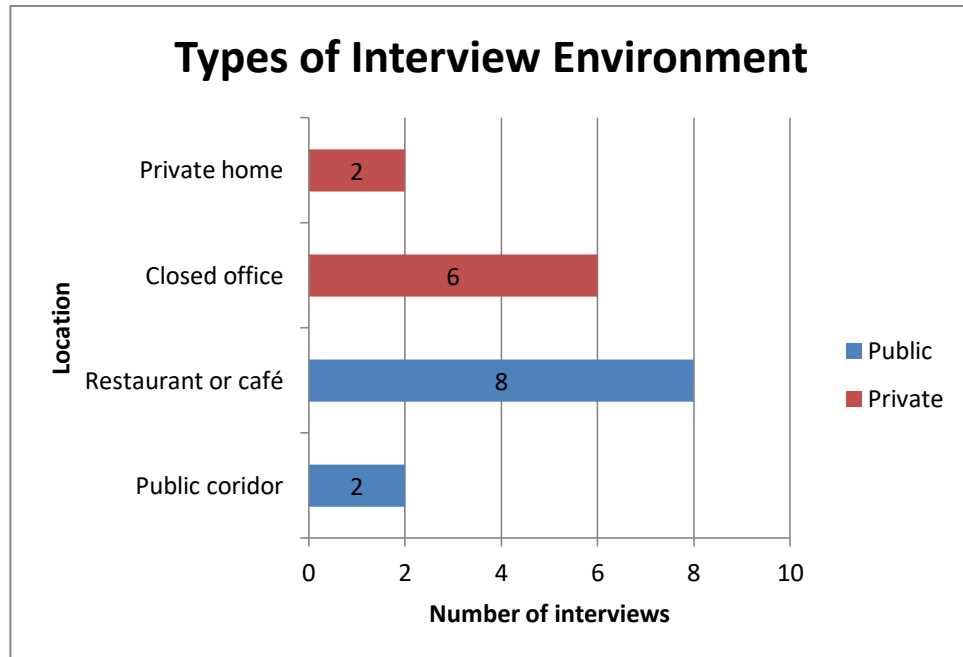
6.c.I Interview challenges

In the interviews activists were often uncertain of what behaviours, thoughts and beliefs were 'correct' or most ethical as regarding engagement on Indigenous rights issues in the activist workplace. They noted they were under personal and organisational pressure to do the right thing as settlers but also to work within their organisational mandates and limitations. This resulted in the people I interviewed often speaking in abstract terms about the issues rather than giving concrete examples of how they engaged the topics. This is similar to other research where participants are prompted to outline their ethical answers and are reticent to do so (Wiles et al. 2010, 288–89). I argue in more depth in Chapter 8 that people were hyperconscious in these interviews because of the nature of the subject, preferring to speak in abstract terms than risk making a 'mistake'.

I expected that many of the settlers I interviewed would feel guilt, shame and experience high-levels of anxiety when discussing issues such as racism and decolonisation because they are implicated as stakeholders in systemically unjust systems. This is what I had felt as an activist and this is what the literature suggested was the norm for white people endeavouring to engage with people of colour on social

justice issues. I did not wish the interviews to be sidelined by guilty admissions and did not want people to be paralysed by their feelings. However, I wished to hear about them. Berg and Smith have noted that the complex emotional and intellectual forces that influence our conduct and approach in an interview setting can be a source of both our insight and our folly (Berg and Smith 1988, 11–31). This is partly because the researched and the researcher are influencing each other in the dynamic of the interview. This is an understood part of the interview methodology, especially during the use of semi-structured interviews. I will discuss this also further down in the section on Limitations. Understanding these dynamics, I accepted that I had a responsibility to try to facilitate a tone that would not draw the conversation down into a space where all we could discuss was self-referential emotions. My job as the facilitator and researcher was to manage these dynamics.

This concept of white people feeling guilt when they discuss race and racism is well recognised in the literature. White guilt is a manifestation of whites realising that they have been wrong. For example, the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act implicated white Americans in having tolerated and been the perpetrators of indifference to human suffering. In the decades following the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the guilt was so palpable Shelby Steele said you could see it on the faces of white people (Steele 1990, 497–98). Unfortunately, guilt does not necessarily manifest in people accepting or adopting measures that will redistribute power in ways that contribute to the levelling of social differences between people of different races, an issue I addressed in Chapter 3 (502–3).

My challenge in each interview was to pry into these emotional areas and encourage disclosure about these emotional phenomena without triggering any kind of defensiveness or upset in the people I was working with. This was important because I did not want to be triggering psychological distress for anyone but also because I believed I would get the best data from someone who was not experiencing stress as that could cause someone to loop into a desire for absolution, as described in Chapter 3. In this way, I managed and facilitated conversations about emotions without us becoming emotional or confrontational in defence of our emotions, which I think was achievable because of my efforts as an interviewer and understanding of the literature.

6.c.II Interviews between settlers

This interview process could be understood on the one hand as collusion between settlers insofar as interviews were conducted in a closed 'safe' space with another

settler. Settlers may not have felt challenged to think as critically as they would have done if Indigenous peoples had been present. However, this was useful for my research because I was trying to capture information about how settlers think and understand their own beliefs and actions and wished to decrease the performativity of the 'good' settler as much as possible. In his study on white American attitudes towards Black Americans, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva noted that when he arranged for data collection he 'race-matched' in order that the opinions reported by informants were not skewed towards the performance of political correctness (Bonilla-Silva 2014, 13). He did not conduct any of the interviews himself because, being a Black American, he thought that interviews with him would show skewed results. By making this an interview explicitly between settlers I created a situation where I minimised performance anxiety and so also enhanced the accuracy of data collection. Nonetheless, critical analysis of the interview data was always an explicit component of the participant agreeing to the interview. My job was to encourage the person interviewed to be as candid and vulnerable as possible, validating subjective accounts, and then to bring a critical eye to the data, introducing objective distance in the analysis stage.

6.2 Limitations of my research design

This study is not representative of a population because I used purposive sampling techniques, which is one limitation of my research. My pointed solicitation of interviews with environmental activists working on Indigenous rights issues is not representative of all Canadians, nor is the sample large enough to be representative of all activists. In a survey of the general population I would have expected to find a variety of responses which all tended to suggest underlying beliefs of racial superiority and an even greater lack of clarity about settler roles in Indigenous rights movements, as noted in Chapter 3 (Bonilla-Silva 2010, 75–78; Bell and Hartmann 2007, 897). Indeed, a 2012 Ipsos Reid poll has captured high rates of racist belief amongst the general population (Ipsos Reid 2012). However, I was interested in the specific techniques and experiences of a population who were already thinking in a sophisticated way about these issues. I considered using surveys and accessing a larger sample size as a methodological tool but determined that they were not likely to be as useful in catching emotions and nuanced responses and would not facilitate the free-flow of ideas in the way that a semi-structured interview could do. This is especially important when discussing

sensitive topics such as race and racism since white people tend not to speak directly on this topic, making interviews ideal at capturing nuances in communication, such as changes in levels of rhetorical coherence and contradictions in narratives (Bonilla-Silva 2014, 11, 115–16). In future studies, I could apply what I have learned from this purposive sample to construct interventions for wider populations but would need to ensure I carried out baseline and post-intervention measures to see if they could be applied across populations.

Trust has been described as "the most fundamental cornerstone of qualitative research" due to its critical role in data collection (Magolda 2010, 228). However, there are some special concerns that arise when researching people who are or could be peers. Collecting data in this way could result in undesirable methods, for example, I could only contact activists with whom I share political sympathies or that I would only interview people in my own peer group. The risk would be that I gather data that is so particular to a niche group that it cannot be used to generate more widely applicable theory. As noted previously I countered these risks through cold-contacting some people in order to reach those I lacked a personal connection with but who were considered by peers to have relevant specialized knowledge. Through contacting some people directly I was able to secure interviews with two leading figures in East Coast environmental circles who were not initially part of my outreach through second- and third-degree connections. This ensured that I would have contacts with many varied backgrounds and that could provide contrast to my extended peer network. I was able to make connections with five people through the snowballing method as well, who were again another step removed from any personal connections of mine.

Another risk that may be raised with regard to my data collection is that in the process of explicitly relating to the people I interviewed and creating an empathic connection I could have promoted a situation in which they would strive to please me. I worked to counteract this desire for them to be seen by me as a 'good' activist in the interviews by explicitly creating an atmosphere where I conceded my own ignorance and confusion and promoted a tone of dialogue and reflection that encouraged the incomplete explication of ideas about the topic, which I demonstrated with examples in the section above. Through creating and maintaining this sense of being 'in it together' I aimed to counter the tendency common to interview-based methodologies of the interviewee telling the interviewer what he or she thinks they want to hear or to misrepresent information (Dean and Whyte 1958; LeCompte and Goetz 1982, 46). To

counter this tendency I acknowledged that I was not measuring or testing them and that the issues that worried them might worry me too.

My interviews were informally structured and I did not use a predefined question sheet, which would make the research collection process difficult to replicate. Peter Magolda describes his experience of drawing out stories from his respondents through conversation in the following way: "[The interviews] resembled an informal conversation. The intent was to initiate a dialogue whereby I could learn about respondents and vice versa. I was particularly interested in issues important to respondents" (Magolda 2010, 219). This builds upon the finding that adults are natural story tellers and that once they begin speaking and find their rhythm they are likely to follow a narrative form that is rich in content and accessible to the listener (Witherell and Noddings 1991; Magolda 2010, 220). Because the story telling method requires the interviewer / facilitator to guide conversations towards the relevant themes and to probe into areas of interest, it would be critical that an interviewer be very familiar with the background of the issues and possibly necessary that they be an insider-outsider in order to a level of depth. This limitation could be mitigated by the use of a more formulated question sheet informed by the themes and questions that came up in this more exploratory study for future, expanded studies.

The proximity I often felt to people in the interviews was critical for data collection. However, it was also necessary for me take off my data collection hat once I began analysis. The distance I felt to the data at the time of the interviews subsequently increased during the analysis stage as I tried through the hermeneutics of settlerhood to understand what they had said for all of its stated and unstated meaning. Very different skills were required to build relationships in the interviews than were required to carry out incisive analysis. Researchers' identities are considered multidimensional to the people we study and Isabel Dyck has argued that the degree of empathic connection between researcher and research subject can change dynamically throughout even a single interview (Dyck 1997, 195–98). My own ability to reflect on the data as an insider-outsider was helpful in both the data collection and the interpretation and analysis stage.

Sandra Acker has written about the insider/outsider dilemma, describing the need in an interview for the interviewer to develop a sense of common ground and empathic connection with the person being interviewed (Acker 2000, 201–5). As William Shaffir and Robert Stebbins note: "[T]he chances of getting permission to undertake the research are increased when the researcher's interests appear to

coincide with those of the subjects" (Shaffir and Stebbins 1991, 26). The cultural and ascriptive differences between me and the people I interviewed were small and so to enhance the likelihood that I would gain access to interviews I ensured this was apparent in the communications they received from me. This empathic connection can help encourage disclosure and overcome the self-protectionism or suppression of information on the part of the person being interviewed. This can also raise important questions about critical objectivity between subjects and researcher, namely, can one have critical distance and can empathic connection interfere with analysis(190)? There is heightened sensitivity around issues of representation and identity in interviews and in research in general, yielding the criticism that it may not be possible to conduct data collection or analysis in any supposedly neutral way.

James E. Holstein and Jaber F. Gubrium have argued that interviews are always dynamic processes and there is no special type of neutral interview method and a different one that is interactional or reciprocal – all interviews are to some degree active in this sense (J. E. Holstein and Gubrium 2004, 140–48). In their approach the active practice of the interview can be thought of more helpfully focused on the 'how' and the 'what' of what is said. In this sense, the how of interviewing, which I have described above as situated in creating empathic connection and promoting candid disclosure might be considered a strategy to promote access to rich and thick kinds of information – what is said. My empathic connection to people can thus be considered not a bias to the data but actually a key to the data – the thing that allowed the data to be shared.

It is also worth noting that while closeness and empathic connection are critical to gaining access to the types of intimate personal histories I wanted to gather, critical distance was required during analysis. Having geographic, temporal and personal distance from the interviews allowed me to become more distant from the contents of the research. Given the politically charged nature of this research, completing it in the UK also allowed me the freedom to explore ideas and make analytic connections that would have been difficult if I had remained in that close range of empathy with the people interviewed. In the data analysis stage, I was sensitive to the construction of meaning between myself and the person interviewed, analysing our data with an eye that was critical of co-constructed interpretations. The empathic connection should be viewed not as a contamination of the data but as part of the construction of reality and of the meaning making process that allows a person to narrate a coherent history from their complex lives (Holstein and Gubrium 2004, 155).

However, empathy is not necessarily as helpful in the analytical process and I do not feel that empathy was a device used to analyse text. The hermeneutics of settlerhood described in Chapter 4 allowed me to conduct a critical device of deep, careful study of the layers of possible meanings based on my understanding of the interview population. Nonetheless, detachment was necessary to ensure that I could be as free as possible to critique the psychological processes I identified.

In the next section I outline ethics and consent procedures that I used to ensure that my participants consented in an informed way to be part of the project and that their data was properly handled.

6.3   Ethics, Risk and Consent

I gained permission to carry out my research from the appropriate Research Ethics Committee at the University of London. The main risk I identified that existed in interviewing employees of environmental organisations was the reputational risk to organisations if criticisms of their employees, or those of other organisations, were made public. This risk could be perceived as particularly salient if any politically-oriented statement made by participants could be construed as representative of the politics of an organisation. At the time I conducted the interviews Canadian environmental charities faced a cap on the level of political activity they were allowed to orchestrate and there was a growing concern that ENGOs were being targeted for audits, the implications of which I expand upon in Chapter 9. Breaching this limit could have been seen to have organisational consequences. To mitigate this risk or perceived risk I stated in my Information Packet that the interviews were with an individual person and nothing that person said in the interview-setting should be construed to represent an organisational attitude or belief.

The people I interviewed needed to be confident when they gave consent that they fully understood what they were consenting to do. When I approached each potential informant I told them before we spoke that if they agreed to the interview we would conduct an interview and that they would have an opportunity to decide later after reading and editing the transcript what level of consent they wished to use. Having people review their transcripts is common practice in particular in situations where people are concerned with issues of anonymity (Wiles et al. 2010, 288). The main reason why people subsequently wanted to make changes or remain anonymous

was to protect the identities and reputations of family members, colleagues and other organisations. I originally gave people the option to remain completely anonymous or to use their real names. After further consultation with my supervisors after the data collection stage, I took the view that it would be most secure for the participants to anonymise all of them. I have identified no risk to doing so. All the people I contacted after interview did give me their consent and where amendments were made to the text they were usually minimal and redactions were only concerning detail about identifiable parties. There was a risk that they would make changes so much so that they were changing the meanings of what they said in interview. However, none of them did this, perhaps demonstrating more than anything how the transcripts do not read as problematic until analysed through the hermeneutics of settlerhood. In one case I needed to remove a very interesting story about workplace conflict because the individuals would have been too easily identified. I thus only carried out the analysis on approved transcripts.

Throughout the thesis I refer to all of the people I interviewed using a pseudonym. Anonymity protects the people I interviewed from unwanted engagement and avoids any issues with associations being formulated between the political beliefs of people and the organisations for which they work. Importantly, knowing that they would be anonymised enabled people to engage candidly with me. Names of other people and organisations disclosed have been anonymised where appropriate to protect non-consenting third-parties. I have decided to leave in names of third-party organisations where this does not appear to confer any particular judgment on the organisation that would appear injurious to reputation. However, I have anonymised it when identifying the organisation could identify the person being interviewed or would betray external criticism of the other organisation. There is an argument for including this third-party information because it can direct attention to the specific organisations that may benefit from attending to critical internal assessment. However, I believe that anonymising this information does not take away from general theorising and sharing the criticisms of particular organisations does nothing to contribute to my analysis or research prerogatives. In fact, as I will explore in detail in Chapters 7 and 8, it may even be seen to commit a practice – calling out – that I recommend environmentalists forgo in favour of alternative communication methods.

In the following section I leave Part C where I described my methods of analysis and data collection and go forward into the analysis of interview data. The following section

includes three chapters of analysis and discussion of the interviews followed by Chapter 10 where I focus on recommendations for interventions. In these chapters I bring together all of the elements of my context-setting work to demonstrate how settler colonial studies can benefit from conversation with social psychology on the issue of the psycho-social dimensions of settler engagements with Indigenous rights issues through analysis of the interviews with settler activists.

PART D: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF INTERVIEWS

CHAPTER 7
A typology of encounters

> [L]ike solidarity, pedagogy is directed toward the relational and highlights the process by which we are made by others through and into difference. Pedagogy takes place in an encounter between subjects, who are also made – and therefore transformed – in and through the encounter as subjects (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012, 51).

The experiences related by the activists I interviewed support Gaztambide-Fernández's assertion above that, indeed, pedagogy is relational and transformative. As described in Part B, a transformative encounter should be thought of as a way of becoming in relationship to a new set of ideas about the world. Encounters in the context of this research are the settings where settlers first become exposed to critical information about Indigenous peoples and settler / Indigenous relations. As previously noted, in a transformative encounter Wiley's 'me' aspect of the self changes because it incorporates new information about the relationship between the settler and the Indigenous other (Wiley 1994, 26–51). Because the me aspect has changed, the I, which makes decisions about what to do in the future, also changes. This is how settlers can understand being transformed by learning as they become related to knowledge in new ways. How settlers respond to this experience of becoming related to new, difficult knowledge about colonialism can help inform the ways organisations might better centre an Indigenous-led perspective on reconciliation.

In Chapter 4 I argued that settlers are responsible for making themselves consciously available to have transformative encounters. I also argued that we can take into account the fact that there are disincentives to undertaking this difficult work and that negative emotional transactions become encoded in the self through the form of transactional histories of EE loss. In the analysis of the interviews in this and the next two chapters I explore how EE interfaces with ethics in reference to the real-world experiences of settler activists to explain the relationship between effort and ethics.

The interplay between minimising EE loss and being motivated by ethical imperatives to take action are factors influencing activist decision-making. Settlers can experience encounters with Indigenous others and / or knowledge about colonialism as representing a cost to levels of EE for a few key reasons:

1. they are unfamiliar with Indigenous culture and this makes them hyperconscious, which drains levels of EE(can trigger avoidance), and / or
2. they are being asked to question their affiliations with one or more collective identities causing intra-psychic distress and actuating a hyperconscious state(can trigger guilt), and / or
3. they fear or experience loss of EE through exclusion or humiliation(can trigger shame).

Because these disincentives can influence settlers to withdraw from Indigenous rights work(avoidance and shame) or to engage in tokenistic ways(guilt), we need to understand what might cause people to engage despite these factors.

In the case of the people interviewed for this study, people seemed to experience encounters as transformative either when they did not significantly cost EE levels or were sufficiently rewarding as to result in net positive EE values. This corroborates my hypothesis that we can support settlers in being available for difficult encounters by organising in ways that maintain and replenish sustainable levels of EE. My hypothesis is that settlers are less likely to sustain engagement in solidarity or Indigenous rights over time if they experience it as high-risk in terms of EE, i.e. have encoded the experiences as high-cost in their transactional histories. In the section to follow I show how settler activists narrate these two interlocked systems of ethics and EE retention in reference to decision-making in practice.

It appears from the interviews that in the case of what I am calling transformative encounters reduced effort is required for a person to engage this stance of ethical availability. What the interview texts suggest is that transformative encounters can happen when settlers position themselves as personally implicated or impacted by the violation of Indigenous rights, thereby reducing the self-referential nature of some types of engagement. They may feel guilt and / or shame from the encounter but in the transformative encounter they work past those emotions towards action. The academic issue of the violation of Indigenous rights becomes a personal one for settlers once they recognise where they are in the story of colonialism. This appears to engage a powerful motivation to work for Indigenous rights and seems to free settlers from debilitating levels of self-referential emotional response. This corroborates the theoretical frameworks we have been working with so far. We should expect that as settlers work through guilt and shame and become familiar with Indigenous rights and with Indigenous-centred critiques they will 1) become less hyperconscious, 2) re-write their me scripts and thereby experience less intra-psychic

distress, and 3) begin to locate themselves within the ongoing story of Canadian colonialism and identify in the story of decolonisation and reconciliation.

In this chapter I refer to the following activists, listed in alphabetical order by name: Andrea[2], Carly[3], Georgia[4], Helena[5], Jessica[6], Josephine[7], Megan[8], Pauline[9], and Tina[10], all first introduced in the table in Chapter 6 (see page 73) and introduce them briefly the first time I mention them. I use examples from interviews with these activists to demonstrate different styles of encounter, some transformative and some not, and to compare and contrast the experience of emotions within each type. In describing the following schema for thinking about encounters, I begin to introduce the activists' voices to describe the connection between chronic levels of low tone and willingness to take actions that risk EE. Their voices provide empirical support for the link I am endeavouring to make between fear of EE loss and engagement on Indigenous Rights.

7 Types of encounter identified in the interviews

I propose a framework of four types of encounter to aid us in describing how to facilitate transformative encounters. I assume that not every encounter related to settler learning about Indigenous rights issues is a transformative encounter, however, any of the following encounter types can become transformative. It is helpful to differentiate the types because they can help us examine the relationship between the EE transaction taking place in the encounter and the long-term effect of the encounter. I define encounters as particular and situated experiences in a person's life when they become conscious because of interacting with a person or symbolic object. Encounters are encoded internally in the ritual interaction chains(transactional

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[2] Author interview with Andrea in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2015.
[3] Author interview with Carly in Winnipeg, MN (Prairies) in the summer of 2014.
[4] Author interview with Georgia in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[5] Author interview with Helena in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[6] Author interview with Jessica in Tatamagouche, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[7] Author interview with Josephine in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[8] Author interview with Megan in Oxford, UK (Central Canada because of interview contents) in the spring of 2014.
[9] Author interview with Pauline in Winnipeg, MN (Prairies) in the summer of 2014.
[10] Author interview with Tina in Toronto, ON (Central Canada) in the summer of 2015.

histories) of individuals. Some of these encounters will be transformative and some will just be moments when people feel intensely hyperconscious. Because attitudes towards future encounters are influenced by the accumulated memory of the remembered transaction history, these narratives can begin to indicate the relationship between past encounters and decision-making in the present moment(at the time of interview). They can suggest what people will do in the future.

Many of the people I interviewed reported experiencing several encounters and for some a particular encounter led to them seeking out further encounters. I developed the typology in response to the interview narratives and in relation to the patterns I identified in the interview texts. The four types of encounters described below are,

1. Shock and immersion encounters,
2. Facilitated encounters,
3. Organic encounters and
4. Encounters at university.

The four encounter types differ in terms of how the settler responds to the encounter and what the encounter seems to influence them to do. Because some encounters 'work' better than others to support engagement rather than precipitate aversion it is worth being conscious about what kinds of transformative encounters individuals or organisations might try to develop. After introducing the encounters below, I offer further justification for the value of creating this typology in section 7.1 below., with further description also of the differences between the types. I have arranged this after the qualitative description of the types to allow the reader to develop a sense of the encounters and to give them examples I flesh out further in the section to follow.

7.a Shock and immersion encounters

Of the four, shock and immersion encounters are characterised by settler activists learning about difficult topics in the most intensive setting, leading often to them being overwhelmed by the experience and feeling high levels of guilt and shame. This experience can lead settler activists to withdraw from repeating the experience, particularly when they are caught off guard by the learning and by their own reactions. Shock and immersion represent the riskiest type of encounter to facilitate in terms of future engagement because they can lead people to avoid future experiences of engaging with difficult learning because of the high associated EE cost. However, as

Mark Warren notes, the jarring experience of learning of the intensity of wrongdoing can actuate a "moral impulse to act" (Warren 2010, 213).

Andrea's experience at the 2013 Powershift conference is an archetypal example of a 'shock and immersion' encounter. I interviewed Andrea where she was based in Halifax and in a senior leadership position at a prominent national environmental non-governmental organisation (ENGO). This was the first time she attended an activist training Powershift conference, organised annually by the Canadian Youth Climate Coalition. It is an event where many organisers from all over the country are invited to build and share knowledge around environmental activism. Andrea described her encounter at the Powershift conference as one that helped to educate her about Indigenous theory around colonisation. She explained that "There are a lot of things that contributed to my feeling of what justice looks like in a social context, but I think [the stuff] around decolonisation analysis and decolonisation practices came from Powershift" (Andrea). This experience propelled her to develop working activist theories around how to engage with these issues in the environmental activist workplace. At the time, though, she could not cope with the learning and was overwhelmed:

> I felt completely unable to cope with some of the things that I learned there and confused about how decolonisation happened and how that process would happen in the future and what that would mean for those communities and what that would mean for my community and what that meant going forward. At first, I had a lot of settler guilt and I had a lot of processes of trying to un-learn things. Pretty much all of the speakers … were powerful First Nations women who were doing the frontline work in their communities, from the Mi'gmaq Warrior Society to Crystal Lameman or Vanessa Grey … [T]he things that they had to say were just so much more than I was able to hear at that moment. I was just bawling through every one of their speeches. … I felt cracked open. I … just couldn't make sense of it (Andrea).

Learning – especially from Indigenous women – was a powerful and emotional experience for her. She describes feeling intense levels of guilt.

At the site of encounter we can best understand Andrea's emotions as propelled by an intense feeling of settler guilt caused by these women challenging her identity as a Canadian and as a progressive activist. She identified this feeling herself: her immediate response to this information was feeling settler guilt. Further, that she felt 'cracked' and 'broken', as if the frameworks she had been using to organise her life, the scripts that constituted her internal me aspect of the self had stopped accurately explaining her lived reality. We know that guilt commonly motivates support for apologies and limited reparations and so we know that the debilitating levels of guilt

she experienced at this moment would probably not motivate her to start working to secure Indigenous rights.

Andrea's experience, which at the time was difficult and painful, did result in her taking away a lot of learning. Rather than avoiding similar encounters, Andrea eventually went on to be involved with organising the Powershift conference in 2016, held in Edmonton. The fact that she did not avoid similar encounters in the future is noteworthy. We might have expected that her settler guilt and her draining emotional experience might have dissuaded her from repeating the experience and not motivated her to pick up this work in such a committed way. She dealt with this shock through speaking frequently on the topic with her friends, crediting countless conversations with willing, thoughtful listeners as eventually leading her towards a transformative experience.

For Tina it was even harder to manage emotional transactions in the workplace. While Andrea had experienced feeling intensive emotions over the course of a weekend, Tina's work as an outreach officer at an environmental group in Toronto meant that she was constantly negotiating encounters with people. As we can see, this public-facing role already seemed to drain her EE levels at work:

> I think that a big problem for me … [is that I often think], 'this needs to happen, you have to find a way', and then I cannot [deliver]. I have trouble [reconciling] what I want to do versus what I have the capacity to do … I have a lot of guilt …about not being able to respond to people because I'm a huge people pleaser. And that's a selfish thing, I want people to like me … [and] that attitude, that if I get something wrong, then it is the worst thing in the world, has been damaging. … there have been ramifications in my personal life (Tina).

Tina saw herself as being selfish. Alternatively, social psychology literature would suggest that she was behaving normally in wanting her interactions to leave her with a positive emotional tone.

Importantly, her already low emotional tone seemed to influence her decision not to do Indigenous solidarity work. She reasoned it would be irresponsible for her to try to build relationships with possible partner organisations in Indigenous communities:

> I was having a lot of conversations with people out West … Their connections with First Nations are way stronger. … So I talked to some of them and they were like, 'this is how we're allies, this is how this works'. These are friends, people working in climate change… And they shared a lot of their knowledge with me on that. I understood that if we wanted to work with First Nations it had to be a genuine effort and not just something we do off the side of our desks … What it came down to is that we don't have capacity to do that kind of relationship building with First Nations. And I don't feel qualified to go into communities to do it yet. Because it's different. It is different. It is different (Tina).

In this section Tina described how part of her anxiety around working with First Nations partners was founded in her not having done it before, suggesting she felt culturally illiterate. She had discussed this dilemma with her boss and he had apparently felt similarly – that they should exclude attempts to work with First Nations partners because they did not have capacity. To my mind, they both made unreasonably large logical leaps from having limited capacity to having therefore no capacity at all to do any partnered work. Later revelations depicted a fuller story about why she might have attributed such high risk levels to this work:

> Right in the early days I had a long conversation with a local (Toronto) activist. … We had this long phone call because there had been some problems with him and his groups and somebody who worked here. … I was saying, 'I was not here, but I'm sorry this happened, this is how I feel, and this is what I'm trying to do. Can you tell me how we can make this work?' … [T]hen I found out two weeks later that he had been totally bad-mouthing us after that conversation. [O]n the phone he was like, 'yeah yeah I know, I totally want to work with you', and then he just bad-mouthed us to a whole bunch of people. I was thinking, what just happened? I thought we were building trust. I would rather him be honest. I would rather him be like, 'no', and then hang up the phone. And that's happened a few times where people to my face are nice [but act differently behind my back] (Tina).

The accumulated results of her emotional transactional history influenced her to make a conscious choice to not risk levels again. She had been publicly shamed by a colleague in her community and – as we can expect from understanding the phenomenology of shame – this led to her withdrawal.

She chose to work around the country organising resistance to particular development projects without pursuing any kind of formal partnership or developing relationships with First Nations resisters to the project. Her experiences had taught her that she had to be hyperconscious in these interactions because other setter activists were untrustworthy and would potentially publicly slander her if they disagreed with her organisation. She also described how shame had contributed to her hyperconsciousness around the work. Unfortunately, Tina recorded this high EE cost as associated with working on Indigenous rights work. Though she had this encounter with a settler, she transferred this transactional history to all work on Indigenous rights – including that that could have taken place directly in partnership with Indigenous community members.

Tina named this kind of fear of being shamed as related to call-out culture. She expressed that she was embarrassed to ask for help or support as she learned how to engage on Indigenous rights work because she was afraid doing so would lead to public humiliation:

I'm careful about who I say this to, this is going to sound so bad, but I do think that – even though I'm a white privileged person – I'm learning. I'm trying to ask for a little bit of understanding that I'm going to [mess] it up. [O]ne thing that I find difficult is that – and it's the whole reason why I was paralysed for so long on these issues – is that there's a big call out culture. Ironically not from First Nations but in the activist community, which I consider myself a part of. There's this call-out culture, 'you're being colonialist!' and it's just like, oh my god, I'm trying so hard (Tina).

I argue that Tina believed that working with First Nations organisers would be risky because it would be too energy intensive. To do it she would have to risk public shaming and would have operated in a state of hyperconsciousness to avoid making mistakes for which she could be shamed. This is despite the fact that no First Nations organisers had ever delivered any negative feedback personally to her. Receiving feedback from settler ingroup members had contributed to her believing Indigenous solidarity work was beyond her capacity.

In this example we see the perfect storm: an employee who lacked cultural literacy and organisational support for pursuing partnerships with First Nation groups. Her job was outreach so she was always going to have an unusually high number of interactions as part of her position and she was constantly representing her organisation resulting in more opportunities to lose EE. She did not know what solidarity work she would do or have a concrete sense of the specific things she might or might not be capable of doing. Yet other settlers had contributed to her sense of needing to operate in a state of hyperconsciousness, which ultimately manifested as her avoidance of doing any partnered work with Indigenous groups. In this case settlers speaking on behalf of Indigenous peoples cost Indigenous organisers a potential ally in a well-financed organisation.

Helena, who I discuss in more detail later in the section of Encounters at University, had another kind of shock and immersion encounter, precipitated through an encounter with a representation of an Indigenous other. She was the only one of my interviewees who identified strongly as Christian and this identity was both a source of inspiration and motivation to work on Indigenous rights as well as a source of shame. In the interview she described historical research she was doing on her chapel society and narrates an argument she had had with another settler about what she found in their chapel archives:

I was looking up the history of this group. It's hard to find photos. One of the only photos they had was this picture of some volunteers at a residential school. I was ashamed. This was in my first year. I think a lot of people know what residential schools are. I was ashamed. I didn't put it on the poster. I didn't photocopy it. I was like, I'm going to exclude that from our history. That was

the wrong thing to do. He [the other settler] took offence that I was ashamed. He said, '[t]hose people thought they were doing the right thing. We don't have any way to know that they were there and part of the sexual abuse or the starvation of the children or any times that these terrible things happened. For all we know, they might have known this was happening and gone to try to rectify that'. I said, 'okay, well, I don't know if that's true'. Then he said, 'We shouldn't be ashamed of that connection', which is a weird thing to say, because I think we should be. I think we should feel guilty that we were complicit in something that terrible(Helena).

In this scenario Helena reported feeling both shame, which made her not include the photo in the exhibit, and guilt, which she felt was an appropriate response to feel. Helena on the other hand felt that guilt itself offered something to amend for the experiences of residential school survivors: "I guess the point he was trying to make to me was, sometimes, working out of guilt is not a good perspective to come from. If we're going to go and talk to them, it should be like 'we're sorry we did this, but this has happened' … I think it's good to apologise because … maybe [it means that we can begin to] work on building something in the future?" (Helena). She linked this feeling of guilt to apologising. She identified apologising as a good way to move on into the future past the actions of church employees who had good intentions.

In shock and immersion encounters people experience a net loss in terms of EE in their experiences of organising around Indigenous rights issues. While these sites of encounter can eventually lead, as with Andrea, to a transformative encounter that informs her organising, the pedagogy does not take place at the site of encounter. The literature shows that we should expect that net negative values are going to dissuade many people from investing emotional resources into pursuing Indigenous rights at work. That is what makes 'shock and immersion' encounters so risky. If the transaction of EE is a loss, settler organisers may become averse to repeating encounters or pursuing further learning. These cases both show that these net negative EE experiences can easily precipitate settler guilt or shame. Neither guilt nor shame typically motivate people to take meaningful and sustained action to address injustices or are likely to actuate a transformative experience.

7.b Facilitated encounters

Facilitated encounters are ones where learners are introduced to challenging topics and difficult learning through a premeditated, structured programme. In these settings, trained facilitators are present to manage intense emotional experiences. They catch participants who are experiencing overwhelming emotions and guide them towards transformative encounters. This type of setting is the least risky to EE because it operates slightly off to the side of 'actual' social interactions. Nonetheless, it is a

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setting where settlers appear to be able to experience transformative encounters. This is likely because facilitators are aiming to spur learning with the awareness that this will precipitate emotional reactions. Expecting emotional reactions to be part of the learning process, facilitators are able to manage intensive emotional reactions in situ and prevent them from precipitating the unhelpful self-referential emotions of guilt and shame. Facilitators are ideally able to support participants in such a way that their net EE transaction ends up being positive.

In the next example, Josephine is exposed to a difficult learning situation during the course of a particular programme that is being carried out to promote peaceful intercultural dialogue. Josephine was a long-standing and senior coordinator in one of the most well-known Maritimes ENGOs and I interviewed her in Halifax:

> One of the amazing things that would happen at the Tatamagouche Centre is that relationships [are built]. [I]t is starting to be the case that people who are Mi'gmaq and African Nova Scotia and other stuff are starting to feel comfortable coming to these programmes and classes. … So I think for a lot of [white, settler] people [the programme] is kind of their first experiences being in classes, in learning sessions, with African Nova Scotian and Mi'gmaq [peoples] … So in these spaces a lot of things come up and people are triggered and facilitators are always ready(Josephine).

The activity outlined below is designed to bring up difficult scenarios in order to actuate learning amongst participants. In this situation Josephine encounters racism in a role-play activity but does not intervene into the situation:

> This was a role-play [between] some people who wanted to rent an apartment and some people who were immigrants. Their landlord didn't want to rent to them because he didn't want to rent to immigrants. So there was racism in this case study but the roles were being played by people who had probably experienced this kind of racism. And part of dialogue for peaceful change is you kind of have to name what you think is happening, so that can then be in the room. [W]hat happened was that one of the participants, a Black man, was about to name, 'You don't want to rent to me because of race' and he looked up and saw the facilitator shaking his head. He took that to mean, 'don't raise the racism issue'. And he froze. He didn't know how to handle it. It just went haywire from there because there's something in the room that hasn't been named and everyone watching it was [thinking] what just happened here? and why aren't they naming it? It was just getting awful (Josephine).

Because this was a multi-day programme, she had the chance to dwell on the situation overnight and had the unique opportunity to re-visit the uncomfortable moment the next day:

> I didn't name it either because I was thinking, 'I'm just the intern, I shouldn't be [intervening]…' We [all] left feeling like this it was so horrible. [T]hen I was talking to my co-facilitators and something similar had happened in their group and they went with it. They worked with it, they used it as a moment to help people learn and untriggered and untraumatise themselves. I was kind of feeling like 'oh, obviously you would get to do all the good stuff', and then I had

this dream that night like, 'you can only do the work if you do the work. You have to do the work'. And so the next day … I had to create some more safety in our group (Josephine).

In this role-play activity Josephine relied on her facilitator to manage the encounter around discussing and naming racism. When her facilitator failed to do this work, she had a whole night to prepare to be the person to do that work instead:

> So we did it again and this time I did a few things to create the feeling like, 'I'll have your back if you want to go there again'. And they trusted me: they went there and they did it. And it was really, hard! Standing up where it was, where I realised that no one else was going to stand up if I didn't … I think that's a transition to make to go from someone who is passively supportive to saying, 'no, it's my responsibility to stand up and say these things', to create the space where they can be said. No-one else is going to do this work, this anti-oppressive work. You have to do the work (Josephine).

In this facilitated encounter naming and discussing racism was emotionally charged and difficult for everyone involved – both the person of colour and Josephine felt initially disempowered in the activity. Josephine did not want to embarrass herself publicly since she was just the intern, and through fear of incurring shame she initially withdrew from the opportunity to intervene. However, she recognised through her dream that in this setting she and the others were only going to have the transformative encounter if they overcame that fear and consciously 'did the work' of naming racism.

She readily admitted that speaking out against racism was hard even in a structured programme where the explicit aim was to name racism. This eventually became one of her transformative encounters. Here she described how this experience had made her realise both that she was accountable for her usual unconsciousness. It also initiated a process for her as she defined a new motivation for ethical action and taking a stand:

> Yeah, it was tough but it also made me realise, oh my god, this is what happens every day, all the time. The … trained facilitator didn't even notice it. When he was called on it he said, 'yeah, maybe', he couldn't even see what he had failed to do and the pain it caused. They were not at all a bad person but it was a [moment when I realised] this is what it's like all the time. Our society is structured in ways where people around us are triggered or reminded [and there is] trauma and nobody sees what's happening. So I think that's when I had a personal moment of [realisation where I thought] okay, this work is hard. But, not doing it isn't okay because not doing it means that people are continuing to experience the pain and trauma of living in this racist, oppressive society (Josephine).

Because she was in a structured, safe place Josephine had been willing to do risky things like naming racism and did not feel hyperconscious in the sense of being afraid to make mistakes. She had the space instead to be reflective. She found her place in

the narrative of a racist society as someone who could choose to do the work of naming racism.

Facilitating this kind of reflective process is one route through which educators can help settlers place themselves in the problem they are learning about. As setters begin to feel responsible and implicated they can be supported to reflect on how they can narrate their selves and add new scripts to their me aspect of the self around new knowledge about their role in colonialism. Josephine ultimately identified neither feelings of guilt nor shame. She explained feeling like she was doing something difficult but she was motivated to do it anyway because she had constructed a narrative in which it was the right thing to do.

In another example of a facilitated learning encounter, Jessica described her role as a facilitator dealing with these encounters as they arose. Jessica was a facilitator at the same Centre where Josephine did her training and I interviewed her at this centre in Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia, where she had worked for many years as a facilitator:

> [W]e were doing this exercise during 'Dialogue for Peaceful Change'. And you set it up as a competitive thing, right, so there was this candy game. You're squeezing hands and you grab a pencil and one gets this candy, the other hand does not. And then you do this thing where one team leaves the room, and the other team [has] the choice if [they] want to change the rules or not. [T]hen people go into discussions about, 'well, maybe we shouldn't help them, so they can then [do better next time]', or, 'no, let's make it work', and all this stuff. And then the people [come back in], play it again. [T]hen when you're debriefing it all the emotions that come out [are] just phenomenal. Discussions like, one was about helping First Nations get positions, and how that feels for them. So those emotions [triggered the thought that], 'you wanted to help us, but do you think that that makes us feel any better? You've just made [us] feel worse because you've just made us feel so small, like we're not capable of ever winning'(Jessica).

These activities were designed to trigger learning around difficult topics so not only did facilitators know emotions were likely to arise, they to some extent created conditions they knew would catalyse emotional vulnerability:

> [O]ne time somebody changed the agenda. It was a young, white woman. So people were debriefing and some people weren't owning that they had agreed to say. [Someone from] the team that had been out asked, 'why did you change it?' and this one – white woman – said [that she had been thinking], 'well, let's just see what happens'. Then this native woman said, 'I am so sick of your people doing that to us. I'm so sick of you changing the rules!' And the young, white one … just realised she'd been in a position of power and what she had done and she lost it, like, complete devastation. She was young, her image was that she was open and welcoming and she was – she was working for an environmental organisation. She was completely destroyed (Jessica).

In this example Jessica explained how she and other facilitators handled a scenario in which a Mi'gmaq participant was re-traumatised in a group activity because of something a white settler environmentalist said.

The settler woman whose comment hurt her was 'devastated' by realising the damage she caused. She initially felt so much shame at what she had said that she left the room and could not bear the idea of coming back, a withdrawal-type response typical of the phenomenology of shame. Because facilitators were on hand, however, and expected emotions to arise, they could manage the responses:

> So that's one of the times where David[11] ended up working with [the settler woman] while I went outside with the First Nations woman, who was freaking pissed beyond … She was just so angry and was just like, 'my g*^&£%$ [unintelligible words] stop …' … So you know, I'm helping her go through all her emotions around – 'I thought I was at a safe place and somebody said [something like that]', and all of her different emotions, processing that. And David was downstairs helping the other one own what happened and to recognise that it's an opportunity for change and [encouraged her to] be willing to continue participating. And we did work it out, and [the white woman environmentalist] did go through a incredibly empowering experience. The First Nations person is now one of the trainers of this program, so [she also] hung in and kept with it (Jessica).

Through skilful facilitation, everyone was able to learn from the initial divisive experience and ultimately stuck with the group and with the programme. She only overcame the shame she experienced after removing herself physically and being supported to see beyond herself, coming to identify how she still had a role to play in the wider conversation.

Both parties needed facilitation to convince them to be willing to stick with the programme. A testament to the success of the facilitation, the Mi'gmaq woman was so convinced of the value of the programme that she invested herself into it as a trainer and facilitator. The white, settler woman turned the experience of being devastated by this challenge to her identity into recognition of the power she wielded in groups settings. This public anger and rejection could have triggered debilitating levels of shame for the settler activist, who even in the facilitated setting experienced emotional "devastation." Emotional transactions that might have resulted in relationship breakdown or in a continuation of white settlers not knowing what to do when they see racism became transformative learning opportunities. In these examples, facilitators shaped moments where participants experienced difficult and emotional learning into transformative encounters. All participants came back together and were taught that

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[11] Name changed to protect identity of individual.

they were accountable to each other even in these moments of conflict, which in turn would hopefully lead to reflection and initiate the re-storying process, rather than lead to settler aversion, tokenisation or withdrawal.

We can argue the encounter was transformative because it shaped decision-making into the future. In the case study Jessica explained that the Mi'gmaq woman became a trainer and the settler woman went on to do important work on these issues. The results would appear lasting. Josephine, who was working in a senior level at an environmental organisation, was motivated by her experience in the programme to organise for other staff members to do the training. She encouraged settler presence at blockades organised by Indigenous organisers some months later. Recognising that her organisation had not had historically great relationships with local Mi'gmaq people, she initiated relationship-building efforts at the local Friendship Centre. Below you see how she described 'doing the work' at home through reaching out and trying to mend bridges:

> I've been trying to help rebuild some of these relationships with and for [our organisation] and that's been really interesting. For me personally what helped me reconnect with these issues and [connect] in a different away was being involved with the Tatamagouche centre. I think that was some of the stuff that [had] been missing from our earlier experiences – the honest, painful conversations. We [worked] together but we didn't really – I didn't understand some of the complexities of just how painful and difficult it is for First Nations people to be involved in these cross-cultural coalitions. Even [just] knowing that – a lot of the things that happened [in the training programme] were applicable to me (Josephine).

Her training helped her understand what might make coalitions hard for First Nations partners and resourced her with the motivation to rebuild damaged relationships.

Josephine's facilitated encounter stands in contrast with Tina's shock and immersion encounter described earlier. Whereas Tina felt personally threatened by the prospect of being criticised for doing relationship-building in the 'wrong way', Josephine felt empowered through her encounter to try to understand how to mend and build relationships. Josephine does not have special access to tools or ideas about how to build bridges – Tina in comparison might have more access to ideas through her activist connections on the West coast. However, instead of being consumed with guilt and shame and instead of re-scripting her 'me' self to fear encounters, Josephine felt motivated to engage. She encouraged other people in her workplace to experience facilitated encounters in hopes that they too would experience them as transformative.

Facilitated encounters appear to be effective ways to catalyse transformative encounters without losing people to aversion, guilt or shame.

7.c Organic encounters

Organic encounters refer to instances of encountering Indigenous peoples and learning about colonialism in banal instances throughout daily life. These types of encounters differ from the previous two in reference to both space and time. People who have gained much of their growing consciousness around Indigenous rights from 'organic encounters' often grew up or moved into spaces where there was a more even split between numbers of Indigenous and settler peoples, such as Winnipeg's North End, or had worked or lived on reserves for periods of time. In these cases settler peoples learned about Indigenous peoples – cultures, politics, rights and political aspirations – through developing personal and work relationships with Indigenous peoples. They were desensitised in a sense to the politics present at the site of encounter and lacked a sense of hyperconsciousness – they were already sustaining a long-term level of consciousness. The other special element to these types of encounters was time. Settlers who had sought out or decided to remain in spaces where there were Indigenous peoples tended to invest time into these relationships and often learned through several low-intensity encounters.

Pauline was one organiser who had enjoyed many personal relationships with different Indigenous peoples and Indigenous-centred projects over the course of her lifetime. She was from a predominantly white neighbourhood in Winnipeg, where I interviewed her, and was a radio DJ with her own show where she often brought up the subject of Indigenous issues and settler allyship. Her environmental work came through her organising in local food security groups. As a child she had friends in the neighbourhood who were Ojibwa-Cree and one summer they invited her to join them at their community's Sundance. That was her first trip to a reserve and she recalled it as a key moment when she encountered a difference between her reality and that of her friends: "I got to see the reserve, and I got to see the over-crowding and the way people live. I didn't see any substance abuse but I could sort of tell there was something going on that was different. It shocked me but at the same time it made me curious. [My interest] was sort of on the back-burner for a long time" (Pauline). She later expanded on her history of having personal relationships with Indigenous peoples throughout her life and notes that this was considered unusual amongst her non-Indigenous peers:

> I think my whole life I've had First Nations friends. Growing up in Oklahoma when I was a young kid one of my friends was part Navaho so we would pretend we were Indians and play with twigs and berries. I know that's inappropriate but we were kids, we were three when we did that. And then my best friend through elementary school was Ojibwa and then my two friends

across the street were Ojibwa-Cree and my partner is Cree so [people of First Nations ancestry] have just always been in my life. Which I also recognise is not common. I grew up in a middle-class neighbourhood, middle-class family. A lot of people I knew didn't know First Nations people but I always did and I guess because of that they didn't scare me like they scare a lot of people. Instead I was just curious. I liked the culture and I wanted to understand these people who I liked who came from poor backgrounds, had abuse in their families and had issues (Pauline).

These early relationships expanded for Pauline into her career and educational choices. She continued to live in Winnipeg but had moved into the downtown core by the time of our interview where the Indigenous population was higher than in her original neighbourhood. She also worked in the North End, where poverty amongst Indigenous residents was visible and widespread. She had chosen to live and work in these spaces that many other white Winnipeggers avoided because they are "afraid of Indigenous peoples." She does not describe feeling guilt or shame in her encounters with Indigenous peoples and issues, she simply describes gradual re-scripting of her me self to incorporate new knowledge.

In her earlier years, Pauline reported that her parents never taught her racist stereotypes about Indigenous peoples or people of colour at home. They in fact encouraged her to go to places where she was likely to encounter Indigenous peoples:

[T]he racism that pervades here is so crazy. People are so inherently racist towards Indigenous people. And they won't even understand that what they are doing is racism. But you know, [they say], 'oh I'm going to cross the street because there's some big native guys coming'. It's like, [I say and / or think], 'no you don't have to cross the street. Really, you don't'. Yeah, a lot of my friends growing up in River Heights, a middle-class neighbourhood in the city (my dad's a doctor, we were middle-class) would never have gone downtown. I was allowed to go downtown and my Mom was never afraid for me. She was just like, 'oh yeah, whatever, be safe, you'll be fine'. I was never taught any of that fear, to fear people (Pauline).

She was taught to be unafraid even as her friends were being taught to fear Indigenous peoples by their parents:

I've never been afraid of anybody, ever, but a lot of my friends were like, 'I can't believe you're going to Portage Place, there's lots of native people there. It's scary, people are doing drugs'. It was conflated. Peoples' fears of what happens in the North End were blown way out of proportion: I'm repping[12] my 'I

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[12] Pauline uses the word 'repping' to refer to the act of representing a positive symbol of the North End wherever she goes in the city. Her use of the word overlaps with the Oxford English Dictionary definition of repping: "Of an organization: that acts as a representative for a product, a company, etc" (OED Online 2017a). However, the second definition on Urban Dictionary more accurately encapsulates her meaning: "Repping is a colloquial verb used to sum up that someone or something is representing an area or something relevant [*sic*] to their lives" (Urban Dictionary 2008).

love the North End' [sticker]. The North End is the ghetto of our city but there's amazing stuff going on there. I always had friends growing up in the North End so I spend a lot of time there. I'd rather go to the places where there's reality and potential, rather than places where people are just comfort[able] and blinded (Pauline).

Having relationships with Indigenous individuals taught Pauline that the culture of racism in Winnipeg does not do justice to the vibrancy of the people living in the North End and Downtown areas. Pauline was anything but hyperconscious around her Indigenous friends. She had nothing to say about guilt or shame. She did not appear to identify to a high degree with the white, middle-class ingroup she was born into. In the interview she identified herself as associated with the North End, Winnipeg's impoverished neighbourhood. There appeared to be no tension in her identity to fit herself into Indigenous-dominated space.

Jessica, introduced earlier in the chapter, also reported early encounters with a First Nations person and through him learned some Indigenous perspectives on history as a child. She recalled connecting with an older man and learning from him about being moved to a reserve as her first exposure to Indigenous understandings of colonial history:

[H]e mentioned he wanted to go home, and I couldn't understand that because to me this was such a beautiful place, why wouldn't he want to live there? And so he told me about that he had been moved by the government from his home in Québec, which was Oka, which I didn't clue into at that young age, and that the government had forced them to move there, and yes, it was beautiful, but it wasn't home. … I didn't understand the whole forcefully moved stuff but the story stuck with me. That was probably my first conscious sort of awareness of those kind of issues (Jessica).

Similar to Pauline, Jessica described Métis and First Nations childhood friends and having parents who questioned dominant racist stereotypes.

Jessica recalled a time when her father encountered racism at work and resisted it by consciously determining to befriend the person that made his colleagues feel uncomfortable:

I remember somebody from Pakistan started working in my father's office. My Dad said everybody was kind of awkward and tense, and so he felt awkward. He decided the best thing to do was to become friends and get to know [his new colleague]. So he offered to drive him to work every day, and they became family friends … [They] taught me how to cook their food. So my father was the kind who would work flat-out the minute he saw something he didn't like in himself. He would figure out a way to overcome that feeling [of internalised racism] (Jessica).

Both Pauline and Jessica had parents who resisted racism and who ensured their children knew people of colour personally. As adults they were both living and working with Indigenous peoples from various nationalities. Both reported in their interviews that they know other white people are afraid of Indigenous peoples but that they never had been.

Pauline and Jessica are amongst several others in the interview pool of eight-teen activists for whom personal connections and relationships with Indigenous peoples had been key factors influencing their stances towards promoting Indigenous rights. This provides important empirical support for the model of self I introduced in Chapter 4. In this model it was explained that the self system is dynamic and hosts temporary and permanent visitors. These visitors are representations of important individuals or ideas that are incorporated in the me script and referred back to guide the self-belief of who 'I' am and what the 'you' of the future self is likely to decide to do. For the people who have experienced organic encounters, Indigenous voices are incorporated early in life and are incorporated into the self script – they become a part of the chorus of voices that help individuals develop their motivations, priorities and identities.

Their relationships with Indigenous peoples have shaped the work they do, where they live and how they think about Indigenous rights. This is perhaps even more so the case when settlers have close personal relationships with politicised Indigenous peoples and this can make conflict even more painful when relationships go wrong (J. Denis 2015). These visiting representations become more permanent and less temporary by virtue of the long-term presence of a real individual. Jessica married a Native American activist and has Indigenous children and grandchildren. Pauline was dating an Indigenous man as well. They were both in relationships with Indigenous peoples as work colleagues, family members and friends. This high level of personal accountability to Indigenous peoples is likely to be both a cause and effect of working on Indigenous rights issues in their activist work. When these settlers encounter Indigenous peoples and issues there is no shock to their understanding of the world because the visitors who already help form their understanding of their selves already represent Indigenous-centred versions of phenomenon.

Members of this group did not generally report volatile emotional reactions, although Pauline did describe the difficulties that sometimes arise between her and her partner as they negotiate privilege and power in their relationship. She directly

compared their negotiations with the national reconciliation processes going on in Canada:

> I also want to think about the future for me and my partner, like, there's so many challenges because you know the world looks at you and we're both trained to idealise [certain things] as the life that we're going for. It does take, on a personal level, paring down your assumptions about yourself and about what your future is going to look like all the time and trying to coordinate that with another person. I feel like on a personal level we're doing what the country is going to have to do. You know, be equals and share the power and try to understand one another and just try to create something that works and that's loving and supportive and that is – [it] makes me learn, makes me learn, yeah(Pauline).

These organic encounters represent a form of settler engagement with Indigenous rights issues in which settlers have adopted struggles for justice and Indigenous rights as something in which they are personally invested. They have found niches for themselves in the struggle for Indigenous rights as people supporting the First Nation peoples they are in relationships with and see a role for themselves as educators of other settlers. The key seems to be the settler finding themselves within the story of the perpetration of the violation of Indigenous rights as active agents, rather than as observers. In these cases the settlers were also in close relationships with Indigenous peoples and were in a sense feeling as if the struggles of an other person were their own. As demonstrated in the case of Pauline and Jessica, these settlers did not identify as Indigenous but did find a source of motivation to work on Indigenous rights from their close relationships with Indigenous peoples, incorporating these voices as visitors into their model of self. This describes a way of bringing another into your self and being changed by that encounter, orienting towards the other rather than endeavouring to subsume the other within the self.

The element of self-identification is one possible problematic dimension to this encounter type. In Chapter 6 I introduced four typical settler responses to difficult learning encounters, the fourth of which was 'self-identification'. This response is characterised through settlers identifying with Indigenous peoples' struggles as if they were their own, resulting in prideful arrogance, self-suffering guilt or the adoption and presumption of a limited scope of Indigenous affiliated identities (Simon 2005, 18). In this organic encounter type it would appear that there is a risk that settlers fall into this kind of self-identification trap as they lack levels of consciousness that might otherwise cause them to think carefully about the implications of their identification.

Organic encounters are overall a bit different from the first two types introduced in the sense that encounters typically do not render the settler

hyperconscious. However, the settlers that fit into this category are able to remember early encounters where they had elevated consciousness and where they believe significant amounts of learning took place. They often happened earlier in life and are best characterised spatially and temporally as a series of small but meaningful encounters. The settlers invested in these kinds of integrated environments are called upon to play an active, supporting role to Indigenous peoples and are motivated by their investment in these relations to invest further EE when difficult transformative encounters arise. Settlers in this encounter category think critically about how they want to engage ethically with Indigenous rights work at the workplace and at home through adopting Indigenous rights struggles as their own personal struggle as settler Canadians and to feel comfortable adopting a settler education role. This could be because undoing racist scripts is less necessary as the settler has already incorporated into their sense of self a relationship between settlers and Indigenous peoples that already accounts for Indigenous-centred understandings of politics and history. Therefore, they do not experience the shock of feeling culpable and responsible all at once.

7.c.I Contact theory in relation to contact theory

Contact theory describes processes of reducing intergroup prejudice through contact between majority and minority outgroup members. Early studies in contact theory conducted from the forties to the sixties suggested positive correlations between positive affect towards members of different outgroups and regular contact. Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Daymond Humphrey Lee found that Black and White citizens of Detroit who knew each other were less likely to get caught up in the violent race riots between the groups in 1943 and were actually more likely to help each other (A. M. Lee and Humphrey 1943). Gordon Willard Allport and Bernard M. Kramer found similar evidence when they identified that the experience of race mixing at Dartmouth College and Harvard University resulted in Black and White students who shared equal status improving their impressions of each other (Allport and Kramer 1946). Still, the findings of these early studies have been queried by researchers concerned about the risk of self-selection bias in the populations studied – perhaps students who wanted to understand people who were different sought out contact (Pettigrew et al. 2011, 272).

In a meta-analysis conducted by Thomas F. Pettigrew, Linda R. Tropp, Ulrich Wagner and Oliver Christ, it was found that subsequent studies in contact theory have indeed held up many of the initial results of these early studies (Pettigrew et al. 2011). They found that many studies support the tenet that intergroup contact typically

reduces prejudice. However, they also found ample evidence to suggest that other social factors mediate this effect such as characteristics of the contact setting, the groups undergoing contact and even the individuals in those groups (273-274). The complexity of contact generates the general theme that intergroup contact will reduce prejudice but that this process can be contingent and case study specific (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005a). They further found that Allport's original key conditions for optimal contact – equal status, common goals, no intergroup competition, and authority sanction – facilitate the effect but are not necessary conditions (Pettigrew et al. 2011, 275).

When contact does reduce intergroup prejudice, studies have shown that effect sizes vary greatly and that seemingly incompatible negative ideas about ingroup others may exist alongside positive changes in other markers. For example, intergroup liking may increase while the negative stereotypes remain salient (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005b). It would appear that positive contact between outgroup members tends to generalise to other outgroup members – even those where there isn't contact (Pettigrew et al. 2011, 175). Further, many studies support the assertion that intergroup friendship has a very powerful effect and that friendships have salience in reducing many forms of intergroup prejudice that are accessible and resistant to change (R. Turner et al. 2007).

Contact theory has application to this encounter type given that organic encounters describe banal, mundane contact-type interactions between settler and Indigenous peoples. It does appear, as we would expect, that close interpersonal connections correlate with settler engagement with Indigenous rights issues. However, contact theory has its limitations in regards to the question of how settler environmentalists begin to incorporate Indigenous rights work into their organising for two main interconnected reasons: the contact burden on Indigenous peoples and the need for settlers to engage with Indigenous rights even in the absence of interpersonal Indigenous contact.

While we can expect to see intergroup prejudice decrease amongst the settler majority group when they engage in contact with Indigenous peoples, we see a corresponding trend amongst minority group members that intergroup contact may lead to a weakening of the resolve of their group members to work for justice (Pettigrew et al. 2011, 278). It can become more difficult for Indigenous peoples to enter into conflicting situations with settlers if they are friends (Saguy et al. 2009; Wright and Lubensky 2009). While settlers are likely to benefit from intergroup contact, contact

has been the source of much grievance for Indigenous peoples since colonisation. As explained in Chapter 1, Indigenous peoples understand settlers and their cultures extremely well, which can help Indigenous organisers strategise more effectively because they understand how settlers operate (Durrheim and Dixon 2010). While interracial, interpersonal contact is very helpful for settlers, it cannot form the base of a public policy strategy to re-educate and re-story settlers as they would place to high a burden on Indigenous peoples.

Relatedly, many settlers I interviewed iterated their concern not to over-burden Indigenous peoples with their need to have personal contact with them. Settlers are aware that it is unrealistic for Indigenous peoples' to support them throughout their learning process. It is therefore imperative that settlers be encouraged and facilitated in their efforts to engage in encounters that may or may not be with Indigenous peoples. These encounters can be with Indigenous knowledge and objects, such as visits to museums and to former residential schools. It is this area of encounter that I am particularly interested in exploring as a demographic analysis of Canada suggests that intergroup contact will not be possible for all settlers, even if it were desirable for Indigenous peoples. Further, the urgency of the need for settlers to integrate Indigenous rights agendas into their work is great and the variability of the effect of contact suggests that this type of encounter might be part of the overall toolkit but that investment of time and resources in this strategy may render limited results. Hybrid versions of this encounter might be ideal wherein facilitated encounters dense with Indigenous content can be used to mimic the effects of intergroup contact, while the strategic benefits of facilitated encounters will continue to support conditions for the transformative encounter.

Allport himself anticipated the above possibility, wherein majority group contact with symbolic forms of the other such as through dramatic representations or movies might precipitate prejudice reduction, though this area of contact theory has gone relatively underinvestigated (Allport 1954, 453). More recent studies have found mixed effect for indirect or extended contact, noting that original attitudes towards other group members, a factor already known to moderate contact effect, becomes particularly instrumental in predicting extended contact effect (Munniksma et al. 2013). There is scope for better understanding of contact effect is moderated by the factors most salient in this intergroup conflict scenario and of how the effects of extended contact may be amplified through targeted interventions as extended contact is often the more practical contact route available (Brown and Paterson 2016, 22). Extended

contact appears the most ethical form for settler colonial studies as well, given the difficulties and limitations outlined above.

7.d Encounters at university

I refer to these encounters throughout the thesis also as University encounters (ineffective) to differentiate them from properly facilitated encounters that may have happened at a university. Many of the settlers I interviewed responded that they had not learned anything substantive about Indigenous peoples or Indigenous rights until they got to University. Many believed they had not met an Indigenous person until they were in University or even until after University. Many had encountered the idea of Indigenous peoples – often through racial slurs or via dubious media sources – but had never heard anything about, for example, Indian Residential Schools (IRS), until University. Many respondents reported that they first encountered Indigenous content in course curriculum and had sometimes been taught by Indigenous professors. These moments are important because they represent an opportunity for students to further their understanding of roles and responsibilities as settlers to securing Indigenous rights. This category exists to demonstrate that these moments are ones with potential to actuate a transformative encounter but that do not quite make it, as represented below in Chart C.

Some respondents knew Indigenous people existed but had no direct contact with Indigenous peoples or known anything about the politics of Indigenous rights in the modern day. For example, Megan, an organiser from Toronto whom I interviewed abroad in the UK, had a research interest in how pipelines and economic development projects impact Indigenous sovereignty. She explained that her family in Toronto had been heavily involved with the importation and exhibition of Inuit art:

> My family has always been big into Inuit art. … My aunt ran the first Guild Shop in Toronto, which is where a lot of the first Inuit art exhibitions were shown. … So their shop is home base for a lot of that sort of thing. I guess my family has always been interested in Inuit art that way. Then [I] also like going to the Museum of Civilization and seeing these amazing, huge potlatch bowls and like these incredible artistic representations of culture. So I think, yeah now that I think about it, [seeing art and cultural artefacts] is where [I was first exposed to ideas about Indigenous peoples] (Megan).

Still, despite having access to the gallery and having had many pieces of art in her home, she had never met an Indigenous person growing up: "[S]ome people who lived next to us at our cottage who were like part First Nations but I didn't know anyone Aboriginal growing up at all. Yeah [long pause] I guess growing up in urban Toronto, unfortunately you don't, it's not a big part of my day to day life at all" (Megan). Her

family had made an effort to expose Megan to cultural pieces and took pride in their role in bringing Inuit art to settlers but this did not extend to cultivating relationships with Indigenous peoples living in the city. While Megan stated she did not know Aboriginal people because she grew up in urban Toronto, a recent report on Aboriginal household demographics show that forty-three per cent of Aboriginal households were located in cities (Canada 2011). She was out of touch with Indigenous peoples and their living, often urban, cultures and political aspirations, despite being familiar with some aspects of Indigenous culture.

At University people often had the opportunity to become involved with campus groups that were organising around social justice issues. They reported having the chance to view artistic productions that educated them further about Indigenous rights issues on campus both inside and outside of the classroom. For example Megan described that at University she saw a play about IRS called *Sisters*. Before that, she had only been aware of Indigenous issues when they made it to the mainstream news reports: "[Y]eah, those things [the TRC and the official apology] were somewhat on my radar – and they are more now that I'm actively researching this sort of thing – but no [that's not how I first started learning about Indigenous rights issues]. I think it was usually more, hearing about grassroots organising and, unfortunately, often you hear about the flashpoints, like, was it in Caledonia … where there was like a blockade and these things. So I think the official things maybe just aren't as eye-catching?" (Megan). Previous to University Megan had been exposed to Indigenous culture through settler-operated galleries and mainstream media representations of conflict. At University she began to study Indigenous issues in an academic way but did not report it as a particularly significant time in terms of a transformative learning experience.

Another respondent, Carly, recalled growing up in the suburbs of Winnipeg where she had never interacted meaningfully with Indigenous peoples before moving downtown to go to University, where I interviewed her. Carly was organising with Indigenous peoples to advocate for corporate accountability for environmental pollutants. She noted the city's spatial segregation as a cause of her never being exposed to Indigenous-centred versions of reality while she was growing up:

> I grew up in a predominantly white suburb and then I moved downtown when I began attending university. In Winnipeg… it's clear how, to an extent, the city is organised according to race, spatially. … When I started to attend University, I began to volunteer with the campus community radio station … I ended up doing some documentary stuff and interviewing people and became … involved with this group … There is a group here called Friends of Grassy Narrows.

> Some people at the radio station knew about the group or were involved. I ended up going there to make a short radio documentary about it for the radio (Carly).

Through on-campus organising she had started to become educated in a particular Indigenous lens on environmental issues, which introduced her to the campaign she was engaged with at the time of interview.

Importantly, Carly took a course with a professor at University that exposed her to critical, Indigenous-centred perspectives: "Indigenous Peoples and Colonisation." The course instructor had taught the class using Indigenous teaching methods that allowed the students to "work through stuff." In this case, the encounter was at university but was also a type of 'facilitated encounter' wherein the instructor designed the lesson to facilitate emotional reactions to difficult learning. Carly names the classroom experience as transformative:

> I took a course with Larry Morrissette called 'Colonisation and Indigenous Peoples', which he offers every year. He has a non-traditional pedagogical approach where each class is a sharing circle. He would lecture a little bit and then people would talk about how they related to the topic. It was a variety of people, settlers and Indigenous people in the class. It was … just a transformative experience to be in this space where people could learn from each other but also work through [what they were learning]. … It was emotional for many people, I think. People were open with each other so there was an emotional connection to people and people were being honest. Some of the people expressed anger, also, grief and sadness, guilt, things like that (Carly).

This experience was overall a positive one for Carly. While she and others had emotional reactions in the class, they remained accountable to each other in that space and continued to participate. It appeared that while people all came to the class with different emotional attachments and backgrounds, from one participant's perspective the professor had succeeded in facilitating dialogue wherein all people felt able to engage as active players. I include this encounter description in this section to highlight that it was the facilitation of the class that caused the transformative encounter for Carly. This example looks at first like an encounter at university but is actually a facilitated encounter.

Sometimes, however, academic encounters do not lend themselves to transformative experiences. Another participant, Helena, who I interviewed in Halifax, explained that her academic encounter initially catalysed her withdrawal from engaging with Indigenous rights issues. I already shared Helena's experience in the section above on shock and immersion encounters and share a continuation of her story here as she experienced another encounter setting. She had had her shock and immersion encounter and then, her curiosity still piqued, she took a class at University that had

Indigenous rights content in it. However, owing to the low emotional tone and high level of hyperconsciousness she already had from the first encounter, she described how disempowered she felt learning about injustices affecting Indigenous peoples: "My class did a case study on [Pictou Landing Boat Harbour] and [I also had Indigenous content] in the Mi'gmaq culture class. … It was overwhelming for me. I didn't do anything. I felt powerless, which … I'm still a climate activist and an environmentalist and can feel empowered in that way, but I feel … even as a privileged white female, middle-class, I felt un-empowered to take action on Indigenous rights. So, I just focused on more of the environmental stuff" (Helena). When Helena learned about the violation of Indigenous rights manifested as the dumping of toxic waste at Pictou Landing First Nation, she could engage with it as an environmentalist. However, she could not engage with it as a settler concerned with the violation of Indigenous rights. She describes feeling powerless, suggesting that she did not have a sense of how she fit into the story of addressing these violations. When she learned about the issues she learned to feel responsible but that overwhelming feeling of responsibility ultimately caused her to withdraw. Helena's example is a clear example of a lost opportunity – a University encounter (ineffective).

The encounter with the photos had happened in her first year and the class came later in her degree. The class represented a moment when emotions were coming up for Helena as she was engaged in her second encounter. It was a moment when students like her were potentially available to having an encounter that could transform the way they saw the world. In such encounters educators had the opportunity to help students like her identify where they were in the narrative of the human rights violations that were taking place. Identifying their role in the story as settlers triggered emotional responses because it was a moment when they recognised their complicity in injustice and their responsibilities for righting wrongs. Discussing difficult topics such as racism, colonialism, cultural genocide, and naming settler privilege, had the effect of being emotionally costly topics. Learning about these topics challenged the moral standing of the settler ingroup and actuated a state of hyperconsciousness. However, educators risk that if they do not manage and support the student's learning as the emotions come up, the student may leave motivated only to absolve themselves of the uncomfortable feelings associated with guilt and shame. They can become alienated and disengage or engage in ways that only serve their own interests, rather than engage with how they can contribute to addressing problems.

Georgia also found that she had known since childhood that something was different about Indigenous peoples' experiences of the world but had not known any Indigenous peoples until University. Her early encounters with Indigenous peoples were also through settler collections of Indigenous art. I interviewed her in Halifax, though the early encounter she describes below took place in Vancouver. In the example below she shows that she registered that something was wrong with the distance between art and artist but did not have the language at the time to name it:

> Some of my first experiences [of thinking about Indigenous issues was] being around a lot of Indigenous art and having it in a home. My first long-term boyfriend in Vancouver, his family was in the forestry industry – a big Canadian logging company – and their family was involved with cutting down forests. They would talk about how you reforest for every tree you cut down but the reality is that forests are disappearing. … His family's house was interesting. They were this totally industrialist family, all-white, who had been in Canada for a couple generations but were originally from Europe. … Their house was full of Indigenous art. There was some strange cognitive dissonance there with sort of their practices and investments ... I remember feeling that dissonance even when I wasn't living out many questions about that in my life as a kid (Georgia).

At the time she encountered this art Georgia was not an environmentalist and knew no Indigenous peoples. She still sensed something was strange about the celebration of Indigenous culture alongside the destruction of forests on unceded territory. She was unsettled by the degree to which this family were attempting to both erase and adopt Indigenous culture to eliminate Indigenous power and presence (Wolfe 2006).

In our interview Georgia's narrative of learning about Indigenous issues centred on the environmental organising work that she did at University around climate justice. She had encountered some Indigenous content in her "Environmental Ethics" class and that was important to her, though the readings her course instructors assigned the class appear to have been poor choices for facilitating encounters:

> There were three different readings from Indigenous people in various forms – there were some English translations of Haida myths. As I understand it there was some problem with the translation process, that the translation was an appropriation. We also read some other translation, I think, by Peter Sanger. He wrote the stone canoe and he's not Indigenous either but he did a translation. Then there was a myth that was transcribed by a Mi'gmaq woman out here and I want to remember her name, but [I don't], and we had some conversations about some ethics and storytelling and some versions of the land that were narrative. It was a good class. I ended up making some good friends in that class, and they are still the friends that I work with on environmental projects in Halifax, so, I think that class was formative just in the sense of conversations I had there with people(Georgia).

Importantly, Georgia does not say whether Indigenous students were in the class. I was asking specifically about her relationships and exposure with Indigenous peoples

and Indigenous content. I believe it is reasonable to concur that her focus on class content and silence on the backgrounds of her classmates means that she inferred that they were not Indigenous. The Indigenous content choices for the class do not seem well thought through or impactful. Georgia enjoyed learning a little bit about cultural stories but was not introduced to any writing on Indigenous environmental ethics or anything contemporary by Indigenous authors. She encountered nothing that expressed the contemporary political aspirations of Indigenous peoples in her classrooms.

When asked questions about whether she had ever had any kind of emotional reaction to course content, she said that she had never experienced anything like that. She did report that the #IdleNoMore movement had felt like an encounter: "The moment when I started becoming, internally, thinking more about those emotions [that come up around the way I benefit from colonialism], was probably in England during #INM in 2012" (Georgia). Georgia went on in the interview to explain what reflecting on #INM made her think about, revealing a debilitating level of hyperconsciousness:

> A sense of guilt is one [thing I felt] and, then a sort of fear around how to live or express that guilt because you never want to put that guilt in the lap of someone you're oppressing or make that guilt the responsibility of an Indigenous person to deal with. So there is a sense of helplessness around what to do about that, especially because I was overseas. And because I was overseas and thinking about how much I wanted to read about and understand everything that was going on with #INM, and also the sense that what I was feeling as I was thinking that was homesickness, and what is home and whose home? So, there was a double sense of helplessness in the sense that the initial sense if guilt made me feel paralysed by it, and I think for a lot of folks they experience that, then also helplessness because I wasn't in Halifax(Georgia).

Georgia identifies feeling guilt, which we should associate with a person feeling they are responsible but she also felt helpless and without power to do anything, both because she did not know what to do and because she was geographically removed from the main site of movement organising. She felt settler guilt and I believe she also felt shame around feeling that guilt, or feared being publicly shamed if she were to express that guilt in a way that may have been perceived to burden others. As established, shame is characterised as feeling oneself to be negatively appraised in the eyes of others. This fear of how to act and "live or express" that guilt references the idea of being observed by others (settler and Indigenous peoples), thus I believe we can identify both guilt and shame in her narrative.

I believe that for Georgia to take meaningful action to forward Indigenous rights work in her organising she needed to be assisted in finding an active role for herself in Indigenous organising efforts. She could have been better aided in doing this

in the space she did seek out to engage further in these questions that had piqued her interest since childhood: her University classroom. Unfortunately, her University educator missed that classroom opportunity to facilitate a meaningful transformative encounter by providing poor structure to the curriculum and through offering inadequate tools and resources for meaningfully engaging with Indigenous knowledge.

In the examples above we see that University encounters (ineffective) can help people name important terms that will help them engage with Indigenous rights. However, unless they are well facilitated as in the example with Carly, the settler student can struggle to understand how she should or could engage with Indigenous rights or apply it to future analyses. For example, Georgia did not take much away from the Indigenous content in her "Environmental Ethics" class. University encounters would appear potentially important spaces that settlers seek out as they search for language and theory to describe problems related to Indigenous rights violations and the settler role in that story. However, if the encounters experienced in these settings are not facilitated they can fail to engage settlers with their relation to colonisation. Further, if settlers who have experienced shock and emersion encounters enter the classroom with negative scripts encoded in their transactional histories, they may be particularly disempowered by poorly facilitated University content. There is a risk, also, that if classroom learning triggers difficult learning but facilitators are not there to support emotional reactions, a transformative encounter may be further inhibited. If students become alienated by the high EE cost nature of difficult learning and become hyperconscious in future encounters, students can become disempowered (as Helena did, for example). If educators avoid triggering difficult learning altogether, however, a critical opportunity is lost. Encounters in the classroom can become facilitated encounters that lead to become transformative encounters but this encounter type demonstrates that mere contact between settlers and Indigenous peoples is not enough to facilitate transformation.

7.1 What we learn from typifying encounters

It is not always straightforward to distinguish one type of encounter from the other. They sometimes influence each other and there are examples of when one encounter sets another one up. For example, Andrea's shock and immersion encounter later when on to her having facilitated encounters with knowledgeable friends, allowing her

to engage in a transformative encounter. Similarly, Carly's encounter has the same setting as Georgia's, but the former is a facilitated encounter while the latter is an encounter at university. A primary factor in their differentiation owes, however, to the movement of EE in the encounter setting.

In Chart C below, I have represented the movement of EE in different encounter types. The unit of EE represented below follows this system of evaluation:

- 3 = Strongly hyperconscious
- 2 = Hyperconscious
- 1 = Conscious
- 0 = Unaltered

As discussed in Chapter 4, some level of consciousness is needed to maintain the ethical stance.   Therefore   the   optimal   level   of   EE   investment   is   one. Hyperconsciousness, two, and strongly hyperconscious, three, are states to be avoided. These numbers provide a visual model to represent the phenomenon I have described thus far in this chapter. The numerical values are derived from an evaluation of the qualitative data and give a general sense of trends.

**Chart 3: Lever of Hyper/consciousness in different encounter scenarios**
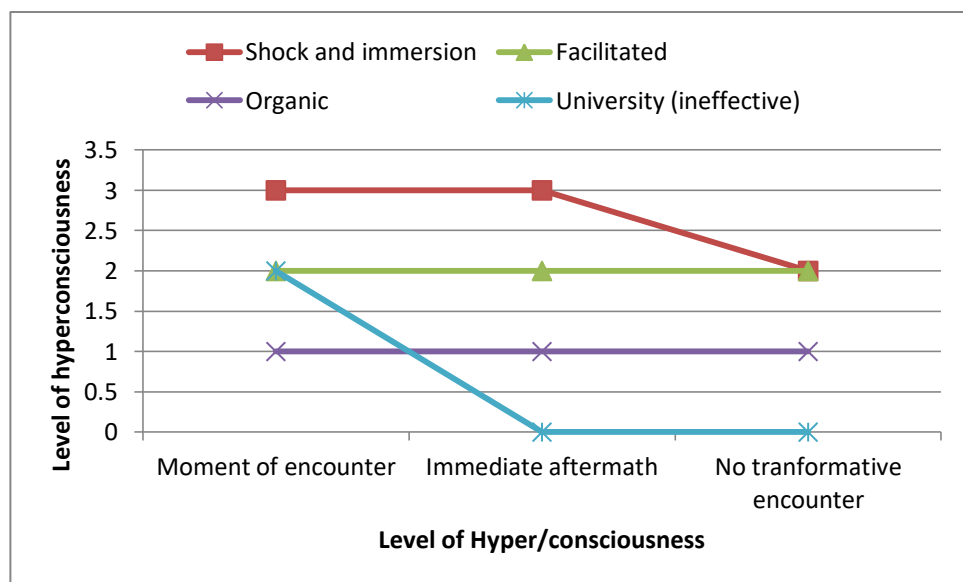
The figures represented on the chart are general in nature, as the trends that operate across the group predict rather than dictate the experiences of the individual. However, as the chart aims to demonstrate, different encounter types have the potential to set the settler activist up for a successful or failed transformative encounter

in different ways. For example, Tina's encounter was fraught and she did not go through a transformative encounter, represented on the chart with her having and maintaining a level of hyperconsciousness. As she did not go through a transformative encounter, there was a high likelihood that she would employ defensive strategies in the future, which we know she ultimately did. Her level moves from three to two over time to signal that her levels of hyperconsciousness are not heightened to the level they were during the encounter but that they remain elevated. In the example of the University encounter, however, as explained this encounter represents a moment when a student is operating with a moderate amount of consciousness but this moment is not captured, resulting in an unaltered state of consciousness that provides no motivation to engage further. The organic encounters include of course self-selected people who are already working at a level of consciousness, as they have already re-scripted their me scripts. The facilitated encounters represent an important group of people who are operating at a heightened level of hyper/consciousness and are on their way to experiencing a transformative encounter. It is important that this facilitation is followed through, however, or the settler will maintain hyperconsciousness over the long term.

Transformative encounters are ones in which learners are transformed and find that they see the world differently than they did before the encounter. Successful encounters of this kind seem to feature a particular kind of experience where settler learners begin to identify with Indigenous rights violations as not something that merely affects Indigenous peoples and that they are culpable for but as something that actively engages them as settlers in the contemporary day. They are touched by encounters when they begin to feel personally implicated in relationships to other peoples who are directly harmed by the violation of Indigenous rights. They can be supported in understanding how to build upon these encounters and engage with feelings that come up as, in Roger I. Simon's sense, they experience an irruption that punctuates the horizon of their knowledge (Simon 2005, 6–7). Academic curriculum could expose them to Indigenous ways of knowing and could be delivered in such a way that welcomed emotional processing. They could welcome and facilitate the irruption in order to encourage re-scripting and re-storying, which I discuss further in Chapter 10. Facilitated encounters seem most helpful in actuating transformative encounters because in this space intensive learning and processing can take place in situ. They can also be supported from within the safe-space of the facilitated encounter to directly name and begin to unlearn internalised racism. Building awareness of internalised and systemic racism implicates settlers because they come to realise how they can intervene and causes them to begin to revisit and update internal me scripts. A

transformative encounter can therefore result in the settler learner disavowing old information and re-orienting towards a new ethical framework. Settlers may be more likely to adopt resilient motivations to work for the implementation of Indigenous rights when they work past guilt and shame to locate themselves within the narrative of the story of the acquisition of Indigenous rights. This story that might contain seeds of motivations needs to include pathways that might suggest their possible contributions as responsible, ethical settlers.

In Chapter 7 I provided a framework for typifying learning encounters, the settings where settlers first become exposed to critical information about Indigenous peoples and settler / Indigenous relations. I outlined how I believe self-referential emotions such as guilt and shame influence settler decision-making and explained that extreme transactions of EE in difficult learning encounters can create avoidant behaviours in settlers. This discussion of encounters relates to the discussion of the ethical stance referred to in Chapter 4. The main problematic is that we know that maintaining the ethical stance requires intentionality and the investment of EE and also that people are avoidant of EE expenditure. As I have also described in Chapter 7 the level of EE risk activists perceive exists in encounters with Indigenous peoples and issues can also be related to the type(s) of encounter(s) they have experienced and whether they have experienced a transformative encounter. What I aim to demonstrate is that activists' experiences correlate to what I hypothesise we should find – that encounters are most often transformative when they leave the learner with a net gain in EE.

In Chapter 8 I delve more deeply into this problem, outlining the concept of EE, describing how settlers can think about moderating hyperconsciousness levels to enable sustained conscious investment in the ethical stance over time. In this chapter I provide evidence to support the typology introduced in Chapter 7 by showing how activists' can work to eliminate hyperconsciousness to support their persistence in upholding an ethical stance.

CHAPTER 8
Hyperconsciousness, emotional tone and the impact of the transformative encounter

> The displacement and transformation of frameworks of thinking, the changing of received values and all the work that has been done to think otherwise, to do something else, to become other than what one is – that, too, is philosophy … a way of interrogating ourselves (Foucault 1984, 329).

In the previous chapter I outlined a typology of encounter to delineate the different types of scenarios wherein activists encountered and learned about Indigenous-centred knowledge. I called these learning experiences encounters and typified them into four interlinked categories. I suggested that some encounter types were better than others in catalysing long-term transformative learning amongst settler environmentalists and I refer to this as the transformative encounter. One of the salient features of the transformative encounter is that after settlers experience it they appear to engage in future interactions with Indigenous peoples and / or knowledge with sustainable levels of consciousness. This indicates that they have begun a process of re-scripting and re-storying themselves in relation to Indigenous-centred understandings of the world and colonial history. While some settlers experience the process of re-scripting as very unsettling to their identities, a transformative encounter is one in which a person has been able to experience this unsettlement but move through it into different ways of knowing, i.e. knowing otherwise.

My analysis of interview texts in Chapter 7 was premised on the notion that transformative encounters are both relational and transformative and that this learning represents durable change in how settlers organise around Indigenous rights after their experience of a transformative encounter. My hypothesis is that when people reported that their encounters left them with net negative values of EE – rendering a low emotional tone – they would be more likely to report not engaging with Indigenous rights in the future. They would learn to avoid these encounter settings. My explanation of this phenomenon is that these types of encounters demand settlers operate in a state of hyperconsciousness. Hyperconsciousness in an encounter is associated with a high associated EE cost, which can generate an aversion to

repeating the interaction. These interactions are encoded in the ritual interaction chains stored in the 'me' aspect of the self, which informs the acting 'I' aspect.

To help understand hyperconsciousness and the high levels of reporting of settler guilt and shame, I continue in this chapter to understand how settler re-scripting through the transformative encounter can help facilitate sustainable levels of consciousness. I have divided this chapter into three parts. In the first part I discuss some reasons for why settler levels of hyperconsciousness are high. In Chapters 2 and 3 I already provided background information about how life in a settler society contributes overall to this heightened level of hyperconsciousness around Indigenous rights issues. Below I discuss three topics specific to activists and to Canadian activists at the time of the interviews in the hopes that this will further explain the salience of hyperconsciousness in the population. I address activist call-out culture, burnout and financial strain in relation to 'the big year of audits'. I follow this section with one on examples of how the transformative encounter can be shown to relieve levels of hyperconsciousness and to increase emotional tone in future encounters. The overall picture painted in this chapter is that hyperconsciousness is a powerful force that has to be managed and, when managed well, can be critical in supporting settler focus on Indigenous rights issues.

I make reference to the following activists in this chapter, listed in alphabetical order by name: Amanda[13], Brooke[14], Fiona[15], Helena[16], Josephine[17], Lauren[18], Megan[19], Pauline[20], Thomas[21] and Tina[22]. Amanda and Tina contributed important excerpts that help elucidate the phenomenon of calling out, describing the way it made them feel to call out and to be called out. Brooke expanded on this phenomenon and offered significant insights on the cause and origins for it. Lauren and Thomas all contributed to describe the way their organisations were addressing the problem of

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[13] Author interview with Amanda in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[14] Author interview with Brooke in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2015.
[15] Author interview with Fiona in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[16] Author interview with Helena in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[17] Author interview with Josephine in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[18] Author interview with Lauren in Toronto, ON (Central Canada) in the summer of 2015.
[19] Author interview with Megan in Oxford, UK (Central Canada because of interview contents) in the spring of 2014.
[20] Author interview with Pauline in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[21] Author interview with Thomas in Ottawa, ON (Central Canada) in the summer of 2015.
[22] Author interview with Tina in Toronto, ON (Central Canada) in the summer of 2015.

charity status and audits. Pauline contributed narrative on how lessening levels of hyperconsciousness could lead to transformative encounters.

8 Why are levels of hyperconsciousness high amongst settler environmentalists?

After they have experienced a transformative encounter settlers should feel more empowered to act purposefully to forward Indigenous rights goals. However, as we see through the examples shown in Chapters 7 and 8, the specific phenomenology of shame can be characterised as actuating a process of withdrawal amongst settlers. Examples shared in this chapter confirm that activists fear backlash and reprisal, especially in the form of being called out. This can act as a deterrent for taking action even amongst settler activists who are highly educated about Indigenous rights issues. I share an explanation offered by one activist who provided a compelling analysis as to why she believed settlers operated at such a high level of hyperconsciousness and experienced feelings of shame around these issues. I introduce the idea that justice is coming into environmentalism in ways that can be expected to actuate the re-negotiation of norms or practice. The explanation below builds on the hypothesis I introduced earlier about WASP cultural aversion to direct and public constructive feedback. I also describe the counters of activist workplaces giving evidence of why background levels of emotional tones are low for workers in this workplace and how this dynamic was exacerbated by a small crisis in the movement caused by the threat of charitable audits.

8.a Calling out and the phenomenology of shame

In this section I explore how settlers negotiate ingroup boundaries through shame; specifically, through a method known as 'calling-out'. We know that a main cause of withdrawal is the feeling of shame or the fear of shame. I discuss calling out and ingroup boundary regulation below because it recurred as a theme in the interviews as a behaviour that contributed to conditions of settler shaming and fear of shame, leading to the loss of EE and of settlers learning that Indigenous rights work was a cause of major EE loss.

In a blog post, activist and writer Ngọc Loan Trần argued for the need, in some cases, to call 'in' rather than call 'out' community members. They argued that

when you want to stay in connection and community with the person you are giving feedback to, a degree of gentleness is required (Trần 2013, para.7). They are careful to state that calling out is, for them, still a viable and important tool in the organisers toolkit. Still, they argue that when you love and care about someone in your community they might indeed hurt you through their mistakes but if you still want them to be there on the other side of the healing from pain, calling out will not work.

Trần recognises what social psychologists have likewise supported with empirical research: that to call someone out is to risk them withdrawing from your community. To call someone out can cause such a degree of shame that a person withdraws from similar encounters, such as Brooke's friend who we will hear from later in this chapter who left the country and started organising overseas after being called out, employing the defensive strategy of avoidance.

I introduced outreach officer, Tina, in Chapter 7 as a settler activist who had struggled to keep an Indigenous rights lens in her work. She had become averse to doing Indigenous rights work because it put her already low emotional tone under further threat of EE loss. She had experienced negative feedback and been publicly shamed by community members and her defensive strategy was to withdraw and avoid. Tina articulated something crucial in her interview, which is that activists must find a way to promote an activist culture that promotes good accountability amongst activists but that discourages the actuation of behaviour likely to lead to settler guilt or shame. When she said "I'm trying to ask for a little bit of understanding that I'm going to [mess] it up," she was asking for the chance to learn and improve with the support of her community members. Similarly, activist Brooke said in another interview that "there's no room for mistakes," potentially signalling that the culture of activism is intolerant of activists who do not follow particular methods and trajectories. In this section I explain the specific ways that activists exclude each other and tie this into my previous discussion of shame to show how this intolerance for activist 'mistakes' can precipitate activist aversion to working on Indigenous rights.

The phenomenology of shame is particularly notable in a study of settler activists because it is linked so closely with withdrawal and non-engagement. One possible explanation for why activists were so averse to any situation that might confer shame has a cultural basis. For example, Amanda, whom I interviewed in Halifax when she was working in a junior position at a well-known ENGO, described the act of calling out as a phenomenon embedded in her passive-aggressive family background. She identified her family as 'WASPy' – "where everyone is passive aggressive and

that's my default!" – to explain why she found it unnatural and scary to speak to her friends about any concerns she had regarding their practices in activism. WASP is an acronym – white, Anglo-saxon, protestant – and a 'wasp' is defined in the Oxford English dictionary as "A member of the American white Protestant middle or upper class descended from early European settlers in the U.S. Frequently derogatory" (OED Online 2017b). Amanda explained her aversion to engaging in the communication act of calling someone else out: "Yeah, I didn't want it to be like, I'm telling you what to do! … It's just [trying to have] respectful communication. Understanding that everyone comes from a totally [different] experience and background. These are things that are hard to do anyway in regular life, much less when you're dealing with [something difficult]. It's hard, it sucks. It sucks when you have to call people out or when you get called out" (Amanda). She infers here that telling people that you think they have acted inappropriately is already difficult but the fact that this topic is also politicised increases the difficulty of the act.

Amanda gives us another clue that can help us explain why this group of people experiences the act of calling out as such a personal and hurtful attack. She notes that her aversion to addressing issues directly is an idea supported and conferred by society: "Yeah, we live in a conflict averse society. And then calling out your friends – that's hard. And also hearing that from your friends. Like, you did this thing and it was bad, and I'm going to tell you why, and then we're going to talk about it. No one likes hearing that they did that" (Amanda). Then she said something that dovetails with what Tina also said, that people could be a bit more generous with each other since settler activists were going through this learning process together: "[I]t's hard to remember that everyone is just learning. [It's] challenging. Sometimes I worry that we're putting so much energy on this interpersonal thing and personal development things that we are not spending enough time on the work. I know that in the long-run, to do that kind of work, it will become easier and more effective" (Amanda). She recognised that her community of activists was putting a lot of energy right now on "personal development." This development work was deemed relevant. However, it appeared that people were applying their personal development insights in ways that promoted shame amongst some ingroup members.

Amanda noted that calling out and being called out were difficult acts, which I interpret through my framework as work that requires intensive levels of EE as it requires high levels of hyperconsciousness as one self-reflects. My analysis is that the goal driving the work of calling out, which is to engage Indigenous rights and anti-

racism issues at the heart of environmentalism, is critically important for the community's development and growth. However, calling out does not adequately account for the fact that the whole community is in the midst of a learning process that is made harder through the calling out act. The individualised nature of calling out, where a person calls out a person for their individual behaviour, will consistently have the effect of making a person feel excluded, ashamed and be drained of EE as their standing in the eyes of their community members drops. This is a very different scenario than the facilitated encounter one discussed in Chapter 7, where a community addresses issues collectively as they arise and everyone is consciously included in that learning process.

This act of calling out appears to infer that it is important to identify if a person is or is not a valued member of the ingroup. While some activists like Tina described their mortification and disappointment at being called out by a settler colleague, Josephine also described activist fears around the possibility of getting called out by Indigenous activists: "I know when [an Indigenous women and advocate] spoke at our organisation a couple of years ago, I feel that, even within our membership, there was a lot of fear that if we bring her here she's going to tell us we're not doing enough. [However,] she was amazing. One of the things she said was, 'we're not doing this for our water. We are doing this for all our water. All. We are protecting everyone's water. We are protecting WATER'. And I felt people shift and go, 'Oh, this isn't about them, it's about all of us!' "(Josephine). In this excerpt Josephine described internal resistance to knowing otherwise in her organisation because in the process of learning they anticipated their organisation would be called out or otherwise blamed for what they did not know. The fear is around reprisal and criticism, resulting in loss of EE through a reduction of social standing in the eyes of someone respected. The fear of the unknown costs of an encounter is itself a deterrent to engagement.

However, someone in Josephine's organisation was able to overcome the urge to avoid knowing otherwise and did invite this speaker to come. In this case the speaker brought a message of solidarity and allayed settler fears that her goal was to call them out. The levels of fear present as background noise in the room is demonstrative of the levels of hyperconsciousness at work amongst settlers in encounters with Indigenous peoples. When Josephine noticed that after they all shifted and saw the speaker was addressing not 'us and them' discourses but describing common ground the groups shared they were able to understand her message about protecting water. This was very positive because the internal script for this encounter

does not record a loss of EE through feeling shame and the fear of the unknown can be over-written with a script about a positive feeling of solidarity.

The WASPish cultural upbringing of many of these activists has also not helped prepare them for giving or receiving critical feedback in public. Similar to the iteration by Tina that was noted in Chapter 7, Amanda said that she would prefer to receive critical feedback in a one-to-one format: "[If] you want to call someone out, but not even call them out, it would be so much nicer to just say, 'Hey, I noticed this thing that's pretty f&%*ed up if you think about it. Do you want to talk about it?' That's what I wish could happen all the time but no one comes from that background. Few people come from a place of that amount of understanding. It's hard to do, also hard to hear" (Amanda). Josephine affirmed this idea that people were uncomfortable with publicly delivering or receiving this type of feedback. She stated that people were uncomfortable because she believed her peers were obsessed with defining a person as racist or not racist rather than addressing racist behaviours. She noted that,

> [A]s a culture [settlers] are not great at separating out the experience of something from who we are. We think we're absolute. I am a racist, or I am not. Not, you know, I am a person who is a product of a lot of influences, including a racist society and, yeah, I have to fight constantly against buying into all sorts of stereotypes about the world. And if that makes me a racist, so be it, but that's not all I am. I'm all sorts of other things! And sometimes I do the right thing and can feel good for three minutes, and sometimes not. I think we are tied up in this idea of [fear of being called racist] and people spend so much time saying, 'I don't see colour, I don't see race!' And that is not an accurate or good thing(Josephine).

Here Josephine positioned herself as a product of a racist society and outlined what I think is a productive way of narrating her own settler identity. She recognised that settlers who try to pretend races do not exist are in fact trying to avoid being called racist and live in fear that this might happen. To avoid falling into this trap she tried to avoid absolute ideas about being or not being racist and was not trying to be any kind of exceptional 'right kind' of white person. She instead maintained her ethical stance through using a small amount of consciousness to help her stay focused and tried not to let guilt and / or shame overwhelm her when she thought she had not done the right thing. She did not presume herself absolved of responsibility through achieving a state of goodness. Instead, she explained she was constantly working internally to re-write her mental scripts, actively maintaining an ethical stance.

We can learn a lot about how to motivate environmentalists to apply an Indigenous rights lens by addressing the concerns raised by activists about calling out, fear and communication. The main concern I have with the practice is the ways it may

lead to obstructive, self-referential emotions of settler guilt or shame amongst community members that can lead to withdrawal and disengagement. Maintaining an ethical stance that does not infer a particular set of actions or methods but fosters conditions of availability to surprise might be a more useful tool in tense environments. However, a settler activist can only be expected to remain open to surprise and availability if they can trust they will have the support of their community and / or organisation behind them.

I am concerned that this calling out practice haemorrhages EE, performing the function of affirming which settlers are the exceptional, 'different sort' of white person without mapping out pathways for settlers to collectively move towards adoption of Indigenous priorities. If this activity is about regulation of thought and action then it is about the creation of a common idea about the topic. That is what I discuss in the section below.

8.a.I Calling out as a method of identifying ingroup boundaries

The process of definition necessarily means the exclusion of some ideas, methods and theories. Calling out functions to regulate who gets in or stays out of an ingroup and is a way through which ingroup members generate and affirm shared meanings. There is a need here to think strategically about what is lost to movement goals in the processes of maintaining group opinion and standards and about what effect ingroup regulation has for a wider Indigenous rights agenda.

Historians of environmental thought have noted that environmentalism is being re-iterated around new frames of reference: environmental issues are now more often understood as issues of environmental justice. This development is corroborated by the interviews wherein most participants described their environmental work using terms such as climate justice, environmental justice, and environmental racism. Joan Martinez-Alier et al. have described the historiography of this change starting in the early 1980s when grassroots environmental justice organisations and networks began using the language of justice and rights in relation to racism and environmental degradation (Martinez-Alier et al. 2014, 21). This justice-oriented terminology was gradually picked up by policy-makers and academics and this change in emphasis has helped drive changes in the global framing of environmentalism amongst civil society and policy-makers (Martinez-Alier et al. 2014, 48–49). This change has resulted in a re-negotiation amongst environmentalists of what constitutes environmentalism.

One settler activist, Brooke, had been involved with environmental justice work and had even earlier been a vocal member of the LGBTQI activist community. I interviewed her in Halifax. At the time of our interview she was married to another woman but avoided the LGBTQI community because when she was younger she had represented views in an article that she was now ashamed of expressing. She reflected on ingroup identity policing in both the environmental justice and queer communities: "[T]hat's another reason why I haven't gotten involved with the queer movement. One, the radical side scared me off. The other is that, even if I get involved, if somebody ever goes back and finds this piece that I wrote, they'll be like, you're out. There's no room for mistakes … maybe it's silly to be afraid … [but] communities are small. Whenever you go to anything environmental justice-y, social justice-y, it's the same thirty people in the crowd" (Brooke). Brooke avoids engaging with political aspects of the queer scene because she is fearful that she would be living in the shadow of the threat that eventually someone would publicly shame her for her article, which reflected ideas that had become out-dated as politics in the queer community had developed over time. Consequently, she explained that, "I've never been in [the scene] here, I just have relationships with people who are in. I didn't want to get in. … I have my objectives, I'm going to work for them, I will partner with whoever wants to work on them too" (Brooke). Appearing to corroborate her fears around public shaming, Brooke also told me the story of a friend of hers who had to leave activism because she had been publicly shamed: "I have a good friend who I went on the Canadian Youth Delegation with. The fall out of interpersonal relations within the community [was severe], and she got called out for some stuff. [S]he ended up leaving activism and organising entirely and burning out hard for a few years. She's now working for an NGO overseas. She was just like, 'get me [out of here]'! It's not just Halifax, it's because it comes from the same incestuous pool. All the social justice and environmental justice communities are all connected" (Brooke). This last portion of Brooke's story intrigued me, and when I encouraged her to expand on it she explained that she did literally mean that activists were all connected.

In fact, Brooke believed that most Canadian environmental activists had all been educated in their critical analysis in specific locales against particular standards. She explained to me that one of the reasons this community monitored and adhered to such specific standards was because many of its leaders had been trained in the same places at the same time. Consensus in the community was thus generated through en masse ingroup conferences and through adopting specific activist frameworks. While particular ideas started to grow in strength in places such as the Powershift

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conferences, she argued that group members at these conferences began to believe they were setting a kind of standard.

This process of building consensus in intensive group settings strongly evokes Durkheim's notion of collective effervescence. In Durkheim's theories, discussed in Chapter 4, emotions play a key role in conferring and confirming moral force to support a particular idea. Durkheim believed that groups conferred moral forces upon generally held opinions through collective effervescence. These opinions then came to be "[G]ifted with such a force that [they] automatically [caused] or [inhibited action], without regard for any consideration relative to their useful or injurious effects" (Durkheim [1912], 260). A moral standard is an opinion held to be true because it has been given moral force by the group. Importantly, Durkheim believed that there was a causal correlation between the agitation of emotions – collective effervescence – and the generation of moral force. This group consensus amongst some leaders in the ENGO community provides some explanation as to how some environmentalists felt so comfortable calling out practices they felt were at odds with the standards they felt confident were correct. The power of the collective effervescence generated during these conferences had the effect of raising ingroup member confidence in the normative superiority of particular ideas.

Settlers did not abandon their agency or critical thinking skills when they entered a group setting. However, there were many references to the emotional impact of large gatherings throughout the interviews and in particular to the highly emotionally charged setting of Powershift conferences. Considering collective effervescence can help explain the strength of moral force behind calling out and ingroup boundary and behaviour regulation. According to Brooke it was at these conferences and affiliated organisational initiatives that activists initially built a working understanding about the politics of the relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers:

> The Canadian Youth Climate Coalition(CYCC) started this Sustainable Campuses program in the mid-2000s. I got involved with that towards the end of high school and first year university. That was [my first] exposure to 'anti-oppression training'. [I]t was basically like a little camp for organisers, you learn skills: media, communications, campaigning, everything. This went on for a few years and I went to two of those and the idea was to train community organisers to bring, you know, the leader of a student environmental group to come back and train everyone else. And then this turned into Powershift(Brooke).

In the decade or so between the start of the Sustainable Campuses programme and the year I conducted an interview with Brooke, the same individuals had apparently

gone on to train and then lead Canadian social and environmental justice organisations:

> I bet if you looked at the lists of everyone who had been on the Canadian Youth Delegation for the last ten years and look where they are now, [they'd] be like, head of the Saskatchewan environmental co-op, oh, head of, you know? It's crazy! If you look at everyone who are leaders in the environmental non-governmental organisation(ENGO) and social justice movements now, Lead Now, the CYCC, Council of Canadians, all of these groups, even me, I'm with an ENGO[23], you can trace us all back to [the] Powershift and Sustainable Campuses conferences. Even Ricochet, it's a social justice news, community news, English and French, those are all people that came through that system(Brooke).

The implications of a centralised activist training system are manifold. For example, when I explained to her that most of the activists I met in Halifax were not from the city, she pointed out that the early training sessions had not included Halifax locals: "I think part of the reason you may not be finding too many Haligonians is that everyone came through this pipeline, trained all these community leaders who since dispersed and came to be all these organisational leaders, all over the country, so it's like this sneaky, in-bred, training thing" (Brooke).

Many of the activists I interviewed in Halifax had attended Canadian Powershift conferences in locations such as Ottawa, ON(2009), Ottawa(again)(2012), and Victoria, BC(2013). Of the 9 interviews conducted in Halifax only 1 person was from Halifax and 4 were from the Maritimes region. I noticed that 7 of the 18 people I interviewed had attended a Powershift conference and that 6 of these former Powershift attendees were working in Halifax when I interviewed there. I noticed also that only 1 person who had attended Powershift was from the Maritimes and she was working in the Maritimes at the time of interview. A Powershift conference was not held in Halifax until 2014, the same year I started my interviews there. This might help explain the absence of home-grown activists being hired at large environmental groups based on the East Coast. The numbers suggest that attendance at this Powershift conference may be an important criterion for hiring in ENGOs and that, because the East Coast had not yet at that time hosted a Powershift Maritimes, perhaps activists were overlooked for jobs when Powershift attendees from out of province applied. This is speculative and requires further data to prove or disprove analysis. The main message is that a significant number of the total interview sample, just under forty per

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[23] Name of organization anonymised.

cent, had attended this conference and it is safe to surmise that ideas from it were influential in these organisation, especially in the Maritimes.

The main implication of a centralised system of training is that there will be a consensus of messaging and communications that reflect certain tones and priorities. People learn about their social group identities through what social psychologists have called 'norm talk' with other ingroup members about what the group is and is not, which can include non-verbal as well as verbal cues (Hogg and Giles 2012). Consensus was affirmed at these large conferences where collective effervescence was generated and people engage in norm talk about what it meant to be a good activist. Brooke reflected that she also believed this was so:

> You'll see the messaging that you get in Lead Now, in 350.org, in Council, all that messaging moves in parallel, especially in terms of anti-oppression and especially in terms of Indigenous inclusion. That all came straight out of the first Sustainable Campuses conferences, which was the first instance where I'd ever seen or heard of where they opened the conferences with acknowledgement of being on unceded territory, you know, trying to bring in someone who is from that First Nation to do the opening. I had never seen or heard of that before. That started it and now that's standard. I've been at science conferences where they opened with First Nations coming in to do a ceremony. But it all comes from that. And you still have, like you'll see in the mission statements and the mandates of these organisations, these lines of text that come back from these original documents from ten years ago(Brooke).

Very importantly, Brooke did not believe that a centralised system of activist training was inherently problematic. She argued that it was overall a good way to educate settlers: "I would credit a lot of the work that was set there for this move for Indigenous inclusion in a lot of left-wing environmental movement just because it was drilled into every participant that this was non-optional and they've brought that to organisations all across the country" (Brooke). However, Brooke had also experienced exclusion in the ENGO ingroup despite attending the same kind of training sessions as her peers. Her experience highlighted how these spaces facilitated activist consensus but also operated to curtail alternative ideas and methods.

Brooke also highlighted why settler activists in ENGOs that adhered to Powershift-based principles should care about what is lost in this effort to create consensus. Because Brooke was more involved with the ecology rather than the social justice side of environmental issues, she was plugged into different networks than many of the other activists I interviewed. Different environmental networks, she explained, held different ideas about how to engage with Indigenous peoples: "If you go to the Nature Conservancy, if you go to ENGOs that are from an older demographic, management and clientele, you're not going to see that [Powershift] message because

it just wasn't on their radar" (Brooke). However, she argued that the world of ecology-focused environmentalism had engaged in much more productive work to affirm good working relationships with Indigenous peoples as partners than social justice-oriented groups realised:

> There's a lot of relationships already built there [in resource use and resource extraction networks] and an expectation of collaboration. I come from a forest ecology, forest management background. Pipelines screwed it up, but timber companies have got Indigenous relations down. You don't hear about huge fights coming up from First Nations about harvesting, right?[24] They've been doing this for sixty years and they know how to do it. I know a lot of foresters, I know a lot of government foresters, a number of the connections. The best connections I've made with Indigenous people in scientific or environmental fields has been through science conferences where they are at the conference as a participant(Brooke).

Brooke had worked with First Nations representatives as colleagues throughout her ecological career. In contrast, she explained being dubious of how her peer activists in the social justice ENGO world approached grassroots communities with environmental concerns: "I haven't done it, but how do you approach a frontline community and be like, 'hey we want to help with this vague idea of an injustice we think you're suffering?' Like, f£*^ you!" (Brooke). Brooke had the expectation that Indigenous community members would partner on environmental issues if they wished to do so and was comfortable with the notion that Indigenous peoples would be active agents. This differed from social justice oriented activists who did not often just expect to work with Indigenous peoples unless they actively made the effort to reach out. While environmentalists seemed to be newly arriving to the idea of working with Indigenous communities as colleagues, members of her forest ecology networks seemed to have already formed many connections.

Brooke's interview was particularly illuminating because she was trained in this centralised CYCC / Powershift activist training conference but had retained her connection to ecological activism activities. She expressed that while she had experience in both worlds, she never felt like she belonged in social justice communities and found it frustrating that those communities did not have more

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[24] It is worth noting that Brooke was either down-playing or unaware of the ongoing existence of conflict between foresters and some Indigenous groups. For example, another interviewee, Carly described her work with Friends of Grassy Narrows, a group supporting an Indigenous community that opposes further logging on their traditional territories; for more, see: (Willow 2012).

connections with ecological ones: "I've worked in environmental justice communities around issues where my colleagues are well intentioned but don't understand the issue from an environmental and ecological point of view" (Brooke). Brooke explained how this ingroup was premised on the idea that there is a universally applicable ethical praxis that settlers should follow. Yet, she noted, despite the sense of moral force people felt about their beliefs there still appeared to be little clarity in the community about how to define said standard best practices: "It's like there's this objective right thing to do in social and environmental justice spheres. Everybody is waiting for this like omnipotent arbiter to be like, 'that is the right way, and that is the wrong way' and everyone is calling and policing each other out but nobody knows what the right thing is" (Brooke). This comment dovetails with the comment made earlier by Amanda about activist energy expended in personal development work. Although the ingroup boundaries were being regulated and considerable EE resources were being used in states of hyperconsciousness to avoid making, and being caught making, mistakes, there was a lack of clarity about what actually constituted the 'right thing' to do.

This provides further evidence that settler activists may be best served in adopting and maintaining an ethical stance that leaves open the question of what constitutes best practices. Such a stance would expect the work of negotiating best practices to be ongoing, as Pauline described: "I feel like on a personal level we're doing what the country is going to have to do. [We're] just [trying] to create something that works and that's loving and supportive" (Pauline). While she was describing negotiations on a personal level, she also described an openness to negotiation and learning that could be applied amongst less interpersonally involved individuals. Other activists are calling for this – a way to determine best practices that does not confer shame onto someone not exposed to the same learning pathways.

It is noteworthy that Brooke rejected this world of ENGO organising that appeared to hinge on activists operating in hyperconscious states of awareness to avoid saying the wrong thing. Her learning encounter type was characterised by organic encounters, growing up in Winnipeg. Like other people I interviewed who reported having life-long connections with Indigenous peoples, she was not as likely to have experienced intense negative transient emotions or high levels of hyperconsciousness. She had attended two Powershift conferences but did not report the type of breakdown reported by others in reference to suddenly coming into an awareness of her responsibilities. She explained instead that "I don't think I've even had an 'I don't understand this' moment. It was more like, I was ignorant of this. It was

more like, I'd go to a talk, or I'd see something, and then I'd be exposed. And then I'd be like oh that's a thing, and then I'd just accept the thing. I never had the [internal] push-back" (Brooke). Brooke did not feel hyperconscious around Indigenous rights issues or peoples because Indigenous peoples' voices were already permanent and temporary visitors in her me script.

Brooke's narrative is important to understanding how in an effort to define best practices in the setting of a large group conference, activists were creating ideas that carried high levels of moral force as conferred through the collective effervescence of the gathering itself. They were conferring these ideas to others and were calling people out, or, publicly noting when someone did not adhere to what had effectively become rules used to regulate the boundary of the ingroup. As Brooke notes, moral force was strong but rules were not clear, leading to people being unsure of how to protect themselves from public shame. Where there are boundaries to regulate and unclear application of membership with high levels of moral force rules we can expect to see high level of hyperconsciousness amongst activists as people strive to protect themselves from EE loss and to hold onto their ingroup status, which provides a source of EE gain. This recalls to mind the social psychology literature on uncertainty and zealousness, discussed in Chapter 4, which predicts a correlation between levels of uncertainty and degrees of zealousness about group norms as group boundaries and norms are being contested. This is a toxic combination, leading to the perpetuation of self-referential emotions and away from the stability that activists need to maintain the ethical stance.

In addition to this pressure, two other main factors came up that seemed to contribute to low emotional tone and high levels of hyperconsciousness: burnout and the threat of charitable audits, both of which I discuss below.

8.b The relationship between activist emotional tone and burnout

Scholars of social movements have also identified that people who engage in social justice and human rights activist work are particularly prone to considering their activist work lives and personal lives to be intertwined. Activists tend to experience intense pressure to work long hours and to accept debilitating levels of work-related stress with often insufficient compensation because they are motivated by a "deep awareness of injustice and exploitation" (Chen and Gorski 2015, 13). Activist workspaces are often dominated by what Kathleen Rodgers referred to as a "culture of selflessness"

(Rodgers 2010, 277) and what Cher Weixia Chen and Paul C. Gorski refer to more insidiously as a "culture of martyrdom" (Chen and Gorski 2015, 15–16). The literature on social movements is rife with evidence that activists working on social and human rights issues tend to conflate their personal and work lives and feel compelled to invest inordinate amounts of personal resources in their work.

The cultures of environmentalist organisations represent an opportunity for strong engagement with Indigenous rights work. Environmental groups are often full of highly motivated, hard-working and compassionate individuals. However, the cultures of selflessness and / or of martyrdom also represent significant barriers to potential engagement. These cultures foment high-stress environments, which can be infertile places for engaging in creative or critical reflection on how to link short-term action to broader frameworks and long-term agendas (Chen and Gorski 2015, 18). Burnout is defined as the act of leaving or reducing one's level of activism involuntarily and is often characterised by a lack of psychological and physical wellbeing (Rettig 2006, 16). Significant numbers of activists experience some sort of burnout during their activist careers (Chen and Gorski 2015, 9, 16).

Some of the characteristics of activist burnout and shame-motivated withdrawal are the same. Hillary Rettig has described the implications of burnout as the loss to the movement of a trained and experienced activist and potential mentor: "When an activist burns out, she typically derails her career and damages her self-esteem and relationships. She also deprives her organisation and movement of her valuable experience and wisdom" (Rettig 2006, 16). There is a paucity of research on how to intervene into and respond to activist burnout as most studies focus on the experience and not the prevention or treatment of activist burnout (Chen and Gorski 2015, 5). We do know that some of the main causes of burnout include debilitating feelings of helplessness and exhaustion twinned with feeling under-appreciated (11–12). Further, activists note that infighting, anxiety about the slow pace of organising and a lack of attention to self-care in workplace cultures all contribute to the problem of activist burnout. As Chen and Gorski classified environmentalists within their activist interview pool, we can infer that the environmental activists I interviewed may operate in workplace environments that similarly promote conditions that may lead to chronically low levels of emotional tone and ultimately may lead to burnout.

Our emotional tone is affected by our practices, our lived experience of being able to access opportunities to expand ourselves and our access to opportunities to gain in EE as recorded in the me aspect of our self system. We can predict that

workplace environment factors such as infighting, constantly feeling pressure to respond to crises and lacking cultures of self-care will lead to fewer opportunities to expand EE. In fact, these workplaces will promote conditions that should lead activists to take up defensive strategies to minimise EE loss rather than promote gain (Summers-Effler 2004b, 318–20). This can help us understand settler low emotional tone and why activists were operating at such high levels of hyperconsciousness around new partnered work involving novel environments and group norms. We can expect that settlers already operating with a low emotional tone and in strained circumstances would be ideologically drawn to justice work but also be averse to anything new that might further make demands on EE stores.

This backdrop of high stress and low EE input workplaces is a trend across activist workplaces. We can see evidence of low emotional tone because of activists working too hard with too little support and this backdrop is implicitly there when activists talk about having lack a capacity. There is no redundancy built into organisations of this kind and so when new priorities appear this requires refusal to engage or re-evaluation of current arrangements. For example, activist Fiona working in Halifax describes how partnering with Indigenous organisers stretches her organisation's capacity thin and leaves them unsure of how to address other campaign commitments:

> The Tatamagouche Centre hosted a good meeting during the IdleNoMore movement about how non-Indigenous can show solidarity and a lot of the key things that people were saying – they were all Mi'gmaq, actually, there were no Maliseet there – was 'you should ask to be invited and then show support. Don't just leave when the crisis is over, too. Try to be a long-term supporter. Not just be there and back again'. That is a huge challenge for us because honestly we don't have huge capacity. I mean you wish you could be there, all the time, doing everything, for every campaign almost, but it is a challenge (Fiona).

The norms or activist workplaces are unlikely to change drastically and so one of the recommendations I make in Chapter 9 is that activists organise from a position where they acknowledge their limited capacity and do all that they can to change the parts they do have control over. A large piece of this is around promoting positive workplace culture and collective engagement with challenges, for example, by adopting what Shelley Correll calls 'the small wins approach' (Correll 2017).

The final factor in this discussion on high levels of hyperconsciousness is on the strain and stress caused by what some activists argue was a targeted political campaign of financial audits.

8.c The impact of 'the big year of audits' on emotional tone

In June 2012 Bill C-38, the *Jobs, Growth and Long-term Prosperity Act* received Royal Assent and came into force. This legislation led to a programme wherein the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) Charities Directorate selected 60 charities to audit over the course of 4 years under the Harper Conservative government. The 'big year of audits' was particularly damaging to the environmental movement and had a significant effect on the enthusiasm for risk-taking amongst environmentalists. The National Programme Director of the Sierra Club Canada Foundation, John Bennett, explained to journalists in 2015 after the Sierra Club was targeted for an audit that "It's a huge undertaking for us to do this … an accounting nightmare for us to figure out how to do it" (Beeby 2015, paras. 1–5). Changes to the *Income Tax Act* (R.S.C. 1985, c. 1 [5th Supp.]), under which charitable law is encoded, increased the number of charities audited. The Harper Conservative government insisted that investigation of the political activities of charitable groups was not designed to target environmental groups (Beeby 2015, paras. 1–5). Nonetheless, groups like the Sierra Club felt intimidated and bullied.

In June 2015, a month after the beginning of the Sierra Club audit, the Sierra Club Canada Foundation released a newsletter. It's author, Sierra Club Executive Director John Bennett, claimed that "for three years environmental charities have been the target of an anti-democratic government disinformation campaign and the improper use of the Canada Revenue Agency(CRA)" (Sierra Club Canada Foundation 2015, para.1). Bennett was further quoted explaining that "the CRA is for collecting taxes not intimidating charities unpopular with the government of the day" (2). Environmental groups like the Sierra Club believed that the audits were politically motivated to stymie activist opposition to resource development projects.

The increase in charitable audits was short-lived and by January 2016, just 2 months after the Trudeau Liberal national government assumed office, the Directorate announced they would close down the programme after it had completed only 30 audits (Canada Revenue Agency's Charities Directorate 2016, sec. Political activities). The charitable tax law continued to state that charitable organisations were not allowed to spend more than 10%[25] of their time and resources doing "political" work (Canada

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[25] This percentage figure refers to the accommodation in the policy that the majority of the work of environmental organisations should be apolitical and this is defined in the document as ninety per cent.

2003, sec. 9). However, charitable sector workers had been finding it difficult to understand how to define political in their work, leading to high levels of worry and hyperconsciousness around how to handle this threat. The March 2016 Federal Budget stipulated new joint initiatives by Canada Revenue Agency's Charity Directorate and the Department of Finance to consult with charities on the rules governing political activities to clarify some of these issues (Canada Revenue Agency's Charities Directorate 2016, sec. Political activities). When I was in the field the fear of audits was highly salient amongst the activist interview population.

In the model of EE tone I have been working with we can understand this sudden introduction of threat to have an impact on emotional tone amongst activists who would feel an increase in levels of hyperconsciousness, even before their organisation had been notified of an impending audit. To illustrate how this threat lowered emotional tone for anything 'extra' to their normal activities, activist Megan described how her organisation tried to show support for an Indigenous-led action while being reticent about showing political support. She worked for a Halifax-based environmental organisation that had sent a delegation up to visit a direct action Indigenous encampment. The encampment was illegal in Canadian law but her group had wanted to show solidarity: "When I was working [there] I went up to visit Elsipogtog, when they were having their fracking protest and that was another kind of example of when we kind of went as a delegation to offer support. … We brought some food and supplies and stuff and just hung out with the protesters in the woods for awhile" (Megan). While they could go and take part as participants, they were not able to put organisational energy or funds behind this Indigenous-led initiative because it was political.

To the same point, activist Thomas explained that the organisation he worked for deliberately did not register as a charity to avoid contending with these restrictions. Thomas worked for a national environmental and social justice organisation and I interviewed him in Ottawa. His organisation found that charitable status was a liability for their organising agenda: "We have charitable status in the US, which allows us to get some money from US foundations more easily. We don't have [charitable status] in Canada. [There] was kind of the mentality that as a charity you can't do advocacy work and that it would limit the type of work you could do and the type of things you can say. It is still a conscious choice not to do that" (Thomas). Lauren, who worked at a national organisation based in Toronto(where I interviewed her), echoed this sentiment, stating

that the organisation she worked for avoided having charitable status precisely because it would limit the kinds of political work they felt safe doing:

> We don't have charitable status precisely because we didn't want to be held accountable. We're an overtly political organisation so we don't have charitable status. Occasionally that's an issue with supporters who think we do, and then we can't issue them a tax receipt. But it means we have freedom, especially in comparison to other environmental organisations. The combination of the fact that we don't have government or corporate funding and we didn't have charitable status means that we're a lot freer to speak out on all kinds of issues. … We can support blockades and things and it's not an issue for us, whereas it is for most organisations(Lauren).

It is clear that activists in some ENGOs believed charitable status would limit them if they wanted to do political work and the 'big year of audits' added to this mistrust of the intentions of policy-makers.

The activists working at charities also voiced concerns over auditing. Fiona, a senior activist whom I interviewed in Halifax, believed that the auditing was politically motivated, describing it as a form of harassment: "We've had so much going on here in Canada with groups being audited, slash, harassed" (Fiona). She noted that there has definitely been a spike in audits in the past few years referring to "the big year of audits": "We got audited before the big year of audits, so we think that's why they don't come back because it would look obvious. [Another group], the last time they were audited was between twenty and thirty years ago. … So that's what we suspect is going on." (Fiona). Fiona went on to explain that her group felt the need to keep their communications vague on points they would have preferred to be direct about: "We know the environmental laws were a lot better and that the changes that [the Harper government] made were done improperly, without conversation. We know that. We have expertise in those areas, having worked with those laws for years. They have definitely been down-graded. We can offer that expertise on those policies. [However], sometimes you can't give as harsh a quote, or you can't be as blunt maybe as you might be. You have to couch it" (Fiona). This also meant that they needed to engage most of their time and resources in apolitical work that incontrovertibly matched the charity mandate for education: "[You have to be] aware of how much time and resources you are spending on that piece because you are allowed to do it ten per cent of the time" (Fiona). This meant that charitable organisations were taking actual, material risks to do Indigenous rights work as part of their environmental mandates. They had to strategise about how to do their work in a way that appeared apolitical while also believing that governmental policies were inhibiting their ability to deliver on their mandates.

The main burden of the audit was administrative and therefore even if a charity was compliant and could pass an audit, they were still forced to direct resources into conducting the audit. Of the 42 charity audits conducted by September 2016(not all of which were environmental charities), only 1 had their charitable status revoked. In addition, 1 voluntarily revoked their status, 1 annulled registration and 5 issued a notice of their intention to revoke. Of the remaining 34, 1 had no issues found, 9 had been issued an education letter but retained their status and 24 had entered compliance agreements (Canada Revenue Agency's Charities Directorate 2016, sec. Political activities). The vast majority of charities, 81%, were neither compelled nor motivated to revoke their charitable status but all were compelled to undergo the burdensome audit process.

Despite this low rate of actual penalisation, the threat of audits appeared to have a dampening effect on the Halifax-based organisation where Amanda worked as a junior member of staff. They proactively minimised any activity that could be construed as political in order to avoid violating the charity law. When I asked her if she thought the organisation was close to meeting the ten per cent cap she answered definitely not: "We're shy about [political activity] because [the organisation] is getting audited every year. We are one of the seven organisations that are getting targeted." (Amanda). Amanda was frustrated with the way the organisation was being forced to choose between environmental work and political work when she viewed them as interlinked through an environmental justice lens. The constant threat and administration of charitable audits was having the effect of the organisation scaling back any work that might put them under threat to the point where they were not even reaching their quota.

These findings are significant because they highlight the connection between capacity and perceived risk of doing new and different kinds of work. Aversion to risk was triggered when organisations like the one Amanda worked for experienced pressure due to the perceived or realised threat of having to do more with their already limited resources.

In this section I have given evidence to demonstrate why settler activist workplaces can be considered already likely to precipitate hyperconsciousness amongst employees. I have now introduced the problematic that settler activists were engaged as a community in re-inscribing boundaries and sometimes calling out to do so, were as a population already prone to burnout and that they perceived an intensified risk to their financial and time resources because of audits they believed

were politicised. It should be unsurprising that this population should be characterised by people with low emotional tone and high hyperconsciousness as they seek to retain EE.

In the following section I would like to use an example from the interview with Helena to demonstrate that despite the low levels of emotional tone documented above consciousness can still be managed to facilitate transformative encounters. The below example shows how levels of hyperconsciousness appear to decrease after the transformative encounter and to increase the overall level of emotional tone that can be applied towards future encounters.

8.1　How a transformative encounter relieves levels of hyperconsciousness

Helena, who was introduced in the last chapter as a Halifax-based settler activist had initially withdrawn from Indigenous rights work, became conscious at a sustainable level after her transformative encounter. Her initial withdrawal and aversion were triggered by her feelings of shame at finding evidence that staff members of her church participated in running a local residential school. She also reported feeling that in her classroom experience she "felt un-empowered to take action on Indigenous rights." She had therefore decided to "just focus on more of the environmental stuff," though she also admitted that she knew that Indigenous rights work was becoming increasingly more important in her activist community. However, she was able to overcome her feelings of guilt and shame when she took part in a facilitated encounter and this went on to inform her activism thereafter.

Hyperconsciousness can be precipitated both by a lack of transactional history with an encounter setting and also by there being negative, loss-inducing experiences coded in a person's history. With Helena, there were both: she was ashamed of the involvement of her church in residential schools and she had no experience of encountering living Indigenous peoples, culture or political aspirations. She had felt hyperconscious of what she did not know would happen if she engaged again.

Her interview was a particularly useful one to look at when thinking through the impact of a transformative encounter because she went through several encounters that had left her averse to engaging before she did have a transformative encounter in

a facilitated encounter setting. Her account gives us a before-and-after sense of how a transformative encounter works – her story showcases a settler learning to engage differently after a transformative encounter.

During a facilitated training session, Helena experienced a powerful and moving encounter that ultimately actuated a transformative encounter. While at a multi-day training session hosted by Indigenous and allied facilitators, she had failed to follow proper protocol and was therefore unable to take part in the ceremonies hosted by Indigenous facilitators. Facilitators of the sessions had asked all participants not to drink alcohol for three days before attending. Helena had forgotten and had consumed alcohol within this period:

> [First Nations people] gather at this centre every year to be in peace and friendship and they invite settlers to come and sit with them. There are ceremonies and a big learning session. … [I]t was so powerful because they were so welcoming. Right off the bat, I realised how ignorant I was because … [I was told] in an email [not to] drink alcohol or do drugs three to five days before this. I'm just dumb and I forgot. I had a beer on Sunday and we left on Monday. That meant that I couldn't participate in any of the ceremonies for the rest of the week. It sucked for me, but I also felt like I would have been disrespectful if I had participated and didn't tell them(Helena).

In this scenario Helena showed that she was lacking in cultural literacy but had nonetheless entered the strange setting with an availability to encounter. Nonetheless, she was in unfamiliar territory and feeling conscious of her unfamiliarity. Helena only realised her mistake once she was at the multi-day gathering and expected reprisal. To her surprise, she was welcomed and given generous hospitality by one of the organisers, a gesture that cumulated in a transformative encounter.

Instead of excluding or publicly blaming Helena, a Mi'gmaq organiser helped make her feel comfortable. In Chapter 7 I quoted from Helena in saying that her predominant response to learning about violations of Indigenous rights was to feel guilty and she had stated how she felt compelled to apologise to make up for past settler wrongdoing. In this setting Helena was, as expected, quick to say sorry although she had of course not been attentive enough to avoid violating the basic rules of the setting. Here we see 'sorry' initially stand in for meaningful engagement: "I said to the woman who was organising all of it, 'I'm sorry. I just met you. I'm supposed to be here in friendship, but I was drinking yesterday. What should I do?' She [the organiser] just went outside the circle(Helena)." In this moment Helena was excluded from the situation, a scenario that we should expect based on an understanding on the phenomenology of shame would send her into a hyperconscious and emotionally taxed state.

However, her hyperconsciousness and apology was met with friendly hospitality when the organiser left the circle with her and chose exclusion to be with Helena:

> She was patient with me and she sat with me outside of the circle because she was like, 'You're not going to sit out alone this year'. … She was basically running the event so for her to put all this effort in and then not get to participate in the smudging or [anything] … She would just answer all my questions and if I didn't understand, she would explain it to me. She told me about my spirit animal and being open and patient. It was really nice. That was extremely humbling because I went in there, like, yes, I'm going to learn and visit and reach out and be nice [and then] I made the biggest mistake right off the bat.

This experience in a facilitated encounter setting left an impression on Helena. Helena had intended to be 'nice' but her good intentions alone did not help her overcome her cultural illiteracy or initially motivate her to engage with Indigenous space on Indigenous terms. The situation made an impression on her because she was in an unfamiliar setting and was almost totally excluded from the group, an experience that would have made her feel further shame and hyperconsciousness in the situation. In fact, I believe that the conversation she had with the organiser was highly impactful in part because Helena knew she could be justifiably shamed for her carelessness but was being protected from shame. The organiser had protected her from the worst impacts of guilt and shame and personally invested energy in managing and facilitating her feelings.

After this weekend Helena appeared to have become desensitised to her fear of making mistakes and overcame her sense of being limited and paralysed by guilt. She added her first positive encounter to her transactional history chain and it was a powerful one, in the form of a transformational encounter. Later, Helena started relationship-building back in Halifax, seeking to build partnerships with local Indigenous community members because she wanted to engage them in her environmental work. She went about engagement in ways designed to respect their right to guide the relationship-building process: "I'm trying to create some partnerships and projects with Mi'gmaq communities because I work in energy efficiency. Most of the Mi'gmaqs in Nova Scotia use two times more energy than any other non-Mi'gmaq community. So, I was like, oh, well, I can step in there and help out. But [to do] that I have not been talking about my work but just trying to make friendships with people who are interested in this, saying, 'This is what I'm interested in and let's talk about your community' " (Helena). This approach was reinforced at the gathering but also in the culture of her workplace: "That is something that has been stressed to us through our building-relationship work at the Environmental Hub. It's important for us to take it

slow. When I am developing my project, I don't have an outline for my project. What I should do is I should wait for somebody from the Mi'gmaq community, someone in the Indigenous community, to say, 'Can you help me?' " (Helena). She took away some clear directives around how to engage ethically with potential Indigenous partners. Most critically, Helena was no longer averse to engaging. After she had developed a working sense of what EE resources she might need, Helena found it more manageable to engage the ethical stance in her environmentalism in reference to an Indigenous rights lens.

In the example shared above from Helena and also Josephine, whom I shared earlier in this chapter, we see that some level of consciousness is helpful to maintaining the ethical stance. Being conscious of engagements helps maintain focus on goals. However, too much is inhibiting. Thinking about EE in this way contributes to debates in settler colonial studies around how to be a helpful settler ally to Indigenous peoples and around Indigenous-led campaigns. Keeping an ethical stance is to strive to look beyond oneself and towards others, attempting to understand how to forward movement goals through one's own actions if that is appropriate. This requires a humility towards how that may or not affect a settler's own identity or social standing.

I believe from the review of hyperconsciousness in this chapter and the strategies outlined in the next chapter that settlers can gain a strong understanding of how they can actively support critical dialogue and transformative encounters within their workplaces and communities. Doing so will help share the education burden as settlers take responsibility not for naming and blaming each other for mistakes but for learning together how to support Indigenous rights objectives in their own activism.

I have argued in Chapter 8 that hyperconsciousness was a problem for the activist community I interviewed and that it could be coalesced around the themes of calling out, burnout and the big year of audits, with interconnections between all themes. Hyperconsciousness amongst settler activists can be linked to withdrawal, a move that we can consider the anti-thesis of maintaining the ethical stance, and so managing this dynamic in the workplace is critical. However, I have argued that there are different levels of consciousness and that some form of consciousness – that which engages with conscious intentionality – is necessary for the maintenance of an ethical stance. Consciousness is part of maintaining the ethical stance, as outlined in Chapter 4, and

is required as a motivational reminder to settlers to be conscious of how they would like to engage and how they are engaging on Indigenous rights issues.

In Chapter 9 I explore ways to keep hyperconsciousness in check in activist workplaces. While settler activists cannot eliminate all of the stress and strain of this workplace because of some of circumstances described in this chapter, I endeavour to show how organising towards minimising hyperconsciousness and promoting consciousness can support the conditions settlers need to be in to sustain an ethical stance and incorporate Indigenous rights goals into their organising.

I have argued in these first two chapters of Part D that maintaining an ethical stance is an ongoing exercise, a cyclical and dynamic system of intellectual and ethical intervention. It follows that this exercise demands some level of ongoing investment of EE and therefore some ongoing investment of EE in a consciousness state. It is of course a settler privilege to work on these areas but the above stories demonstrate clearly that it is necessary and important for settlers to exercise this privilege to reflect. If they do not, the above examples show that this burden is likely to fall to Indigenous organisers. An implication of this is that settlers can and should consciously strategise about how they can maintain sustainable levels of EE, given the likelihood that their emotional tone will fluctuate as precipitated by the work and in the workplace.

CHAPTER 9
Promoting settler engagement with the ethical stance.

> I'm not interested in anybody's guilt. Guilt is a luxury that we can no longer afford. I know you didn't do it, and I didn't do it either, but I am responsible for it because I am a man and a citizen of this country and you are responsible for it, too, for the same reason. ... Anyone who is trying to be conscious must begin to dismiss the vocabulary which we've used so long to cover it up, to lie about the way things are (Baldwin 1998, 707).

Throughout Part D of this thesis I have been concerned with the way guilt, shame and external circumstances have contributed to low emotional tone amongst activists, leading to non-engagement in Indigenous rights work. In this chapter I argue that if environmentalists want to bring an Indigenous rights lens into their activist workspaces then they should avoid precipitating shame and guilt-based responses by building capacity for taking collective responsibility for doing Indigenous rights work. Specifically I argue that settlers might centre the aspirations of Indigenous peoples and avoid directing EE unnecessarily towards regulation and other self-referential strategies that promote personal EE gain amongst settlers. I argue throughout that settlers should strive to detach themselves slightly from their identity as a 'good settler' and instead think about their actions and how they might or might not contribute to movement goals. Activists can thereby regain their energy from self-referential loops and re-invest it towards maintaining an ethical stance. Moreover, I argue that settlers should be aware of the reasons why Indigenous rights work is difficult and respond to that awareness by supporting each other in learning and supporting Indigenous peoples in practical ways, aiming to raise the overall emotional tone of environmental organisations.

In Chapter 4 I introduced three ethical imperatives that make up the ethical stance: 1) settlers are accountable for unconsciousness, 2) conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection and 3) conscious recognition initiates a process. In this chapter I have identified three areas of strategy that relate directly with each component of the ethical stance. Each area of the strategy is the access point for working towards the maintenance of the ethical stance and each of these areas of strategy support the two conditions stated above and here is how they map on:

1) Desensitisation: *Settlers are accountable for unconsciousness;*

2) Promoting relations: *Conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection*; and

3) Creating spaces of reflection: *Conscious recognition initiates a process*.

These areas are represented linearly but the narratives of the activists demonstrate that they all contribute towards stabilising the ethical stance. I refer to these three processes taken together as re-scripting – a process where me scripts are updated and hyperconsciousness is turned into consciousness, enabling settlers to expend less EE in self-referential states of awareness and to maintain an ethical stance. These areas all describe areas of strategy that support transformative encounter experiences and can be drawn upon to promote settler activist engagement with the ethical stance. I suggest that the strategies outlined below will help foster environments in which EE levels are not under acute threat and therefore settlers will be less likely to employ defensive strategies such as aversion or succumb to acting on a desire for absolution. In this chapter I share examples from the interviews of when settler activists have employed strategies in these areas to catalyse these three pillars that support the ethical stance.

I refer to the following activists listed in alphabetical order by name: Andrea[26], Brooke[27], Carly[28], Cassandra[29], Fiona[30], Helena[31], Jessica[32], Josephine[33], Lauren[34], Megan[35], Pauline[36], Patty[37], Sam[38], Sarah[39], Thomas[40] and Tina[41]. Most of these

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[26] Author interview with Andrea in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2015.
[27] Author interview with Brooke in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2015.
[28] Author interview with Carly in Winnipeg, MN (Prairies) in the summer of 2014.
[29] Author interview with Cassandra in St John, NB (Maritimes) in the summer of 2015.
[30] Author interview with Fiona in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[31] Author interview with Helena in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[32] Author interview with Jessica in Tatamagouche, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[33] Author interview with Josephine in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[34] Author interview with Lauren in Toronto, ON (Central Canada) in the summer of 2015.
[35] Author interview with Megan in Oxford, UK (Central Canada because of interview contents) in the spring of 2014.
[36] Author interview with Pauline in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[37] Author interview with Patty in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.
[38] Author interview with Sam in Winnipeg, MN (Prairies) in the summer of 2014.
[39] Author interview with Sarah in Halifax, NS (Maritimes) in the summer of 2014.

activists have been introduced before but there are four newcomers to the thesis: Cassandra, Patty, Sam and Sarah. These activists articulated compelling strategies and spoke at length about organisational strategy, which is why I have included their voices in this chapter on solutions and strategies for organising.

9 Three areas of strategy for promoting strong engagement

In the first instance it is important for environmental organisations to foster cultures that reduce levels of hyperconsciousness around Indigenous rights issues by desensitising settlers through education and frequent framing of environmental issues through the lens of colonial histories(1. Desensitisation: *Settlers are accountable for unconsciousness)*. Then it is critical to ensure that dialogic learning is facilitated in a shame-free environment(2. Promoting relations: *Conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection*). In order for settlers to uphold the ethical stance, their organisations must endeavour to create the two conditions described above. The third area refers to the dynamic, lifelong process of critical reflection that signals the maintenance of the ethical stance over time(3. Creating spaces of reflection: *Conscious recognition initiates a process*) (Davis et al. 2017, 402).

9.a Desensitisation: Settlers are accountable for unconsciousness

Desensitisation refers to a person taking responsibility for learning and desensitising themselves. They may have been unaware of how energy intensive encounters would be and have overestimated the amount of EE they need to invest, leading to hyperconsciousness. Or, they may have had negative experiences in the past, leading to high levels of hyperconsciousness. When they become desensitised settlers learn to gauge more accurately how encounters will go in the future, contributing to a lowering of their levels of consciousness. This describes the phenomenon I have been discussing throughout the thesis of an activist being afraid of the unknown unknowns – of anticipating that an encounter will be high cost and the fear of the encounter itself

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[40] Author interview with Thomas in Ottawa, ON (Central Canada) in the summer of 2015.
[41] Author interview with Tina in Toronto, ON (Central Canada) in the summer of 2015.

carrying a high cost. When a settler becomes desensitised, through a lifetime of normal, banal interactions with Indigenous peoples as peers or through learning more about Indigenous-centred knowledge and being able to discuss it in a University course, settlers begin to be better accountants in terms of their EE. The fear of an encounter being high cost gives way to a settler understanding more accurately what an encounter might feel and look like. This reduction of hyperconsciousness in the encounter enables the settler to look beyond themselves and towards the other.

One example of this strategy is Pauline's radio show, described in Chapter 7, where she endeavoured to desensitise settlers through exposure to Indigenous content. A settler like Pauline had to run the show but it also required settlers to tune in to listen and learn – in this way settlers were being accountable for correcting their own ignorance. Another example comes from the interview with Josephine shared in Chapter 8 when someone from her workplace invited in a speaker to talk about water justice. This education initiative desensitised the workplace to the idea of learning directly from Indigenous knowledge keepers by replacing fears about criticism with a positive encounter, showcasing settlers taking responsibility for their own learning. In this case they engaged an Indigenous teacher and in an ideal scenario, this skill sharing could continue within the workplace so that the Indigenous educator did not need to come in every time there was a new employee hire. Rather, her teaching would become part of workplace engagement strategy and policy.

Settlers whom I classified as having gone through organic encounters have often been particularly successful in maintaining an ethical stance. I believe this is because they have developed relationships of accountability with Indigenous peoples and been desensitised from a young age. They have already begun to re-write their internal scripts that constitute the me aspect of their dynamic self system. This accountability and process of re-scripting often began early in life as their families ensured they met with people of colour and Indigenous people. For example, they report that their parents taught them to befriend people who were different from them, such as Jessica's father driving his new colleague to work. They also reported having friends who were Indigenous from a young age and being at ease with concerns that seemed Indigenous-specific while they were growing up, such as Brooke who went to a very mixed school: "I went to the University of Winnipeg Collegiate, which is a high school attached to the University. … It's free for First Nations kids. There were a lot of students, lots of older students who were coming back to finish their high school degree, but also lots of students our age. So, I was pretty good friends with two [First

Nation] girls, who come from reserves, good friends with one, and we played on the basketball team together, all the way through" (Brooke).

Some of the people I interviewed had parents who introduced an analysis to them that first planted the idea in their minds that Indigenous people had experienced systematic discrimination:

> I was pretty lucky; my parents are pretty progressive, pretty on the ball about what's right and what's wrong. And they practiced in the north of Newfoundland. Their practice extended into Labrador where there are Innu and Inuit who would be their patients, members of the communities they were serving. So they were familiar with the poverty and some of the issues that come up when you have people that are discriminated against systematically and have been for generations. So they dealt with the symptoms of that I guess, first-hand, so they would know that piece. And you know to some degree they would know these people intimately. [They knew] that this isn't just random people having problems relating to the world. There is something about this that has made this happen. So I guess I would have known that from their experience (Fiona).

These people had the advantage of being exposed to Indigenous realities through early relationships and I believe that this experience desensitised them, which led to their re-writing their internal scripts. In the case when settler children were taught by their parents to engage with Indigenous peoples and issues, this is an example of parents taking on that accountability for educating their children – a hopeful trajectory. In other cases, settlers such as Megan (introduced in Chapter 7) had been exposed to encounters early in life through Inuit art but this exposure did not serve to desensitise her to living, breathing Indigenous culture or realities. We can say that these early experiences did end up functioning as a permanent or temporary visitor in her mind, becoming part of her me script, but this was mediated later in her life through other encounters. Desensitisation happens not because someone is proximal to Indigenous people or issues but happens because someone – a person or perhaps their guardian – begins to learn from and about Indigenous peoples in ways that challenge dominant, mainstream ideas about Indigenous peoples and realities.

People who have not been desensitised through early personal connections can be desensitised as adults through encounters of other kinds that are transformative. As shared in Chapter 8, Helena was one settler activist who had experienced shame and guilt resulting in her not engaging with Indigenous rights until she attended the Peace and Friendship Gathering at the Tatamagouche Centre. At the gathering she had been in sustained contact with Indigenous peoples and had felt emotionally safe enough to relax into her experience and learn. Notably, she had credited another activist for facilitating her attendance at the Gathering. This other

activist was Josephine, whom I also interviewed. In fact, one of the actions Josephine took on as a result of her own facilitated encounter was to organise opportunities for other settler activists, such as Helena, to attend programmes and desensitise through similar transformative encounters. This is an excellent example of how one settler – Helena – took on accountability for her learning by coming to the gathering but was supported in doing so by a more senior colleague in her workplace – Josephine. There was another settler at the gathering – Jessica – who along with the primarily Mi'gmaq hosts delivered teaching. Three settlers here are all contributing to taking responsibility for learning and drawing others along with them.

Josephine had identified that settlers often felt afraid of Indigenous peoples and of the feelings of guilt and shame that might come up for settlers in encounters. She understood that encounters could be shocking to peoples' internal scripts about Indigenous peoples but also about who they were as settlers in relation to Indigenous rights violations: "Because people are so scared, and that's one thing I realised … A lot of people are just scared of what is going to hit them" (Josephine). However, she also noted that something significant happened when settlers had direct contact with Indigenous peoples and knowledge – fear tended to dissipate:

> What I've been struck with time and time again is how amazingly generous [Mi'qmaq] culture is. Because when you ask at the beginning, if you're following good protocol, if you're welcome on this land, the answer is always [that] you're welcome. Despite everything, you're welcome. And as soon as [settlers] experience that, the fear goes away. Like it doesn't mean that there aren't [Indigenous] individuals who are angry or hurt and broken. Of course, [they] should be. But, in general, this is a welcoming culture. So I kind of feel like enough [settlers] have maybe started to have contact directly, not through media or books, but with First Nations people and they've realised that a welcome is there. They want to work with us! They may not want to work with us in the way that we want to work with them, but they welcome us. … I think people have honestly not known that (Josephine).

In this excerpt Josephine shows how an encounter can desensitise settlers to their unfounded fears and replaces the foundations of these fears with a more grounded and realistic impression of the needs of Indigenous communities today.

The level of consciousness that typically attend a person experiencing something for the first time decrease as the novelty of a situation decreases so a person can reduce hyperconsciousness by eliminating unknowns. For example, Tina was very aware of her own ignorance, which made her feel highly hyperconscious about each interaction in which she engaged with an Indigenous person: "I know nothing about First Nations, comparatively. I was so terrified of somehow implementing neo-colonialism in any interaction I [had], so I just stayed away from the

issue." (Tina). Her impression was that she would make mistakes because of her ignorance and lack of connection to Indigenous peoples, culture and politics. At the time of interview she had not take accountability for her learning but had in fact determined to avoid engaging with Indigenous organisers in her work. Desensitisation for her would have involved dispelling her fears of the unknown by encouraging more cultural literacy as a first step to reducing hyperconsciousness.

Another activist, Cassandra, referred to accepting the invitations from Indigenous peoples to be in spaces with them was helpful for her to meet people and learn more about how she as a settler could engage an ethical stance. Cassandra was one of the most grassroots of the people I interviewed in that she began organising to address a specific problem in her community rather than working on behalf of an organisation. When she had first started engaging with questions around environmental engagement and Indigenous land sovereignty, she took the initiative to participate in an event in New Brunswick where she knew First Nation peoples would be gathering to discuss a pipeline project. All were welcome but she was nervous and almost had not gone:

> At the last minute I went and it was different because I have never been exposed to First Nation peoples before. You always hear what is in the media and I have learned that what the media says is a lie. … It's important to learn from them and to not judge them ahead of time and not to assume, especially not to assume. I'm still learning. I'm learning a lot from them. I wish I could learn more. So, basically, at the meeting everybody sat in a big circle and had a chance to say what they wanted to say. I learned a little bit about treaties that day (Cassandra).

She met a few members of the Wolastoq First Nation, whose territory she occupied back home in New Brunswick. The next day at the same gathering she said something she was embarrassed about but, just like when Helena broken the no-alcohol protocol, Cassandra was happily surprised by the generosity of her hosts when she suffered no social repercussions:

> We marched side-by-side with each other. They [Wolastoq community leaders] were at the front and they had a big role to play in our march. … Just from their speeches alone and their water ceremonies. … They had canoes and they canoed onto the shore and that was probably the first time that First Nation peoples canoed onto the shore in Saint John for, I don't know, probably hundreds of years. So, it was a solemn and emotional moment. And then they had their ceremony around the sacred fire and I had never experienced anything like that before. I felt kind of stupid at one point because I said … after

everything was all done, 'well, we can have some s'mores[42] if you like!' I didn't realise that you can't do that on a sacred fire. I was like, oh god (Cassandra).

Even though she was in all kinds of new situations she put herself out there, learned a lot and never described in her interview with me a time when an Indigenous organiser had made her feel unwelcome or out of place. She went where she was invited and appeared unusually open to making connections. She was encouraged enough by these experiences to attend an event in Québec City organised by the Council of Canadians where there was strong Indigenous leadership and then she went to her first powwow, where she found herself getting emotional:

> I went to my first powwow ever, I just went by myself. … and when I first got there and I [saw] them dancing in their … – what are they called now? I think it's called regalia – I felt emotional. I felt like I wanted to start crying. And then I started looking around and people weren't crying. They were smiling. They were having a good time. I'm like, why do I feel like this? Why does it make me feel like this? I'm like, I better suck it back in because I don't want people to see me cry but that is how it made me feel when I heard the drumming and the beats and seeing everyone dancing in their ceremony. It was very emotional for me (Cassandra).

At the gathering she felt emotional I surmise because she was recognising that the joy and vibrancy of the dancers and good feelings all around were juxtaposed to the dire health conditions affecting Indigenous peoples living downstream from the Albertan Tar Sands, an issue of grave concern to her: "I'm proud to call those people some friends of mine and to learn from them. So, I'll stand by them if need be. One thing I realised as well, with the Tar Sands, is that people are dying. They are dying of cancer out there. It's going to affect every First Nations community along the whole length of that pipeline and I don't want any more of those people to die of cancer" (Cassandra). Cassandra felt herself having this reaction where something about the joy of the people made her feel devastated – perhaps she was afraid for them, angry about the injustices she had learned about. She felt a strong connection because she had taken the initiative to go where she was welcome and learn.

Cassandra highlighted in her interview a sort of realisation that the environmental issues she was concerned about were intimately tied up with issues of Indigenous human rights. She described guilt and how it made her feel. She experienced emotions as she learned, adding information and experiences to her internal scripts. However, she did not succumb to any attempt to relieve her conscience or become absolved from guilt through apologies or limited financial

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[42] This is a common Canadian sweet snack you would normally prepare over an outdoor fire.

reparations and as above she did not let her emotions dampen the feelings of those around her who were there to celebrate. She took up several opportunities to be around Indigenous peoples and in these spaces she became desensitised and also built relationships that now form the foundation of her motivations for engaging on Indigenous rights issues. Cassandra upheld an ethical stance and kept going into spaces where she would learn, and sometimes be wrong and get emotional and then go back again because she had resolved to connect to her role as a settler in solidarity with Indigenous organisers. She had particularly strong personal resolve but was also not affected by fears of being called out, of audits or of burning out. Importantly, she had never been exposed to organised ENGO environments before, through Powershift or other types of spaces. She arrived to organising with a sense that she had a lot to learn but did not appear hyperconscious about this lack of knowledge. This may have contributed to her willingness to put herself out there, make relationships with Indigenous neighbours and just get to work on the solidarity campaigns. Importantly, she felt confident in what she could do to engage ethically because she was listening directly to colleagues, neighbours and friends about how to engage.

In taking responsibility for learning and desensitising, settlers accept accountability for their unconsciousness and try to learn more, actuating a positive transactional feedback loop. The more a person knows, the more desensitised they become, which encourages them to engage more. It appears that often the first step is the more frightening because the fear of the unknowns can overcome a desire to understand the other more. In the following area of strategy I outline the promotion of relations, which I have already begun to speak about above. This refers to recognition of the other as a being and that relationship being a site where further reflection can take place. When I refer to relationships I refer to those between Indigenous and settler peoples but also amongst settlers and between settlers and Indigenous knowledge.

9.b Promoting relations: Conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection

Settlers can promote processes of personal self-reflection at work and can encourage people to maintain an ethical stance by validating the fact that the situation presented is difficult and does require the group to give it resources and time. Through working things out together and refusing to begin placing blame or generating guilt or shame amongst group members, they can reduce hyperconsciousness and organise

facilitated transformative encounters. Settlers can facilitate better relationships amongst potential settler allies and peers.

In addition some settlers I interviewed had found that their relationships with Indigenous peoples had been centrally important sites for self-reflection. For some, taking up a political stance towards Indigenous rights had collapsed into a more intimate type of relationship and to be working in solidarity as an ally began to look like friendship. Activists Sam, Jessica and Pauline described their thoughts about the connection between political allyship and personal relationships from the position of people who were all in romantic partnerships with Indigenous men at the time of interview.

Sam was working on the delivery of food security programming in remote Indigenous communities when I interviewed him in Winnipeg. His reflections described how he engaged as a political and personal ally and how this was a springboard to further self-reflection. The aim of these examples is to show that settlers who were desensitised around Indigenous peoples and issues often cited how much they had learned from their partners. They often cited their feelings of accountability to Indigenous people and Indigenous rights issues, which extended beyond their personal spheres.

Sam summed up his theories about what it means to be in solidarity in simple terms. To him, solidarity meant friendship and personal connections: "The end goal [of solidarity] I think is going to be more casual [than a political alliance]. I think it's gonna more be based on just friendships, and just personal connections outside of my professional political self. In my older age that is what happens – it's nicer. I'm making more friends who are First Nations, more connections to that culture through personal means" (Sam). As he moved from University to working life, Sam found it easier to make these connections. He also reflected on how supporting Indigenous rights had become more real for him as he supported his partner in his route to understanding his Indigenous heritage:

> My partner is Métis and when I met him I didn't know anything about his culture and it was interesting and I got to just be there while he was learning all about it. Then I went to his town and I was like, holy smokes, your grandparents are like, First Nations. They are dark, and they look like a granny and a grandpa from a First Nations community. I don't know why that shallow, like, physical connection [mattered] because I definitely knew before [that he was First Nations], because we were going through his family lineage. That even [made a difference] being with him and seeing how he puts himself into that community and then puts me there with him (Sam).

This relationship represented a large motivation for Sam to engage with the process of thinking about his role as a settler in relation to Indigenous community members. Sam articulates precisely this dynamic, wherein at the moment he recognises his partner's family he becomes recognisable to them also and something about being there with them helps him understand what it means for his partner to be Métis. His relationships to his partner and all of his relations made him more conscious of who they were and who he was to them: it drew him into a relationship of accountability.

Sam noticed that he could also draw others into the beginnings of self-reflection just by talking with his settler friends and family about his personal connections formed in rural Indigenous communities. Sam worked in rural communities and had lots of Indigenous colleagues and clients. By telling his friends and family in Winnipeg about his recognition of the humanity and reality of others, he helped promote their own ability to recognise them and reflect on settler / Indigenous relations: "I have a lot of experiences with Northern communities where it's so easy to just [cultivate] personal connections. You can just tell [settler] people [back home], just being like, 'I just came home from this community' and that's just how you kind of dispel that [stereotype] in a way that's just so peaceful" (Sam). Sam understood his allyship role supporting First Nations and Métis peoples as similar to how he wants his heterosexual parents to support him as a queer man. He expected people to support each other as political allies because, although they may not understand the other, they care about each other: "I expect people who are not queer to stand up for my rights. If someday someone was saying to me, 'you can't get married to your partner', I would expect my parents who are straight to stand up and be like, 'that's terrible, they've got the right to get married'. And so, that's kind of exactly how I see it" (Sam). His ability to draw that parallel appears simple but it demonstrates his own self-reflection and placement in this framework. The more relationships of different kinds that Sam made, the more comfortable he was in them and the more tied he became as well to the learning process. He described solidarity as "nice" and as "casual," suggesting that his friendships do not feel like work in the same way his class-work might have described ideal alliances. This also signals decreased levels of hyperconsciousness. He expected people who care about him to care about issues that matter to him. In this way he reflects the way that caring about other people and becoming involved in their welfare and struggles is a strategy for maintaining an ethical stance and also about reflecting on the role a person can have in struggles that involve people they care about.

Sam was learning about what his role and responsibilities could be in Indigenous spaces from personal connections. For example, in our interview he discussed learning about respectful protocol at work not in a programmed 'cultural sensitivity' setting but just from a friend / colleague who shared knowledge:

> I was working and went to pick up this bag and my friend, my peer co-worker was like, 'you should ask somebody before you touch those medicines'. And I was like, 'I never even considered that'. And you know that's no big deal, it doesn't matter in the end. But, from those little subtle things like that to bigger things. Like, our regional partner can't do any reporting because that's a weird expectation to put on someone in charge of fishing and hunting. Let him fish and hunt. He doesn't need to be reporting every week on quotas and numbers (Sam).

He was learning from Indigenous colleagues that the government-led initiative where he worked had not prepared him to be culturally literate in Indigenous space.

He brought up a critical insight when he acknowledged that, although he enjoyed learning about Indigenous culture, he also knew he was taking learning opportunities away from potential First Nation programme officers. Sam recognised that learning about Indigenous knowledge was something that has been denied to many Indigenous peoples as well and that it was his privilege to be in a position to learn:

> I think we need to be transitioning ourselves in every way possible out of delivering what could be considered [food] aid. … Because there are so many organisations that do exactly what we do, but they are all First Nations run. There's no reason why our organisation can't be doing it, but I feel that [food security programming] needs to be run by First Nations people. [T]hen it would be their own personal struggle to avoid continuing colonial structures that were just as learned by them as me, and imposed on them, but learned in the same way (Sam).

He believed that the privilege to learn should be going to Indigenous programme officers: "[Then it isn't me] getting the privileged chance to learn how to rid myself of this stigma I feel, or this mindset, this racism, but it's a First Nations person getting the chance to engage that topic and to be the solution, and to work in their own community or maybe not even their own community but a community with other community members" (Sam). In his consciousness of the situation, Sam recognised that there was a fine line between supporting Indigenous communities and disempowering them by doing the work instead of giving over control of the programmes: "It's hard to avoid either being an extension of that [colonial system] or also just taking the opportunity or leadership out of someone's hands, you can try and put it into someone's hands as much as you want but it's subtle" (Sam). When it came to thinking about how best to support Indigenous peoples, he reflected that "I don't think me delivering any sort of programming is the future. I think it's maybe me working for somebody who is

delivering programming" (Sam). He felt that the role he occupied was an empowering one – he got to be the solution – and he would rather that opportunity go to a First Nations person aiming to unlearn their own internalised racism. His closeness with Indigenous peoples was part of his internal scripts, allowing him to be reflective about how he took up space and helping him determine how he might give up his own opportunities in order to support opportunities for Indigenous peers.

The approach taken by Sam was also iterated by activist Andrea who identified that the way to engage ethically with settler privilege was to remain conscious of it at all times and to actively attempt not to exploit it. Andrea, introduced in Chapter 7, was the head of a national ENGO and I interviewed her in Halifax. She had explained that at first she "[H]ad a lot of settler guilt and had a lot of processes of trying to un-learn things." However, she channelled that guilt into thinking through what was triggering her to feel guilty:

> One of the things that I figured out is that I have an identity and there is not much that I can change about the fact that I'm white. There is not much that I can change about the place that I have in society in a lot of ways but what I can do is actively acknowledge that privilege, try not to take advantage of it, and be the best ally that I can possibly be. Those are the things that I can change, my actions. I can't change how I was born or what I was born into, but I can choose to work in a certain way that doesn't take advantage of those unspoken things(Andrea).

In this way both Sam and Andrea exercised a process of self-reflection to ensure that they did not let themselves be paralysed by guilt over their identities, a process that is part of the ethical stance discussed on pages 101-107. However, they also endeavoured to practice restraint when it came to exploiting their privilege to avoid taking advantage of opportunities afforded to them but that could have been redistributed to Indigenous peers. Andrea and Sam were both conscious of their identities in a way that was not paralysing but instead enabling as they thought through how to use their privilege to create opportunities for Indigenous others.

Pauline, introduced in Chapter 7, also described allyship as friendship. When asked to describe what being an ally meant to her she explained that being an ally was "inherently political because it's acknowledging that you need to be an ally." However, she then went on to explain that, for her, personal relationships always surpassed political alliances: "I'm always better at being the friend than the ally because once I know somebody I can't make it political. Of course I know it's political but I'd rather be someone's friend" (Pauline). When it came to being an ally for her Indigenous partner, she again explained that the language of allyship did not do the relationship justice:

> [The language of allyship] seems kind of cold. Of course I'm an ally: my partner is an Indigenous man and he's gone through a whole bunch of shit that I won't ever go through just because of what our backgrounds are. So, I want to be an ally to him, and be like, 'okay, what can I do to help you?' But at the same time, I'm already – our lives are so intertwined. How could we be different? How could I be an ally, as well as being his partner? I don't know, the line gets kind of blurry there(Pauline).

The line between allyship and personal relationships was blurred for both Sam and Pauline. Being an ally worked as a conscious practice of being available to encounter up until the point when their lives became intertwined in close relationships. After the relationships were built, it was easy to maintain being an ally because it was so much like sustaining any kind of close relationship.

Viewing this through the frame of EE we can say they lost their sense of hyperconsciousness in the relationship. While, as Pauline noted, their perspectives were still political, they were not persistently worried about making mistakes. We can understand this as a form of continuing their self-reflective processes through the relationships they had with Indigenous peers, colleagues and partners. This parallels something other activists said about Indigenous peoples urging them to stay in relationship and stick around for longer after a campaign. In Chapter 8 I shared an excerpt from Fiona where she quoted a request from a group of Mi'gmaq organisers that her group "show support. Don't just leave when the crisis is over. Try to be a long-term supporter and not just be there and back again" (Fiona). This is a request for relationship and it is critically important because it is an invitation to ongoing relationships. These relationships are much more than springboards for learning but they are also just that – opportunities for settlers to think critically about their role in supporting Indigenous rights campaigns. While settler activists might hear this invitation as a criticism for not being engaged, I suggest that these invitations be re-considered as opportunities to recognise and understand each other better and that will likely lead to further clarity around what settlers can do to support Indigenous rights issues. As a settler engages in any kind of relationship their self-scripts will change to accommodate the realities of Indigenous peoples both close to them and in a broader view.

The dynamics of these relations, from friendships to romantic connections, can be explained using Aron and Aron's self-expansion model of pro-social motivation to connect closely with others, as introduced in Chapter 4. People, they argue, have an innate pro-social motivation to be in relationships with others because this expands the available scope of a single person's EE resources. In this case the settler is

expanding their own sense of self to include Indigenous others in close relationships. In addition sociologists have studied the impact of friendship as a special kind of predictor of a person having positive outgroup impressions. Besides having a role to play in improving relations between outgroup members, friendships are critically important for all people in the ongoing development of their personality: "[F]riends are comfortable being honest in responding to our self-presentational efforts, and thus can provide useful information about who we are (and should be). Friendships can also help us to engage desired goals and pursue personal aspirations. Thus we may attempt to befriend those who help us become the type of person we strive to be" (Davies et al. 2012, 205). We can understand friendships as partially self-referential but not in a narcissistic sense – friendships are a key way through which we define our identities. Intimacy between partners and friends renders the concerns of the other a personal concern for the settler in the relationship (Davies et al. 2012, 223). Through developing synthesised understandings of the world between self and other, people in close relationships take ownership of issues that concern each other. We begin to identify with the things that matter to the people who matter to us not because we are becoming them but because we care about them.

In the case of close relationships between outgroup members, this intimacy is about personal identity and also about all of the positive benefits that come from being in friendship with others. When people are bound in close relationships, they receive many benefits, which Steve Duck called the "provisions of friendship" (Duck 1991, 8–24). Davies et al. summarise Duck's provisions below: "Feelings of belonging, emotional integrity and stability, opportunities to talk about ourselves, assistance and support, reassurance of growth, opportunities to help and feel valuable, and finally, personality support" (Davies et al. 2012, 205). Besides these provisions, being in a friendship or close relationship with someone provides us the opportunity to take responsibility for and nurture other people, as well as be nurtured by them. This is what makes relationships mutually beneficial (Duck 1991, 22). Friendships differ from acquaintances, for example, in that they involve greater perceptions of cohesiveness between parties (Hindy 1980, 195–202). Further, close friendships usually require and therefore suggest that partners share the same "specific sorts of framework for understanding the actions, dispositions and characters of other people" (Duck 1991, 25). Friendships, it is widely agreed, involve relations of mutual support and are critical to the psychological wellbeing of people. From this we can understand that people benefit in terms of EE from being in close relationships.

In expanding the settler self to include an Indigenous other, there is a risk that settlers would begin to self-identify in the sense of Roger I. Simon's 'self-identification' desire for absolution (see Table I on page 73). However, the examples shared in this section show how expansion of the settler self in the direction of Indigenous peoples appears to have increased the commitment of settlers to do Indigenous rights work and to be good allies. In this sense, self-identification is not the main feature of the relationship. Increasing the sense of self to include the Indigenous other appears to provide a basis for both a self- and other-based motivation to maintain the ethical stance.

This practice of building ethical relationships of different kinds between settler and Indigenous peoples through personal and organisational commitments is one way to sustain accountability and increase desensitisation amongst settlers. As settlers lose their sense of hyperconsciousness through desensitisation and the sites become less risky in terms of EE, the relationships become sources for all the positive effects of relations listed above. If the relationship can be sustained as mutually beneficial for all parties then the maintenance of the relationships should operate as a strong motivation for engaging with Indigenous rights work with a sustainable level of consciousness.

9.c Spaces of reflection: Conscious recognition initiates a process for future engagement

In the previous chapter I noted that in an effort to determine a consensus on group norms activist community members seemed to regulate ingroup boundaries through calling out individuals, sometimes precipitating their withdrawal. In Chapter 7 I also commented on how the Powershift conferences in particular actuated what I call the shock and immersion encounter. As I have discussed in reference to the sociology of emotion literature, the type of encounter itself does not inherently cause a person to be alienated from an experience. Rather, people begin to withdraw from or avoid Indigenous rights work when they experience intensive EE-costing situations and, through that experience, become avoidant and averse to future engagements, retaining negative entries to their transactional script. Based on what we understand about the phenomenologies of guilt and shame, we do not want to precipitate either emotion amongst settlers. People can be surprised by guilt and shame. One alternative to this individualised adoption of responsibility for wrongdoing that can result in shame and withdrawal is for organisations to adopt collective responsibilities for making space to discuss relevant issues. By creating space and opportunities for reflection they were creating pathways and developing method for future engagement.

Activists offered a range of ideas for doing Indigenous rights work from a collective approach that engaged a conscious recognition of the other as an organisational tenet. Lauren (interviewed at a national ENGO in Toronto) found that it was useful for her organisation that was non-profit but not a charity to put out a statement in support of #IdleNoMore. This statement helped clarify the position of the organisation for insiders and outsiders: "Our political director put out a statement in our magazine about why and that we do support #INM and Indigenous sovereignty. And it is helpful when we have people who are detracting from that to say, 'listen, this is our stance, this is our starting point, and we won't operate outside of that' "(Lauren). When I asked if this stance came from a longer history of solidarity Lauren explained that there had been some partnered work in the past but that her organisation had, with this statement, clarified its position more clearly than before: "I think it gave us the opportunity to cement as a principle of our organisation that we work in solidarity with Indigenous sovereignty and Indigenous rights.   I think it helped us to have that confrontation with some of our supporters to say, no, this is where we stand" (Lauren). This addresses one of the three main reasons identified by Chen and Gorski regarding explaining why activists burnout. Lauren noted above that it was very helpful to clarify a position so that they did not have to re-think their stance every time they made decisions and they could lean on each other if their decision was questioned.

Activist Lauren noted that one key strategy she employed to make sure she did to manage her expectations about what she could accomplish at work was by being clear about what she could do in a non-profit verses a more radical organising space. She organised in two groups and the work she did changed to fit the organisational backdrop:

> [They are] different and it's [helpful] to sort of recognise the possibilities of both and be honest operating in either role, just being honest about what the possibilities are. Like operating with [the grassroots group] I feel like I get to do more of the actual solidarity [work] that I would like to do but you have to be a bit honest about the promises that you're making, whereas organising with [the non-profit] there's maybe more of a broad platform that you can offer. You have to be honest about what the motivations are, where that's coming from, what it's going to be projected as and to just be honest in all those things (Lauren).

Lauren did not feel like she was failing the movement because she could do some work in one organisation and different work in the other. Rather, she noticed that the structures she worked within had different strengths. She found she could employ different strategies in each of them. This countered the tendency to feel pressured to deliver in ways that were not possible. While she did invest a lot of energy and time into organising (more than a full-time work week), she was countering low emotional

tone and burnout through matching pressure with reasonable expectation of outputs. She had one space where she wasn't as free to do critical reflection so she organised with a different group as well for the opportunity to do this reflection.

Another key example of a space for reflection promoting future engagement was the Powershift conference referenced in Chapters 7 and 8. For example Patty, an activist I interviewed in Halifax who had helped organise the Powershift conference in Halifax in 2014, explained that something had happened when they gave the microphone to Indigenous women organisers that their team had not predicted:

> The other thing that happened with this Powershift was, from the beginning with the first keynote speaker, it was straight to colonialism, straight to talking about how this is an issue that goes beyond Tar Sands destruction. It goes beyond climate change. It goes beyond … it goes beyond carbon. It's so much deeper entrenched than that. The majority of the speakers were Indigenous women from Atlantic Canada. Having not only an Indigenous voice but a female voice standing up and speaking that truth, it changed something. It changed something, I think, in the weekend. Nobody, not even the organisers, saw that coming (Patty).

Patty was surprised by what happened when she offered space to Indigenous speakers. She had structured the event to allow for surprise but was not psychologically prepared for it: "The way that the conversation changed from the first thing to the end of the weekend, and culminating in the final action on the Monday, [it was] just different than any organising that I have ever been a part of in Ontario, out here, or known about out West" (Patty). This is the same year of the conference that had left activist Andrea "bawling through every speech." Patty also described, similarly to Josephine, how direct exposure to knowledge from Indigenous peoples worked to remove the fear people felt about discussing difficult issues. She explained that "Fear of knowing how to talk about colonialism has stopped people from talking about it, but having it just so out there and creating this space where, even if you weren't sure, you could talk about it and you could learn about it. You could start to get that going. It made a big difference" (Patty). It appears that at the site of the conference, conversations were flowing and you could talk about colonialism without any fear about not knowing how to talk about it. This conference provided an opportunity to reflect and make connections. Patty went on from this conference to develop her connections with Indigenous organisers and settler activists in the West in preparation for future engagement. These sites of reflection allow for people to use time and take up physical space to do thinking, processing and learning in. These environments are important.

Another activist, Georgia, described how she had been surprised by a conversation she had with a fellow organiser when they were stuck in a car together on a long drive where they spoke about the difficulties they had addressing racist beliefs in their own families. They shared their stories and strategies about interventions in their families. The car itself worked to hold their conversations and became a space for reflection.

Another excellent example of creating spaces of reflection comes from the interview with Sarah, the long-standing Director of a major Maritimes ENGO whom I interviewed in Halifax. Sarah described an exchange that took place in her organisation after her organisation had been accused in a public letter of being racist, a scenario that we know is often linked to shame and to withdrawal and / or paralysis: "[O]ne of the first challenges that I had when I started in this job was we had been working with environmental racism, on the placement of the landfill next to the African Nova Scotian community [Lincolnville]. We had to step away from that work because of staffing issues and we were accused in an interesting way of being racist because of the choice to step away from that" (Sarah). Sarah described their organisation as being on a turning point on a journey to deal in a better way with environmental racism at the time that her organisation was publicly accused of racism: "That was, for me, a turning point in terms of what it was that we were going to do and how active we were going to be on issues of power and privilege and understanding our relationships with groups that are traditionally marginalised" (Sarah). Her organisation did something very innovative, which is that they sat down together and reflected on what had happened, avoiding any one individual getting caught up in feelings of shame.

Sarah disagreed with the process any one calling out but agreed with the message: "I had a lot of clarity about it. It's easy to respond to the accusations and pick apart the accusations, rather than responding to the fact that it's complicated and it's true and it's not true. So, I was like, it's true. They were wrong about how they did it. The accusations were, at least, in my opinion, bad process. It was not respectful or coming with an understanding of where we were coming from" (Sarah). However, they took the message on board and learned from the experience. Her organisation, with her in a lead role, directed their collective energies towards brainstorming about how they could do better as a group in the future. She recalled that their discussion at the time had been future-oriented: "I kind of remember a staff meeting on the deck where we processed that. … I was just like, let's not talk about how this should have been different. Let's talk about what we can do differently and how do we address this and

how do we want to move forward? I don't have strong memories of that being super contentious. I feel like it was the right thing to do" (Sarah). When I commented that it seemed there was little divergence of opinion in the group and that everyone seemed to believe the criticism was well-founded, Sarah affirmed that they did all agree. They just wanted to move forward and do better next time: "Yes. It's just true of all of us. [T]here is no question – we could have been doing better on it. [I]t's like, yes, they are right and we are wrong. So, let's talk about how we work on this. How do we do this better?" (Sarah). In this setting, the group affirmed their collective commitment to learning from the encounter but resisted any temptation either to shame and blame individuals or to absolve the group or any one member from responsibility. Through taking collective responsibility for the public accusation, they each bore some responsibility but none appeared to experience the intense EE cost of being publicly shamed.

When Sarah's organisation was accused of being racist the whole organisation sat down together and took collective responsibility and direction from the situation. This not only resulted in their ingroup affirming their group identity through generating collective effervescence and consensus. It also resulted in the minimisation of the lowering of anyone's personal emotional tone. The burden of the EE loss was collectively shared and the follow-up meeting became a sort of facilitated encounter where participants could process the learning as a transformative encounter. She named this moment as a turning point for her organisation. This finding suggests the hopeful implication that some settlers want to do the work but struggle to do it when they are called upon to lay their own personal stores of EE on the line. The burden of EE reduces when settlers share collective responsibility for re-scripting, as is shown here. This finding supports the idea that organisations can support their settler employees in doing this work by strengthening organisational commitment to facilitating dialogue and creating shared understandings of how the organisation will engage with difficult issues. This will especially support settlers working in public-facing roles where large numbers of interactions open myriad opportunities for EE loss.

One key way organisers can work with the spaces of reflection to promote future engagement is to be unsurprised by emotions and to accept them in shared spaces. They can come to understand the phenomenologies of particular emotions and anticipate what kinds of scenarios will precipitate them. They could thereby offer their peers and themselves more supportive facilitation and structure in their learning and desensitisation process in spaces where they will be encountering difficult learning.

They can also offer follow-up meetings and work actively to connect settlers who go through difficult learning together so that this conscious recognition can build towards an ongoing process for future engagement, facilitating spaces for reflection. Dedicated reflective space should facilitate opportunities for settlers who have experienced intense and possibly transformative encounters to speak openly about what they experienced when they encountered new knowledge and how they felt about it. As emotions appear in the space they should ideally not be stymied or judged, although the group needs to stay committed to moving past the experience of those emotions. In these spaces they might encourage each other not to self-identify with problems affecting Indigenous peoples or to deny their own often privileged positionalities, nor be encouraged to absolve themselves of their privilege. Instead, they can be supported to learn to identify as settlers in relationship to Indigenous peoples in a story within which they have a role to play.

The creation of spaces of reflection would facilitate engagement with the ethical stance as a process that must be engaged with dynamically, requiring ongoing EE investment. It is not an achievement or a state of being but a reference point settlers can continually return to in order to re-calibrate the backdrop of their ethical stance. Dedicating regular, protected space for reflection could leverage emotional encounters and facilitate transformative encounters, encouraging settlers to move through the cycles of desensitisation and the promotion of relations in an ongoing way. Settler activists who do this in their workspaces will have an advantage in public spaces because they will not experience information that shocks their understanding of their place in relation to colonialism or to Indigenous peoples.

Another strategy that can reduce levels of hyperconsciousness and promote engagement with the ethical stance is to refer to Indigenous authored resources and sources for direction regarding how settlers can work in solidarity. For example settlers can seek direction from Indigenous peoples acting in the field rather than from settlers regulating the ingroup. This requires building relationships and investigating what is important to Indigenous organisers working in the area on similar issues and engages in all levels required to maintain the ethical stance, engaging in a dynamic process. These spaces of connection and reflection can be with settlers as described above, or borne of seeking out ongoing dialogic relations with Indigenous leaders.

Another example of working directly with Indigenous connections is characterised by activist Thomas at the Ottawa based environmental and social justice group. His group kept abreast of what mattered to Indigenous communities on the

ground so they could stay relevant to their needs. They did not guess about what was needed but were continually engaged through regular conversations with their contacts about what would be helpful. This was facilitated through their organisation holding physical space in Ottawa for Indigenous organisers to use when they came through town: "Maintaining relationships is trying to sometimes just be connected and mindful of what organising is happening: supporting that, trying to create some connections to either keep more connected to those people, or directly with those communities" (Thomas). As well as keeping in touch where possible with grassroots community activists, the organisation in which Thomas worked made an effort to ensure that reports and resources located were made accessible for use by grassroots communities: "When we released our latest research report … we made sure that our report was circulated over organising lists to Indigenous communities, through organisers, so that people are aware that it exists as a resource and can use it. We did this through social media, through email lists, through individual connections and by reaching out through email and things like that in those communities" (Thomas). Far from being afraid to reach out, he named reaching out as a key way his organisation stayed relevant and informed: "It's using connections and people we might know and just finding people who are reading through our readings or through our research and we know are involved and reaching out to them" (Thomas). This helped inform their work and resulted in the fostering of mutually beneficial organising relationships. This organisation incorporated Indigenous priorities within their publications by working with grassroots Indigenous organisers to understand issues of concern for the communities, engaging in desensitisation, self-reflection and maintaining an ongoing physical connection space in Ottawa.

One tip Lauren, a Toronto based activist, passed on about how to work well in solidarity to promote kinds of future engagement was to be careful to offer support but not to claim wins for which her organisation could not genuinely claim full responsibility: "We could be better about being conscious about claiming wins that aren't our own. Saying we support something, or stand in solidarity with it without claiming it as our own work" (Lauren). We see here a commitment to partnering with Indigenous struggles without consuming Indigenous peoples into the settler's self system. While the me and I of her settler activist self was expanded to include others, Lauren was careful to explain that partnered struggles with Indigenous communities should not be subsumed under the environmental agenda. It was only by remaining accountable in an ongoing and reciprocal network of relations that she felt they could do their work well. Lauren also explained that her organisation has some Indigenous people on their

Board of Directors so they received guidance at a governance and strategy level. This ties into the point Thomas made earlier about going to relationships and to Indigenous leaders for ideas about how to take action forward.

Andrea also explained how she checked in with Indigenous environmental organisers to test out ideas before acting on behalf of her national ENGO based in Halifax. They had come up with an idea that had generated a lot of interest in the settler environmental community. Before she started organising, she checked in with her contacts:

> I was floating the idea and then I got so much community buy-in from Greenpeace in Alberta, the Parkland Institute, a lot of indigenous communities, a lot of the NGOs working there and the frontline communities. I don't know how the leadership or the Chiefs of those frontline communities are going to feel about this, but the organisers in the frontline communities feel strongly that this is a good thing. They are having a hard time mobilising the youth in their community to take action. Most of the people they are working with that are young either don't have the same access to resources or just have more pressing day-to-day concerns around how they are being impacted so may not be able to do the same level of [organising] work. So, they were excited(Andrea).

It was clear from the feedback she received that there was enthusiasm for the ideas from key Indigenous organisers. It was also clear how an environmental non-governmental organisation(ENGO) could help in this situation by taking on an organising burden that could be more easily born by settler outsiders than by frontline community members. Through organising alongside community connections and Indigenous organisers she knew the event could play an important role to frontline community members so long as she kept dialogue open with her Indigenous colleagues. Rather than agonise over whether what she was doing was right or wrong, she invested energy in ongoing relationships that could inform her actions in a dynamic way and proactively took time to solicit feedback.

It is clear that making time for reflection and dialogue and being in physical space with people – Indigenous or settler – who want to discuss Indigenous rights issues is necessary for the maintenance of an ongoing process of maintaining an ethical stance. Spaces for reflection contribute to the ongoing process of desensitising settlers and promoting relations. In these spaces people can help build momentum, creating a positive feedback loop where decreasing levels of hyperconsciousness lead to increased capacity to uphold the ethical stance. Overall, this matrix of the three areas of strategy should lead towards the promotion of long-term capacity for the facilitation of strong alliances going forwards.

In this chapter I have identified three broad areas of strategy that coincide with the three tenets of maintaining the ethical stance. I also identified two guiding themes that settler activists can keep in mind when forming actions in reference to the strategies stated above. I have shown how we can understand activist cultures and the pressures that affect activists at the level of emotional tone. I have also developed a way of analysing levels of activist capacity not just in terms of the material resources to hand but as a product of the ritual transaction chains and levels of emotional tone people possessed within organisations, offering a new way to consider interactions and responses between activists through the lens of emotional phenomenology.

I suggest that settlers can create systems of engagement with Indigenous rights issues in which all roads point to the ethical stance by focusing on the themes outlined here,

1) Desensitisation: *Settlers are accountable for unconsciousness;*

2) Promoting relations: *Conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection;* and

3) Creating spaces of reflection: *Conscious recognition initiates a process.*

By taking responsibility for unconsciousness and promoting accountability to others, settler activists can help decrease levels of hyperconsciousness in their organisations and groups. They can promote good relations with Indigenous groups and people they are partnered with by showing up and caring about the things that their colleagues and peers care about. They can also promote good inter-settler relations by disavowing practices such as calling out that are not likely to forward movement goals. They can also create set time and space for discussing, connecting and processing amongst settlers and between Indigenous peoples and settlers. This time is critical to allow for the opportunity for transformative encounters to occur and settlers should be accepting of emotions in these spaces if they do come up. As noted, it is less appropriate to make settler emotions the problem of Indigenous peoples unless in a dedicated space such as the workshops run by Jessica discussed in Chapter 7. Setting reasonable expectations for work levels and working alongside Indigenous partners are all strategies that can benefit activists. These kinds of strategies are aimed to reduce levels of hyperconsciousness in organisations and amongst individuals, which would promote cultures of activist organising that operate at a higher emotional tone.

I have aimed in this chapter to address specific ways that settlers can engage to promote not only actions but ways of working and thinking that should support Indigenous rights goals in environmental activism. There is a need expressed in settler colonial studies literature around settlers being proactive about how to work on Indigenous rights issues. My suggestions are embedded in a socio-psychological understanding of settler workplaces. Instead of adding more items to the laundry list of what settler should(or should not) be doing, I aim to direct settlers towards systems of working and thinking that should generate their own positive feedback loops as activities pursued lead to an increase or at the very least not a decrease in levels of EE. In this way the work can be sustained for longer and extend to more people.

Now that I have outlined the main findings from the analysis of interviews in Part D I move into the final chapter where I aim to tie together insights from across the thesis into a conclusion. In the following chapter I stress the ways that we can counteract settler tendencies towards aversion and desires for absolution and work with insights from understanding the phenomenologies of different emotions. The main insight that I will expand upon is the way I see settler re-scripting and re-storying as critical to working within the constraints of human psychology and to aid more settlers in re-scripting their identities and attachments in support of Indigenous rights goals.

CHAPTER 10
Re-storying settlers

> If you refuse to acknowledge historical reality, even after you have apologised for wrongs committed, it shows the need to redefine what reconciliation means to all parties involved (Kaye 2016).

> Canada views itself as the nicest colonizer [sic] in the world. It does not ask the colonized [sic] if they agree with this, Canadians just keep repeating it to each other like bobbleheads that can't stop bobbling. It doesn't occur to them that this statement requires our agreement to be true. Canada is steeped in this sort of mythological madness, which was the foundation of forming the policy of residential school (Maracle 2017, chap. 13).

When I began this thesis I was trying to address the problem of fraught relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples in Canada and wanted to understand the nature and persistence of these fraught relations from an empirical perspective. I was looking at relations against the backdrop of the official Canadian reconciliation process during a time of significant social movement organising led by Indigenous community leaders around the country, exploring debates about reconciliation and its limitations in depth in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

The main implication of #IdleNoMore and of myriad responses by Indigenous leaders to the TRC was to question the possibility of reconciliation of Indigenous nations with a Canadian state that many viewed as colonising and repressive. The limitations of the TRC are obvious to even the most optimistic Indigenous or allied academic or activist, particularly as Indigenous scholars and organisers have expressed aspirations for self-determination that are difficult to imagine in a reconciliation framework. Settlers engaged in building relationships with Indigenous peoples encounter Indigenous aspirations for self-determination and see how this conflicts with dominant understandings of the TRC.

This conflict in relations and confusion regarding responsibilities and roles amongst settlers with good organising intentions led me to my central research question that formed the basis of my research:

> How are settlers acting out their roles and responsibilities towards Indigenous peoples in relation to the politics of reconciliation and Indigenous rights that has developed in response to the official TRC and the #IdleNoMore movement?

I was led by my research problem into the foray of collecting field work data and searched for theory to explain my findings rather than having followed in the footsteps

of a particular model of analysis, applying an inductive research method. I needed to look beyond the usual sources for framing analysis and look with fresh eyes on the problem of fraught relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples in Canada. In doing so I have contributed to solving a piece of the research puzzle at the forefront of Canadian public discourse and of settler colonial studies.

10   Key research findings

Two articles published in *Yes!* Magazine entitled "Why I've Started to Fear My Fellow Social Justice Activists" (Oct 13, 2017) by Frances Lee and "6 Signs Your Callout Isn't About Accountability" (Oct 18, 2017) by Maisha Johnson continue to ask provocative questions about activist cultures. They show that two years after I conducted interviews, there are still anxieties and competing ideas about how to do cross-cultural work in activist communities and that activist culture continues to hinder solidarity potential. In both articles the authors explain that activist communities are in the process of learning how to build activist relations of accountability that are resistant to alienating activist community members. The authors also describe how activists are sometimes afraid to speak out with critique when around other activists. For example, Lee explains that she spends "enormous amounts of energy protecting my activist identity from attack" and Johnson describes how "As activists, we can fall into a terrible pattern of standing against shame and judgment … by shaming and judging each other" (Lee 2017, para.5; Johnson 2017, para.63). They desire intra-activist community accountability. For example Maisha Johnson explains that "Accountability is super important for our movements. Without it, we wouldn't be able to learn or grow or take responsibility for our part in perpetuating systems of oppression" (Johnson 2017, para.77). However, they are aware of the energy cost involved in defending against a method of maintaining accountability that can feel like an attack.

While these activists are all commenting primarily on the anti-racism movement, data from my interviews with environmental activists demonstrated the same widespread concern about how activists invest EE in this self-conscious process of policing themselves in other activist movements.

I realised early in writing this thesis that social movement studies and settler colonial scholars were often not aware of studies being done in social psychology about how activists and members of the public responded to discussions on race and

racism or on colonialism. Settler colonial studies literature reflected a strong bias towards identifying the methods and nature of ethical praxis that might characterise white solidarity work but did not reference social psychological research into the nature of learning and emotions. The impact of this bias is that there is a strong literature outlining problems and few empirical studies supplying solutions that addressed settler activists as psychological beings. I soon recognised that the empirical evidence from social psychology could be useful to understanding problems in Canada to do with reconciliation and could aid settlers in acting and sustaining action towards forwarding Indigenous aspirations for increased political self-determination.

I believe that if social movement studies continued in this trend to reference social psychology to understand questions relevant to their main field of analysis scholars would increase the analytic rigour and research impact of their work. Through applying frameworks of analysis that are attentive to the phenomenologies of particular emotions scholars could increase the replicability and generalisability of studies that pick up on emotions as relevant factors of analysis. By thinking of settlers as psychological as well as moral beings, settlers can help each other re-script their me scripts in ways that are conducive to engaging with Indigenous rights issues.

I found that it is possible to strategise about how to facilitate reconciliation and as a problem not just of ethics but of social psychology. Challenges to thinking about solidarity and pathways to reconciliation can be addressed by settlers organising to strategise appropriately in light of predictable outcomes. As I have shown, thinking of reconciliation and solidarity-building through social psychology frames offers us specific insights into how to facilitate difficult learning amongst settlers, an outcome that will support Indigenous aspirations for self-determination.

As noted above, I realised quite early in my literature review that emotions were a dominant theme in the experience of white people contending with facing their own complicity in racism and colonialism. From Shelby Steel's agenda setting essay on white people and their emotions, "White Guilt" (1990), to Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's contemporary assessment of American anxieties discussing race in *Racism without Racists(*2014) to Robin DiAngelo's exploration of the sociological cocooning of white people, "White Fragility" (2011), it is clear that white people emote in response to difficult learning. White people and their experiences of settler and / or white guilt and shame are relevant factors in understanding how they engage with people of colour in society and in activist spaces.

When analysing the interviews I found ample evidence of guilt and shame amongst the people I interviewed. I also found empirical support in the interviews for the phenomenological pathways identified by social psychologists. This led me to the proposition that I could analyse the interviews through a sociology of emotions framework. I did so but also embedded this analysis within the frameworks more commonly referenced in settler colonial studies – feminist literature, Indigenous studies and ethics – and thereby produced a thesis in which these bodies of work talk to each other across disciplinary boundaries.

10.1 Thesis overview and key findings

In the following section I overview the thesis, allowing for a reminder of all of the theory and themes that influenced my analysis and conclusions. I follow this with a more detailed section on the implications of my research where I share some strategies activists might keep in mind to apply these insights.

I conducted research with an inductive approach to theory generation, allowing me to collect data in an area of study with few rigorous social science studies using replicable models available at the beginning of my research. To answer my research question I carried out eighteen first-person interviews with settler activists who were all already committed to working towards the achievement of Indigenous rights goals. They self-identified, responding to my call out, or their contact details were forwarded to me from other activists in their community. These people were all engaged with reconciling their identities as white settler Canadians with the truth of abuses against Indigenous peoples and were in a process of understanding their roles and responsibilities. Collecting and sharing their insights as well as their ongoing quandaries, as I have done in this thesis, enhances our understanding of how to communicate across societal difference in ways that facilitate shared perspectives and ethical engagements.

I developed an analytic approach called the hermeneutics of settlerhood through which I analysed the interviews. Although these narratives were highly embedded in the perspective and experiences of each narrator, I searched for explanatory patterns and hidden meanings in the texts (see from page 86 for more on hermeneutics of settlerhood). In the interviews I asked people to narrate their personal arc from burgeoning political consciousness to the work they now consider important

as working adults, as discussed in Chapter 6. I encouraged them to tell me personal stories involving family members, early memories and, sometimes, to bring up painful or awkward memories related to how they tried to engage previously with Indigenous rights and social justice work. Guided by methods of narrative inquiry (see page 115) I interpreted these personal and subjective accounts as data containing important information about the trajectories taken by interviewees into activism and about the influence of dominant social contexts and attachments on the development of subjectivity. Through teasing out individual stories from each narrative and analysing the group of interview texts together, I found that narratives were connected to each other through underlying theories about society, action, and organising on Turtle Island / Canada.

The following themes informed my analysis and helped me inductively generate my theories around consciousness, EE loss and the ethical stance. I overview my key theoretical findings in the section below.

10.1.a Key findings: EE, transformative encounters and the ethical stance

A key implication of my research is that facilitating transformative encounters where re-storying can takes place amongst settlers can reduce levels of hyperconsciousness in the longer term. Re-storying in this context refers to settlers re-orienting their subjectivities in relation to a story that includes an Indigenous version of reality and events and is oriented around this. Re-storying comes from Indigenous research methods, specifically from Kathleen E. Absolon(Minogiizhigokwe) where she describes her process of re-storying: "I now restore myself by re-storying myself into my doctoral journey on how we search for knowledge" (Absolon 2011, 18), grounding her research in the premise that knowledge generation begins with recovering knowledge about one's place in the world. This concept is also described by Rauna Kuokkanen as a process of: "Sitting down to do homework, [which] thus compels us to examine that reality. Who is at home here? Who was here before 'my' home? Are there others who are at home here?" (Kuokkanen 2007, 117–18). The Indigenous concept of re-storying supports the premise that we can and should be critically aware of the connections between all relations and of the contingencies that exist between people and all of their understandings of the world and each other. Re-storying is to understand oneself in deep, accountable relations to others beyond one's immediate sphere of influence – to understand where one fits in the story of the world.

As I analysed the interviews in relation to EE literature I came to recognise that Wiley's (1994) theory of the self-system, introduced earlier in this thesis, fit neatly into the method of re-storying. In the self-system proposed, the self is made up of the I and me aspects of the self, which engage in an ongoing internal conversation between the objective me of the past and the subjective I of the present (Wiley 1994, 46). The me part of the self includes moral codes and memories of the results of past action. The I is the acting self, a part of the self that is both contingent upon the me portion but also a free agent. The process of re-storying can be understood as the re-scripting of the me component of the self. As the individual becomes aware of new ways in which they relate to symbolic and real others and concepts, the stories they tell themselves about how others and themselves are interacting and might interact in the future change as well. As the story changes, the actual behaviours and beliefs change. Re-storying is the phenomenon taking place, re-scripting is the method. I proposed that the transformative encounter is one that demonstrates the presence to the settler of other relations and attachments to Indigenous others and Indigenous-centred histories. In coming into relation with new others, the scripts encoded in the me must be re-written to accommodate these new relations. If re-storying is the phenomenon and re-scripting is the method, the transformative encounter is the catalyst to the whole process.

In Chapter 4 I brought in a framework for understanding motivation and aversion premised on the transaction of the unit of EE as proposed in Erika Summers-Effler's (2002, 2004) ritual theory model. Summers-Effler(2004) combines Randall Collins' (1988b, 2004) explanation of the drive to maximise EE in social transactions with work by Aron and Aron (2000) on our drive towards self-expansion. She argues that while Collins provides the explanation for motivation, Aron and Aron provide the means to understand the process of goal attainment (Summers-Effler 2004b, 281–82). The drive to self-expand leads people to seek opportunities to expand their stores of EE and motivates them to aim to repeat social interactions similar to ones where they have made gains in the past. We want to repeat fulfilling interactions and avoid unfulfilling ones. The me part of our self system is composed of internal dialogue between temporary and permanent representative voices that have taken up residence as a result of past experiences and interactions (Wiley 1994, chap. 3). We make a transactional script, an area addressed by theories of ritual theory, and retain our patterns of gain and loss in the me aspect of our self system (see from page 92 for more on ritual theory).

I argued that settlers risk their levels of EE in encounters with Indigenous peoples or symbolically with Indigenous rights issues if the experiences are novel and / or the experiences have been negative. Negative and novel experiences are triggers for hyperconsciousness. Transformative encounters, I argued, take place when the internal scripts that inform the me part of the self and thus also the acting I self change. In this change, the scripts of the I self re-orient to accommodate new information about the realities, goals and aspirations of Indigenous peoples. I found that we should expect that as settlers become familiar with Indigenous rights and with Indigenous-centred critiques they will become less hyperconscious as novelty decreases and level of EE investment is more accurately gauged particularly as they accept responsibility for their previous unconsciousness. Secondly, I found that activists re-write their me scripts through transformative encounters, experiencing afterwards less intra-psychic distress in future encounters. Thirdly, I noted that they will begin to locate themselves within the ongoing story of Canadian colonialism and so feel included in the story of decolonisation and reconciliation. As they re-story themselves they begin to take realistic account for what they can do as settlers and begin to understand how to engage ethically with Indigenous neighbours.

In Chapter 7 I offered a typology for understanding encounters. First, I defined encounters as particular and situated experiences in a person's life when they become consciously aware of interacting with a person or symbolic object. Encounters are encoded internally in the ritual interaction chains (transactional histories) of individuals. To understand how different learning encounters facilitated re-scripting and re-storying in different ways, I developed a typology of encounters.

I characterised four types of encounters: Shock and immersion encounters, facilitated encounters, organic encounters, and encounters at university. I described how EE flowed in each of these encounters and noted that some were more successful than others at precipitating transformative encounters. I named transformative encounter as those that resulted in transformative re-scripting of the self based on Norbert Wiley's concept of the self-system. I defined re-storying as the process of the settler subject coming into relation with Indigenous versions of the story of Canada and re-scripting as the process of modifying the self-system to do so. It is within this transformative experience that subjects are "made – and therefore transformed – in and through the encounter" (Gaztambide-Fernández 2012, 51).

In this process of transformative encounter a settler is called upon to re-script their self in relation to coming to new truths about an Indigenous subject. It is in these

forms of encounter that re-storying takes place and in which the settler subject comes to understand their long-standing, embodied relationship to Indigenous peoples, to colonial histories and presents and therefore to the unfolding story of Indigenous / settler relations. It is through this encounter that the settler can begin to find a stable foundation for engaging in relations that get past aversions, feelings of disabling guilt, desires to self-identify or define as exceptional, and all the various psychic distractions outlined throughout this thesis. It is through maintaining a situated and relationally aware state of availability and openness to being touched by transformative encounters in the ethical stance that settlers can re-story themselves in relation to Indigenous political aspirations. This does not mean becoming the right or wrong kind of white person – in fact it means the opposite. It is to become artless and grounded, to seek out opportunities to engage in building relationships wherever one may be and to do so in dynamic reference to social movement goals defined by Indigenous leaders, rather than in reference to meeting the needs of the settler self.

The way I have related ethics and encounters is to argue that settler subjects are accountable to the conscious process of maintaining an ethical stance that is open to encounter. I defined three tenets of the ethical stance: 1) settlers are accountable for unconsciousness; 2) conscious recognition of the other catalyses self-reflection; and 3) conscious recognition initiates a process of ongoing re-scripting and re-storying. I argued that once settlers begin to be transformed in a learning encounter they begin to re-script the me part of their selves and to re-story their identities into Indigenous-centred stories of Canada. I build these tenets from the foundation of ethical theory on subject-other relations in Chapter 4 referring primarily to work by Emmanuel Lévinas(1990; 1998), Sarah Ahmed(2000) and Roger I. Simon(2004). These three theorists offered ways to think about the encounter between subject and other as an effortful experience that requires deliberate effort and investment of emotional and intellectual resources. This conceptualisation of the subject-other relation supported the hypothesis that there is a transaction of EE taking place between subjects. I argued that adopting the ethical stance required a settler to be conscious and deliberate about investing energy to pursue ethical actions. I referred to adopting this ethical position as maintaining the ethical stance. If upholding an ethical stance requires effort and effort requires EE, it follows that EE must be maintained to support the possibility for individuals to act in accordance with their ethical beliefs.

I found that settlers and white people in general often experience aversion to dealing directly with issues of race and racism. I found evidence through my analysis

that settlers often display aversion to engaging with Indigenous rights violations. I hypothesised that this is because settlers are averse to contending with truths that would cause them to have to re-script the me aspect of their self system. Specifically I found evidence to support the finding that settlers and white people are often resistant to accepting responsibility for their complicity in the colonial project of building Canada. I discussed the dynamics of this aversion in depth in Chapter 5.

These findings are consistent with literature on white racism and settler guilt overviewed in Chapters 1 and 2. In describing the concept of re-scripting I referred to Wiley's (1994) model of self-system that uses the concept of transactional scripts to understand the relationship between experiences, the sense of self and the future-oriented acting self. I also made explicit reference to Indigenous theory and the use of re-storying by Indigenous and allied scholars to think about how research is relationally situated. These concepts, the self-system model and the Indigenous re-storying method and epistemology, both describe a process of coming into a realisation of the self in relation to others.

I found that settlers expressed aversion in various ways and I have categorised some of the main ways they do so as three "desires for absolution." In these desires for absolution a settler expressed their desire to avoid responsibility for complicity in violations of Indigenous human rights through the theme areas of,

1) denial and revision;

2) apology and reparations; and

3) good deeds.

In the area of denial and revision I included a schema that described settler avoidance through strategies of relative indifference, defensive skepticism [*sic*], ethnographic curiosity and self-identification (see Table I on page 73). I proposed that these strategies are all based on a desire to absolve settler responsibility through denial of truth and revision of historical facts.

I explained that desire for absolution expressed through apology and reparations is linked to the impetus to make apologies and engage in limited forms of financial reparations. These strategies are linked most closely with the phenomenology of guilt. Guilt motivates settlers to perform these acts, aiming in doing so to ease internal discomfort. I showed how absolution through good deeds is linked

with the settler desire to be an exceptional white person and to demonstrate this through ritualized acknowledgment of settler privilege. The desire to absolve oneself from responsibility through this avenue is tied to wanting to be excused from accountability because of the presence of positive intentions. The desires for absolution are described in full in Chapter 3.

I showed that aversion can be precipitated when activists operate in conditions that promote low emotional tone. Emotional tone is a longer-term emotional tone characterised by the "amount of spontaneity, confidence, and initiative … individuals show in social situations" (Kemper and Collins 1990, 41). I found that settlers also express aversion through withdrawal and paralysis, linked most closely with the phenomenology of shame. When a person feels ashamed they lose EE. I argued that loss of EE is precipitated when a person feels disempowered, a feeling I linked to the practice of calling out in Chapter 8. I noted that the main concern I have with the practice is the ways it may lead to obstructive, self-referential emotions of settler guilt or shame amongst community members that can lead to withdrawal and disengagement. Maintaining an ethical stance that does not infer a particular set of actions or methods but does foster conditions of availability to surprise might be a more useful tool in tense environments.

In the section ahead I apply these key findings to theoretical and practical implications for scholars and activists engaged in work in this area. I then underline unanswered questions and, as a result, outline ideas for future study.

10.1.b Implications of my research for activist organising

I found that activists were risk averse largely because they were hyperconscious and therefore apprehensive about engaging in actions that would potentially risk EE. This was partly because many activists were accustomed to working environments where they wielded fewer resources than the governments or corporations they aimed to influence. Add to this the Canadian phenomenon of the wave of charity audits to sweep the country in 2013-2014, it might be safely concluded that activists were under pressure to deliver mandates under pressure. The low emotional tone that characterised their circumstances was also put under threat by activist practices that precipitated further energy loss. Specifically, the experience or just the perceived threat of being called out as well as the fact of contending with difficult truths about the complicity of one's group in human rights violations are energy intensive endeavours. White settler environmental activists, as I have shown, are wont to use defensive

strategies to avoid making these energy investments unless they have been shown a way to re-story themselves into colonialism and decolonisation that both gives them a role and helps them come up with more realistic understandings of the EE costs that are involved. Through this process of transformative encounter and re-storying they reduce the EE investment required through ceasing to pour this resource into fear of making mistakes and / or experiencing settler guilt or shame. They come to make more reasoned estimates about the energy and actions required to build relationships and more able to strategise practically about how to engage Indigenous rights work through the medium of environmental activism. The more they understand about their roles and responsibilities as settlers and the more they practice, the better they get at it.

It is important for the future of Indigenous rights on Turtle Island / Canada that activists learn how to engage with each other in ways that promote connection and solidarity and learn to think strategically about precipitating divisions in communities. It is important that settlers adopt the role of facilitator and educator of other settlers and do not get caught up in strategies and desires of trying to absolve themselves from responsibility. Education can be a key area of influence and professional educators can have a big impact if they can knowledgeably introduce meaningful content in their classes and can also facilitate the kinds of non-academic and personal discussions that this information is bound to bring up. It is important that educators think about these emotional, personal discussions as part of how settlers are learning to change their me scripts in order to accommodate Indigenous knowledge and realities into their identities and working understanding of Canada.

My analysis shows that settlers can do important supportive work with and for Indigenous neighbours by taking responsibility for working to change settler mindsets and to help other settlers re-script their own identities as settler subjects. Settlers supporting settlers in this work should not protect them from taking responsibility. Quite the opposite, the aim of such supportive facilitation would represent settlers lifting the burden of education from Indigenous neighbours and taking on the emotionally draining work of helping settlers process their settler guilt and shame in ways that can lead to meaningful engagement.

It is important for settlers to take on this work of facilitating transformative encounters because it is difficult work and evidence from the interviews suggests that Indigenous peoples are currently doing some of this work for settlers. For example, Larry Morrissette was offering this facilitated opportunity at the University of Winnipeg,

where Carly experienced her facilitated and then transformative encounter. It was the Mi'qmaq facilitator at the Tatamagouche Centre that supported Helena when she went to the gathering having broken protocol. It was Crystal Lameman, Vanessa Grey and others who precipitated encounters for settlers at the Powershift conferences where Andrea was first 'cracked-open'.

In some cases, such as with Josephine doing facilitation, Pauline with her radio show, Sarah sitting down with her organisation to debrief a public call-out, Sam educating his family and friends through anecdotes and Jessica learning how to intervene and "do the work," settlers were doing this facilitation work. However, people working in organisations can also collectively take on this work. Organisations can do what Lauren's did: write an organisational policy to support and lend legitimacy to the stance of the group on Indigenous rights. They can facilitate groups and opportunities for facilitation and support each other so they are not burdening Indigenous community members, a worry of Georgia's. They can promote processes of personal self-reflection at work and can encourage people to maintain an ethical stance by validating the fact that the situation presented is difficult and does require the group to give it resources and time. Through working things out together and refusing to begin placing blame or generating guilt or shame amongst group members, they can reduce hyperconsciousness and organise facilitated transformative encounters. In these spaces they can be encouraged not to self-identify with problems affecting Indigenous peoples or to deny their own often privileged positionalities, nor be encouraged to absolve themselves of their privilege. Instead, they can be supported to learn to identify as settlers in relationship to Indigenous peoples in a story within which they have a role to play.

Settlers can take responsibility for helping each other learn and a big part of this is treating people with a generosity of spirit. Specifically, reacting with an openness and interest in other people and minimising the frequency of calling people out or creating negative repercussions for settlers when they make mistakes or demonstrate ignorance. While this is not always possible to do, it appears from the interviews that Indigenous organisers frequently do exactly this – put aside their feelings in order to facilitate learning for settlers. For example, this took place at the Tatamagouche Centre as well as in Larry Morrissette's classroom. This is an unfair burden but people must teach in order for others to learn. Settlers can think about supporting other settlers in learning critical information about Indigenous knowledge or

political aspirations in a calm way that is likely to actuate a transformative encounter so that an Indigenous educator does not one day have to do it instead.

While I advocate, without hesitation, for settler activists to take direction directly from Indigenous leadership, this can take different forms. For example, it can mean maintaining good relationships with grassroots people like in the case of the organisation Thomas worked for. However, it can also mean encouraging people in a particular organisation to attend a multi-day training session in treaty relations, which Josephine encouraged Helena to do. It can mean investing resources in employees whose job it is to do outreach work, which is what Tina needed and did not get, appreciating that they are laying personal stores of EE on the line to build relationships with Indigenous neighbours and organisations. It can also mean in a classroom setting that teachers make space for students to consider critical information about Indigenous peoples in relation to settler identity. Critical Indigenous knowledge can be included through media or text resources and does not have to mean an Indigenous person comes in to teach. We know that organic encounters decrease levels of hyperconsciousness so teachers and managers in organisations can think about how to bring settlers into contact with Indigenous peoples or knowledge in ways that promote positive relations.

Another key implication of this research is that organisers can learn how emotions work in the process of learning. They might come to understand the phenomenologies of particular emotions and anticipate what kinds of scenarios will precipitate them as well as to organise for supports to be in place for settlers experiencing settler guilt and / or shame, such as offering a private discussion session to students who feel unsettled. This could ensure that these moments of learning were handled carefully in order that they turn into transformative encounters. Transformative encounters are sites of learning – they are opportunities for settlers to re-script their selves and re-interpret their relationships as they re-story themselves into a narrative that centres Indigenous rights. Organisers who expect guilt and shame to come with the learning can help facilitate this learning in a way that eases the settler into a new relation of accountability and towards embracing a new role in an unfolding story.

Accepting responsibility or complicity to any degree for perpetuating crimes against humanity at the scale of Canada's crimes against Indigenous peoples is likely to cause distress and to precipitate emotional reactions amongst those who reaped benefits. To understand this model of learning on a more structural level, it is the re-scripting process that takes place in a transformative encounter that catalyses

temporary intra-psychic distress and which triggers the hyperconscious state of awareness. However, if learning is facilitated in such a way that it helps settlers understand their roles and responsibilities in the broader story of Indigenous rights, then they will re-script themselves.

10.1.c Implications of my research for settler colonial studies

Interest in settler colonial studies in Canada and specifically in the role of emotions in Canadian settler colonial studies is growing in popularity but I worry that scholars are not making appropriate or full use of social psychology scholarship on emotions to understanding settler engagement with Indigenous rights. For example, in a search for the terms 'Canada' and 'Indigenous' in the Taylor and Francis Online database of all articles in the first three volumes of *Settler Colonial Studies*(January 2011-December 2013) rendered just 40 results. However, in the years following #IdleNoMore and the ongoing development of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in the public consciousness (January 2014- December 2017) the same search queries in the same journal turned up 82 mentions of these terms over the period. These figures show how content on Canadian settler colonialism doubled in that period. They also indicate how interest amongst scholars of settler colonial studies interest in Canadian settler colonialism grew throughout the 2010s.

Nonetheless, the study of 'emotions' in this area appears to be growing more slowly and is not happening with reference to social psychology research. When the word 'emotion' is added to the search of articles published in *Settler Colonial Studies* from January 2011-December 2013 that were identified under the original search terms 'Canada' and 'Indigenous' only three articles remain. Moreover, only one of these articles actually engages with questioning and investigating settler emotions. This article addresses settler self-referential emotions and good intentions, an area I investigated in Chapter 3 (Leeuw, Greenwood, and Lindsay 2013).

In the period from January 2014-December 2017 a search for the same terms generated 11 results, all of which are concerned with emotions as a relevant analytic feature. However, of these 11 results, only one explicitly refers to the domain of social psychology. This article, published 2 years after I began my field work, very usefully addresses the conundrum of how settlers must self-manage and 'get-over' their emotions in order to engage in meaningful solidarity with Indigenous peoples (Bacon 2017). It is, however, an anomaly in the field. Further, this particular article doesn't deal substantively with the phenomenology of emotions; rather, its thesis is that guilt

and shame can be motivating factors, removing curiously against much of the findings on the studies of emotions to date, begging the question of how well integrated those findings are in the analysis of the research data.

More recent settler colonial literature suggests that emotions are being tied in with processes of transforming settler engagement practices. For example, Lynne Davis et al. published an overview in 2017 of pathways towards 'transforming settler consciousness', a concept that closely describes my own recognition of the transformative encounter, which I discuss in Chapter 7 (Davis et al. 2017, 401).

Lynne Davis and colleagues refer to 'easy shifts' in paradigm, which signal what my transformative encounter likewise does, a shift in paradigm precipitated by a learning encounter (Davis et al. 2017, 409). The authors raise the very legitimate concern that Indigenous peoples feel burdened to carry out education work as Indigenous educators recognise how transformative that can be for settlers. My own research indicates the ways that unstructured education can take place, such as the education that happens between children when Indigenous and non-Indigenous children are able to play together, an experience cited by two of my interviewees from Winnipeg. Settler to settler education done in conjunction with Indigenous written or recorded knowledge could work in this regard. As these authors note, transformative education has an individual element to it in the sense that the paradigm shift must occur for each person at their own time and that this process can be emotional. Contact or exposure is no guarantee of transformation – a framework or facilitation system is often required for settlers to experience a Transformative encounter. They call for more nuanced studies with reference to psychological and sociological literature on what makes settlers turn towards an acknowledgement of Indigenous rights work. This thesis answers to that call and contributes towards extending data on what we know about the mechanisms of shifting settler consciousness.

This research offers one way to think about emotions in the work of settler engagement on Indigenous rights issues as something that is both inevitable and not necessarily negative. Learning can be an emotional process and as settlers re-script their me scripts they feel this unsettlement. The transformation described by Lynne Davis et al and by the material I present in this thesis is an emotional process, not just an ethical one. This thesis has, I hope, offered a way to think about emotions as a thing to manage – to embrace and then re-direct. This is a productive new direction because while the common white settler experience of self-referential emotions is not helpful or ideal for progressing Indigenous rights goals, they happen so often that ignoring this

experience is problematic. Rather than judge settlers for feeling self-referential emotions related to their unsettled identities, settlers can help each other process these emotions as they continue to learn how to maintain an ethical stance towards forwarding Indigenous rights goals.

10.2 Questions for future study

Settlers are in need of theory that promotes activist resilience, acknowledging that settler environmental activists and Indigenous peoples have many shared aims as they attempt to protect all of our water and land for the benefit of future generations. We must not forget, for example, that it was three Indigenous women and one non-Indigenous woman who initially started #IdleNoMore. My research and conversations with settlers have led me to believe that we already have at our fingertips more than enough knowledge about what Indigenous leader's desire for their communities.

I recommend that activist organisations develop activist charters about conduct, roles and responsibilities. There is a space for research in developing best communications practices from mandates, statements and charters from other organisations. There is need to develop ways of framing text to build towards accountability while remaining resistant to creating overly prescriptive regulatory codes. Such codes must be flexible enough that they do not become dogmatic and precipitate practices of calling out. Settlers are encouraged to practice an ethics for settler engagement both within activist communities and between settler and Indigenous partner organisations that focuses not on the settler self but on the needs of the Indigenous subject. Within this, there is a need to think strategically about how to keep shame and guilt low in organisations and to eliminate hyperconsciousness through desensitisation to improve the sustainability of the ethical stance.

I would also recommend further inquiry into how to address the issue of activist cultures of ingroup boundary regulation through calling out. There needs to be particular attention paid to nurture resilient relationships amongst settlers in order to prepare organisations to work in an engaged and thoughtful ways around issues related to Indigenous rights.

We also need more work identifying best strategies for education and to produce replicable and accessible educational resources for educators, especially for

those working in universities. At university many settlers are exposed to material on Indigenous realties and aspirations but often their learning encounters are not facilitated in such a way that creates space to process the emotions that come up in this learning. Mere contact between settlers and Indigenous ideas and people is not enough to precipitate a transformative encounter. Facilitation of this process is key and I saw no examples in this group of settlers who underwent a transformative encounter simply through unaffected engagement with course materials.

Research into how university facilitators can up-skill in the areas necessary to support difficult learning will turn these university classrooms into sites available for transformative re-scripting. Teachers in Universities and at other levels of education need to be trained in how this knowledge can unsettle students. They themselves need to given an opportunity to understand both the content of an Indigenous knowledge curriculum and understand the phenomenological dimensions of the emotions that are associated with this learning.

This area also requires a stronger basis of pedagogic research into what and how to teach Indigenous knowledge to settler people. This needs to be developed regionally as students should be educated not only in the broader issues of how Indigenous nations relate to the state but also have the opportunity to learn about the territory they are located on and the specific Indigenous histories that exist there. This is a project for every university in the country to work with local educators and local Indigenous community leaders to develop curricula. From childhood to adulthood settlers can be given at least a basic understanding of Canada as a settler colonial nation, one founded and sustained upon immigration and with a rich history and present-day presence of Indigenous inhabitants. This would introduce organic encounters at a young age to settlers so that in later years they will be able to consider critical information about how Canada and Indigenous peoples relate in more sophisticated and nuanced ways. In the short term, university social science and humanities classrooms are important places for learning in this area. Some universities, such as the University of Winnipeg, already offer a mandatory first year course in Indigenous Studies. Other disciplines at other universities can incorporate content as appropriate.

In this thesis I have shown that having access to informative resources is not enough. If residents of Turtle Island / Canada are going to have a future where Indigenous

rights and nations are respected on the terms advocated for by Indigenous leaders, settlers are going to have to do the work of re-scripting and re-storying themselves around Indigenous-centred versions of history and visions for the future. To do this work, they need to wade into the murky sea of settler guilt, white privilege, public shame and identity crises to come back up neither lost nor overwhelmed but resilient enough to live with dynamic uncertainty. They need to support each other in their learning and to recognise that being right or being good is so far from being the point that it actually takes away from the object, which is to support Indigenous peoples as they strive to heal and thrive after surviving centuries of cultural genocide. There is so much potential amongst settler environmentalist groups for members to be effective and powerful allies on a range of Indigenous rights struggles.

I will now conclude with some statements by a particularly astute and sensitive settler activist, Pauline, who recognised that other settlers felt fearful and unsure about how to engage with Indigenous rights issues. Pauline, interviewed in Winnipeg in 2014, believed the root of this was ignorance and unfamiliarity. Explaining her efforts to desensitise settlers through contact with information, Pauline noted that "You have to have people working together. You have to love one another; you have to know things about one another ... I see Indigenous peoples starting to take more power and that makes me happy. I want things to change drastically but people have to be ready for it, and they have to be educated about it. So that's what I want to do, just educate them" (Pauline). Settlers do not have to be highly formally educated to try to learn and understand history from the perspective of the colonised (Pauline was working to finish her first degree). Nor do they have to have all the facts and figures to hand in order to intervene and re-script a story that contains disparaging and false information about Indigenous peoples. All settlers can learn to be good guests in different cultures and to tell a story of Canada that centres Indigenous experiences. If enough Canadians learned to live in dynamic uncertainty – to learn how to rest in it with open-ness, ignoring the urges to run, deny, over-power or defend – Canada could become the world leader in human rights and environmental stewardship it has long self-fashioned itself to be. Leaders of this shift and cultural change are coming from Indigenous communities but they can also come from settler activist spaces.

In this thesis I have distilled from the ideas and theory shared with me by the activists interviewed some actionable strategies other activists might consider useful. I intend that this distilled knowledge be useful to settlers as they work to become good

allies and friends to First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples whose traditional territories they occupy and as they endeavour to share the stewardship of Turtle Island / Canada.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Topic Guide for Interviews (2014-2015)

Key area of Investigation	Rationale	Themes	Example questions	Explanatory notes
Non-Indigenous environmentalists negotiating Indigenous / non-Indigenous relations	In Canada, many Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, some who identify as environmentalists, are engaged in work focused on protecting, rehabilitating, cleaning, and promoting stewardship of land and natural resources. There is a developing literature indicating that fissures and differing worldviews can inhibit possible civil society alliances between environmentalists and other groups, including labour unions and First Nations organizers. Specifically, the terms of sustainable resource management, as well as different understandings in the fundamental relationship between humans and other creatures.	Thought processes around Indigenous campaigns Dealing with confluence and differences in agendas Roles and responsibilities of non-Indigenous peoples to in Indigenous peoples Colonialism: what is it and, if it is over, when did it end i.e. what did or will connote the decolonisation of Canada Influence of policy and law on individual and organizational engagement	How does working with Indigenous people make you feel? Can you tell me the story of when you started thinking about the meanings of Indigenous and non-Indigenous identity? Is Canada decolonized or otherwise postcolonial? If Yes, when did that happen and how can we tell it is? If No, then what would it mean for Canadians to decolonize the relationship between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples? How does Indigenous activism affect, or influence the way you do environmental work? Is there any area of your work where you think Indigenous organizing overlaps	I am particularly interested in any incongruency that exist between what you believe is right, or would like to do, and what they do or are able to do. So, pursue any line of thinking that suggests systemic or societal barriers to non-Indigenous critical thinking or activities in solidarity work.

Appendix II: Information Packet for Expert Informants

[Project Working Title]

"Decolonisation and Canadian Environmentalism:

Critical relationships and decolonial politics"

June 20 2014

Dear Expert Informant,

You are receiving this document because you have expressed interest in participating as informants in my PhD thesis. I have been so buoyed by your keen enthusiasm in this area and in my work.

I have attempted to anticipate some of the questions you might have for me when considering what level of commitment you would like to put into this project. I hope you will find this helpful and that it will get you as excited about the project as I am! I am thrilled to be planning these conversational interviews, and am privileged to be able to approach each of you about participating. As expert informants in your fields, your interviews will be the core of my research. With your minimal time commitment, I will collate your knowledge and create a body of work that I intend to be useful to you and others in the coming years. I wish to both capture a snapshot of this exciting time in conversations about relations between environmentalists and Indigenous peoples in Canada, as well as to actively participate in forwarding these conversations by giving you the space and opportunity to reflect on some of the ongoing challenges. I am grateful and honoured that you are interested in getting on board.

I will update and resend out this document as I have a chance to answer other questions that come up. Throughout the next few years I welcome you to ask further questions on any aspect outlined herein, and I urge you to expect thoughtful and prompt answers from me. Thank you for your time in reading, and I look forward to our conversations!

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1) Who am I?

While some parts of this document are going to feel a bit technical, I want to begin by introducing myself. As most of us do not know each other personally, I want to introduce myself to you. I'm committed to supporting you as an informant, as well as committed to being accountable to you throughout the study. As I will be asking you to share some of your background with me, I want to offer some of the same.

My name is Karen Ella McCallum and I'm a second-generation Canadian citizen, born in Toronto and raised in Sharon, Ontario. I attended the University of Waterloo from 2007-2012 where I did a degree in Environment and Resource Studies. While at school I worked for several months as an intern with Alternatives Journal, taught a course on Environmental Justice, and tree planted in Northern BC during the summers. My main interests at that time were in food security and food sovereignty for marginalised communities in general and in remote Northern Indigenous communities specifically, which I wrote about in my Honours thesis.

After graduation I took a year off and wrote grants for RAVEN (Respecting Aboriginal Values and Environmental Needs), and worked making sourdough bread at Wildfire Bakery (Victoria, BC). There, I also taught bread and bagel-making courses with Sustainable Living and Urban Gardening Skills (SLUGS, Victoria, BC). I then returned to school to do a Master's degree in Gender Studies and Feminist Research at McMaster University, Hamilton, ON. In Hamilton, I read and studied work by Indigenous authors and came to expand my understanding of my role and responsibilities as a non-Indigenous Canadian. I did my Master's thesis on the roles of non-Indigenous environmentalists in Indigenous lead struggles, and how stories of these alliances are written. I am now a PhD candidate at the School of Advanced Study, University of London, working in the Human Rights Consortium of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies.

I'm an academic, but I also see myself as an activist making an intervention at this time through my PhD. On that note, I would like to explain to you my motivations...

2) Why do I want to speak with you?

I want to speak with you because I or someone you know has identified you as a member of a group that I believe holds important information regarding the future possibilities for Indigenous/ non-Indigenous relations in Canada. The area of relations between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples has been studied extensively in many Commonwealth countries. Yet, I want to see more in-depth study of the current moment in Canada, wherein we are witnesses to an enormous surge in interest in Indigenous rights and freedoms, as well as just beginning to deal collectively with Canada's colonial legacy through the Truth and Reconciliation process. These complicated relations are highlighted and expressed in many arenas, and I believe that environmentalism is one of the most important.

As a staff member or long-standing volunteer of an environmental group or long term campaign, I think you may have some answers to some of the ongoing questions Canada as a nation is struggling to think through. I believe that in a semi-structured interview, where I will ask you to reflect and talk to me about your experiences thinking about issues about land, colonialism, Indigenous organizing, and how it fits into your own work, your expert opinion will be able to guide our thinking about Canada's possible futures.

3) What is motivating this research?

As an activist-academic, I am motivated to study and possibly critique the way in which alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples happen in the terrain of environmentalism in Canada. I am invested in expanding the reach, power, safety, and conviviality of relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, and am also firmly committed to many goals of social justice organizing (i.e. anti-racism, anti-sexism, equity, justice). In the present moment, the language of 'reconciliation' 'Indigeneity' 'Indigenous rights' and other areas that didn't used to be thought of as related to environmentalism now seem intertwined with how many NGO's operate and campaign. In giving you a moment to reflect, I am hoping to give you an opportunity to collaborate with me on a project that I hope will benefit and be useful to the you and others working in similar areas.

I want to talk on many levels–strategy, logistics, emotions, values, legalities, and more. As activists, I know you do not always have the luxury to stop, think, and reflect. My motivation in doing this project is to make the existing realm of environmentalism in Canada better by offering myself and others the chance to do some big-picture thinking and reflection and to capture some of the tensions, paradoxes, dreams, and complications that come together in this area. My motivation is to contribute to positive, healthy changes in Indigenous / non-Indigenous relations, and I see that environmentalism is already an area where there is a groundswell of interest and commitment to thinking about these relations in an everyday context.

4) What am I trying to study?

I want to study how environmentalism connects to Indigenous-led struggles in Canada. Restrictions on the ability for NGO's to be 'political', as well as the increasingly real threat of SLAPP suits and audits spurred by private companies who disagree with the agenda of environmental groups are all factors that form the backdrop to how activism can take place. Many other factors influence how, or whether, NGO's have decided to pursue alliances and

relations with Indigenous groups. Alliances are not always fruitful – they are very seldom easy – but I believe that environmentalism is a special arena in Canada. The people who are drawn to environmentalism are very often drawn into a critical consciousness around Indigenous 'rights' and organizing. Why exactly that is, I don't know (yet!). But when it was leaked that Stephen Harper has included both environmentalists and First Nations on his list of groups likely to pose a threat to national security, he saw a connection that I also see, and that maybe you do too.

I want to study these relations–the foundation or lack of foundation for the connections made between these groups, and the people in them–to get a better idea of what goes on: what concessions do we make and what paradoxes do we struggle with as people committed to many different values, people, and visions for the future? I want to study possible solutions for ongoing issues in contemporary Indigenous / non-Indigenous relations, ultimately with an eye to contributing to creating a future for Canada that is as responsive as possible to an ethical framework guided by Canada's own civil society. These interviews will be data. In order for policy, government, and other grassroots organizers to respond to Canadian civil society, they must know and understand what civilians want for the future. I see this project as offering something significant to these conversations.

5) Why am I not speaking to Indigenous people?

I will be only talking to non-Indigenous environmentalists at this time. It is a serious limitation that I don't have the resources to expand my research and include the Indigenous peoples driving and creating many of these changes in relations. Yet, I hope that my research will be useful to Indigenous organizers and to future researchers who are able to take on a wider pool of informants. I made this choice primarily because Indigenous activists are already over-worked and underpaid for much of what they do. For example, and especially in the most overtly political, envelope-pushing instances, Indigenous peoples' organizing, and radical organizing of all kinds, is notoriously difficult to fund. I am certain I could not do justice to informants across both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups. I have and will continue to extensively consult Indigenous edited blogs and published Indigenous writers to guide my thinking and analytical process, as well as to provide context for what I learn in interviews. I see the broad range of work by Indigenous writers as the foundation of my research and expect it to offer strong guidance in my analysis.

I would be thrilled to have Indigenous participants in other aspects of this research, perhaps as consultants I could get in touch with to ask for feedback or commentary. I would never turn away someone interested in discussing this project further. However, I don't feel I could be a responsible researcher for Indigenous activists and organizers at this time.

6) Are there any benefits to the participant for participating?

I do not have funding to offer stipends. I am very disappointed to be in this position, but funding humanities research in general, and funding anything that carries a whiff of the political in specific, is difficult to secure. I am, however, very pleased to be able to offer services to participants, should they desire to take me up on them. They are primarily technology related. If you as a participant want to avail yourself of one or more of these methods, I am happy to be able to give back. If you are interested in any of these options, let me know so we can plan enough time in our session, or have two sessions to cover the interview and the technology tutorial.

Here are the three main ones I am currently offering:

I can teach you how to encrypt your data files. It is becoming increasingly obvious that environmental organizations are targets for attackers from government, private sector, and possibly even journalistic spying. Privacy and security breaches are something we all need to be extra vigilant about. Firewalls and even secure networks can protect us from malicious viruses, but they cannot protect us from spying on data transferred over the Internet in emails and over sharing platforms. I will discuss this further in my section on 'How I will keep your identity and information safe', but, in short, what I can promise to do is sit down with you, introduce you to programs you could install and run(I can demonstrate on my laptop or on a computer of yours), as well as show you how to use them so that you will allow be able to make

the files you want to protect safe when in transit via email, and when in storage in cloud storage or on your own hard drive. By encrypting your file, no one but you will be able to get in and access your files. That means that even if you are using a highly insecure email browser at an airport or coffee shop, or using Gmail at home, if someone is spying and lifts your document, they will not be able to read them. Handy!

I can teach you to encrypt your email. Some of you may already know how to do this, but if not I will follow a very similar procedure as with the above bullet point. I can walk you through a couple options you have for encrypting email. This is useful for correspondence that you don't want spied upon. This is the only way you can be sure you are not being spied upon online, and unless you encrypt email, your message is more than vulnerable – it is open-book. If you do not encrypt Internet communications, then it is not anonymous. I would be very happy to sit down with you over Skype or the phone, or send you some tutorials and walk you through them so that between us, the contents of our conversations can be private. Very happy to teach you this and I encourage you to use this option as often as you can – it is easier than you'd expect!

I can teach how to browse more securely online. Browsing online can be insecure, depending on where you are and what you need to access. What I propose with this one is to walk you through the installation or introduction of a safe browser and discuss tricks for browsing anonymously online. This is almost as important as encrypting email because unless you conceal your activity online, all of your metadata combined tells quite a detailed story. Metadata includes what sites you visit for how long. What you buy, what you are thinking of buying, where you are searching on Google maps, where you are buying plane tickets to, etc. If you would like to have some more privacy when it comes to your activities online, we can talk about how you can keep your life, organizing, and activities more private.

7) What does participation in this project entail?

Our conversations will last anywhere from 1-2 hours, depending on you and what you would be comfortable committing to. We should allow at least 45-60 minutes minimum extra for going over any of the privacy and security tutorials that you would like to discuss, and I recommend that we arrange two separate sessions as otherwise we might be looking at one very long session! We will arrange a time and place to meet that can be public or private–I don't know your city like you do, so I will be looking for suggestions! When I am coming through your town, my priority will be to talk to you so I am happy to meet you wherever, whenever. If your kids, partner or others need to be present, that's fine if you think you'll be able be focus enough on our conversation and that you won't mind the obvious breach of your anonymity that would come from having others present. I would prefer a private interview but I want to make it as easy as possible for you to manage arranging a time.

You will have an option to have your interview recorded or not. If you let me record the interview, it would be only audio (no visual) and I would keep your identity anonymous (more on that in the section below on risks). Interviews will be semi-structured, which means I will ask similar questions with all people I interview to lend my data set some consistency, but if our conversation takes a productive swing or you would rather spend time talking about something more tangential that you think is important to the topic, that is fine. After collecting and transcribing the interviews, I will be back in touch over email or phone(your preference) to see if you or I have anything we want to follow up on, you can ask me questions, add or expand on anything you like, and I can ask for clarification on anything if I think that is required. Participation in all aspects of this study is voluntary and if you are concerned because you don't think you can commit to the follow-up portion of the study, or any other aspect but would like to take part, do raise that issue with me and we can work something out that fits in with what you are able to do. You would be welcome to leave the study at any time, stop if you want to, and will be able to check your transcribed interview for accuracy if you so desire.

8) What will I do with the interviews and information?

I will be storing the interviews electronically, possibly in hard copy as well, and also keeping the audio versions. I will be keeping back-up copies of everything on my personal hard-drive and on my external hard-drive and may transfer forms of the interviews in part or in

whole to a cloud server or USB key for transport. At all stages of holding or moving the interview data, your name and identity, including location and affiliations will be separated from the interview, and the files will be encrypted so that, if they are interrupted in transport, they will be indecipherable. At the time of the interview, we will be able to discuss levels of anonymity and you will have the option to use your name or a pseudonym during the study. I will hold the data indefinitely, and I will ask for your consent during the initial interview to use it in various ways (more details below). You will have multiple options concerning what level of consent you wish to give for the use of the data. The chart below will be presented to you at the end of our interview. I would appreciate that if you participate in the interviews you will at least be prepared to consent to having your work used in the PhD thesis, but I will reiterate in asking for your consent after the interview and will respect your answer.

The wording may change by the time we speak, at which time we can go over it again.

Consent Tables

Consent Y/N

Participant Code Xxxxxxx Preferred method of contact:	I wish to remain anonymous. I understand that for me to remain anonymous I will need to participate in the communications security measures discussed in section 9 and 10 of the Information Packet.	I wish my name to be separated from my data, but I do not wish to use the communications security measures *discussed in section 9 and 10 of the Information Packet.* This means that I wish to be as anonymous as possible, but I am comfortable with a low level of anonymity protection.	I wish my name to remain connected to my data, rendering me not anonymous. If you decide to connect your name with your data, in whole or in part, you will have an opportunity to revisit this decision after viewing the final transcript.
Yes			
No			

1.2 Level of Consent (tick an X in the boxes)

Participant Code Xxxxxxx Preferred method of contact:	My interview may be audio recorded (this will apply to all use of data).	My interview, in whole or in part, may be used in the production of Karen McCallum's PhD thesis.	My interview, in whole or in part, may be used in later publications that are an outgrowth of Karen McCallum's thesis.	My interview, in whole or in part, may be published as a whole interview in a journalistic publication (For example, in Rabble or The Canadian Dimension). (If yes, would you like me to seek consent again at a later date with more

				information, Y/N?)
I give my consent for the following:				
I do not give my consent for the following:				

9) Are there any risks to participants if you choose to participate in this study?

The main risks I believe exist in you participating relate to your stakes in the formal realm of environmental NGOs (ENGOs). We know that Canadian ENGOs are targets for SLAPP suits and spying, as well as audits triggered by private sector 'complaints'. I believe that caution is important and I would be most comfortable having participants allow me to keep them anonymous and allow me to keep the names of their associations, people and organizations, anonymous. If a participant wishes me to publicize their name and organizational affiliations, I ask that they do so in awareness of the possible ramifications, and to allow me to black out any parts of the interview we agree may put anyone or any organization at risk of being audited or significantly negatively affected.

I will also stress that, while most of you will have formal affiliations with organizations, I wish to speak to you as individual people. I am interested in how you as an organizer with years of experience working on environmental issues in your region are thinking about the connections between colonial relations, contemporary relations, and environmental work. I am asking you to NOT represent any groups, campaign, or interest group, and speak to me instead about your own thoughts as a person with commitments and interests in this area. I believe that focusing on the personal, rather than the professional interests of informant participants will significantly reduce the likelihood of any malicious use of the interview data as outlined above to hurt organizations with which individuals are affiliated.

10) What am I going to do as the researcher to alleviate these risks?

I feel very strongly that protecting our identities online and being able to control the access governments, companies, and other members of the public have to our communications is critical and now an integral part of activist organizing. For those of you who have not before considered issues of communications and privacy, I invite you to take this opportunity and learn a bit more. Journalists and researchers often promise and intend to keep the data and identity of their informants anonymous. However, without using encryption technologies it is unlikely that I, or anyone else, can keep you anonymous if we are communicating over the Internet. If privacy matters to you, read on to learn about how I will work to keep our conversations private.

I will personally offer tutorials with participants on email encryption that, when used properly, will ensure our communications cannot be read by anyone but myself while in transit through the web. When I store your data I will be encrypting text and audio files and storing them in an encrypted format on all devices. That means that if anyone gets into my computer by any means, they cannot see your data. If I keep hard copies of the interviews I will keep your name and identifying features separated from the interview at all times. I will keep the file where I store the coded reference and your name in an encrypted format as well. I will happily teach you how to do the same so that if you choose to store a copy of the transcript on your computer, it will be similarly protected.

I cannot protect the data of anything sent over a privately owned communications server since the company that operates the system automatically owns anything we send. That means that everything we say, any photos you send me or any audio I send to you is assumedly *not* anonymous. (Think of email like you would a postcard–open for the entire world to see if they care to read!) Because of this, I will ask that we do not speak any more than necessary, and never about anything sensitive over Facebook, because I cannot encrypt our PM communications. I will never use anything you tell me over Facebook as data. If you do not wish to communicate over encrypted email I can promise not to broadcast your name and

identity and to take measures to keep you anonymous, but we must both know that everything we say is documented and possibly available for perusal, i.e. is not anonymous.

Unfortunately, the metadata involved in our communications will not be anonymous. That means that if I send 10 emails to you in a month, our email server logs that information, though they cannot identify what the contents of the email are if they are encrypted. For that reason, I will separate all data relating to time, and place from the final interview documents and not make mention of temporality so that the time and date of our correspondence cannot be related to the time and date of any interview transcripts. I will also be careful to only locate people regionally in the vaguest of terms, and in regions that have a particularly small population base, rendering it difficult to guess the identity of a person based on their regional affiliations, I will not identify the regional origin of the interview.

11) How can you contact me?

Please feel free to communicate any questions or concerns to me and I will do my very best to respond to your queries and to accommodate your needs. If there is an area in this guide you would like to see expanded upon, clarified, or you think something is missing, that feedback is very useful to me and I appreciate hearing it so that I may improve my resource tools.

You can contact me in the following ways:

Email: Karen.mccallum@postgrad.sas.ac.uk or kemccallum@gmail.com

Academia.edu profile: http://sas.academia.edu/KarenMcCallum

LinkedIn Profile: https://www.linkedin.com/in/karen-e-mccallum-bbbb1446/

This will make sense after we go over encryption, for those of you unfamiliar with how it works.

My Mailvelope public key

-----BEGIN PGP PUBLIC KEY BLOCK----------END PGP PUBLIC KEY BLOCK-----

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