# Decolonizing Identity: From Indian Girl to Skwxwú7mesh Matriarch

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## **Approval**

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#### **Abstract**

Over the last twenty years, Indigenous scholars have articulated approaches to decolonization and cultural resurgence while making recommendations for strengthening Indigenous cultural sovereignty. This MA project groups the proposals of twelve Indigenous scholars into eight themes and responds with a call to increase accessibility to Indigenous knowledge for Indigenous Peoples. The argument is written as an autoethnographic paper which traces my emancipatory research journey from a colonized, constructed Indian girl to a decolonizing, reconstructed Skwxwú7mesh matriarch. The research-creation component is a creative publication called *Playing Postcolonial: a decolonizing activity book for the woke and the weary* which applies Squamish matriarchal approaches and epistemologies to the gamification of decolonization. The featured activity is a Sínulhkay (double-headed serpent) and Ladders board game, which redesigns a classic game into a rhetorical tool for deconstructing normalized contemporary enactments of supremacy while simultaneously promoting *chénchenstway*—the Squamish verb meaning to *uphold one another*.

**Keywords**: decolonizing practices; Squamish matriarchy; Indigenous autoethnography; Indigenous gamification; neocolonial contact zone;

critical Indigenous theory; Indigenous communications theory;

#### **Dedication**

It's been a potent process for me to have the time and support to deconstruct my own encumbrances. As a professional communicator, I hope to make some thoughts on decolonizing practices more accessible. As a matriarch, I have also articulated critique because neocolonial impacts are covert and systemic. They'll need the love, care, commitment and reprimands of matriarchy to evolve beyond their current states.

My grandmother Eva May Nahanee, and other Squamish women of her era, lived in a second- and third- generation colonial contact zone on these lands, now named Vancouver. They had lost many family members to smallpox, they lived with the violent criminalization of their spirituality, they were confined within a highly regulated reserve system and of course, survived residential schools and the loss of their children. This is a shortened list of the atrocities.

But, these women somehow held on to the songs, language, ceremonies and teachings for us. They had the strength to operate in the harshness of the contact zone while supporting their families emotionally, spiritually, physically and financially.

I am so inspired by their agency and grateful for the power they embodied to stay Squamish under the overt, normalized violence of colonization. Their strength continues to lift us.

I dedicate my work to past, present and future Skwxwú7mesh Matriarchs.

## **Table of Contents**

Abstract	ii
	iii
Dedication	iv
Table of Contents	V
Chapter 1. Náatsut (to identify oneself)	1
Chapter 2. Nexw7áyn (to change something around)	3
An Indigenous Cultural Sovereignty Revolution	3
Change the Language, Change the Power Structure	
Back to the Land	7
Barriers to Education (Western and Indigenous)	11
Postindian Articulations	12
Centring Indigenous Epistemologies	14
Reterritorialize	15
Deconstructing, Disrupting and Disseminating	17
Chapter 3. The Project: Playing Postcolonial, a decolonizing activity be woke and the weary	
References	24

### Chapter 1.

## Náatsut (to identify oneself)

My name is Michelle Lorna Nahanee, I belong to Skwxwú7mesh-ullh Uxwumixw and grew up in the village of Eslhá7an when it was known as Mission Indian Reserve #1. My paternal grandparents are Lorne Nahanee Sr., Squamish / Kanaka, and Eva May Nahanee (Williams), Stó:lō. My maternal grandparents are Rene Bruneau, French, and Fern Bruneau (Casey), Irish. The Nahanee family has Kanaka heritage, which means we have Hawaiian ancestry mixed with First Nations ancestry from when Hawaiian mariners settled on the west coast after working on the ships of early explorers. I was raised by my Squamish family in my community, so I identify as a Squamish person more than as a mixed person.

As someone who was born an *Indian* but now operates as an *Indigenous* person, I entered the study of communications with experience and opinions about the power of language and representation. Since childhood, I have processed these structures as an artist, escaping the constraints of the imposed world with colours, images, and texts. In my adult life, I have amassed 20 years of professional experience as a creative director for First Nations communications projects, which has strengthened my identity and contributed to the disruption of colonial impacts on Indigenous visual sovereignty.

My father studied sociology at SFU when students brought ashtrays to lectures. In 1968, his sister, my aunt Teressa Nahanee, was the first Squamish woman to graduate from university. She went on to write Bill C-31—changing Canadian law to allow enfranchised Indian women to regain their status if they had married a non-Indian. Teressa subsequently earned a law degree and continues to advocate for Native women's rights in Ottawa. Of her nine siblings, six earned bachelor degrees and two earned law degrees, which shifted the outcomes for our family with heavy influence from my grandparents for all of us to become educated. However, viewing my family through a colonial impacts lens, five of the nine siblings attended residential school including my dad and aunt Teressa. To gain acceptance to university, they needed extra courses at public high school. Their will to push through the dominant oppression and exclusion of

that era must have been immense. I am honoured and grateful to belong to a lineage of powerful change makers.

I am grateful to my aunties for teaching me to show up on time by leaving me in the driveway when I was late. I am grateful for witnessing my uncle's work with the Native Communications Society and Kahtou News and for the words of Indigenous scholars who have opened epistemological doors for me that have sent me home to my Squamish roots.

Becoming a skilled worker as a creative director has offered me privilege, so although I live with the residential school impacts of being a single mother and having spent time in foster care, I have moved up the hierarchy of needs from survival to agency. I have been able to continue my family's legacy of social change at a federal legislative level in Ottawa and towards social justice within my traditional Coast Salish territory. As a positive impact on future generations, I ensured my approach to parenting was decolonial and I centred my child's relations outside of institutional education so her trajectory can be even stronger than ours. I have taught her to recognize power structures and push past them. As I have been lifted, I also hope to lift; that is my purpose born of my position as a Skwxwú7mesh Slhánay (Squamish Woman).

"Indigenous research frameworks ask for clarity of both the academic and personal purpose, and it is the purpose statement within Indigenous research that asks: What is your purpose for this research? How is your motivation found in your story? Why and how does this research give back to community?" (Kovach, 2009, p. 115)

The purpose of my project *Playing Post-colonial: a decolonizing activity book for the woke and the weary* is to create an accessible framework through experimental design that disseminates decolonizing practices. I hope my research project quickens access to decolonizing methods and Indigenous scholarship; these are ideas I would have liked to have understood when I was a young, native woman living on my reserve. My educators, bosses, neighbours, and social workers would have also benefited. I am motivated to contribute to the deconstruction of oppressive power structures that damage Indigenous identities and contribute to supremacy. I hope to give back to my community by designing accessible tools for decolonizing identity.

### Chapter 2.

## Nexw7áyn (to change something around)

When I was young enough to know everything, I told my aunty that we were now known as First Nations. I was proud of the assertion until she gave me my first taste of Indigenous post-structural analysis. "I was born an Indian and I will die an Indian," she replied, with 250 years of annoyance under her breath.

I have come to see this sentence as an expression of Squamish Matriarchy, which I have used to ground my research in a decolonizing framework I am developing as *aunty theory*—a clear approach to Indigenous identity that thrives without performance or prescription; it is active and agency-driven, operating outside of the semiotics of dominant culture texts. As I develop my position within critical Indigenous scholarship, I centre the teachings of my aunties as a baseline for decolonizing identity and aspire to facilitate change in a respectful, non-oppressive manner. To tell Indigenous people who they should be or what they are called is a neocolonial enactment of oppression, I didn't know this at the beginning of my education.

#### An Indigenous Cultural Sovereignty Revolution

What we will call ourselves and how we will construct our decolonized identity are major themes in contemporary Indigenous scholarship. Some ask if we should work within Western theoretical frameworks or reject them completely—given the historically destructive relationship between First Peoples and educational institutions, it seems justified to reject coercive education. But, it is also powerful to use the space and tools of the academy to design and disseminate the knowledge needed for social change. Through a critical lens, Indigenous scholars are deconstructing and reconstructing power structures, including language, representation, and recognition and their interface with identity. They create neologisms, enact terms from their Indigenous languages, and disrupt dominant culture representations and narratives to strengthen Indigenous cultural sovereignty.

If communication is the power structure that normalizes ideology, then language is a powerful place to start transforming Indigenous identity from *Indians* to *First Nations* 

and beyond —currently a work in progress across Canada. Indigenous governance structures provide a good example of the link between naming and agency; whereas some Indigenous communities refer to themselves as *Indian Bands*, others use the term *Nation*. For example, my community, the Squamish Nation, was known as the Squamish Indian Band until 1992, and I feel the semantic shift increased the strength of our collective identity. Internally, we refer to ourselves as *Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw*—our self-determined name in our own language that includes our people, land, and culture because all three are constituents of our nationhood.

Naming conventions matter because they contribute to sovereignty or supremacy depending on context and connotation. In a racialized context, they are weighted with signification that impacts the bearer of the name. *Indian* is a loaded word—depicting a vanished, defeated People even though we are clearly neither vanished nor defeated. While it has generally gone out of public use in Canada, it continues to be applied through *The Indian Act* and through our Indian Status numbers, which are like Social Insurance numbers for federally recognized First Nations people. The cards mark us with federal legislation that has harmed us and enforce racialized hierarchy. In the US, *American Indian* is still the common identifying language, although *Native American* seems to be used by institutions and organizations, for example by universities who have Native American studies departments. Another example is the *Native American* and *Indigenous Studies Association* (NAISA), which is the premier international and professional organization of Indigenous studies, with a membership consisting of more than 1,000 scholars, students, independent researchers, and community workers.

Native became the preferred identifier in Canada in the 1970s as illustrated by the formation of the Native Women's Association of Canada in 1974. Aboriginal has been used since the late 1980s but is now being replaced by Indigenous. In 2015, the federal governing body that administers The Indian Act changed its name to Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada from Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. Before 2011, it had been known as Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Despite the nomenclatural adjustments, the department is still the legislative enactor of neocolonialism—enforcing First Nations poverty while benefitting bureaucracy.

Underneath the layers of neocolonial Canada are powerful stories of resistance by creative and resilient communities who have survived generations, and multimodal

levels, of genocidal attack. Whether we are Indians, First Nations, postindians or  $S\underline{k}w\underline{x}w\acute{u}7mesh\ Stelmexw$ , it is time to rebrand an Indigenous cultural sovereignty revolution and change the narrative with the cutting edge of Indigenous scholarship. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou, Māori) asserts, "Like many other writers I would argue that 'we', Indigenous peoples, people 'of colour,' the Other, however we are named, have a presence in the Western imagination, in its fibre and texture, in its sense of itself, in its language, in its silences and shadows, its margins and intersections" (2012, p. 15). Smith first published *Decolonizing Methodologies* in 1999 and then a second edition was released in 2012. It is a highly regarded work of Indigenous scholarship that critiques persistent colonialism in academia and research while providing working examples of decolonized approaches. Smith is an early, but still completely relevant, instigator of the Indigenous cultural sovereignty revolution.

#### **Change the Language, Change the Power Structure**

Gerald Vizenor, a prolific Anishinaabe writer and scholar, has developed neologisms to push back against power structures by creating anti-colonial language frameworks of emancipation. He sees the term *Indian* as "a media simulation, an absence, not a presence or resistance, and while simulations hold court in popular culture they have never amounted to much as native connection or constituency" (Vizenor, 1999, p. 160). By casting the identifying term of *Indian* as simulation within a simulacrum designed to dispossess Indigenous nations, Vizenor deconstructs the power structure of language and emphasizes colonial practices as ongoing. To disrupt and reconstruct Indigenous signification within the English language, Vizenor created the term *postindian*.

"Postindian warriors of postmodern simulations would undermine and surmount, with imagination and the performance of new stories, the manifest manners of scriptural simulations and 'authentic' representations of the tribes in the literature of dominance" (Vizenor in Weaver, 1997, p. 164). *Postindian-ness* contributes to cultural sovereignty by reconstructing the destructive signification of the *Indian-ness*. Vizenor sees the route from absence to presence paved through acts of "survivance," which is a word he created by combining *survival* and *resistance* (Vizenor, 1999, p. 79). Through acts of survivance, postindians will break through the system of *manifest manners*—Vizenor's description of power structures enacted in the name of manifest destiny—and

reconstruct their identities as "traders, tricky storiers and visionaries" (Vizenor, 1999, p. 161). As *storiers*, another Vizenor neologism, postindians will add robust layers of Indigenous voice to the public sphere through literature, media, and academia.

Vizenor frames the political economy of Indigeneity, as "the tragic stories of an Indian absence are worth more to publishers than a real native sense of presence or survivance" (p. 165) but with more than twenty books under his belt, he has paved a highway of possibilities for Indigenous voice.

Like Vizenor, Jace Weaver (Cherokee) has created neologisms to define First Peoples outside of the dominant English language. *Representational cultural sovereignty* is produced through images, stories, and media produced by Indigenous scholars, writers, and artists. It works outside of dominant narratives to disrupt the forces of commodification on Indigenous texts. The issue of texts about Indigenous people written by non-Indigenous people is in need of disruption as well. Too many of these books extend long standing stereotypes of Native people that undermine our cultural sovereignty. Too many misrepresentations are published for the commercial benefit of non-Indigenous writers without accountability to communities, families, ancestors or future generations.

Weaver's neologism *communitism* combines *community* and *activism* to provide an action-oriented method for First Peoples committed to *indigenism*—his word for "asserting the rights of Indigenous people, globally, as the highest priority" (Weaver, 1997, p. xi). While the collective identity of Indigenous people has been a driving force of our collective pain, redefining the language of our identity can reshape our collectivity and strengthen cultural resurgence. Weaver explains, "I suggest that Native peoples must realize what is, I believe, a traditional commitment to communitism and allow the definition and articulation of what that means to emerge as we critically reflect on the commitment" (1997, p. xi). It is important to understand that the solidarity generated by the language construction and identity-lifting contributions of Indigenous scholars should not be considered proof of a pan-Aboriginal universalism. Each contribution is born of the land and person it grew from and although the values could be understood as similar, each has differing characteristics. Rather than prescribe the action of communitism, Weaver suggests an approach to developing an emergent practice rooted in local epistemology.

As a postindian, my identity became less rigid and more creative. I was encouraged by Vizenor and Weaver to move beyond racialized essentialism and to deconstruct the media representations of Indigeneity. The concepts may seem aged to some but I see them as valuable openings to decolonizing identity.

#### Back to the Land

Gerald Taiaiake Alfred, a Kahnawake Mohawk, specializes in studies of traditional governance, the restoration of land-based cultural practices, and decolonization strategies. He has been awarded a Canada Research Chair, a National Aboriginal Achievement Award in the field of education, and the Native American Journalists Association award for best column writing. He has published scholarly articles, essays, reports and three books. He is currently the director of the Indigenous Governance Program at the University of Victoria.

In *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, Alfred passionately argues for a way forward that is rooted in the wisdom of Indigeneity, but he is not naïve about the effort required to dismantle the massive social structures in our way.

This kind of justice that Indigenous people seek in their relations with the state has to do with restoring a regime of respect. The ideal stands in clear contrast to the statist notion, still rooted in the classical notion of sovereignty, which in the name of equity, may direct more material resources to indigenous people, but which preserves the state's superior position relative to them and to the earth, (Alfred, 1999, p. 62)

While seeking respect from the behemoth of capitalism seems naïve, Alfred is speaking about the mechanisms of the state that perpetuate the disempowering cycle operating within contemporary First Nations governments. By funding Chiefs and Councils to govern through Western models, the state maintains neoliberal standards that contribute to the continued neglect of land-based values and community-driven governance. He adds, "My guiding vision is of a *retraditionalized* politics, and the re-establishment of our nations and relationships on the basis of the sacred teachings given to us by our ancestors" (1999, p. 144). Like Vizenor, Alfred redesigns English to subvert the notion that it is impossible to bend the semiotic powers of colonial language. By retraditionalizing, we have the opportunity to fuse the knowledge of today with the ancient knowledge of our Indigeneity.

Alfred provided an early outline for the role of communications within an Indigenous cultural sovereignty revolution. "People who can shape ideas, translate and create language will be essential to the process of decolonization, once we have created an informed and critical polity by increasing the general level of education in our communities" (1999, p. 142). While the shaping and creation of language has begun, it is the delivery and mass acceptance of new terms that is the next level in this equation of neocolonial emancipation. The rise of Indigenous-produced literature, film, television and academia all contribute to retraditionalization, although the political economy of whose message is funded impedes radicalization. Also, state-designed mandatory education within Indigenous communities continues to be problematic. Couple the intergenerational impacts of the residential school system with an underfunded, culturally irrelevant education of our young people, and the failure of "increasing the general level of education in our communities" becomes another barrier to decolonization.

Glen Sean Coulthard's twitter handle, @denerevenge / dene communist, confirms his membership in the Yellowknives Dene First Nation as well as his commitment to the demise of capitalism, which is summed up in his incisive assertion "for our Nations to live, capitalism must die" (2014, p. 174). In his book *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, Coulthard examines anti-colonial efforts of Indigenous resurgence in Canada from 1969 to the present and demonstrates the shift from tradition-based assertions of land and title to negotiated claims for land and recognition. He imposes Karl Marx's "primitive accumulation" (as cited in Coulthard, 2014, p. 152) of capital model onto Franz Fanon's conceptions of colonial power's effect on colonial/neocolonial societies to inform his position and produce a concluding *Five Theses for the Future of Indigenous Activism*.

The book is smart but not prescriptive. It provides case studies and detailed analyses from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars that strip the promise of emancipation from the pursuit of recognition to show "how the politics of recognition has come to serve the interests of colonial power in the ways that it has" (p. 25). By shifting Indigenous goals from emancipation *from* the nation-state to recognition *by* the nation-state, the power remains with the grantor in issues ranging from the essentialism of cultural identity (e.g., "Who is Aboriginal?") to the control and commodification of resources (e.g., "Who will benefit?"). By exposing political recognition as a self-perpetuating capitalist concept, which is often presented under the coercive narrative of

economic development, Coulthard depicts primitive accumulation as "an ongoing practice of dispossession that never ceases to structure capitalist and colonial social relations in the present" (p. 152). The power found in his exposition is the knowledge that dispossession is intrinsically linked to accumulation and continues to be negotiated through dominant / subaltern power structures that function contemporarily within Canada as land claims and other negotiations for recognition from the nation-state.

Another unique strength of Coultard's book is his prioritization of Indigenous scholars, two of whom he refers to as "theorists of Indigenous resurgence" (p. 154), Taiaiake Alfred and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. Through Alfred and Simpson, it becomes clear that Fanon's bias for the new over the old and his call for the colonized to move away from the past are not applicable to the decolonization of Indigenous people in Canada. Alfred argues the "renewal of respect for traditional values is the only lasting solution to the political, economic, and social problems that beset our people" (p. 155) articulated by Simpson's recommendations for "regenerating our political and intellectual traditions" and "articulating and living our legal traditions" (p. 155). The push to move beyond Fanon's view of internalized colonization is to see traditional cultures as a value to be manifested in contemporary applications—not as inferior systems belonging strictly in the past.

In the conclusion of Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition, Coulthard offers Five Theses on Indigenous Resurgence and Decolonization that consolidate and contribute (p. 165) to the debates and conversations within the First Nations movement sparked by Idle No More. The working framework for an Indigenous cultural sovereignty revolution is outlined by Coulthard as follows:

- 1. He promotes direct action and shares examples where the tactics have been effective.
- 2. He advocates for the death of capitalism through the construction of Indigenous alternatives.
- 3. He envisions solidarity between urban Indigenous people and reserve-based First Nations people.
- 4. He argues against gender inequality for Indigenous women and sees the violence we experience as the responsibility of everyone to fix.

5. He proposes an evolution beyond nation-state governance where First Nation people discontinue engagement within the self-sustaining settler-colonial patriarchal systems of Canada.

Is it possible to kill capitalism and move out of dominant culture systems without being charged with murder? Have enough First Nations people decolonized their identities to the extent they can assert that traditional forms of governance are superior to those that constitute Canada? And, can reading a *Dene communist's* manifesto add to the probability of Indigenous resurgence?

Regarding the first two questions, I answer "not yet." However, to the question of probability, I emphatically answer yes. After reading *Red Skin, White Masks,* I envision a future very different from the view I had before. The book provides detailed historical analysis paired with well-argued suggestions for moving forward, as well as 40 pages of references for further research on the topic. Coulthard's book pushes back against dominant narratives on the Indigenous problem in Canada by uncovering *the gift* of cultural recognition as a source of increased legislation and hegemony. And, in the end, in his last sentence, he offers hope for his radical and elegant proposal for the survival of his people, "It is only by privileging and grounding ourselves in these normative lifeways and resurgent practices that we have a hope of surviving our strategic engagements with the colonial state with integrity and as Indigenous peoples" (p. 179). Proof of cultural resurgence is evident in the rise of sovereign Indigenous scholarship, fine art, journalism, and film. But unfortunately for many Indigenous people, particularly our working class and our residential school survivors, the application of the recommendations of the "theorists of Indigenous resurgence" will remain out of reach.

Time to reconnect with the land and learn our Indigenous languages is not in the realm of possibility for working class Indigenous people who are surviving on low- to medium- incomes. According to Statistics Canada, for First Nations people living off-reserve, the median income was about \$22,500 compared to just over \$14,000 for First Nations people living on-reserve (2015). So, while I applaud and admire the work and words of Alfred and Coulthard, there is a huge class disconnect between their proposals for resurgence and a majority of Indigenous peoples who may not enjoy the literacy, finances, and paid holidays to reconnect to their land and languages.

#### **Barriers to Education (Western and Indigenous)**

There are many barriers that halt Indigenous people from achieving the academic credentials need to research, synthesize, and write while centring Indigeneity. Geographic barriers disconnect Indigenous peoples from our ancestral homelands and Elders within a neocolonial Indigenous diaspora. Mental barriers stop us from accessing the embedded epistemologies of our ancestors because many of us do not speak our Indigenous languages. Other barriers are emotional with internalized racism continuing to value Western knowledge over Indigenous knowledge. Protocols vary from community to community and intergenerational trauma is passed on through survivors of residential school which complicates the relationship of Indigenous peoples to home and our ability to access both Western and Indigenous education.

At the end of the Summer 2016 term, my youngest sister died from a Fentanyl overdose and I went to a very dark place. My grief pushed me back in time to process childhood violence and intergenerational trauma. I joke that critical education ruined my life but actually, it helped me frame the harsh parts of my life as impacts of systemic poverty within neocolonial, neoliberal structures. I really wanted to quit graduate school at several points but was pulled back with the support of my supervisors. It was also difficult to watch younger students graduate faster than me because they have the luxury of full-time study while being supported by their families. And, it became especially painfully annoying to understand that their financial equity is in many cases linked to their families' ownership of dispossessed Indigenous lands. Non-indigenous students studying Indigeneity and managing Indigenous projects became another source of discomfort for me.

On March 22, 2017, Western University released a Youtube video called "What I wish my professors knew about me..." which featured vignettes of Indigenous students holding white boards answering the question "What do you wish your professors knew about you?" (Western, 2017). Their answers ranged from "I have young children and a limited support system" to "I am a survivor of sexual assault." It is a powerful piece of decolonizing social media that showcases the strength of Indigenous students.

As Smith (2000) articulates, "the first task of many researchers is to survive and do exceedingly well in an education system that denies the existence of the knowledge held by their own peoples. They were not necessarily successful in the system in terms of credentials, but were able to decode and demystify the system in order to learn and be educated without being damaged" (p. 223).

The dissemination of the knowledge needed to fuel the Indigenous cultural sovereignty revolution is the next step. It will be a dismantling of colonial impacts that allows us to access knowledge that has been waiting for us. There are powerful concepts embedded in our Indigenous languages that many of us will never know. The loss is an embedded, in some cases irreversible, neocolonial impact.

On the first night of my first MA course, Professor Zhao showed a photo of the Lions Mountains in North Vancouver. She asked if anyone knew what they were and when no one answered, she shared her story about hiking them. She projected a photo of herself in the mountains and proceeded to explain that she had learned they were not actually the *Lions Mountains* but the *Sisters Mountains*. She asked if I knew the story and if I could share the Squamish understanding of The Sisters Mountains, which I did. From there she launched into a lecture on naming and colonization. It was the first time I had been asked to share my Indigenous knowledge in an applied academic context.

I have committed to centring my work in Squamish epistemologies. And, while I don't believe I will learn my Indigenous language fluently, I use my professional skills to support those who do. I am currently the president of the Squamish non-profit Kwi Awt Stelmexw, a language and arts organization, where I contribute as a volunteer board member. I have also included Squamish language in the organization of my paper and embedded Squamish concepts within my project and decolonizing board game.

#### **Postindian Articulations**

Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, Chippewan, was an early intervener on the story of First Nations in Canada. She was a professor of communications and dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science at Concordia University. She was the first scholar to blend Aboriginal issues with the field of Cultural Studies and published her essay, Blood borders: Being Indian and belonging (2000), in Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Lawrence Grossberg, & Angela McRobbie (Eds), *Without guarantees: In honour of Stuart Hall.* In 2002, she received a National Aboriginal Achievement Award for her contributions to Aboriginal media and communications. Her writing on the development and impact of northern and Native communications and on issues of Aboriginal cultural studies is widely published.

Valaskakis articulated the role of representation in the power relations between First Nations and nation states as well as the resulting destructive power relations within First Nations between families regarding blood quantum and authenticity.

Drawn in literature and art, social imaginaries emerge and recede, inscribing Indians as primitive and pagan, heroic and hostile, exploited and defended. These politicized images are woven into policies—colonial and current—that not only isolate and identify Indians but also construct and position Indian identity, creating unsteady circles of insiders and outsiders. (2005, p. 213).

She was able to point out the impediments of living within binary constructions and through her professional status as an academic and activist, worked to improve the lives of First Nations people. Her analysis was critical and also based in Indigenous epistemology. "Like the folk hero Coyote, the trickster in Native narratives who shifts in form, position and place but always survives adversity, Native North Americans maneuver around economic, political, and personal barriers, claiming the discourse that excludes them" (Valaskakis, 2005, p. 218). It was powerful for Valaskakis to apply Indigenous metaphors to postcolonial entrapments. Her grounded assertions influenced writers, scholars, and artists across North America. To identify with the Coyote is to see colonial structures with less impact than they intend. Indigenous epistemologies are big and deep with the power to overcome all efforts of dispossession to date. Once the connection to the strength of the traditional teachings is regained, it is highly probable that Valaskakis' prediction will come true. By "claiming the discourse that excludes them," First Peoples are reimagining and revising the theories and constructions that have justified colonization and dispossession.

Robert Warrior, an Osage scholar, is referring to postindians like Valaskakis, Simpson, and Alfred when he says, "It is thus the Native intellectual who is explicated exactly as an intellectual figure that unseats and decodes the rhetoric of ancientness and novelty" (2009, p. 47). And, while it might seem obvious to frame an intellectual as an intellectual, in the case of Indigenous scholars the goal becomes complicated by decades of systemically branding our people as an inferior race. The function of an Indigenous person outside of powerless, impoverished and/or protestor is rarely public. He or she must be a medicine person or an illiterate but not an intellectual. In *The Native American Scholar*, Warrior stresses

Edward Said argues that it is the role of the critic to intervene in the workings of that configuration of power when he says, 'The realities of power and authority—as well as the resistances offered by men, women, and social movements to institutions, authorities, and orthodoxies—are the realities that make texts possible, that deliver them to their readers, that solicit the attention of critics.' I propose that these realities are what should be taken account of by criticism and the critical consciousness. (Warrior, 2009, p. 46).

Since these papers were written, resistance realities have proliferated in social media. Indigenous twitter and decolonizing memes share graphic interventions outside of the limited access production of earlier communications eras. But twenty years later, the postindian articulations of Valaskakis and Warrior are still valuable connectors of Indigenous scholarship to communications scholarship.

#### **Centring Indigenous Epistemologies**

From a more local perspective, Joanne Archibald's *Indigenous Storywork*, educating the heart, mind, body and spirit (2008) is journey back to the centre of her Stó:lō epistemology. Following her dream and carried by the active creation of an Indigenous methodology, Archibald shares detailed reflections of her research practice which is rooted in her ancestral Stó:lō culture. She offers her readers a *storybasket* to hold the teachings she has gathered as well as principles to follow while gathering our own.

"The storybasket that I, and maybe Coyote, have learned to make comes from living stories and making meaning from them based on interactions with others, particularly with Elders. My first storybasket, which started from my dream, is not perfect. There are flaws. The next one may be better because I have learned some storywork principles and methods that I didn't know when I started this one. I need to keep coming back to the Elders to learn more and to have them check my storywork weaving process in order to see whether I am doing it the 'right' way. In Stó:lō tradition, a basket maker gives away her first basket to someone who may find it useful. I give this storywork basket to you. (Archibald p. 153)

As Indigenous scholars, we gain a framework to decolonize our research and writing. Like Archibald, we are supported to recentre our efforts outside of western academia but still contribute to academic knowledge creation. Her approach to changing language and power structures comes from centring the knowledge of her people and she shares seven principles for approaching Indigenous research. She provides theoretical overviews as well as applications for each principle while also offering

abstract explanations through traditional stories. Through first-person quotes from Elders, she shares a rare connection to community knowledge that provides the most succinct teachings in the book. For example, on page 152 she includes a conversation with Stó:lō Elder Mabel McKay.

"Mabel, people want to know about things in your life in a way they can understand. You know, how you got to be who you are. There has to be a theme.

'I don't know about no theme'

I squirmed in my seat ... 'A theme is a point that connects all the dots, ties up all the stories ...'

'That's funny. Tying up all the stories. Why somebody want to do that?'

'When you write a book there has to be a story or idea, a theme ...'

'Well, theme I don't know nothing about. That's somebody else's rule. You just do the best way you know how. What you know from me.'

Archibald shows us that the agency needed to follow "somebody else's rule", outside of academic research approaches, can be cultivated. Moving from the framework of dominant / subordinate culture to a holistic model that incorporates academic and traditional teachings equally is a key factor in decolonizing methodology. The most difficult task – of pulling the cedar roots out from the ground – has been completed by Archibald. The next steps – design and build – are clear. The pulling of the cedar roots, like Archibald's journey, is a generative act of agency. Her metaphor helps us centre and gather strength, even when it's hard. We need to be able to discern between Western, Coyote and Elder teachings – this is another level of decolonizing work. To truly take on Archibald's basket, and weave our own teachings around it, will require thoughtful decisions about who to listen to.

#### Reterritorialize

Audra Simpson, a Kahnawake Mohawk, is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University. Her research "deals with the ethnography of Mohawk citizenship and how citizenship is lived in the face of colonialism" (Wood, 2009). She studied at McGill University and entered the field of anthropology, which is interesting because of its historically destructive relationship with Indigenous peoples.

But, in true postindian fashion, she has moved beyond typification and historical expectations to face, head on, hegemonic practices within ethnography and anthropology. Working from within the academy, she explains, "racialized and colonized Others become marked as those who can be theorized about, but not those who can theorize" (p. 6). Her rise through academia shows the potential for Indigenous scholars to theorize and generate new data that has the potential to change perspectives of First Nations people.

In *Theorizing Native studies*, Simpson, asserts "The state is not only repressive; it is educative-shaping common sense through ideological state apparatuses (such as the academy) that normalize the rule of settler colonialism" (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p. 6). The paradox of education is that it acts as a colonial tool of oppression whereas the message of the state is normalized and delivered to the masses. Indigenous cultures are taught in the past tense and the myth of the Vanishing Indian is reified. In order to reach a level of literacy whereas First Nations people can study First Nations scholars, they must first make it through the state-apparatus of public mandatory schooling but 28.3% to 50.9% of Aboriginal youth in Canada do not graduate (Richards, 2009, p. 5). The percentage depends on whether the students are living on-reserve or off-reserve with the higher number of graduates living off-reserve.

Native Studies and Tribal Critical Race Theory, like other critical race theories, supports emancipation for students who identify as Others once they reach post-secondary. The potential for dialogue and solidarity between these academies shows potential for a collaborative push back against hegemony "because the conditions of Native peoples are inextricably linked to the conditions facing other oppressed groups, a different political imaginary would require an engagement with intellectual work from these other sites of struggle in order to build stronger intellectual and political solidarities" (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p. 10). Simpson sees this endeavor as a coalitional intellectual project that seeks to assess the intersecting logics of white supremacy, settler colonialism and capitalism (p. 13). Her perspective represents a newer, more inclusive, vision of Indigenous resurgence whereas an acceptance of our state of deterritorialization works with Western academic tools and Indigeneity to reterritorialize ourselves. A working example would be First Peoples who work with other deterritorialized populations in coalition to build strategic communities that critically engage issues of race and diaspora while respecting each other's ancestry.

#### **Deconstructing, Disrupting and Disseminating**

To put the work of Indigenous scholars into a global context is to acknowledge a slow but steady momentum of communitism, indigenism, retraditionalization and representational sovereignty for and by First Peoples. In the last twenty years, from the early works of Vizenor to recent works by both Simpsons, the tidal pressures of neocolonization have encountered refined, informed, modes of resistance. From the modification of existing pools of theory to reaching back to traditional ways of being, new cultural strengths and understandings are adding to a revitalization of the value of Indigenous identity. In September 2014, the first World Conference on Indigenous Peoples was held by the United Nations. Although, it is hard to comprehend why it took so long to include the issues of Indigenous people within the international bastion of inclusion, it is important to acknowledge this important step in a transnational context. The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* was accepted in Canada in 2016 under pressure from the growing body of emancipative work by Indigenous scholars and their settler allies.

While the shaping and creation of language has begun, it is the delivery and mass acceptance of new terms which is the next level in this equation of emancipation. The rise of Indigenous-produced literature, film, television and academia all contribute to retraditionalization and Indigenous cultural sovereignty. But, intergenerational trauma, systemic poverty and Indigenous diaspora complicate access to tools for resurgence.

In this post-Truth and Reconciliation Commission, post-Idle No More and current National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls era, neocolonial impacts are no longer hidden. Yes, they are still racialized and rationalized by those served by uneducated perspectives but, the truths of Indigenous peoples are being published, examined, memorialized and empathized with.

There is a need for increased access to decolonizing frameworks that support Indigenous resurgence and suppress settler supremacy. A change in language and the semiotics of Indigeneity is underway. The return to traditional ways is evolving in urban contexts but is complicated by funding gatekeepers, inaccessible education and overworked-underpaid Indigenous people. The *New Indian Agents* are benefiting from Indigenous funding while ensuring we remain in the lowest income brackets. There is a

trend in *put a feather on it* commodification that masks superficial inclusion as Indigenization especially within educational and government institutions.

What we will call ourselves has shifted to include our Indigenous place names as well as ancestral names. The revolution is underway. However, how we will construct our decolonized identity remains a work in progress. Superiority narratives and the drive to commodify are neocolonial impacts which are covert and systemic. They need to be disrupted. Reterritorialization of Indigenous bodies by our decolonized Indigenous identities needs to happen, but the meaning of these words needs to first be deconstructed, and then disseminated in accessible ways. In other words, we cannot reterritorialize our decolonized Indigeneity if we do not know what that means.

My journey from Indian Girl to Skwxwú7mesh Matriarch has allowed me to reconstruct my Indigenous identity from framed to framer. The agency I have gained to create my place within Indigenous scholarship is built from my professors, the readings, the reactions of my family and friends to my ideas and the support I have been given to send my graphic interventions into the world. It's been a potent process for me to have the time and support to deconstruct my own encumbrances. As a professional communicator, I hope to make some thoughts on decolonizing practices more accessible. As a matriarch, I have also articulated critique because neocolonial impacts are covert and systemic. They'll need the love, care, commitment and reprimands of matriarchy to evolve beyond their current states.

## Chapter 3.

## The Project: Playing Postcolonial, a decolonizing activity book for the woke and the weary

It was important to *place* my project here in my traditional Skwxwú7mesh territory and express the current context, *now* within this neocolonial contact zone called Vancouver. I wanted to centre Indigeneity but I did not want to perform or prescribe. I was not interested in promoting a Warrior model or telling Native people that it is only through connecting with our languages and land bases that we can be decolonized—that would be unfair to every Indigenous person who has been displaced from community, many of whom have not found their way back. I did not want to participate in the drive-through reconciliation industry currently at work to ease white guilt and take the truth out of truth and reconciliation. I did not want to make support settler *moves to innocence* (Tuck & Yang, 2012) with a *put a feather on it* approach to Indigenization.

The original inspiration for increasing accessibility to decolonization belongs to my cousin Shamensut while I was at home, in Eslhá7an, for my uncle's birthday party. My cousin was describing an event that upset her when a First Nations colleague was being harsh with her non-Indigenous co-workers about decolonizing. She had been working with people who really wanted to be allies and she didn't feel that the harshness was helpful. I felt that she knew what decolonizing approaches look like but got pushed into inferiority by the (mis)use of academic language by her colleague. I started describing colonization as oppression enacted to change others in overt and covert manners. I told my cousin that within our First Nations community people recolonize each other all the time when we tell each other how to act, feel, or speak. Her First Nations colleague became the colonizer in that moment. To prescribe behaviour, including authentic Indigeneity, is to colonize and to yell at allies about decolonizing is also very colonial. Prescriptions, whether violent or not, inflict harm. My cousin was relieved by the analysis, she actually said "my mind is blown" which I think meant her colonization was disrupted.

The magic of the moment of the transmission of my analysis of Frantz Fanon from me to my cousin on our *Indian* reserve 54 years after the first publishing of *The* 

Wretched of The Earth in Paris, which is 7,900 km away from Eslhá7an, inspired me to commit to disseminating decolonizing theory in an accessible way. Through my communications design practice, I have twenty years of experience translating complex political projects into salient colours, graphics and images. Through my MA project, Playing Post-colonial: a decolonizing activity book for the woke and the weary I found a way to apply my professional skills to my vision for, and my frustrations from, my graduate studies.

Through writing and designing *Playing Post-colonial:* a decolonizing activity book for the woke and the weary I aim to disrupt normalised, oppressive approaches that are masked as decolonized relations. The title of the book addresses the false narrative that 2017 is postcolonial and uses the word *play* on two levels. *Playing* postcolonial can mean we are pretending to be postcolonial and it also means we will play the games in the book to learn about decolonizing attitudes and relations. I use the activity book genre because, to me, lessons in oppression/anti-oppression are school-age with many early learning activities normalizing racialization, gender roles and other hierarchies. The *Ten Little Indians* counting song is an example of educating harm packaged as an early learning activity.

The Ten Little Indians flash cards are designed from photographs of actual children's books and games. They have been repurposed to illustrate where the lessons in oppression start. By giving voice to the "little Indian" characters, we disrupt their powerless representation with "real talk" that addresses lived experiences of Indigenous people. Some of the characters speak to neocolonial oppressions like the flash card with the cute girl saying "TEN LITTLE INDIANS are tired of performing unpaid emotional labour to explain Indigenous issues and culture." Others allow postindian identity construction like the second to last card "TEN LITTLE INDIANS started an indie band". To set them in a flash card format, is the cue the viewer to memorize the messages as new vocabularies to disprupt the neocolonial contact zone.

Sínulhkay and Ladders is board game that embodies Squamish epistemologies in neocolonial contexts. It redesigns the classic Snakes and Ladders game into a rhetorical tool for deconstructing normalized contemporary enactments of supremacy while simultaneously promoting chénchenstway—the Squamish verb meaning to uphold one another. Here is the copy from the game:

#### **OBJECT OF THE GAME**

Chénchenstway (chen chens tway) is a Squamish verb meaning "uphold one another; support one another" which is an outcome of decolonization and the object of this game.

As you engage in decolonization, you might also be impacted by the power of supremacy narratives and the urge to commodify.

Sínulhkay, a double-headed sea serpent, represents the power of transformation in the game. It embodies the ability to create or destroy with the rationale of two minds and two faces.

Playing Post-colonial is a slippery slope when helping is domination and exploitation is masked as empowerment.

#### **HOW TO PLAY**

The first step is to move beyond neocolonial denial and admit there are many problems hidden within playing post-colonial.

Once woke, you roll the dice to begin your complicated journey of decolonizing.

Every ladder up is a gift of knowledge that connects you with Indigenous people, ideas, art and an opportunity to uphold and support one another - chénchenstway.

Every Sínulhkay shares a lived experience from the neocolonial contact zone and a lesson on how NOT to work with Indigenous people. Sínulhkay plays post-colonial with a face of enlightenment masking a face of oppression.

As you climb the ladders and slide down the Sínulhkay, you might vacillate between woke and weary. You might feel fragile but keep going. You'll need to power-up with empathy for the colonized and also for your internal colonizer.

Supremacy, commodification, insecurity, fear, and identity constructions are strong drivers and food for Sínulhkay. Chénchenstway will strengthen all of us.

#### **AUTHOR NOTES**

Indigenous languages express ways of knowing that can be difficult to impossible to connect with and embody for so many of us living in the neocolonial contact zone. I wonder how many powerful ways of being are lost from colonization & diaspora.

I am grateful to those who carried the culture through very difficult times. And, grateful for all who work to increase the numbers of speakers of Indigenous languages. I'm a late learner of my culture and thank my teachers for calling me home.

I presented a giant, eight-foot square board of my Sínulhkay and Ladders game at an event I curated for EMMA Talks on October 19, 2017 at SFU Woodwards. I called the event *Squamish Matriarchs* and featured two speakers, Chief Janice George and Salia Joseph. Over 140 guests attended the evening, they ranged from Squamish family members to academics and artists—a mix of settlers and First Nations attendees. The game board was stationed near the entrance of the room. I was standing on the board in the game interacting with viewers and inviting them into the game play. Quite a few people walked into the game and many stood around and listened to my explanations. The Coast Salish design juxtaposed with the familiarity of Snakes and Ladders eased the impact of the neocolonial critique expressed through the Sínulhkay. Despite their discomfort, many laughed and felt relief when they read the last square at the end of the game. "Grow, fall down, rinse and repeat" offers empathy for colonizing behaviours and a methodology for growth likened to shampoo bottle instructions.

On the back cover of the *Playing Postcolonial:* a decolonizing activity book for the woke and the weary is a New Indian Agent paper doll. He has a 70s look and feel with two outfits: one is a leisure suit with a red ascot and the other is a leather vest with black pants and high boots. There are messages surrounding the near-naked body of the New Indian Agent that warn readers of markers of neocolonizing behaviours. These call-outs include:

"Centre themselves as experts in the Native cause"

"Use poverty porn as a means to fill their pockets with funds that could actually help people"

"Benefit from Indigenous knowledge without reciprocity to the folks they learned from, researched, read about or spoke with."

The final message from the paper doll page is directional:

"If you feel fragile from READING any indicators OF NEW INDIAN AGENT-NESS, there is still time to flex your reflexivity! YOU CAN STOP SUPREMACY! YOU CAN CONTROL COMMODIFYING INCLINATIONS! today! WE CAN WORK TOGETHER, BETTER."

The 70s design of the new Indian Agent paper doll signals to the viewer that Indian Agents are not just characters from a black and white photograph of a residential school. The caricature opens up the representation of an oppressive icon to include the full colours of the fashionable and the hip. The leather vest and boots outfit pokes at the

Native-inspired fringe vests and cool head-band rebel looks from the *Easy Rider* film era. Pairing the critical text in a paper doll activity frames the behaviours as variables that can be changed by "flexing your reflexivity." In settler colonial studies, reflexivity is used a methodology to examine settler approaches. I wanted to pull apart the phrase because I keep seeing it applied in harmful ways. On October 25, 2017, I created a meme of the New Indian Agent and shared it publicly on Facebook. So far, it has been shared 204 times by diverse audiences across North America including the Idle No More official page which has 145,391 followers.

Over 200 activity books were handed out at the EMMA Talks event and I have been distributing the rest to Indigenous artists and scholars. Over the next few months, I will present the eight-foot game board in university classrooms and community organizations. Dr. Dylan Robinson, Stó:lō, who is the Canadian Research Chair in Indigenous Art, has asked me to exhibit it at the inaugural contemporary Indigenous art show at Queens University in 2018. Overall the work responds to my lived experiences as an Indigenous creative professional as well as my experiences as a graduate student. Through the invitation from EMMA Talks, who also provided the financial support to print the activity books, I was given a platform to express my MA project in a very public way. The work will continue to be disseminated, shift thinking about decolonizing practices in the neocolonial contact zone and contributing to social change for Indigenous peoples and settler allies.

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## Appendix A.

## Playing Postcolonial: a decolonizing activity book for the woke and the weary

Description: A four page, full colour activity book by Michelle Lorna Nahanee

Filename: Playing Post-Colonial: a decolonizing activity book.pdf