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Reconciliation in the Face of Epistemicide

Rebecca Sockbeson

Dr. Rebecca Sockbeson is of the Penobscot Indian Nation, Indian Island Maine, the Waponahki Confederacy of tribes located in Maine, United States, and the Maritime provinces of Canada. A political activist and scholar, she received her master's degree in education at Harvard University and her doctoral degree at the University of Alberta. Rebecca is Associate Professor in Educational Policy Studies, specializing in Indigenous Peoples Education, at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada.

The following talk pulls together some intensive thinking and feeling I have been working with for quite some time, and I thank you for affording me this opportunity and for listening to some of this heart-thinking, as I believe it aligns well with the theme of *Mobilizing Indigenous Epistemologies: Re-visioning Reconciliation*. The relational accountability principles of Indigenous research methodology (Weber-Pillwax, 1999) prompt me to most immediately acknowledge how this thinking has been nurtured and influenced during my time as a doctoral student in the Indigenous Peoples Education (IPE) specialization, supervised by Dr. Cora Weber-Pillwax. At a research meeting in 2008, we discussed the recent apology made by Prime Minister Harper, and Cora shared with several of us graduate students that throughout the Indian residential schools (IRS) settlement process, a crime had been identified, but a criminal had not been named. This reality sunk into my being and further mobilized my commitment for justice for our people. In that discussion, we immediately named the criminal as the Canadian government and the colonial enterprise of institutionalized racism that continues to systematically dispossess Aboriginal people of land, language, culture, and life. I will start and end this discussion with my poetry, which helps me to express the interconnections of my heart and mind.

Naming the Criminal

Intergenerational trauma
has met our intergenerational survival
as Indigenous peoples
Intergenerational—the passing on to the next generation
Intergenerational survival
The passing on of how to survive
the trauma imposed upon our people
This is the Indigenous knowledge of love and compassion
We must be reminded of the power of love and compassion
It has helped us to survive

and for some of us, maybe even thrive
 We are still here
 We were not intended to be here
 We have in fact survived
 the largest act of genocide the world has ever known
 Praying in our languages and using our medicines today
 even though they were outlawed and punishable for over 100 years
 An intergenerational recognition of a crime has occurred here
 A crime has been committed
 And in Canada, an apology made
 Payouts in Canada have been distributed
 in an alleged attempt to reconcile for the crimes
 But we ask who is a criminal?
 Has a criminal been named?
 Has the criminal been judged?
 Intergenerational trauma. Yes we know it. It's in our blood
 The memories of trauma run through our veins
 Many of our people refer to this as blood memory or soul wound
 The Indian residential schools, sixties scoop, the longest walk,
 the genocidal bounties, child apprehension
 This is indeed a systematic dispossession
 of the human right to transfer love and happiness
 The low-fluency of our Indigenous language is not our fault
 It's not a loss. It has been systematically dispossessed of
 We live it. Our parents lived it. Their parents
 And we pray and hope our children don't, as our ancestors prayed for us

Reconciliation Re-visioned

For too long, the responsibility and the burden of reconciliation have been put on the survivors telling their story. The University of Alberta is the most heavily-funded research institution in Canada, and our regionally, publicly-funded universities are far overdue for institutionalizing the reconciliation process and mobilizing the truth about what's happened to our people. That's where I foresee re-visioning reconciliation, which is going to necessitate a tremendous amount of work, and our role as leaders in that process is critical.

The Faculty of Education's Indigenous Education Council developed the recent compulsory course, *Aboriginal Education in the Context of Professional Development*; our faculty educates 70 percent of all Albertan teachers. Now, these students are required to take this course with us as Indigenous scholars and learn about the truth. And not just learn about the facts of the truth of what happened to Aboriginal people, but at some level, the feelings associated with the truth. We see the results of this exposure in the students that come up to us after our lectures. The lectures address the ideologies that informed the development and justification of the Indian

residential school (IRS) system, and Indigenous scholars share firsthand experiences about Indian residential schools. I lecture about the Sixties Scoop and the socioeconomic distress that our people face. The students come to us in pain because they care, and they're going to be teaching our kids. That love and care are the beginning steps to social and political change for our people, and that to me is about reconciliation.

The Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) urges us in Canadian society that "Without truth, justice, and healing, there can be no genuine reconciliation" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 12). However we can get our institutions—particularly the governments and the publicly-funded universities—to begin making it compulsory to mobilize the truth, manifested in either compulsory course work or training certificates, the path to institutionalizing reconciliation will be strengthened. We know that Manitoba just developed a university-wide compulsory course on Aboriginal studies. At the University of Alberta, we're leading the development of the compulsory *Aboriginal Education* coursework.

What else is institutionalizing reconciliation going to necessitate? We want to make sure that we're not leaving our communities or any Aboriginal peoples at the door. As Lorna Williams was saying, we need to claim that space of Indigenous knowledge (IK) within the academy. When you think about the nationwide policy that made it illegal for our people to pray here for over 75 years—illegal for our people to pray even on our own reserves—there's so much that a public university has responsibility for reconciling.

In 1951, only 64 years ago, the *Indian Act* was amended to lift the federal prohibition on Indigenous knowledge transfer (McLeod, 2007; Simpson, 2004). Within that same era, children were still being forcibly removed from their primary knowledge transfer base: their families and homes. That was only one to three knowledge transfer generations in the past; today, we live with the impact of that fact when we observe that our grandparents' generation continues to struggle in their efforts, often in isolation, to find answers to the unending requests of their grandchildren for their own traditional IK. Systemic truth mobilization within the academies and government will enhance and, in direct ways, increase the levels of public information and knowledge, allowing all Canadians to make connections and move towards better understanding of the systemic dispossession of IK from the Aboriginal peoples of this land.

It's also about academic administrators, like the Provost I introduced yesterday, working with us in these spaces of Indigenous knowledge within the academy. As Dr. Lorna Williams urged in her talk, universities

need to create opportunities and to make sure that forums like this don't just happen every four years, that this happens every year and often, and that we receive the institutional support to make sure that reconciliation is happening—that the mobility of Indigenous epistemologies are happening here in this space. And what better place for it to happen, in the centre of the province where regionally there exist numerous First Nations' communities, Aboriginal communities, and Métis settlements.

Re-visioning reconciliation includes *institutionalizing reconciliation* (IR), which I identify as the concept that names the process to shift the burden of responsibility from IRS survivors to the public universities, to mobilize public knowledge and truth about the IRS experiences. I have been thinking about this concept since the 2008 "Day of the Apology," when the Government of Canada apologized to Aboriginal peoples for "failing them so profoundly," (para. 9) and in more focused ways, during the development of the province's first compulsory course in *Aboriginal Education* in 2012 here in the Faculty of Education.

I want to know more about how public universities and Aboriginal communities can converge to develop and operationalize a conceptual framework of institutionalizing reconciliation (IR) within public universities. My research on this topic seeks to establish a collaborative process to develop a conceptual framework, to support public universities as primary vessels of knowledge mobilization that shape and transform the broader Canadian landscape.

What can institutionalizing reconciliation look like? I coordinate Alberta's first compulsory course in *Aboriginal Education*, where much of what we do is truth-telling. As scholars teaching this course, we tell the truth, which is identified by the TRC as leading to reconciliation. This is the first time in the province's history that a regional comprehensive public institution has made it mandatory that pre-service teachers learn about things like the impacts of the Indian residential schools. We are roughly ten years behind the University of British Columbia and the University of Saskatchewan in the mandating of course work to teach these truths. It is in this context that I raise this idea of where to go next.

We are in the last year of the TRC. How can the nation of Canada repair its relationship with Aboriginal peoples, and how might that reparation be manifested in the institutions? Regional publicly-funded institutions like the U of A have a distinct duty to support and host reparation efforts. Such institutions yield not only the ability and capacity for such work, but have an obligation to take up the delivery of compulsory course work like what we have launched in the Faculty of Education. What's distinct in the Faculty of Education is that we have led the devel-

opment of the *Aboriginal Education* course as Indigenous scholars. We are Indigenous scholars who have dedicated much of our lives to uncovering the truth and engaging with, valuing, and privileging Indigenous knowledge systems.

As I continue to think about reconciliation and how might the Canadian government and regionally comprehensive publicly-funded universities institutionalize and take part to actively and meaningfully engage in the reconciliation process while repairing their relationship with Indigenous communities, I believe reparation might very well be manifested in a national policy that makes it compulsory for every Canadian to know the truth about Aboriginal history and culture. Reconciliation cannot happen without the truth. Universities have a responsibility to teach the truth. Acknowledging the truth of the past and the current distress experienced by Aboriginal communities is necessary for a future where the public honours Indigenous epistemologies.

Remember the "Kill the Indian in him, and save the man" educational policy (Pratt, 1892; <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/4929>, para. 1) that led to the foundation of the Indian residential school systems? This was a national educational policy. How might we institutionalize the undoing of that, and the addressing of that, and the uncovering and the telling of the truth? How might we put forth a new educational policy based on the truth of the Aboriginal experience?

I'm reminded that the TRC has a mandate to teach about what happened in the Indian residential schools, as stated on their webpage:

[The TRC of Canada's] mandate is to inform all Canadians about what happened in Indian Residential Schools (IRS). The Commission will document the truth of survivors, families, communities and anyone personally affected by the IRS experience.

This includes First Nations, Inuit and Métis former Indian Residential School students, their families, communities, the Churches, former school employees, Government and other Canadians. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, n.d., para. 2-3)

With that I call for and raise this notion of increased compulsory education within the nation and throughout regionally comprehensively publicly-funded universities like the University of Alberta (U of A), to work on and work toward the telling of the truth in institutional ways so that it is mandatory. The *Aboriginal Education* course that we've been teaching in the Faculty of Education reaches upwards of 900 to 1,000 students a year. Up until 2012, we didn't have a required course, leaving 42,000 teachers without access to the truth of Aboriginal history. Students are now required to listen to and engage with the truth in order to be successful in the *Aboriginal Education in the Context of Professional Development* course at U of A.

Red Hope and Reconciling Epistemicide

The conference theme, *Mobilizing Indigenous Epistemologies: Re-visioning Reconciliation*, reminds me of the extensive and systematic efforts that have been made to disrupt and dispossess our people of our epistemologies. What if similar levels of motivation and effort to mobilize and honour our epistemologies existed? What if our knowledge systems were acknowledged and engaged with accordingly?

Residential schools, Indian agents, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) served as some of the monitors to ensure that our people were not engaging in ceremony and not speaking the language, systemic knowledge dispossession enforced in the most abusive and traumatic ways imaginable. The efforts of “kill the Indian, save the man” continue to have devastating impacts and point to the systematic attempt to eradicate Indigenous ways of knowing and being, identified in the literature as *epistemicide* (Santos, 2007). Transcending worldview, epistemology is how we know what we know and how that impacts our ways of being in the world. I identify epistemicide as a systematic destruction and suppression of Indigenous knowledge—seen in the legacy of the residential schools and nationwide banning of our ceremonies—this cultural genocide transcends the genocide enacted by the Canadian government that resulted in over 90 percent depletion of Indigenous peoples. For many of us as Indigenous peoples, the term epistemicide identifies the magnitude of ongoing dispossession. Epistemicide names the intention to eradicate our ways of knowing and being, amidst facing ongoing high death rates evidenced in the lowest life expectancy rates, highest incarceration rates, highest infant mortality, highest rates of missing persons, and the highest rates of suicide of any other ethnic group in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015). Canadian society generally is either numb to, ignores, is neutral, or apathetic to the high rates of Aboriginal death. The lack of effective policy to address the poverty and associated high rates of socioeconomic crisis is deeply felt in Aboriginal communities.

The largest national class action suit against Canada, the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement*, attempted to “address the legacy of Indian Residential Schools” (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2018, para. 3). The TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) redress calls for reparation of crimes committed. Over 150,000 students attended IRS and 7,000 survivors shared traumatic stories of their experiences in these schools. Many survivors sought justice, wanting their stories of how the government had legally imposed their suffering to be heard by Canadian society.

Today, the same Government of Canada is calling for *reconciliation*, which is considered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as the following:

establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. In order for that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, pp. 6-7)

As I think upon this, I tend to feel immobilized by the reality that today our communities have never been so fragile. We are facing the highest rates of poverty, violent death, suicide, and addiction than ever before in our history. At the same time, our people acknowledge readily that the language and ways of Indigenous knowing are lost. There tends to be a lack of understanding, in both our Indigenous communities and in larger society, that we have been systematically dispossessed of our ways of knowing and being; the rhetoric of loss predominates mainstream thinking. Epistemicide names the attempt of knowledge dispossession in the face of highly disproportionate socioeconomic rates, including the highest violent death rates that persist for our people. We hold on for dear life to our epistemologies and associated ontologies, including traditional spirituality, ceremonies, and rituals—these are the spaces of Red Hope (Sockbeson, 2011).

As Indigenous Scholars We Are the Data that We Collect

During my doctoral work, my cohort and I worked with the Oblates; we were initially commissioned to look at the priests' codices or journals at the residential schools. Dr. Cora Weber-Pillwax, as the principal investigator, had secured a Community-University Research Alliance grant via the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). As Indigenous doctoral students, we were to look at the codices of the Oblates. As we began to embark upon that process, the Oblates got held up in litigation and we weren't allowed to see the codices. The direction of the research project shifted dramatically. During this time, I had just conceived my third child, Cipenuk, and my Aunty was saying that maybe the shift in research was a blessing in disguise, because the codices would have been a lot of horror to engage with while being pregnant. My cohort and I started to think about how we were going to redirect.

The theme of our project was Aboriginal healing through language and culture, a very distinct research project amongst any SSHRC research project. The link here was to engage with communities and, we being from our communities, the project was an excellent fit. As doctoral students, we had a very distinct opportunity to engage in this intellectual and healing space, because we are the data that we collect. As Indigenous scholars

engaging with socioeconomic legacies of colonialism, what we are writing about is also what we are experiencing directly. It's not something abstract. It's not a data collection that we do for six or seven years, and then just write about and walk away. We are both the researched and the researchers. Realizing that we, as Indigenous people, are the data that we collect and analyze was a necessary healing process, intrinsic to the success of the completion of my doctoral work, so I want to acknowledge that and relay to you the significance that it has had on my life and my ability to be sitting here as an Indigenous scholar with a PhD. As I engage with the following data, I recognize it as a data set that emanates from my being and mobilizes my continued scholarly work and writing.

You know that feeling Kelsey Reed said she had in her presentation? She was telling us, "I'm part of the 62 percent of Aboriginal people that didn't grow up with my culture, language, or access to any of our knowledge. But when I stepped into a powwow as a teenager, I cried. I felt and I heard that drum." Kelsey's walking into that powwow and feeling the connection to her Indigenous epistemology is evidence that the epistemicide is not complete. Hearing Cora Weber-Pillwax and John Crier, and the energy that's been created here, is also evidence that the epistemicide is not complete. Finding spaces to document that, to identify that, and to articulate that are part of our job as scholars.

When I was doing my research I documented this word in my language: *N-jijagamij* (B. Jerome, personal communication, November 1, 2006; Sockbeson, 2017). It was here, working with the guidance of Dr. Cora Weber Pillwax, and being influenced by people like Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer and my other colleagues, that I realized that we actually do have an epistemology. I thought that we didn't. I thought we had lost our epistemologies. But we do have them. As my understanding of our intrinsic Indigenous epistemologies deepened, I started looking into the language. *N-jijagamij*—growing up we were told not to step on our shadow. As I made sense of that in my doctoral work—because we need that intellectual space to think about this stuff, because we cry about it lots, and we heal from what's happened—I came to learn that *n-jijagamij* doesn't literally mean shadow. *N-jijagamij* means our ancestors are always with us. And that was a really profound breakthrough in my research, when I started thinking about the significance of carrying my ancestors with me through the course of my life and scholarly work.

I have a poem that I'm going to read about research and epistemicide. I wrote this poem when I was a doctoral student. It was my first academic presentation in our Department of Educational Policy Studies and there

were hardly any Native people in the room. I was asked to present some of my thinking and I read this poem as part of my panel discussion.

Research as Healing

No doubt we need healing
 We have survived some of the largest acts of genocide
 known to the land. 97% ancestors wiped out
 The remainder 3% dispossessed of nearly everything imaginable
 We are voices in that knowledge
 Even how to communicate love to our own children
 Knowledge is in the language
 Language is in the knowledge
 We are spirit beings, not merely human beings, beyond human
 When we leave this place our spirits are still being
 The spirit is tired, wounded, impacted by the colonial trauma
 The human inside the spirit is also deprived of care
 and Indigenous ways of being
 Cancers, diabetes, suicide, cutting, drinking, all kinds of abuses
 Too much research, not enough positive results for our people
 As we drove by the hospital at the U of A
 an Elder told me, "Lots of research and everyone is getting sicker."
 Finding and remembering knowledge is research
 So much healing needed
 Research needs to respond to our communities
 Research as resistance weaves us into healing
 Healing as research—researching my ancestors
 means finding them, connecting with them,
 healing with them, knowing they are always with us
N-jijagamij. Our shadow reminds us that ancestor beings
 are always with us
 As Indigenous scholars and activists
 we work in predominantly white, colonial universities
 yet our beings stand within our communities
 Our hearts are heavy, caught up, committed
 to constantly trying to resist or respond
 to the highest levels of socioeconomic distress out there
 Look at me in my eyes
 My soul is wounded, interconnected with the statistics
 I am the data I collect
 I am the data I investigate
 Living and being with the distress while attempting to find
 knowledge about, and research them
 Researching within the research is healing,
 is necessary to keep the numbers real, humanized to spiritualized
 Finding knowledge within locates the healing
 I see me as I gaze into my great grandmother's eyes, Elizabeth Andrews
 I look and analyze the five-pound colonial bounty on her scalp
 sobbing tears from all of my being,
 healing with her
 Research as healing



By His HONOUR

SPENCER PHIPS, Esq;Lieutenant-Governour and Commander in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*.**A P R O C L A M A T I O N.****W**HIEREAS the Tribe of *Penobscot* Indians have repeatedly in a perfidious Manner acted contrary to their solemn Submission unto His Majesty long since made and frequently renewed;**I** have therefore, at the Desire of the House of Representatives, with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, thought fit to issue this Proclamation, and to declare the *Penobscot* Tribe of Indians to be Enemies, Rebels and Traitors to His Majesty King *GEORGE* the Second: And I do hereby require His Majesty's Subjects of this Province to embrace all Opportunities of pursuing, capturing, killing and destroying all and every of the aforesaid Indians.**AND WHEREAS** the General Court of this Province have voted that a Bounty or Encouragement be granted and allowed to be paid out of the Publick Treasury, to the marching Forces that shall have been employed for the Defence of the *Eastern* and *Western* Frontiers, from the *First* to the *Twenty-fifth* of this Instant *November*;**I** have thought fit to publish the same; and I do hereby promise, That there shall be paid out of the Province Treasury to all and any of the said Forces, over and above their Bounty upon *Indisment*, their Wages and Subsistence, the Premiums or Bounty following, viz.For every Male *Penobscot* Indian above the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be taken within the Time aforesaid and brought to *Boston*, *Fifty Pounds*.For every Scalp of a Male *Penobscot* Indian above the Age aforesaid, brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, *Forty Pounds*.For every Female *Penobscot* Indian taken and brought in as aforesaid, and for every Male Indian Prisoner under the Age of Twelve Years, taken and brought in as aforesaid, *Twenty-five Pounds*.For every Scalp of such Female Indian or Male Indian under the Age of Twelve Years, that shall be killed and brought in as Evidence of their being killed as aforesaid, *Twenty Pounds*.Given at the Council-Chamber in *Boston*, this *Third* Day of *November* 1755, and in the *Twenty-ninth* Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *GEORGE* the Second, by the Grace of *GOD* of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, KING, Defender of the Faith, &c.By His Honour's Command,
J. Willard, Secy.**S. Phips.****GOD Save the KING.***B O S T O N*: Printed by *John Draper*, Printer to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governour and Council. 1755.

Figure 1. British 1755 proclamation offering 40 pounds for an adult *Penobscot* male and 20 pounds for the scalp of a *Penobscot* woman or child. Public domain material, available at <https://upstanderproject.org/firstlight/phips/>

There's a bounty that I studied back home and it calls for the scalps of my ancestors (Figure 1). These bounties were all along the eastern seaboard. It calls for the scalps of my people and it accounts for that first wave of genocide. Then there's a picture of my great grandma (Figure 2). It wasn't until I was afforded the intellectual space here to engage in this document analysis, within a Wabanaki epistemology, that I was able to even connect and have that intellectual time and space to see that my great grandma was the first generation to survive this bounty which placed a £5 (five British pound) value on her body.



Figure 2. Late Elizabeth Andrews, descendant of some of the first generations to survive the genocidal bounty.

Finding that space of engagement reminds us that the epistemicide is not complete. That being said, I want to end on a really nice note. A couple years ago my son and I were walking our dog. My son was talking to me about what he was learning in science. He was talking to me about planets and the universe, and I asked him, "When it comes to science, what's the most powerful force in all of the world?" At the time he was ten—his name is *Iktome*—*Iktome* in *Stoney* is translated as the *medicine boss*, perhaps similar to that of *Wisakedjak* to Cree peoples—*Iktome* said to me without hesitation, "Love" (Sockbeson, 2017).

As Indigenous peoples, we carry so much intergenerational trauma within our bodies, evident in the astronomical levels of socioeconomic distress and low life expectancies, and yet we also carry intergenerational healing and hope, which is intrinsic to our Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, as my son's love knowledge illustrates. So, thank you very much.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's Calls to Action implicate responsibility for reconciliation upon public universities. This

necessitates essential input from Aboriginal communities towards effective policy development for a shared future. This is a critical time for the academy and Aboriginal communities, to converge in ways that sustainably contribute to redress of the IRS legacy.

Acknowledgement

The images in this article were previously shared in the author's doctoral dissertation (Sockbeson, 2011).

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Living Reconciliation: Ancient Foundations in Our Contemporary Indigenous Worlds

John Crier

Cora Weber-Pillwax

Elder John Crier has a BA in Native Studies from the University of Alberta Augustana Campus in Camrose, Alberta. A member of the Samson Cree Nation, John lives and works in his home community of Maskwacis. He and his wife, Marcia, have six children and several grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Elder Crier has been actively involved as a Traditional Knowledge teacher with the Indigenous Peoples Education specialization at the University of Alberta for over 12 years. Elder Crier is working on the development of a healing retreat centre for community members and others focused on healing trauma and reclaiming lost cultural teachings and traditions.

Dr. Cora Weber-Pillwax is a Professor in Indigenous Peoples Education at the University of Alberta. She is a Métis woman who grew up in a small, isolated community of northern Alberta. Before coming to the University of Alberta, she served for almost thirty years as a classroom teacher and a school/systems administrator serving Aboriginal communities in northern Alberta. She has a Bachelor of Education, a Masters in International/Intercultural Education, and a PhD in Indigenous Peoples Education from the University of Alberta. Her present research work focuses on Aboriginal peoples remembering/re-creating/sharing their distinct Indigenous knowledges.

Part One: Elder John Crier

Cora and I shared an agreement that I would speak first, which gives me the opportunity to use extreme words and she can follow behind and smooth things out.

My friends, my relatives. There are many groups like this all over our land; groups of people who sit together and speak about these things that we have heard here already today, yesterday, and the day before. We speak of all these things that trouble us. That leads me to wonder: "What is it that we want? If we could have our way, what is it that we want?"

The first thought that came into my mind was, "I want my land back. I don't want to be homeless in my home." And, so, when I was thinking about that, I thought to myself, "Why? Why do I say I want my land back?" And the answer came back to me from myself: When I look back, before social and government boundaries were created on the land that now prevents us from accessing our land, the land actually grew us. We are from the land. And, so, when we talk about the knowledge, the epistemology, and reconciliation, we need that land to grow. Those people that we speak about as the *knowledge holders* come from the land. The land con-