Traditional Knowledge and Land Use: Building Research Relationships with a

Rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw Community

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Abstract

As evident from the original proposals for self-negotiation from the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (1988), the formation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation represented a small victory for Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq: recognition. Validation of the existence of Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq outside of Miawpukek was a small step towards decolonization yet cannot be a panacea for reconciliation. This study was a collaborative project in the Mi'kmaw community of Ewipkek through the No'kmaq Village Band and Elder Calvin White, a known champion of Mi'kmaw rights in the province.

This thesis is presented in a manuscript format. Chapter one, the introduction, provides background and context to the thesis and presents the overall research questions. Chapter two (the first manuscript) reviews literature that explores considerations for researchers who work with Indigenous communities. The approach of "Two-Eyed Seeing" emerges as a holistic framework that validates and empowers both "Western" and Indigenous knowledge systems. Chapter three (the second manuscript) describes the knowledge sharing that occurred with participants from the community of Ewipkek. The ways in which the structure of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation limits the ability of the knowledge within the community of Ewipkek to be considered in relevant decision-making processes are discussed. Finally, chapter four, the conclusion, responds to the overall research questions. Throughout the life of this collaboration, the community has defined certain responsibilities for researchers in their community. These responsibilities outlined in chapter four are significant and, if met, allow for the positive use of knowledge in the community of Ewipkek.

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Glossary of Mi'kmaw terms

The terms used in this manuscript are defined below, however in each manuscript (chapter two and three), the Mi'kmaw terms used will also be defined through footnotes in order to maintain consistency when these manuscripts are separated for publication.

Elmastlukwek   Mi'kmaw place name for the Bay of Islands region of NL.

Ewipkek   "calm waters" is the place name used to refer to Flat Bay.

Ktaqmkuk   "the far shore where the waves cross-over" is the place name for the island of Newfoundland (Wetzel, 1995).

Miawpukek   translates to "middle river" and is the place name used for what is now called Conne River in Ktaqmkuk.

Mi'kma'ki   refers to the land traditionally inhabited by Mi'kmaq, including what is called today the Gaspé peninsula, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, PEI, and Newfoundland and parts of Maine, USA.

Mi'kmaq   coming from the word *nikmak* which means "my kin-friends"

Msit No'kmaq   "all my relations"

No'kmaq Village   the term used to refer to the Flat Bay Band Inc., the Mi'kmaq band meaning "connection"[1]. The No'kmaq Village Mi'kmaq live in the community of Ewipkek.

Nujio'qonik   "where the sand is blown up by the wind" is the term used to refer to Bay St. George in western Newfoundland

Pi'tawk'ewaq   Mi'kmaw term that roughly translates to "the people up river" or "up above" and used to refer to what the English have named the Beothuk. Typically, Mi'kmaq lived south of the Beothuk and thus referred to them with such a term (Wetzel, 1995).

Qalipu   translates to "caribou" in the Mi'kmaw language and is the name used to refer to the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation on the west coast of Ktaqmkuk

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[1] Ivan White, an important knowledge holder in Ewipkek and employee of No'kmaq Village explained that No'kmaq Village to him means that everything is connected, including the people, the land, the water, and the wildlife in Ewipkek.

Sante' Mawi'omi	Mi'kmaq Grand Council
Unama'ki	place named used to refer to Cape Breton county and translates to "the land of fog" in the Mi'kmaw language.

A Note on Language and Terminology

Stephen Greymorning (Hiitoo3oobetit Neniiche'ooke') is an Arapaho linguist, scholar, and author who produced an anthology of essays written by Indigenous[2] knowledge holders about the politics of culture, language and identity in North America (2004). These writings present a long history of oppression and disenfranchisement of Indigenous peoples across North America. Of importance is the struggle to use and teach Indigenous language – an integral part of Indigenous culture and identity. Greymorning asserts that "one of the primary influences of the boarding school [residential school in Canada] era was to lead Indigenous North American peoples to believe that their languages would be a hindrance to their children if they were to become valued 'American' citizens" (2004, p. 213). As indicated by many other Indigenous scholars as well, the loss of Indigenous language was a practice enforced under a colonial approach of assimilation of Indigenous peoples into European-settler society (Absolon, 2011; Battiste, 2000). It is important that Indigenous languages are highlighted and promoted across all disciplines so that this integral part of culture is not lost forever.

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[2] The term Indigenous will be used in this paper as a blanket-term referring to peoples that have, since time immemorial, lived in that region. As Greymorning (2004) highlights, several other terminologies such as Indian or Native have been used, with mixed connotations. The term Indigenous (with an upper-case "i") has been growing acceptance internationally.

Wetzel (1995), a scholar who has worked extensively with the Miawpukek First Nation in southern Ktaqmkuk[3], asserts a local perspective on the Mi'kmaw language and provides several pages of place names and definitions of Mi'kmaw words that are used throughout his master's thesis. As with any language, every individual community and region often adapts a unique dialect and way of expression, so for accuracy, the spellings and translations of these Mi'kmaw words come mostly from the community of Ewipkek on the south-western coast of Ktaqmkuk (see figure 1) with a few additions from Wetzel (1995).

Further demonstrated by the 2016 Census of Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016), First Nations, Métis and Inuit languages across the land that is now called Canada are integral for cultural expression and continuity. Indigenous languages in Canada were often changed or eliminated by settlers who imposed European language norms. For example, the Mi'kmaq language had no written component and as Jackson (1993) writes, in Ktaqmkuk, "one consequence of early [Mi'kmaq] association with French clergy was the adoption of a written language" (p. 154). Today, Indigenous languages continue to face the threat of extinction due to globalization and the dominant languages of English and French used at work, in education, and in everyday life in Canada. Several Indigenous languages are deemed "endangered," meaning that an unviable number of speakers remained to ensure the continuation of the language (Statistics Canada, 2016).

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[3] Mi'kmaw place name for Newfoundland and translating to "the far shore where the waves cross over," Ktaqmkuk can also be seen spelled "Ktaqamkuk," however will maintain the "Ktaqmkuk" spelling for this document (Matthews and Robinson, 2018).

Peter Armitage (2005) highlights the significance of traditional place names and states that they can "provide portals to vast quantities of memories about particular places on the landscape" (p. 48). Working with the Labrador Innu as an example, Armitage (2005) states that, at that time, comprehensive knowledge of the traditional place names existed in the minds of about a dozen knowledge holders, and therefore the retention of these names should be a "high priority" given the state of this expert knowledge. Likened to the sharp decline of the use of Mi'kmaw place names in Ktaqmkuk, it is important that these place names are used whenever possible to facilitate the survival of this knowledge.

Statistics Canada (2016) reported that 8,870 people self-identified as being able to speak *Míkmawísimk*, the language of the Mi'kmaq. As this project is situated on Mi'kmaw territory, I hope to promote the use and continuation of the Mi'kmaw language. For comprehension, the term *Mi'kmaq* is used to refer to people as a collectivity, for example, "the Mi'kmaq nation." As presented by Wetzel in his 1995 thesis, this term is plural and general in scope. Moreover, the term *Mi'kmaw* is used as an adjective when describing an object, such as "a Mi'kmaw canoe" or "a Mi'kmaw community" and can be used in a plural or singular sense (Wetzel, 1995, p. xxi). As in every language, there are different interpretations and orthographies, and this is simply one interpretation.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Current Project

This project emerged from a collaborative research effort between the community of Ewipkek and Grenfell Campus, Memorial University. As seen on Figure 1 below, Ewipkek is a community that is made up of smaller communities in the same area, all connected by the same access road. For the purposes of this project, the place name Ewipkek will be used generally, however, this refers to the surrounding area as well. Partnering with Elder Calvin White, a known champion of Mi'kmaw rights in Ktaqmkuk, we were able to gain a deeper understanding of the implications of using traditional knowledge in a rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw community. This served as the basis for my master's research. For the purposes of this thesis, traditional knowledge is considered as the local knowledge shared from community participants in Ewipkek through oral narratives of their relationship to and understanding of their environment (Absolon, 2016; Black and McBean, 2016; and Corbière, 2000). Although other terms are referenced that may refer to traditional knowledge, such as Indigenous knowledge (IK) (Bartlett, Marshall, and Marshall, 2012), traditional knowledge will be the term used for consistency in this thesis.

The format for my thesis is a manuscript in which chapters two and three will be two distinct, but related, research papers. I have chosen this route to first outline, in chapter two, the approach and methodological aspects of this project that have informed my work with the community of Ewipkek, subsequently described in chapter three. Each chapter contains a research question to which the respective chapter responds however

the following guiding research questions are answered at the close of the manuscript in chapter four:

(1) Can traditional knowledge be effectively harnessed to promote development in a rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw community?

(2) What lessons were learned throughout this study that can help guide research projects in western Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw communities in the future?

Currently, the community of Ewipkek and the No'kmaq Village Band are positioned for change, with Elder White and others eager to see positive developments within the community. Through a strong partnership with Elder White, our project aimed to understand the dynamics between a non-Indigenous researcher and the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq in Ewipkek by exploring these questions.

The methods employed throughout this study are further explored in each subsequent chapter, however I will briefly introduce them in this introductory chapter as well. Chapter two presents a literature review of relevant Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars who discuss research in Indigenous communities. An analysis of this literature, with emphasis on ideas presented by Indigenous scholars, yields several considerations that are described therein. Chapter two examines the concept of an Indigenous research paradigm and its implications for research with Ewipkek. The Mi'kmaw framework "Two-Eyed Seeing" is then expanded upon and employed to assist in navigating the tensions between my positionality and "Western" and Indigenous knowledge paradigms.

This guiding approach builds a foundation upon which the reader can gain a deeper understanding of the arguments presented in the third chapter.

Chapter three employs the method of *story* (Kovach, 2009) to gather traditional knowledge from community members about land use and occupancy in the region surrounding Ewipkek. The Agreement in Principle (2007) for the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation is analysed to contextualize the legal framework for use of traditional knowledge in land use and other development decision-making in the region. The case study of the Maritime Link Project is then examined in light of this context to understand the limitations of community participation in development projects in the region. These limitations relate to the priority given, or not given, to the traditional knowledge shared by community members and whether this knowledge impacts the decision-making process.

Chapter four draws conclusions from each manuscript and responds to the overall research questions as outlined above. This chapter also demonstrates the ways in which colonial principles may still be present in contemporary research approaches and decision-making processes. It outlines specific guidelines to be followed for future reference. The conclusion provides space for discussion about the research project in its entirety while also presenting ideas for future work.

As a non-Indigenous researcher, it is necessary to consider the relationship that an Indigenous community may have with "Western" research. Absolon (2011) describes the history of research conducted by non-Indigenous researchers as perpetuating colonial realities within Indigenous communities, and therefore this may not be an effective way

to enact change or encourage development. Though the conclusions of this thesis aim to provide general knowledge that can be used for further study, the implications of my work with Ewipkek are specific to the relationship that I have with the members of that community. Stated by Margaret Robinson, a Mi'kmaw scholar belonging to the Lennox Island First Nation (2017), "what I [Robinson] found in my data may not be what another researcher might find" (p. 58). Robinson (2017) asserts that any further work completed by other people in other communities will inherently be different. It is the responsibility of future researchers to reflect on the implications of the relationships that are developed in their own work while drawing on the insights of others in their field in ways that are appropriate.

Figure 1

1.2. Positionality and Background

To begin, and for reasons that I will elaborate on below, it is important to provide some of my personal and professional background on my academic journey thus far. I identify as a settler with mixed English / Mi'kmaw ancestry and throughout my graduate studies in Environmental Policy, I have been able to reflect upon my identity and its implications in my research. Until recently, I identified as an Indigenous researcher under the assumption that holding a status card acted as justification. However, spending some time in my hometown and working with many incredible champions of Indigenous rights, I have grown to see the error in my initial claim.

During my teenage years, negotiations were happening between the government of Canada and the then Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI) that led to the creation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation in 2011. At this time, I learned that my ancestry is mixed, sharing both English and Mi'kmaw ancestors. Many families in the region were conducting similar genealogical research, looking for ties to Mi'kmaw ancestors in order to assert status through the Indian Act (1985) under the newly formed Qalipu Mi'kmaw First Nation. Once proven through church records and old birth certificates, I was told that I was an Indian.[4] In 2017, during the re-examination of the enrolment process[5], I was served a letter that stated that I met the "criteria" to be enrolled as a status-Indian (see Appendix B). To be brief, in the late 18th century, my ancestor Ralph Brake left

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[4] Though now looked upon as a term with negative, colonial connotations, the term Indian is still used within the Indian Act to refer to a person who has been registered under the Indian Act or has the potential to be registered under the Indian Act (1985).
[5] Since its formation, Qalipu has gone through multiple re-examinations of their enrollment process and membership list with "criteria" that must be met. For more information, see https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/qalipu-mikmaq-membership-reassessment-1.4908955

Yetminster, England and sailed for western Ktaqmkuk. Settling in Elmastlukwek[6], Ralph married Jane Matthews who was known as a local Mi'kmaw woman.

Though controversial as this may seem now, I did not fully understand the implications of this new part of my identity. The formal recognition of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation empowered the reclamation of Mi'kmaw culture in this region of Ktaqmkuk and I noticed more members of my family beginning to participate in Mi'kmaw cultural activities (Robinson, 2012). At a young age, I had little knowledge about the history of the Mi'kmaq, and I did not gain this stronger understanding until recently, through my work with the community of Ewipkek. Without spending too much time on this history, I will recommend further reading on the history of the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq with the works of Jackson (1993) and Wetzel (1995).

Throughout this project, I predominantly worked with Elder Calvin White[7], the co-investigator of this project and most recently a recipient of the Order of Canada[8]. Elder White's knowledge that he shared through stories helped me explore my own identity and I quickly recognized that I was uncomfortable referring to myself as an "Indigenous scholar." Interestingly, Elder White and I share common ancestors many generations back, yet we do not share similar lived experiences: Elder White describes the community of Ewipkek as a rural, Mi'kmaw community whereby culture, community and identity are not separate notions; and I grew up in a community that was urban and I

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[6] Orthography from Wetzel, 1995

[7] Though the anonymity of other participants in my research project be kept, as the co-investigator and main collaborator, Elder White has given permission to be identified throughout this document.

[8] For more information, see: https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/calvin-white-order-of-canada-1.5001759

held little connection to any Mi'kmaw culture. Not to undermine the families in my town that always knew of their heritage and were shunned from sharing their culture, but the formation of Qalipu saw many people reclaiming identities that were lost generations ago. Elder White tells stories of the challenges faced in his community and the denial of Mi'kmaw identity due to the negative, racist attitudes held by others in surrounding communities. The community of Ewipkek persisted, however, and remained true to their Mi'kmaw heritage despite the challenges from others (C. White, personal communication, January 26th, 2019). I did not experience these types of negative interactions and cannot liken the loss of the culture from my Mi'kmaw ancestors to the everyday persecution of those facing colonialism today and throughout their lifetimes.

While the negative experiences described by Elder White do not define Indigeneity, it is important to recognize their implications. Colonialism has been rather uniformly applied by settlers across Canada and the world as an oppressive tool used to deny and re-shape cultural expression, language survival, and self-determination of Indigenous peoples (Battiste, 2000). The realities of colonialism continue to exist today, and it is important to recognize these realities as they shape the work of Indigenous peoples, including Indigenous scholars asserting their voice in academia (Absolon, 2011; Fredericks, 2008; Greymorning, 2004). For example, Absolon (2011) states that she feels "empowered and triumphant that I, that 'supposedly unsuccessful' Indian child, would be publishing a book on Indigenous ways of coming to know" (p. 10). Indigenous scholars speak from a voice that was once extinguished and this is relevant when considering my identity and positionality in research. Though I do not deny the Mi'kmaw identity of

some of my ancestors, I assert that it is inappropriate to position myself as an Indigenous scholar when my lived-experiences have been that of a white settler.

Relying on blood quantum or genealogical evidence as a marker of Indigeneity should be questioned at this point. Until recently, I remained rather ignorant to the meaning of becoming a status-Indian[9] and its impacts in other contexts across Canada. For example, Gaudry and Leroux (2017) explore the notion of Indigeneity in two self-identified "Métis" communities in Nova Scotia and Québec and argue that this recent "discovery" of Métis heritage has an "unwavering investment in the white settler-colonial project" (p. 126). The authors explain how these "Métis" communities are asserting rights against the Indigenous peoples who have endured colonialism for generations.

The two "Métis" communities discussed by Gaudry and Leroux (2017) generally share the story of a "long-ago mixedness with an Indigenous ancestor" and the authors challenge this notion. Gaudry and Leroux (2017) state that "the reduction of Métis to such a bio-historical process is at odds with recent scholarship that situates the emergence of the Métis Nation in a specific time and space well away from large-scale European settlement" (p. 126). Though there is clear evidence supporting the Mi'kmaw heritage of western Ktaqmkuk, critical thought may help locate one's intention in applying for Status. The significance of my positionality and the context of this project in western Ktaqmkuk relates to the overall discussion about the validity of traditional knowledge in decision making and this will become clearer in subsequent chapters. For now, however,

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[9] Status-Indian refers to a person who is recognized as First Nation, Métis or Inuit under the Indian Act (1985)

recognizing my background as that of a settler in a colonized world helps inform my

choice to not define myself as an Indigenous scholar based on my ancestry. In an era of

truth and reconciliation, it is often seen that "truth" is loosely defined. Truth must be

spoken by the person to whom it is true, and my truth, which comes from my lived

experiences, does not speak to that of the Mi'kmaw community in which I work, so it

would be inappropriate for me to assume that role.

A common theme in Indigenous scholarship is the transparency of the writer's

background that has culminated in the literature that is produced. For example, many

Indigenous scholars introduce themselves in their writing to give broader context to the

concepts that are discussed through their work (Absolon, 2011; Fredericks, 2008;

Greymorning, 2004; Kovach, 2009; Iwama, Marshall, Marshall, and Bartlett, 2009).

Margaret Kovach (2009), an Indigenous scholar from the Plains Cree and Salteaux

peoples, states the following in her prologue,

> within Indigenous writing, a prologue structures space for introductions while
> serving a bridging function for non-Indigenous readers. It is a precursory signal to
> the careful reader that woven throughout the varied forms of our writing –
> analytical, reflective, expository – there will be story, for our story is who we are
> (p. 3-4).

The above excerpt provides some rationale for this introduction to my thesis as sort of a

bridging device for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous readers to better understand my

positionality as a researcher and how this relates to this project.

Self-reflecting introductions, or "researcher-in-relation" as described by Kovach

in Peltier (2018), appear as an important part of the writing process as it begins to build

the relationship between the writer and the reader (Wilson, 2008). Wilson (2008) states

that "as I [Wilson] cannot know beforehand who will read this book, I cannot be sure of the relationships that readers might hold with me or the ideas I share" (p. 6). Wilson (2008) highlights the divide between reader and writer wherein I, as the writer, am unable to know who reads any work that I produce. It is fair to assume that my readers come from a range of backgrounds with varied levels of cultural understanding (or misunderstanding) (Wilson, 2008).

To mitigate any potential misunderstandings, it is my contention that a conversation about my identity and my journey can provide a foundation upon which readers can build. Wilson (2008), like other Indigenous scholars, discusses the need to create a "common ground" upon which both writer and reader can exist to ensure that the reader better understands the assertions of the writer. Presenting background on my identity and how this has shaped my research to this point is my effort to create the "common ground."

I have been incredibly lucky to work with strong Indigenous leaders throughout my graduate studies and discuss with them the implications of my identity within research. As a non-Indigenous researcher with Mi'kmaw ancestry working with an Indigenous community, I must recognize my positionality and keep open communication with community partners throughout the research process. Wilson (2008) demands that researchers respect a community's code of conduct and worldview. Open communication and dialogue with partners in the community has helped to ensure that my research is conducted in a way that respects, empowers, and validates the knowledge that is produced therein, which will be further described in chapter two.

1.3 Deliverables for the Community of Ewipkek

Working with an Indigenous community, it is important that both the researcher and community gain from the project (Wilson, 2001). Through working with the community of Ewipkek and particularly under the guidance of Elder White, our partnership created certain opportunities and benefits. First and foremost, a Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study (TLUOS) document that shares the history and culture of the community was expanded upon for the community of Ewipkek. This is important for the continued survival and sustainability of the Mi'kmaw culture in Ewipkek and for the west coast of Ktaqmkuk. Elder White and the community of Ewipkek are advocates for change and recognize the need to share and protect their culture and community.

The information from the TLUOS was used to create a map to outline the traditional activities that remain integral to the sustainability of the community. In print this map will be a point of reference for the community when participating in consultation processes. In digital form, the community members owns this data and will be able to enact changes or additions to the data at their will. Retaining authority over the knowledge produced within the community gives power to this knowledge as a device for change. This process also enabled me to complete my master's thesis and explore, with Elder White, the ways in which traditional knowledge (including that captured within the TLUOS) can be harnessed to promote development in the community.

The results that come from the concepts highlighted throughout this thesis can hold practical applications at the University. Memorial University is currently undergoing a process of Indigenization that seeks to respond to the calls to action from the Truth and

Reconciliation report (2015), which pushes for institutional changes (Office of Aboriginal Affairs, 2015; Indigenization is Indigenous, 2019). Elder White explained that Indigenization is sometimes viewed as providing a safe space for Indigenous youth to gain a valuable education that can be brought back to their community to create change. Alternatively, Elder White stated that non-Indigenous youth who are also educated through an Indigenous perspective gain knowledge so that in the future, they may be cognizant of Indigenous ontologies that then impact their decision making. Elder White continued to explain that Indigenous youth do not have to be "indigenized" because for these youth, an Indigenous worldview is their reality (personal communication, 2018). A growing emergence of Indigenization is coupled with greater interest in research involving Indigenous peoples at Memorial University and its Grenfell Campus. This indicates a need for an understanding of *how* to work with Indigenous communities as the University and its various campuses across Ktaqmkuk occupy the traditional and unceded territory of the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq.

The ongoing partnership between Grenfell Campus and the No'kmaq Village Band, coupled with the Indigenization of Grenfell Campus can promote an anti-oppressive approach as further progress is made. Through community involvement and strong relationships with Indigenous knowledge holders in the area, Grenfell Campus has the potential to promote Indigenous ontology and epistemology. The self-reflection throughout this project, demonstrating the ways in which University policies and procedures challenged an Indigenous research paradigm, can hopefully inform relevant departments of ways to improve this relationship toward Indigenization.

Using my own positionality as an example in western Ktaqmkuk will demonstrate how researchers must self-reflect before gathering and sharing knowledge through research. As Memorial University devises a strategy to Indigenize that includes the full participation and informed consent of Indigenous peoples in the province, this paper can provide some insight into research and its implications for communities in western Ktaqmkuk. This insight can be used to gauge mutually beneficial and respectful research relationships as they are formed.

Furthermore, in connection with this research, I copyedited an autobiography written by Elder White that is set to be published by ISER Books through Memorial University, giving voice to many of his stories that have been silenced in the past. Continued efforts to empower rural Mi'kmaw communities in Ktaqmkuk to share their stories can lead to further self-reliance and autonomy.

Co-Authorship Statement

The next two chapters have each been prepared in close collaboration with Elder Calvin White. As a co-investigator on this project, Elder White was integral in helping to create the research design, collect stories, and troubleshoot the project along the way. Elder White, along with other members of the community of Ewipkek, co-built and supported this project from its inception. I compiled the text of the written manuscripts, but the stories weaved throughout come from the community. The interpretation of these stories emerged from the collaboration between Elder White and me.

In addition, Dr. Kelly Vodden (Environmental Policy Institute - Grenfell Campus, Memorial University) and Dr. Scott Neilsen (Department of Archaeology - Labrador Institute, Memorial University) provided invaluable feedback and support to complete each manuscript. My intention is that each of these two manuscripts will be sent for publication in academic journals in order to further contribute to the conversation surrounding research and knowledge production with Indigenous communities. Though no journals have been selected yet, there are a variety of journals that publish articles related to qualitative methods, Indigenous research methodologies and research approaches that would be relevant for publication of chapter two. I hope to solicit more local journals for chapter three that pertain to Newfoundland studies or research conducted in Eastern Canada.

Chapter Two: Positionality and research: "Two-Eyed Seeing" with a rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw community

As we Indigenous scholars have begun to assert our power, we are no longer allowing others to speak in our stead. We are beginning to articulate our own research paradigms and to demand that research conducted in our communities follows our codes of conduct and honours our systems of knowledge and worldviews (Wilson, 2008, p. 8).

2.1. Introduction

The above quote from Shawn Wilson, an Opaskwayak Cree scholar from northern Manitoba, underlines the rationale behind this paper exploring some approaches to research and knowledge gathering with an Indigenous community. I respectfully cite his words as a reminder of my responsibilities as a non-Indigenous researcher working with an Indigenous community. As a collaborative project, I partnered with the community of Ewipkek[10], a Mi'kmaw community in western Ktaqmkuk[11], to explore the ways in which traditional knowledge in the community could be used to promote meaningful engagement in research or development projects. Emerging from many different Indigenous scholars, traditional knowledge in this paper refers to the stories and narratives shared by community participants depicting the relationship and understanding of their environment (Absolon, 2016; Bartlett, Marshall, and Marshall, 2012; and Corbière, 2000).

Despite being one of the most researched peoples in the world, Indigenous people have only recently had their voice heard at an academic level (Fredericks, 2008; Wilson,

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[10] "calm waters" is the place name used to refer to Flat Bay and will be used throughout this paper to encourage and respect the Mi'kmaw place name for the community

[11] "the far shore where the waves cross-over" is the place name for the island of Newfoundland and will be used throughout this paper to encourage and respect the Mi'kmaw place name for the island portion of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador (Wetzel, 1995).

2008). Fredericks (2008) states that although Indigenous people are investigated by researchers from around the world, "the vast majority of this research has been carried out by non-Indigenous people" (p. 114). Fredericks (2008) describes an environment that exists in which Indigenous peoples can be disenfranchised and deceived in order to further the interests of the researcher. While this type of research environment does not always occur, many Indigenous scholars corroborate similar narratives of non-Indigenous researchers entering an Indigenous community (Goodman, Morgan, Kuehlke, Kastor, and Fleming, 2018; Smith, L.T.T.R., 1999). In response to the demand for Indigenous approaches to research by Wilson (2008), this paper discusses some considerations for researchers working with an Indigenous community.

I identify as a non-Indigenous researcher with mixed English and Mi'kmaw ancestry. It is my responsibility to reflect and recognize that my worldview is different than an Indigenous worldview. My ancestry alone does not permit me to identify as an Indigenous scholar as the knowledge behind an Indigenous and non-Indigenous paradigm are inherently divided (Smith, G., 2000). As a non-Indigenous scholar working with Ewipkek, I must approach research in a collaborative way that shows an understanding of the shared histories between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Having grown up in the town of Corner Brook in Elmastlukwek[12], Ktaqmkuk, I returned home to Corner Brook to complete my master's degree at Grenfell Campus, a satellite campus of Memorial University. With no strict research plan in mind, I knew

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[12] Mi'kmaw place name for the Bay of Islands region of Ktaqmkuk (island of Newfoundland).

that I wanted to contribute to literature on the west coast of Ktaqmkuk and work within a rural setting. After some time, I met with Elder Calvin White from the community of Ewipkek, an award-winning and well-known advocate for Mi'kmaw justice in the region. The project was formed in conjunction with the Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study (TLUOS) that Elder White and others were conducting in the community. Through many discussions, we realized that it would be important to employ an approach to research within the community that validated and empowered participants who shared traditional knowledge and then expand upon how this approach could be applied in future projects.

After the research question of this paper is defined, this work is contextualized in western Ktaqmkuk through a discussion of the formation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaw First Nation and my background as a researcher. Next, research will be unpacked more broadly as a colonial tool historically used to perpetuate the oppression of Indigenous peoples. A shift toward an Indigenous research paradigm is then emphasized. "Two-Eyed Seeing," a Mi'kmaw framework coined by Elder Albert Marshall, is then presented. The final sections of this paper will position these considerations through my work with the community of Ewipkek wherein I discuss four major assertions of "Two-Eyed Seeing" as an appropriate framework in which to approach research with Mi'kmaw communities in western Ktaqmkuk.

2.2. Research Question

Findlay (2016) is a non-Indigenous scholar who self-identifies as an "ethical ally" to his Indigenous colleagues with whom he has "re-learned" the implications of his

assumptions of research as a European scholar.[13] His work with Indigenous collaborators and colleagues has shaped his academic career in Canada and he underlines the importance of Indigenous leadership in research and "conceptual frameworks and protocols unique to particular First Nations, their particular histories and territories" (Findlay, 2016, p. 86). To address the need for a unique framework and protocol specific to the community of Ewipkek, the overall research question that this paper seeks to explore is: *How can a non-Indigenous researcher apply Two-Eyed Seeing as an appropriate framework in collaborating with a rural Mi'kmaw community in western Ktaqmkuk?* This question helps answer the overall objective of this thesis by providing an approach that positions traditional knowledge as a valid and critical source of information that should be considered in land use and development decision-making concerning Indigenous communities. Narrowing my research question to a specific location situates the response in a local context and thus holds the most meaning for the relevant community. Through a review of literature produced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, I argue that as a non-Indigenous researcher, a "Two-Eyed Seeing" approach to research can be a non-oppressive and empowering framework used to structure research. The next section will begin to examine research and its historical use within Indigenous communities. This paper seeks to further explore an Indigenous research paradigm as it implicates non-Indigenous researchers in the field and will demonstrate research *with* a community that works under an anti-oppressive model.

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[13] Findlay (2016) describes his experience as a European scholar educated in the UK travelling to Canada as bringing knowledge to a "young country," with the belief that "I [Findlay] would not have to adjust to my new job in a new city in a former British colony. My students, colleagues and (mostly white) neighbors would have to adjust to me" (p. 73).

2.3. Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation

The Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation (Qalipu) was formally recognized on September 22nd, 2011 through negotiations between the Federal Government and the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI). This negotiation was the result of decades of Mi'kmaq rights advocacy in Ktaqmkuk. In the 1980s, the Federal Government recognized Miawpukek First Nation, a Mi'kmaw community on the south coast of Ktaqmkuk. As a newly formed Band under the Indian Act, Miawpukek withdrew from the FNI and Mi'kmaq living on the west coast of Ktaqmkuk saw little progress in their assertion of rights until the 1990s. A proposal was given to the Federal Government called the "2002 Mi'kmaq Regime" and negotiations continued throughout the early 2000s. At this point, FNI represented 10,500 members in communities around Ktaqmkuk and when an Agreement in Principle was drafted on November 30th, 2007, a referendum was held with the FNI membership and the agreement passed with 90% approval (Qalipu, 2016). This 90% approval does not appropriately represent all 10,500 members at the time due to a low voter turnout for the referendum (personal communication, September 10th, 2019).

After the Agreement in Principle was ratified, an extremely complicated and lengthy enrollment process began. For brevity, I will just share some highlights of this process. Nearly 25,000 applications for membership were fielded by the Qalipu Enrollment Committee with 11,000 having been approved. An Order in Council on September 22nd, 2011 marked the formal creation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaw First Nation as a Band under the Indian Act. Following the Band recognition, an additional 70,000

applications for membership were received. As the application process continued, two

court cases set precedent for applicants who had been denied membership due to a

missing signature or long-form birth certificate. Through an updated enrolment process

and changing eligibility requirements, as of September 6th, 2018 there are 22,251

members that constitutes the membership of the Qalipu Mi'kmaw First Nation (Qalipu,

2018).

With the recognition of Qalipu in 2011, my parents applied, and I received a card

with notice that I would be added to the registry for status-Indians. I was raised without

knowledge of my Mi'kmaw ancestry. This is significant when considering "home" and

my belongingness to certain communities. In some regards, one may assume that this

card justifies a belonging to this community and allows me to work with other Ktaqmkuk

Mi'kmaw as an "insider." Instead, I recognized through this research project that my

lived experiences are that of a settler and thus distinctly renders my position as that of a

non-Indigenous scholar. Self-reflection was a large part of my research journey as I

worked with the community of Ewipkek and my positionality emerged as an important

consideration throughout this project.

Marie Battiste (2016), a Mi'kmaw scholar from Unama'ki, writes about coming

home after many years of working away. In few words, Battiste (2016) described her

struggle with defining home and what that meant to her,

> Home. Was it the land that was rich with the stories of my father and mother who
> travelled from one place to another, pointing to one landmark after another telling
> me about how it came to be a memory and a story to be told and retold until it
> landed fully in my memory? … Home has come to have many connotations for
> me and to consist of many stories from many places where I have lived. These

stories were littered from Maine to Boston to Nova Scotia to California and back again and then back and forth to Saskatoon (p. vi).

Reflecting on the words of Battiste (2016), I began to contemplate ways in which to define my own belonging. Was I to define home in the community that I was raised, alongside the people who raised me? Does my home extend to the cultural norms I understood as a Newfoundlander, and how exactly did those norms influence my values and beliefs? These questions became more relevant when considering my membership to the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation (Qalipu) and my role as a researcher working with an Indigenous community.

Exploring the meaning of "home" and belonging to groups or communities is significant as it paints a picture of one's position as a researcher in their own research relationships. For example, Findlay (2016) states that "acting as an ally requires the patient and respectful building of relationships with, and helping to honour the work and example of, indigenous scholars in home, in your home and theirs, and across the world" (p. 75). Findlay's journey from "smug settler to ethical ally" as he explains, was not an easy adjustment and he thanks "patient, generous teachers of all sorts," most profoundly Indigenous scholars Marie Battiste and Sa'ke'j Henderson (2016, p. 74). Coming from a strong foundation of Euro-centric education, Findlay describes his re-learning through the Mi'kmaw creation story and engages with the teachings therein.

2.4. Research as a colonial tool

There is an oppressive nature associated with much of research that has been conducted *on* Indigenous communities or groups by settler-scholars in Canada (Goodman

et al., 2018). Pitseolak Pfeifer, an Inuk scholar from Iqaluit, makes two strong points in her 2018 critique of research conducted on Inuit in the Arctic. I believe these two points are directly related to my work with the community of Ewipkek and they illustrate the history of research as oppression.

First, Pfeifer (2018) asserts that there is a deep suspicion that emerges from Inuit (and other Indigenous communities) about research. Pfeifer maintains that research can be viewed as "rooted in old colonial practices when Inuit and other Indigenous peoples were used for 'advancing science' (e.g., nutrition experiments in residential schools)" (2018, para. 14). It is understandable that some Indigenous peoples resent research as a potential tool for development in a community when it has historically been used as a tool to disadvantage, disempower and harm Indigenous peoples.

Second, Pfeifer (2018) speaks to the progress that has been made in research particularly in the Arctic with Inuit communities. She notes that Inuit voices are being included more frequently through community-based research, but that knowledge shared in Inuit communities remains inaccessible in southern Canadian institutions. Similar to the ideas expressed by Wilson (2001), Pfeifer suggest that a critical reflection on the purpose of their project and whether it is relevant, participatory and inclusive within the community can help empower Indigenous voices that are otherwise lost. Ensuring that research involving Indigenous peoples is accessible, understandable, and relevant is integral to creating an anti-oppressive space when conducting research (Pfeifer, 2018).

An increasing number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars have been writing about research involving Indigenous peoples and the importance of

"decolonizing" research in an anti-oppressive manner (Battiste, 1998; Iwama, M., Marshall, M., Marshall, A., Bartlett, C., 2009; Smith, L.T.T.R., 1999). Even though oppressive research approaches have been discussed for decades by various scholars, Pfeifer (2018) highlights the colonial framework under which academic research often operates and positions research historically as a tool that perpetuated the oppression of Indigenous communities. In response, the general narrative that is woven throughout contemporary Indigenous scholarship looks at how to reshape and re-think research so that a positive relationship between academia and Indigenous communities can be forged (Smith, L.T.T.R., 1999; Wilson, 2008). Building on the previous work of these scholars, this project hinges on the notion of the academy working *with* Indigenous communities to empower self-reliance to create positive change and development.

2.5. Research through an Indigenous Research Paradigm

As my interests focus on the ability or inability of traditional knowledge to be used as a vehicle for change within Indigenous communities in Ktaqmkuk, I began by learning from the writings of Indigenous scholars. These scholars have all discussed the concept of an Indigenous research paradigm (Absolon, 2011; Alfred, 2009; Henderson, 2000; Smith, G., 2000; Smith, L.T.T.R., 2000; Wilson, 2008).

Kathleen Absolon (2011) paints a distinct picture of an Indigenous research paradigm through self-reflection. She identifies herself in *Kaandossiwin: How We Come to Know* as a blend of both Anishinaabe and English nations, belonging to the Flying Post First Nation. Absolon (2011) positions the term "research" as a colonial tool used to

further oppress Indigenous peoples. Therefore, to avoid the use of the term "research",

Absolon (2011) uses the hyphenated term "re-search," defining the concept of searching

again, to look again at what is known from the position of an Indigenous person,

employing Indigenous knowledge, realities, and methodologies. As will be presented in

the following section about "Two-Eyed Seeing," this definition of "re-search," centered

around Indigenous traditional knowledge and perspectives, acts as one of the eyes

through which "Two-Eyed Seeing" frames a research project. Furthermore, Absolon

(2011) supports Wilson's (2001) emphasis of relationality in asserting that "Indigenous

methodologies are wholistic, relational, interrelation and interdependent with Indigenous

philosophies, beliefs and ways of life" (p. 22). Absolon (2011) underlines the need to

remove the colonial assumptions behind research and validate an Indigenous research

paradigm outside of the "Western" norms.

Black and McBean (2016) discuss the differences between what is "scientifically-

based Western knowledge" and "experiential, spiritually-based traditional knowledge" (p.

6). in the excerpt below:

> A key distinction between the two kinds of knowledge is that Western knowledge
> is derived through hypotheses, acquired through experimentation, and transmitted
> through written records, whereas traditional knowledge is derived from examples
> and anecdotes, acquired through daily interactions with people and the planet, and
> transmitted through oral narratives (p. 6).

Recognizing the processes that are fundamental to each knowledge system, Black and

McBean (2016) posit that tensions exist when scientists, policy makers, engineers and

researchers attempt to "move forward with incorporating [Indigenous] TK into

environmental management while respecting the rightful knowledge holders" (p. 7).

Through this approach, Indigenous knowledge is often seen as less valid to other types of knowledge, or, Indigenous knowledge can be taken out of context and used to "justify their [environmental decision-makers] own particular and political ends" (Black and McBean, 2016, p. 7).

Alfred (2009) is a Kahnawake Mohawk educator, author and activist who highlights the limitations of an Indigenous perspective that exists within a "Western" context that has historically oppressed and disenfranchised Indigenous peoples. For example, Alfred (2009) takes the notion of sovereignty and explains its futility within a Western context: "sovereignty as it is currently understood and applied in indigenous-state relations cannot be seen as an appropriate goal or framework, because it has no relevance to indigenous values" (p. 78). He asserts that since many of the current strategies for sovereignty within Indigenous communities exist within a "Western" framework, no meaningful progress can be made.

Illustrating the points made by Alfred (2009) within a research context, Wilson (2001) presents four dominant or Western paradigms in research (namely positivism, post positivism, critical theory, and constructivist theory) and underlines how an Indigenous perspective can shape these dominant paradigms. As one example, critical theory argues that while there may be only one "reality," this reality is fluid and can change depending on the context one investigates (Wilson, 2001). Wilson (2001) goes on to posit "we might be able to say in critical theory that our fluid reality is affected by our culture as Indigenous people … that would create an Indigenous perspective" (p. 176). Interpreting an Indigenous perspective through critical theory is possible and can produce certain

knowledge on the realities of Indigenous peoples. However, like Alfred (2009) and Absolon (2011), Wilson (2001) demands that researchers "go beyond this Indigenous perspective to a full Indigenous paradigm" (p. 176). Instead of continuing to exist within the boundaries of what are the dominant paradigms in research, it is necessary for research within Indigenous communities to be conducted from an entirely separate, but valid, paradigm that reflects Indigenous contexts and world views (Wilson, 2001).

       To minimize these tensions that exist between "Western" knowledge and Indigenous traditional knowledge and to validate the latter, Ellis (2005) explores the ways in which a bottom-up approach to research and decision-making can empower Indigenous communities and build capacity in the development of Indigenous knowledge. Instead of assuming a top-down approach whereby higher-level governments seek to incorporate Indigenous knowledge into already existing Western policies and frameworks, Ellis (2005) argues that a community-level "participatory" approach positions the research within the relevant community and must build from that point. Yet an Indigenous research paradigm is seeded in Indigenous epistemology and ontology and, thus, cannot be considered simply a form of community-based or participatory research. Instead, the design of the research must be constructed locally through meaningful engagement with the Indigenous community and the foundation of the Indigenous research methodology employed must belong to Indigenous peoples (Wilson, 2008). Ownership over research gives agency to a community that has historically had its agency extinguished and ensures it is unique to the relevant community's culture, history, and territory (Findlay, 2016; Wilson, 2008).

Wilson (2008) also highlights that the understanding of an Indigenous research paradigm is "important for non-Indigenous people, as it will assist in the understanding of Indigenous issues, cultures and values" (p. 19). Using a comparison from New Zealand, *Kaupapa Maori* research is research conducted with Maori (an Indigenous peoples of New Zealand) *by* Maori. Smith, L.T.T.R. (2000) poses the question if, and how, *Pakeha* (Maori word referring to non-Maori peoples, used instead of white or non-Indigenous) can be involved in *Kaupapa Maori* research. Smith, G. (2000) presents a binary between Maori and *Pakeha*. In this binary, the Maori are generally seen as valuing collective responsibility and cooperation (ours) vs. *Pakeha* who generally value individual freedom and competition (mine). Smith, G. (2000) posits that both Maori and *Pakeha* exist somewhere along the spectrum of that binary but in general are divided as such in values. These guiding values are applicable elsewhere, including among the Mi'kmaq in Mi'kma'ki (Battiste, 2010).

Smith, L.T.T.R. (2000) also describes the concept of *whanau* (translated to extended family) as a principle within *Kaupapa Maori* research. *Whanau* represents a support system within *Kaupapa Maori* research and Smith, L.T.T.R. (2000) posits that *Pakeha*, or non-Indigenous people, may belong in *Kaupapa Maori* research as part of this support system stating that "*Pakeha* who have a genuine desire to support the cause of Maori ought to be included because they can be useful allies and colleagues in research" (p. 227).

As I have sought to understand an Indigenous research paradigm, it is important to reflect on my own positionality which resonates especially with the concept of *whanau* as

"extended family" since I share ancestral ties with many of the families in western

Ktaqmkuk and even in the community of Ewipkek. I liken this to my own situation

wherein I identify as a non-Indigenous researcher who is conducting research with an

Indigenous community through what can only be the interpretation of an Indigenous

research paradigm from a collaborative approach. The collaboration with Elder White

and the community of Ewipkek did not facilitate the imposition of my knowledge onto

the community but instead designed a research project that empowered their existing

epistemology. My personal history in the region in which this research takes places drives

the motivation I have for working with the community of Ewipkek but does not alter my

role in this research project as anything other than "extended family" as a useful ally and

colleague.

For example, as a non-Indigenous researcher in an Indigenous community, my

input is mostly effective insofar as my academic position can leverage certain supports

for the community to build its existing capacity for knowledge gathering. For this project,

the support that I provided was mostly financial and human resources. This included

supporting the community to collect, analyze and disseminate their knowledge as well as

commissioning assistance with land use and occupancy maps. Furthermore, I have played

a role in sharing the knowledge of community members, with consent, to wider audiences

in an attempt to influence a shift in the consideration of traditional knowledge in

decision-making.

As an outsider to the community and culture, it has been my responsibility as a

non-Indigenous researcher to respect the community of Ewipkek's ownership over their

own knowledge. Moreover, when conducting research with this community, I sought to ensure that the production of any knowledge is "researched and presented from an Indigenous paradigm" to the fullest extent possible as a non-Indigenous researcher (Wilson, 2008, p. 19). To validate and build upon an Indigenous research paradigm, the framework of "Two-Eyed Seeing," was employed throughout this study (Iwama, Marshall, Marshall, and Bartlett, 2009). Akin to the inclusion of *Pakeha* in *Kaupapa Maori* research through the concept of *whanau*, "Two-Eyed Seeing" brings non-Indigenous peoples into research with Mi'kmaw communities through an unobtrusive, collaborative approach.

2.6. "Two-Eyed Seeing"

Albert Marshall, an esteemed Mi'kmaw Elder in Nova Scotia coined the term "Two-Eyed Seeing," which describes the idea that two separate epistemologies exist in research as a non-Indigenous researcher within Indigenous communities: "Western", scientific knowledge; and Indigenous traditional knowledge respectively (Bartlett, Marshall, & Marshall, 2012). An article written by Bartlett et al. (2012) explores the benefits of fostering an equal balance between these two systems of knowledge in the pursuit of discovery through research and "Two-Eyed Seeing." The authors, including Mi'kmaw Elders Murdena Marshall (clan mother of the Muin (Bear) Clan), Albert Marshall (from the Moose Clan) and non-Indigenous collaborator and biologist Cheryl Bartlett (2012), posit that the validation of Indigenous knowledge provides a space for significant discovery alongside decolonization.

The concept of "Two-Eyed Seeing" in research is interesting to consider as an Indigenous research paradigm. Iwama et al. (2009) discuss the use of "Two-Eyed Seeing" in research as it "draws together the strengths of mainstream, or Western, and Mi'kmaq knowledges" (p. 4). As an example, in 2011 a roundtable was held in Ottawa that highlighted successful knowledge translation approaches in First Nation, Métis, and Inuit populations across Canada in order to create a different narrative about research with Indigenous peoples (Institute of Aboriginal Peoples' Health, 2011). The summary report of the round table states that "a key barrier affecting approaches to improved knowledge translation activities … is the lack of a systematic understanding of, and approach to, integrating traditional knowledge and community approaches to healing with western scientific approaches" (p. 2). As other scholars have asserted so far in this paper, this barrier may be attributed to not grounding the Indigenous knowledge in an Indigenous research paradigm, one that respects and validates Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies. The summary report indicates that the "Two-Eyed Seeing" model is one way of addressing these tensions in research (Institute of Aboriginal Peoples' Health, 2011).

Cindy Peltier (2018) is an Anishinaabe woman who has discussed the application of "Two-Eyed Seeing" through participatory action research and community collaboration. Figure 2, taken from Peltier (2018), shows the ways in which "Two-Eyed Seeing" can be used as a framework for research in Indigenous communities. The diagram in Figure 2 demonstrates the research processes that exists within a "Western" paradigm: research planning; research implementation; production of knowledge; and action, and how these processes can shift toward an Indigenous paradigm consisting of:

community engagement; capacity building; empowerment; and self-determination. Peltier (2018) argues that through "Two-Eyed Seeing" and meaningful collaboration with an Indigenous community, it is possible to shift research to validate an Indigenous paradigm
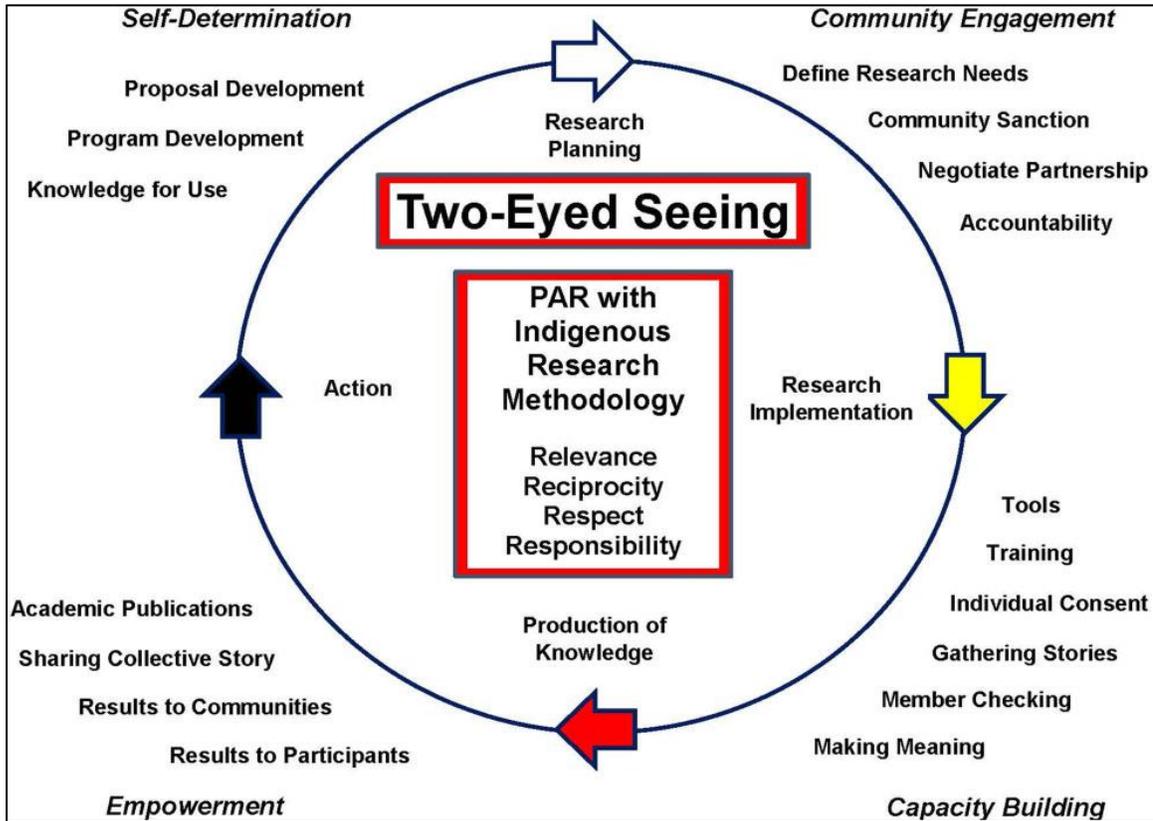
Figure 2 Participatory action research with Indigenous methodologies as Two-Eyed Seeing (Peltier, 2018, p. 4)

and assume the four processes outside the circle (Figure 2).

Furthermore, Iwama et al. (2009) present an interesting case in their article "Two-Eyed Seeing and the Language of Healing in Community-Based Research" whereby an almost equal mixture of dominant "Western" ideas of academic research were combined with traditional Indigenous forms of research. The purpose of this choice for the paper was to demonstrate how different styles can relay the same ideas in written form. The

first half of their paper resembled a typical, "Western" report-style document while the second half of their paper was a written dialogue of conversation between the researchers. Despite the different ways in which the concepts were presented in each half of the paper, both forms of knowledge dissemination effectively communicated the ideas and arguments from their research (Iwama et al, 2009). However, the authors caution that some meaning may be further lost or misinterpreted through the translation of the Mi'kmaw language to English.

Building on the principles in Figure 2 (relevance, reciprocity, respect and responsibility), and the example presented by Iwama et al. (2009), the following section will outline my research with the community of Ewipkek and the ways in which our collaboration has illustrated the four key elements of "Two-Eyed Seeing." As my training and lived-experiences match that of a "Western" paradigm, my approach to research that I have conducted in the past assumes the four processes inside the circle (Figure 2), one "eye" of "Two-Eyed Seeing." The second "eye" when considering research, as explained by Absolon (2011), is the emphasis on "looking again" or "re-searching" through the traditional knowledge within Indigenous communities. "Two-Eyed Seeing" embraces research "in a way that privileges Indigenous voices and Indigenous ways of knowing" through collaboration and is therefore one possible way to employ an Indigenous research paradigm as outlined above (Peltier, 2018, p. 3).

2.7. Co-creating Research and Working with the Community of Ewipkek

The approaches, principles and experiences that have been discussed throughout this paper thus far have informed my research with the community of Ewipkek. From the beginning of this research, I sought to maintain a collaborative approach to the project. This collaboration then evolved throughout the life of the project as I read literature produced by Indigenous scholars who discuss the implications of research in Indigenous communities. This project has been developed through an Indigenous research paradigm using the "Two-Eyed Seeing" approach specific to the community of Ewipkek to the greatest extent possible, given time constraints and level of experience. Several aspects of our research together are unique to the community of Ewipkek and validate the Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies of the community. This section describes my interpretation of "Two-Eyed Seeing" and how its *four key processes,* as presented by Peltier (2018) (Figure 2), were put into practice while working with the community of Ewipkek.

First, before this project began, it was important to co-design the project at its earliest stage, an aspect of *community engagement.* I approached the community of Ewipkek and engaged in conversations about research and the current work that was being done in the community. Elder White spoke about the Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study (TLUOS) document that had begun a few years ago and described the work that was left to do. The document was unfinished in its current form and required some copyediting, reformatting and additions to become finalized. Additionally, I added some thoughts about my own experience in policy research and this dialogue was the

precursor to the formal establishment of the objectives and goals of our project together. A research agreement was devised between me, as the researcher, and the community of Ewipkek, as a partner, and signed by Elder White, Chief (at the time) Liz LaSaga, and myself. The agreement, an aspect of our negotiated partnership and community engagement, denoted the ways in which the research would unfold along with the potential mutual benefits from the project. To view an unsigned template of the full agreement which outlines all the responsibilities and deliverables that were negotiated, see Appendix A. In brief, the research design of our project ensured full transparency through a constant open dialogue between researcher (myself) and community partner (Elder White and the No'kmaq Village Band). Documents were sent back and forth throughout the research process to be reviewed to increase accountability for the work produced by the researcher. A dialogue must exist at every intersection of the research process: between the researcher and the community partner; between the researcher and the participants; between the researcher and themselves; and between the researcher and the reader. The community defined its research needs through a negotiated partnership that facilitated a high standard of accountability between the researcher and the community to uphold the conditions in the research agreement.

Focusing now on *capacity building*, it was important to ensure that our project not only benefitted the community in the present, but that the outputs of the research would be useful in the future for other endeavours. Based on the research agreement and needs identified by the community, the data that was collected for the TLUOS was compiled into a database and given to the community in a format that does not limit additions or

changes being made. In order to facilitate capacity building that lasts beyond the life of the current project, it was acknowledged that the community must retain ownership over the material produced from this collaboration. Therefore, all the outputs of this project, such as the TLUOS maps for example, will be kept within the community in both raw form (in a format that can be manipulated in the future) as well as a final product (a report alongside a series of maps). The community was able to gather stories and then retain specific tools and resources to use in the future when needed.

Closely related to capacity building is the process of *empowerment*. As opposed to knowledge production in a "Western" research paradigm and consistent with the "Two-Eyed Seeing" approach, our project needed not only to produce knowledge, but also help facilitate future research and/or development possibilities. With Elder White as an integral partner in this project, the results of this study will be disseminated to the participants as well as the community at large. As discussed above with the Indigenization of Grenfell Campus, this partnership with the community is not exclusive in the precedence set for other researchers wishing to work with Mi'kmaw communities in Ktaqmkuk. One of the hopes of this project is to present a non-oppressive approach to research with Indigenous communities and empower both researchers and communities. This empowerment must reach Mi'kmaw communities in western Ktaqmkuk in an effort to collaborate on projects to enact some form of socio-economic development as it fits within the scope of the project. At this stage, the shared knowledge from the community will be disseminated through publications that tell a collective story from the community.

Finally, *self-determination* is one process that is very relevant for the community of Ewipkek as its ability to self-govern has been challenged throughout the past and present. To ensure that this project has allowed for self-determination throughout the research process, everything that is produced as a result of this collaboration is owned by the community. All maps, documents, and other products of this project are owned by the community of Ewipkek and I hold no rights to distribute or otherwise use any material that is produced without consent. Having ownership of the project also means that the community can terminate the project and research relationship at any time with no repercussions or risk if the relationship is not meeting the community's satisfaction. In other words, it has not been up to me as the researcher to decide whether the project is meeting the conditions set out in the research agreement. Instead, it is my responsibility to uphold my end of the deal and regularly check in with community partners to ensure that the project is proceeding as planned, and to change the approach or method when advised by the community. Ownership of the project, at this point, equates to knowledge gathered from the community *for the community* that can be used to support and further develop community initiatives.

2.8. Conclusion

This paper has presented current approaches, principles and considerations for researchers working with Indigenous communities, drawing from both academic literature and from the collaborative experience working with the community of Ewipkek. As more and more Indigenous scholars assert their voices in academia, and

historically oppressive institutions such as universities attempt to unlearn colonial

research practices, it is important that these major concepts, principles and experiences

are considered. In summary, this paper has described the different characteristics of a

"Western" research paradigm versus an Indigenous research paradigm that can support

the application of the "Two-Eyed Seeing" framework outlined by Peltier (2018) within

the community of Ewipkek.

Smith, L.T.T.R. (1999) argues that research is one of the "dirtiest" words among

Indigenous communities often provoking feelings of mistrust and hesitation. As one of

the most researched peoples in the world (Fredericks, 2008), Indigenous peoples have

dealt with non-Indigenous researchers entering the community with "Western" research

practices that alienate participants at every stage of the project. To combat this

disenfranchising experience, Indigenous scholars are calling for researchers (Indigenous

and non-Indigenous) to employ research frameworks that empower communities and

participants (Wilson, 2008). At its foundation, a framework that is appropriate when

working with Indigenous communities cannot be based in a "Western" research paradigm

because it is this paradigm that has facilitated the use of research as a colonial tool

(Absolon, 2011; Alfred, 2009). Instead, centering an Indigenous research paradigm when

developing a framework for research will validate the knowledge produced (Wilson,

2001) and "Two-Eyed Seeing" can facilitate this process.

As a non-Indigenous scholar with Mi'kmaw ancestry, I have ties to the

community of Ewipkek. However, this does not absolve the need for me to critically

reflect on my own principles and experiences that influence the way in which I approach

research. As a collaborative project, the Mi'kmaw framework "Two-Eyed Seeing" was used to validate both my "Western" paradigm and Elder White's Indigenous paradigm to create a project that was specific and appropriate in design to the community of Ewipkek. It is worth noting that, even in its conclusion, this paper can only provide one interpretation of these concepts as they are relevant to the community I have been working with, as well as the present time in which they are interpreted. The context of Mi'kmaw communities in western Ktaqmkuk is relevant in the interpretation because it changes the ways in which these concepts are applied. For example, the formation of Qalipu is so recent and is still undergoing modifications that in the future, should a researcher be working with another Mi'kmaw community that is a ward of Qalipu, that researcher is responsible for reflecting on their role in the project and its implications for the community at that moment in time. The process of self-reflection should be emphasized when working with an Indigenous community through constant "checks" that happen within dialogue at every intersection to ensure accountability throughout the research process (Absolon, 2011).

The aim of this paper was to demonstrate the use of "Two-Eyed Seeing" as a framework for reflection and collaboration that can allow researchers (Indigenous or non-Indigenous) to conduct research in a non-oppressive manner with an Indigenous community. Indigenous scholars are gaining momentum in academic spaces and the common practice of non-Indigenous academics conducting research *on* Indigenous communities has now shifted. Instead, Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers are tasked to work *with* Indigenous communities in a way that centres an Indigenous research

paradigm. It is critical in these processes that non-Indigenous researchers recognize their responsibility to ensure that any projects are not undertaken without proper consideration. Highlighted in the quote at the beginning of this paper, Shawn Wilson (2008) asserts that Indigenous communities "demand that research conducted in our communities follows our codes of conduct and honours our systems of knowledge and worldviews" (p.8). The onus lies with the researcher to meet this demand.

References (Chapter Two)

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Chapter Three: Contextualizing traditional knowledge and land use of a rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw community – an example of "contemporary colonialism."

"Our self-government proposal is quite simple. It reflects our current situation and capacities and does not attempt to achieve more than any group of Indian Bands in Canada now have or have a right to expect. Our proposal does call, at the very least, for the recognition of our Bands and the extension of the normal legislative regime, applicable throughout Canada, to all Micmacs in Newfoundland. This should have occurred in 1949, but did not. By formal agreement with the Minister of Indian Affairs in 1981, it should have occurred by April of 1986, but did not" (Federation of Newfoundland Indians, 1988, preamble para. 1).

3.1. Introduction

The excerpt above was taken from the proposal compiled by the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI)[14] in 1988 and submitted to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development[15] to commence community self-government negotiations in Ktaqmkuk[16]. Currently, the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq are represented by two federally recognized Bands in the province, the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation (Qalipu) located in Elmastlukwek[17], and the Miawpukek[18] First Nation located on the south coast. In this paper, I examine the limitations for the community of Ewipkek[19] in western Ktaqmkuk

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[14] The FNI was formally established in 1973 under the name "Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador" and represented all Indigenous peoples in the province (from the island of Newfoundland as well as Labrador). Subsequently, the Labrador Innu and Inuit formed their own associations in the mid-1970s and the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI) took its current name (Federation of Newfoundland Indians, 1988).

[15] Now two entities, the Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC) and Indigenous Services Canada (ISC) (Bellegarde, 2017).

[16] "the far shore where the waves cross-over" is the place name for the island of Newfoundland and will be used throughout this paper to encourage and respect the Mi'kmaw place name for the island portion of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador (Wetzel, 1995).

[17] Mi'kmaw place name for the Bay of Islands region of NL

[18] translates to "middle river" and is the place named used for what is now called Conne River in Ktaqmkuk

[19] "calm waters" is the place name used to refer to Flat Bay and will be used throughout this paper to encourage and respect the Mi'kmaw place name for the community.

(see Figure 1) regarding their ability to engage meaningfully with development projects that impact the community. As demonstrated by the sharing of stories with community participants, their traditional knowledge of land use in the region highlights the community's capacity for participation. Yet, exploring the Maritime Link Project as a case study, this paper uncovers that a lack of provisions in the Agreement in Principle (2007) that governs Qalipu perpetuates a form of contemporary colonialism that silences the knowledge holders in the community of Ewipkek.

As previously identified in Chapter 2, this project was established through a close collaboration with the No'kmaq[20] Village Mi'kmaq Band in Ewipkek alongside Elder Calvin White who acted as a co-investigator from the community. Elder White is a long-time advocate for Mi'kmaw rights in the province and has been recognized at both the provincial and national level for his achievements. I met with Elder White early in this study to develop a structured research design with objectives that mutually benefitted myself, as a graduate student in Environmental Policy, and the community of Ewipkek. A formal research agreement was then signed that outlined the responsibilities of both the researcher and the community in order to remain accountable to each other (see Appendix A). The framework and methodology were also developed with the community to ensure that the research approach was both appropriate and unique to the Indigenous community involved. This is consistent with what Wilson (2008) describes as a paradigm shift in research driven by Indigenous scholars that abandons traditional "Western"

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[20] the term used to refer to the Flat Bay Band Inc., the Mi'kmaq band meaning "connection". The No'kmaq Village Mi'kmaq live in the community of Ewipkek (Ivan White, personal communication, 2018).

approaches to research and demands an adoption of methodologies or frameworks that contextualizes research within Indigenous communities. This paper will explore the intersection of "Western" and Indigenous epistemologies employing the Mi'kmaw framework of "Two-Eyed Seeing" coined by Elder Albert Marshall (Bartlett, Marshall and Marshall, 2012).

Many Indigenous scholars have written extensively about the significance of relationship building throughout research and of reflecting this process in the self-identification of the researcher (Absolon, 2011; Battiste, 2000; Greymorning, 2004; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). Indigenous scholars such as Ray & Cormier (2012) and Iwama, Marshall, Marshall & Bartlett (2009) introduce their research by exploring the relationship between the researcher and the research. I am a founding member of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, which means that I met the eligibility criteria (Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, 2007). My registration as a status-Indian according to the Federal Government is based on genealogical data that was collected to "prove" the Mi'kmaw identity of my distant ancestors. However, as my lived-experiences remain that of a settler, it is important for me to assert that I self-identify as a non-Indigenous researcher working with an Indigenous community. I remain an outsider to this community which is reflected by the research approach taken. For further information about my background and positionality in this project, please refer to section 1.2 in Chapter 1.

3.2. Research Question and Design

The research question and design of this paper were established through a coordinated effort between Elder White and me, in a way that sought to best serve the community. A related Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study (TLUOS) that I am working on with Elder White has highlighted the community's desire to better understand and document the ways in which the land was used in both the past and the present. The stories that emerged from these conversations then led to discussions around environmental development projects in the area. Projects such as the Maritime Link overland transmission line have had direct impacts on the land use and occupancy of the community. Integrated with the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, the community of Ewipkek noted a lack of direct representation in the decision-making process and use of community knowledge for the Maritime Link Project.

From these discussions, the question that this paper seeks to answer is: *How do the governing policies of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation limit the use of traditional knowledge from the community of Ewipkek through meaningful participation in development projects that impact the community?* The governing policies referred to in the research question are provisioned in the Agreement in Principle (2007) that formally established the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation in 2011. I approached the community from a "Western" paradigm while the knowledge holders in the community co-created the project from an Indigenous paradigm.

Despite being over thirty years old, the original proposal from the FNI reflected in the excerpt above still retains comparisons to the current situation of the Ktaqmkuk

Mi'kmaq in the Nujio'qonik[21] area. There are three main points from this excerpt that are relevant to this collaborative project and the exploration of meaningful participation that follows. First, the proposal by the FNI highlighted reasonable expectations that would facilitate meaningful community autonomy. This autonomy includes the community's *capacity for community involvement* in this and other research or development projects. Second, the proposal reflects the significant capacities of Mi'kmaw communities in Ktaqmkuk to engage with such negotiations with *adequate representation* for each community (Federation of Newfoundland Indians, 1988). Third, the proposal is a reaction to the failure of the Federal Government to meet commitments made to the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq in the latter part of the 20th century and highlights the *limitations for the community of Ewipkek* through policy. These limitations perpetuated by the Agreement in Principle (2007) for Qalipu impact the way in which knowledge from the community can be used for research and development.

3.2.1. Guiding Framework

The guiding framework for this project must validate and empower the knowledge produced from the community (Absolon, 2011). I recognize my lived experiences as a settler with Mi'kmaw ancestry and therefore approach research from a "Western" paradigm that has historically disenfranchised and oppressed Indigenous epistemologies. In collaboration with the community, the framework of "Two-Eyed Seeing" recognizes

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[21]"where the sand is blown up by the wind" is the term used to refer to Bay St. George in western Newfoundland.

the "Western" approach that I bring to research while validating the Indigenous approach that Elder White maintains throughout the collaboration. "Two-Eyed Seeing" holds true the belief that a solution can be seen best with two eyes open, each eye figuratively representing "Western" and Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies respectively (Bartlett et al., 2012). Bartlett et al. (2012, p. 335) state that "'Two-Eyed Seeing' further enables recognition of IK [Indigenous knowledge] as a distinct and whole knowledge system side by side with the same for mainstream (Western) science." Bringing together my perspective from "Western" foundations and Elder White's perspective from an Indigenous foundation allowed for meaningful collaboration and production of knowledge that can have tangible impacts for both the academy and community of Ewipkek.

Another reason that the framework of "Two-Eyed Seeing" was selected for this study was the unique context of the Mi'kmaq on the west coast of Ktaqmkuk. More details will be presented in later sections, but as the movement for Mi'kmaw rights in Ktaqmkuk continued from the late 20th century into the early 21st century, the region of western Ktaqmkuk saw a widespread reclamation of lost Mi'kmaw tradition and culture (Robinson, 2012). However, as is evident in the stories shared by participants, the Mi'kmaw tradition and culture of the community of Ewipkek has been present since the community was first established through generations passing on this knowledge. "Two-Eyed Seeing" as an approach allows this tradition and culture to be validated within this context of reclamation.

To employ the approach of "Two-Eyed Seeing," it is necessary to position both "Western" and Indigenous epistemologies as a valid means of responding to the research question (Bartlett et al., 2012). This can be done many ways; however, this project was structured in a way that emphasized collaboration at every step. First, the framework and methodology of this study that emerged from discussions between Elder White and I highlight both "Western" and Indigenous knowledges. A mixed approach of both the *story* method presented by Kovach (2009) coupled with a case study allowed the knowledge from the community to be gathered and presented by an appropriate means while corroborating this knowledge with a real-world example. Some of the results that are presented in subsequent sections come first from the stories that were shared by knowledge holders in the community, which are then followed by evidence from scholarly literature. Importantly, the analysis of the case study and scholarly literature is not necessary to "prove" or "back-up" the knowledge collected from the community, but instead acts as another means through which the concepts presented can be understood.

3.2.2. Methodology

In Kovach (2009), the relationship between qualitative methodologies (such as community-based participatory research) and Indigenous methodologies is explored. Kovach (2009) states that "Indigenous methodologies can be considered both a qualitative approach and not" (p. 30) and that the core difference between the two is that an Indigenous epistemological framework is at the core of an Indigenous methodology. Wilson (2001) asserts that an Indigenous methodology better ensures accountability

between the researcher and the community. An Indigenous methodology, according to Wilson (2001), asks "how am I [the researcher] fulfilling my role in this relationship" (p. 177). In other words, an Indigenous methodology includes not only the ways in which research is conducted but demands that a researcher reflect on the process to ensure that they are accountable to the commitments that have been made throughout the project. Drawing from the concepts defined by both Indigenous scholars, the methodology constructed for this project with the community of Ewipkek centers on Indigenous epistemology while also maintaining accountability on my part to the community and to the relationship that was built during this project.

Further, Kovach (2009) states that methodology simultaneously represents both the methods that are used to conduct research and the assumptions behind these methods. At the center of an Indigenous methodology is the knowledge system of the Indigenous people involved in the study. Working with Elder White and others in the community, an Indigenous approach was prioritized in the selection of the method used to engage with participants in the community and *story* (Kovach, 2009) emerged as the most appropriate method for this project given resources and time-constraints. Together, a mixed-methods approach of *story* (Kovach, 2009) corroborated with a case study was chosen in order to best employ "Two-Eyed Seeing" and validate both "Western" and Indigenous approaches during this study. Kovach (2009) discusses the use of story as a method to gather knowledge within an Indigenous community. Related to the stories collected from participants in the community, the Maritime Link case study provides reference to a real-world example of how the governing policies of Qalipu have impacted the community's

capacity to participate in land use and development decisions relevant to their community.

The Maritime Link project is under the direction of NSP Maritime Link Inc. which is an indirect subsidiary of Emera Inc. (through Emera Newfoundland and Labrador) and is the corporation responsible for the creation, operation and maintenance of the project in three jurisdictions: the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Cabot Strait, and Cape Breton. The project saw the construction of a 500-megawatt transmission link with roughly 300km of overland transmission in Ktaqmkuk, 170km underneath the Cabot Strait, and 50km of overland transmission in Unama'ki ("Maritime Link breaks ground", 2014). Of interest for this case study is the overland transmission line that passed by the community of Ewipkek and the extent to which the community had meaningful input and autonomy during the consultation process of the environmental assessment.

The Maritime Link Project was selected as a case study to demonstrate the *capacity for community involvement*, the lack of *adequate representation*, and the current and real-world *limitations for the community of Ewipkek* with knowledge gathering in the region. Building on these three major points of the introductory quote from the original FNI proposal (1988), the Maritime Link Project demonstrates the impact of the policies governing Qalipu in the Agreement in Principle (2007) on the community of Ewipkek. The Maritime Link Project helps to understand the obstacles faced by the community of Ewipkek in the consultation process during the environmental assessment. After a more in-depth overview of the knowledge gathered with the community of Ewipkek, the a

review of the structure of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation is provided to give context to the consultation process of the Maritime Link Project in subsequent sections of this paper.

3.3. Collecting and Interpreting Shared Knowledge

Elder White suggested that in order to gain the most knowledge from the stories told, members of the same family could come together to share their knowledge. This proved true as two brothers who participated in the study were able to ask questions to each other and thus recall more details about a topic that was being discussed. From a close examination of Indigenous literature, Datta (2018) asserts that "meaning-making through Indigenous storytelling can involve the process of comparing and cross matching oral accounts" (p. 37). Following Elder White's suggestion for families to participate together, the knowledge holders in our study were able to share their stories in a group and have other members of their family corroborate, challenge or question their story with a different perspective.

Furthermore, Elder White was present for most of the knowledge gathering within the community as he was the co-investigator and could ask relevant questions to the community members who participated. Elder White acted as a gatekeeper for the knowledge in the community and as such was able to ensure the protection of the knowledge shared by participants. Kawulich (2011) identified that, especially in Indigenous communities, gatekeepers serve not only to open other participants to the study, but also their information. Brunet, Hickey, and Humphries (2014) highlight the

importance of gatekeepers in isolated Indigenous communities noting that "if not for community involvement, the costs and logistics of research … would be prohibitive" (p. 253). As I am an outsider to the community and culture, it was important for Elder White to provide access to the knowledge in the community and oversee its collection, analysis and dissemination.

Kovach (2009) asserts that "for story to surface, there must be trust. Given the egregious past research practices in Indigenous communities, earning trust is crucial" (p. 98). Elder White is a trusted member of the community and was able to invoke this trust throughout the sharing of stories. Important to note is that the stories that were shared in the community were also used for the TLUOS that I worked on alongside Elder White, related to this study. The knowledge that was shared helped to develop a more thorough understanding of the ways in which the community continues to use the land.

Ethics clearance for this project was received by the Grenfell Campus Research Ethics Board in the spring of 2018 before the collection of any information began. I also reached out to the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch housed at the Unama'ki College in Unama'ki, however was told that clearance from the Mi'kmaw Ethics Watch was not necessary at that time. Free and informed consent was collected by an informed consent form that was distributed and explained at the beginning of each interview session. Due to the oral traditions within the community, participants could either give written consent by signing the form or give oral consent to the researcher after reading through the consent form. Elder White was always present when free and informed consent was collected during the community interviews to ensure a person of trust was available to answer any questions

or give more information if the participant was uncomfortable asking me. Both methods of consent were received.

Overall, eight people, including Elder White, participated in the study with seven of those participants being knowledge holders to the community of Ewipkek and No'kmaq Village Band. There was no pre-determined amount selected for the number of stories collected, however due to time constraints and resources, it was possible only to meet with eight people. The final interview was conducted with an industry leader relevant to the study outside of the community. The eight interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed and both the recorded and written versions of the interviews were given to Elder White to review with participants if they wished and were made available to the community of Ewipkek for future research if warranted. The interview conducted with the industry leader was outside of the province, therefore it was not logistically possible for Elder White to be present. Instead, Elder White and another important knowledge holder from the community provided questions to be answered concerning the Maritime Link Project and the consultation process. There was no audio recording of this interview as per the wishes of the participant however the transcript of my notes and the sections of this paper that include their information were sent back to the individual for review. Due to time and resource restrictions, no officials, elected executives or staff from Qalipu were interviewed for the purposes of this study. Also, as a community-based project, it was important to emphasize the voices from the community of Ewipkek. For future projects, stories from representatives of Qalipu can be added to

the discussion in order to gain a fuller understanding of the context for Mi'kmaq in western Ktaqmkuk.

3.3.1 Interpreting Stories

In considering the method of story, I am reflective on the inherent disconnection between the knowledge presented in this paper and the medium through which it is disseminated. Kovach (2009) explains that as stories are told from the teller's perspective, any interpretation of that story that is then used by other people is, by nature, different. To mitigate any misrepresentations of that story, Kovach (2009) states that it is important that the person who is re-interpreting the story verifies with the original teller before it is disseminated. This practice is easily done with interview data, and Kovach (2009) highlights that "once individuals have agreed to share their story, the researcher's responsibility is to ensure voice and representation. That participants check and approve the transcripts of the stories is essential for meeting the criteria of accurate representation as perceived by research participants" (p. 99-100). In this case, transcripts have been returned to the community and participants have been given the opportunity to review and ensure that everything is well represented. Elder White and others in the community have also had the opportunity to look at early drafts of this paper before its completion. Additionally, I draw ideas and concepts from scholarly literature throughout this paper which, similar to knowledge collected orally, are stories collected from the authors of that literature. Therefore, I am re-interpreting these stories for my purposes. Coming from a "Western" approach, a review of literature is standard yet leaves little room for

researchers to "check and approve" the re-telling of information before it is disseminated.

I sincerely hope that the authors of the sources that I cite throughout this thesis note that I

acknowledge this disconnection and approve of the ways in which I have interpreted their

written stories. The next section will give a brief history of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First

Nation and the fight for Mi'kmaq rights in Ktaqmkuk.

3.4. Creation of the "Landless" Qalipu Mi'kmaw First Nation Band

The formation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation in Ktaqmkuk is the result of

many decades of advocacy and activism in the province following confederation with

Canada in 1949. According to lawyer and scholar Michael Wetzel (1995), the Ktaqmkuk

Mi'kmaq have been denied legitimacy since Europeans first arrived. Discussed in

literature published in the late 20th century, the "Mi'kmaw Mercenary Myth" was

commonly used against claims of Indigenous lands in Ktaqmkuk (Bartels, 1979; Wetzel,

1995). The "Mi'kmaw Mercenary Myth" asserted that the French brought Mi'kmaq to

the island of Ktaqmkuk in the 16th and 17th century for the purposes of exterminating the

Beothuk (Pi'tawk'ewaq[22]) people. Wetzel (1995) states that

> In this English version of Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw history, the Pi'tawk'ewaq lands
> were vacant because the Mi'kmaw has exterminated them for French reward. The
> lands occupied by the Mi'kmaw were not aboriginal Mi'kmaw lands because the
> French had imported or encouraged the Mi'kmaw to come to Newfoundland for
> the purpose of exterminating the Pi'tawk'ewaq after European claims of discovery
> had been made (p. 21).

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[22] According to Wetzel (1995), *Pi'tawk'ewaq* is a Mi'kmaw term used to describe the nation of people in
Ktaqmkuk who typically lived "up river" or "up above;" Beothuk in the English language. This will be
used throughout this paper instead of the English "Beothuk" term.

Wetzel (1995) further shared that this myth about Mi'kmaw occupation in Ktaqmkuk was perpetuated in textbooks in the provincial school system, citing a book published in 1949. This erroneous, Euro-centric interpretation of history displaces Mi'kmaw identity in Ktaqmkuk. The thesis produced by Wetzel (1995) decolonized this history through his perspective[23] yet this myth persists in certain spaces.

When the province of Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada through confederation in 1949 with a 52% vote, Manning (2018) highlights that "the position of both parties was that the Mi'kmaq people had been assimilated into wider Newfoundland society, thus did not need to be included under the *Indian Act"* (p. 321). By neglecting to fully include the Innu, Inuit and Mi'kmaq communities under the Indian Act through confederation, Newfoundland and Labrador became the "only province in which Canada decided to entirely ignore its fiduciary responsibility to First Nations people" (p. 321). Though the concept of fiduciary duty is problematic, neglecting to recognize the Innu, Inuit, and Mi'kmaq communities in the newly formed province caused greater obstacles in the future (Hanrahan, 2003; Robinson, 2014; Tanner, 1998). With provisions being made for the Innu and Inuit in Labrador starting around 1953, the Pi'tawk'ewaq remained the only recognized "original inhabitants" of the island of Ktaqmkuk (Manning, 2018).

Focusing now on the recognition of Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq, Elder White was very involved in what he coins "The Movement" towards Indigenous justice in Ktaqmkuk. Though there had been advocacy towards Mi'kmaw recognition in Ktaqmkuk since

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[23] For a more thorough understanding of the history of Ktaqmkuk from a Mi'kmaw perspective, see *Wetzel, M. (1995). Decolonizing Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw History. (master's thesis). Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS, Canada.*

confederation and before, "The Movement" that Elder White refers to begins in the early 1970's with the creation of the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador which represented Mi'kmaw, Innu and Inuit people across the province (Wetzel, 1995). Wetzel (1995) explains that "eventually, three different organization[s] evolved as each nation renewed its contact with other groups within its own nation" and the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI) was created to represent Mi'kmaq on the island portion of the province (p. 23).

Elder White explained in conversations his work with the FNI and connecting Mi'kmaw families across the province to gain momentum towards recognition. In 1981, the Mi'kmaw community of Miawpukek on the southern coast of Ktaqmkuk was recognized by the Federal Government, which provided reserve lands and other provisions for the community. Following the recognition of Miawpukek, the Minister of Indian Affairs signed a five-year agreement to consult for the recognition of Mi'kmaw communities outside of Miawpukek by 1986, however this did not happen (Federation of Newfoundland Indians, 1988). In response, the Federation of Newfoundland Indians, which then only represented Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw outside of Miawpukek, produced a proposal for self-government negotiations given to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which was the relevant department at the time.

For full transparency, the following were listed as the "Self-Government Objectives" of the Federation of Newfoundland Indians in 1988 (p. 3):

- Establishment of structures of government at the community, regional and central (FNI) levels with appropriate capacities and financial resources to

represent and provide local and central services to Bands and their members

- Development of a clear system or style of government that is controlled by and accountable to the membership, is recognized by all levels of federal and provincial authorities and is capable of entering into subsequent agreements on matters of joint concern
- Provision for central, regional and /or local government authorities to:
  - Use, manage, administer and regulate human and natural resources available to the communities, including wildlife
  - Control the disposition of rights, benefits and interests of the communities and membership in natural resources and carry out Band development and works for the benefit of the communities
  - Regulate local matters of exclusive Band interest and to use, manage and administer Band monies and other assets
  - Participate legislative, administrative and advisory capacities in matters of shared Micmac and non-Micmac interest, including land usage
  - Promote the general welfare of Band members, particularly as concerns health, education and employment
  - Establish and administer services, programs and projects for members of the Bands and, where applicable, other residents of shared communities
  - Promote and preserve Micmac language, culture, values and traditions

These provisions were the objectives of the FNI in 1988 and were intended not only to empower Mi'kmaw groups at the local, regional and central level but also provide for control in the decision-making processes about their land and natural resources. Following the 1988 proposal, little headway was made toward "The Movement" and it was not until the early 2000's that the Federal Government began on and off negotiations with the FNI. Moreover, the next proposal drafted by the FNI and submitted in 2002 to begin negotiations with the Federal Government, also known as the "2002 Regime," acted as the foundation to the final Agreement in Principle which was ratified in 2008, with some key differences.

The formal recognition of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation resulted from the ratification of the Agreement in Principle drafted in 2007 (Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, 2007) and members who met the enrollment criteria became status-Indians under the Indian Act. However, the differences that are visible between the proposals submitted by the FNI in 1988, 2002, and finally in 2007 demonstrate the limitations of the Agreement in Principle. Stories shared by knowledge holders during this study further corroborated these limitations and account for the negative impacts felt by the community of Ewipkek. For the purposes of this paper, one limitation that will be unpacked from the Agreement in Principle is article 2.6 under General Provisions:

> The parties acknowledge that Canada will not set aside any reserve within the meaning of the *Indian Act* or lands reserved for the Indians within the meaning of s. 91(24) of the *Constitution Act, 1867* for the use and benefit of the Band (Qalipu, 2007, p. 8).

This provision in the Agreement in Principle ensured that no land would be committed to the Band or its members and instead focused on other benefits including post-secondary education funding, non-insured health benefits, and others. The significance of this provision extends to the sixty-seven communities that Qalipu represents and thus implicates the Mi'kmaq in each community. The provision restricts the ability to meaningfully participate in the decision-making process on land that is adjacent to their community.

The structure of Qalipu is centralized, with nine wards that subdivide the sixty-seven communities and are represented by an elected councilor from each ward that sits on Qalipu's Band Council. If the membership list accurately represents the Ktaqmkuk

Mi'kmaq living outside of Miawpukek, more than approximately 60% of Band members

live within twenty kilometers of an urban center on the west coast of Ktaqmkuk (Corner

Brook or Stephenville). Living outside of an urban center increases the need for people in

the community of Ewipkek to supplement their income through hunting for food,

gathering firewood for heat, and other uses of the land. For example, one knowledge

holder in the community of Ewipkek shared their story about popular areas for hunters.

They stated: "there are hunters there [Seabright's Bog] constantly, and more than two or

three or four. Lots of people. It is well hunted and well-traveled" (personal

communication, February 18th, 2019). Access to the land represents an important way of

life for people in the community of Ewipkek and this access is restricted by the

provisions set out in the Agreement in Principle (2007). Representing a minority in the

membership of Qalipu, it is possible to infer that community members of Ewipkek had to

sacrifice any ownership of their land in order to gain federal recognition. The following

section explores the Maritime Link Project consultation process as a case study. This case

demonstrates an evident disenfranchisement for the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw in Ewipkek.

3.5. Maritime Link Project and the Community of Ewipkek

　　The Maritime Link Project was proposed in 2010 after the establishment of Emera

Newfoundland and Labrador (ENL), a wholly owned subsidiary of Emera Inc. based in

Nova Scotia. Nalcor Energy (Nalcor), the company responsible for the Muskrat Falls

Hydroelectric Project in Labrador, signed a term sheet that designated ENL responsible

for the establishment of the Maritime Link, an overland transmission line through

Ktaqmkuk that would eventually transfer energy from Muskrat Falls to Nova Scotia and the greater North American power grid (Emera Newfoundland Registers, 2011).

Figures 3 and 4 show the path of the Maritime Link transmission corridor from central Ktaqmkuk along the west coast through the land surrounding the community of Ewipkek, across the Cabot Strait and into Unama'ki (Emera NL, 2013, s. 1.7-1.8). Initial consultations for the environmental assessment of the Maritime Link Project began in the spring of 2011, before the formation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation as discussed above. Furthermore, section 3.2.2 of the Maritime Link environmental assessment states:

> The Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation Band does not have any recognized Aboriginal or treaty rights. ENL has been informed that the Crown In right of Newfoundland and the Crown In right of Canada do not have a duty to consult the Qalipu in respect of the Project (2013, s. 3.19)

I also conducted an interview with an industry leader who was involved with the environmental assessment process of the Maritime Link Project. The respondent described the thorough consultation process taken by Emera NL in communities and with the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq, also outlined in the environmental assessment report (Emera NL, 2013) As demonstrated by the excerpt above, the structure of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation does not trigger a duty to consult from either provincial or federal authorities which forms a legal barrier for its communities or membership to meaningfully participate in development consultation processes. The following sections further discuss this barrier and the challenges faced by the community of Ewipkek during the Maritime Link consultation process.

Figure 3

Overview of the Maritime Link Project

N

Converter Station

Stephenville
Stephenville Crossing

Bottom Brook

Grounding Site - Indian Head

Grounding Site - St. George's

Ewipkek

St. George's Bay

Victoria Lake

Meelpaeg Reservoir

Granite Lake

Granite Canal
Switch Yard

Burgeo Highway

Doyles

Transition Compound

Cape Ray

Port aux Basques

Burgeo

Project Component
Study Area
Existing Transmission Line
Highway or Major Road
Arterial, Collector, Local Road

0   6   12   18   24   30
Kilometres

Emera
Newfoundland & Labrador

Figure 4

Overview of the Project
Island of Newfoundland

Coordinate System:
UTM NAD 83 Zone 21

Data Sources:
Geobase - Road Network
Geogratis - National Atlas

Scale: 1:850,000   Date: 9/21/12

ENL0055

3.5.1. Capacity for Community Involvement

Meaningful participation in a research or development project hinges not only on the ways in which the community is involved, but also the capacity of that community to participate (Blakney, 2003; MacDonald, Ford, Willox, Mitchell, Konek Productions, My Word Storytelling and Digital Media Lab, and Rigolet Inuit Community Government, 2015). In an article about the capacities among youth in northern Inuit communities to participate in development projects, MacDonald et al. (2015) state that some key characteristics are community connectedness, continuous communication and interaction, connecting generations, belief in self, sense of purpose, and cultural traditions and practices. For the purposes of this project, it was vital that the collaboration with the community of Ewipkek emerged from their desires and an asserted capacity to fully participate.

In practical terms, it is difficult to quantitatively measure this capacity. Instead, upon my arrival to the community of Ewipkek I opened dialogue with my community contact, Elder White. During the initial meetings with Elder White, he expressed that there was a strong level of capacity within the community and among knowledge holders as potential participants (Personal communication, November 19th, 2017). Elder White spoke of a strong community connectedness, sense of purpose, and continuance of cultural traditions and practices and made the following statement during one of the first formal interviews conducted:

> "we need the collaboration with the University, it's very important, because the academic skills that we require to do the work that needs to be done will come

from that relationship but we also need to be the drivers and the owners of that material, or at least to have complete access to that material (personal communication, January 26th, 2019)."

This excerpt is significant for two reasons. First, Elder White supports the relationship between community and university and recognizes the potential that lies therein. Second, the community of Ewipkek now demands autonomy over the product of research or work conducted *with* the community. Like Wilson (2008), Elder White identifies the need for the community to maintain control over the research process at each stage, and ultimately act as the owners of the project. Later in the interview, Elder White recounts two stories that shed light on the previous negative relationships that Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw communities have had with research. Shifting away from these negative experiences, it was important to recognize the capacity of the community that I was entering as a researcher and build a stronger working relationship to foster the most meaningful collaboration possible.

Furthermore, during the initial stages of consultation for the Maritime Link Project, one respondent described how the discussions were ceded to the executives at the newly formed Qalipu as a sign of good faith, assuming that Qalipu would emphasize concerns of the communities with land directly impacted by the Maritime Link Project. This knowledge holder stated that the community of Ewipkek was preparing a proposal for Emera NL since they knew the project would impact the land adjacent to the community. While preparing this proposal, the respondent explained that the newly formed Qalipu stepped in and wished to handle the negotiations on behalf of the community. They stated "I thought to myself, what a good gesture of working in

harmony with the very people who want to protect the land" (personal communication, May 6th, 2019). The respondent explained that their original proposal to Emera NL from the community of Flat Bay was for approximately $150,000 that would be evenly split between the two major cultural celebrations in Ktaqmkuk, the Miawpukek Powwow and the Ewipkek Powwow. It becomes apparent in the following section that this original proposal was not met at the end of the consultation process. The community's eagerness for participation in the negotiations for the Maritime Link Project and shows the *capacity for community involvement* in the decision-making and consultation processes. Coupled with the above quote from Elder White about working with the University to harness the knowledge in their community, the missed opportunity for meaningful participation in the Maritime Link Project consultation also highlights a lack of adequate representation for the community of Ewipkek.

3.5.2. Adequate Representation

The provision in the Agreement in Principle (2007) that denies the Mi'kmaw rights to land does not invoke the duty to consult from government agencies during development projects in Ktaqmkuk outside of Miawpukek. However, it also states under section 3.2.2 in the environmental assessment that "the requirement to describe uses of land and resources in the Project area for traditional purposes by Aboriginal persons and to assess Project impacts on such uses is a statutory obligation under CEAA [Canadian Environmental Assessment Act]" (2013, s. 3.19). Despite the absence of the duty to consult which resulted from the provisions set in the Agreement in Principle, Emera

Newfoundland and Labrador was still obligated to understand and mitigate against the impacts on land and resources in the project area. To do so, Emera approached the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation Band's Chief in May of 2012 to learn more about Qalipu and to subsequently introduce the Maritime Link. From there, Qalipu and the communities in the project area were invited to attend open consultation sessions (Personal communication, May 8th, 2019). Area number 36, St. George's, included the communities of "Barachois Brook, Flat Bay, Journois, St. George's, and St. Teresa" (See Figure 1) (Emera NL, 2013, s. 6.83). Despite these consultation sessions, concerns about the project persisted in the community of Ewipkek.

The environmental assessment closed and the Maritime Link Project was approved on June 21, 2013 by the Nova Scotia Minister of the Environment (Nova Scotia Department of the Environment, 2013) and Emera NL subsequently signed a socio-economic agreement with Qalipu on October 8th, 2014, over a year later (Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nations Band, n.d.). There was little feedback given to the community of Ewipkek from Qalipu after the negotiations closed, including no access to the socio-economic agreement that was signed between Qalipu and ENL (Personal communication, May 6th, 2019).

The socio-economic agreement remains unavailable to the community and to the public therefore I was unable to get a copy of the agreement as it was deemed "confidential" by both Qalipu and Emera NL. However, according to the published financial statements of Qalipu, Emera NL committed to provide funding to Qalipu for the purposes of employment, salaries, and training programs to the value of more than

$484,328^{24}$ since 2015. As an example, some of the ways in which this money was used, according to the 2016 financial statement released by Qalipu, was wages and benefits, office equipment, rent, travel and meetings and consulting fees (Bonnell Cole Janes Chartered Professional Accountants, 2016, p. 36). From a general examination of the financial statements released by Qalipu, no revenue from the socio-economic agreement appears to have made it directly to local communities[25] such as Ewipkek who faced direct negative impacts from the construction of the Maritime Link Project. However, from oral accounts, it seems that the community did receive a small sum of money amounting to approximately $7,000 in support of the Powwow in Ewipkek (personal communication, May 6th, 2019).

The stories shared by knowledge holders in the community highlighted tension between the priorities of the community members in Ewipkek and the provisions that govern the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation through the Agreement in Principle (2007). First, it is evident that having access to the land and its resources is significant for the continued livelihood of the community of Ewipkek (personal communication, February 18th, 2019). Second, Elder White explains that during the consultation process, he felt that little attention was given to the concerns of the community because of a lack of understanding from both the industry as well as Qalipu. Elder White outlined that a major

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[24] This number was calculated from the sum of the amounts listed under the financial statements released by Qalipu for the 2015, 2016, 2017, and 2018 fiscal years. Each financial statement has a page that outlines the contribution by Emera NL through the socio-economic agreement and outlines the ways in which the money was spent. Retrieved from : http://qalipu.ca/reports-and-financial-statements/
[25] Financial statements retrieved from : http://qalipu.ca/reports-and-financial-statements/

concern from the community was the "opening up" of the interior which promoted

greater travel on the territory around Ewipkek:

> They put roads there that everyone would drive with their pickup trucks … it did
> not stop ATVs or other all terrain vehicles … a road that allows people to get in
> with all-terrain vehicles and cut wherever they see wood to cut, go over the
> marshland where they are moose hunting and destroy the berry grounds. (personal
> communication, April 8th, 2019).

Elder White outlined that "this was our concerns that they didn't understand, or at least to

my knowledge they didn't understand, because they didn't address those, and they didn't

provide a forum for us to address those" (personal communication, April 8th, 2019).

Without a platform to speak on, the voices from the community of Ewipkek were lost

during the consultation process.

One of the concerns brought forward in the environmental assessment by the

Mi'kmaq consulted (both from Nova Scotia and Ktaqmkuk) was regarding the possible

"exclusion of known Aboriginal organizations". In response, Emera NL noted that an

effort was made to engage all Mi'kmaq who may have "an interest" in the project (Emera

NL, 2013, s. 3.21). Since the community of Ewipkek is currently represented by Qalipu,

there was not adequate representation of the concerns the community held, and their

voice was lost during the consultation process.

3.5.3. Limitations for the Community of Ewipkek

Traditional activities on the land were discussed during interviews for the TLUOS

such as berry picking, cabin locations, fishing, harvesting birds, hunting, and trapping

among others. The stories that were shared spoke of practices that were passed down from previous Elders in the community and the participants emphasized the continuation of these practices. The questions for the TLUOS interviews that were developed between Elder White and I focused on the various ways in which members of the community continue to use the land surrounding the community of Ewipkek. From these discussions, related questions about the cultural connection and sustainability of the land were introduced including negative impacts from development such as the Maritime Link Project. A common theme that was shared among the knowledge holders in this study was the importance of sustainably harvesting from the land to supplement a family's income if they were struggling. One respondent noted that "we try to find any older people in the community who don't have any meat, so when I hunt, we take a quarter of meat and give the rest away" (personal communication, May 17th, 2019). Accessing the land is an important way in which members of the community of Ewipkek supplement their income and sustain their families when money becomes tight.

In a conversation with Elder White, he shared that the use of the land was not only an important way to supplement a family's income,

> it's their recreation, it's their leisure, it's their exercise. While you'll see some person jogging on the road in a sweat suit … you'll very seldom see an Aboriginal person doing that, what you'll see is an Aboriginal person leave in the morning with a pack on their back and going all day walking, looking for berries or setting rabbit snares (personal communication, April 8th, 2019).

Having access to the land is a way of life for the Mi'kmaq in Ewipkek and has been for generations. One Elder who shared during this study spoke about the steep learning curve

growing up in the community. For example, this respondent spoke about their Elder who had taught them on the land, and recounted a time when they tripped with a large pack on their back, "he [the Elder] is standing up but he never helped me, I had to get up on my own" (personal communication, February 18th, 2019). The conversations continued and everyone agreed that some of the most important education happened on the land. Figure 5 is a map that was designed from the TLUOS with Elder White and shows the areas on the land that were used in the past and continue to be used today by members of the community of Ewipkek.

The importance of access to the land is not lost on other Indigenous groups in the province as well. For example, Samson (2016) discusses the continued use of the land for various purposes by the Innu in Labrador and parts of Quebec. As a "culturally arbitrary border" that separates the Canadian provinces of Quebec and Labrador, Samson (2016) asserts that this border "provides the rationale for Innu domiciled in Quebec, whose historical and contemporary lands are on both sides of the border, to have their land rights unilaterally extinguished" (p. 95). Negotiations over "Labrador Innu Lands" categorically disenfranchise the nation that has existed across the provincial border with Quebec since time immemorial. Samson (2016) provides another example of how Federal policies and negotiations have continued to limit a people's access to land that is important to their way of life in this province. Figure 5 shows the significant locations and land use for the community of Ewipkek, and it is evident that, like the Innu in Labrador, their usage is not limited to municipal or regional boundaries established by political bodies.
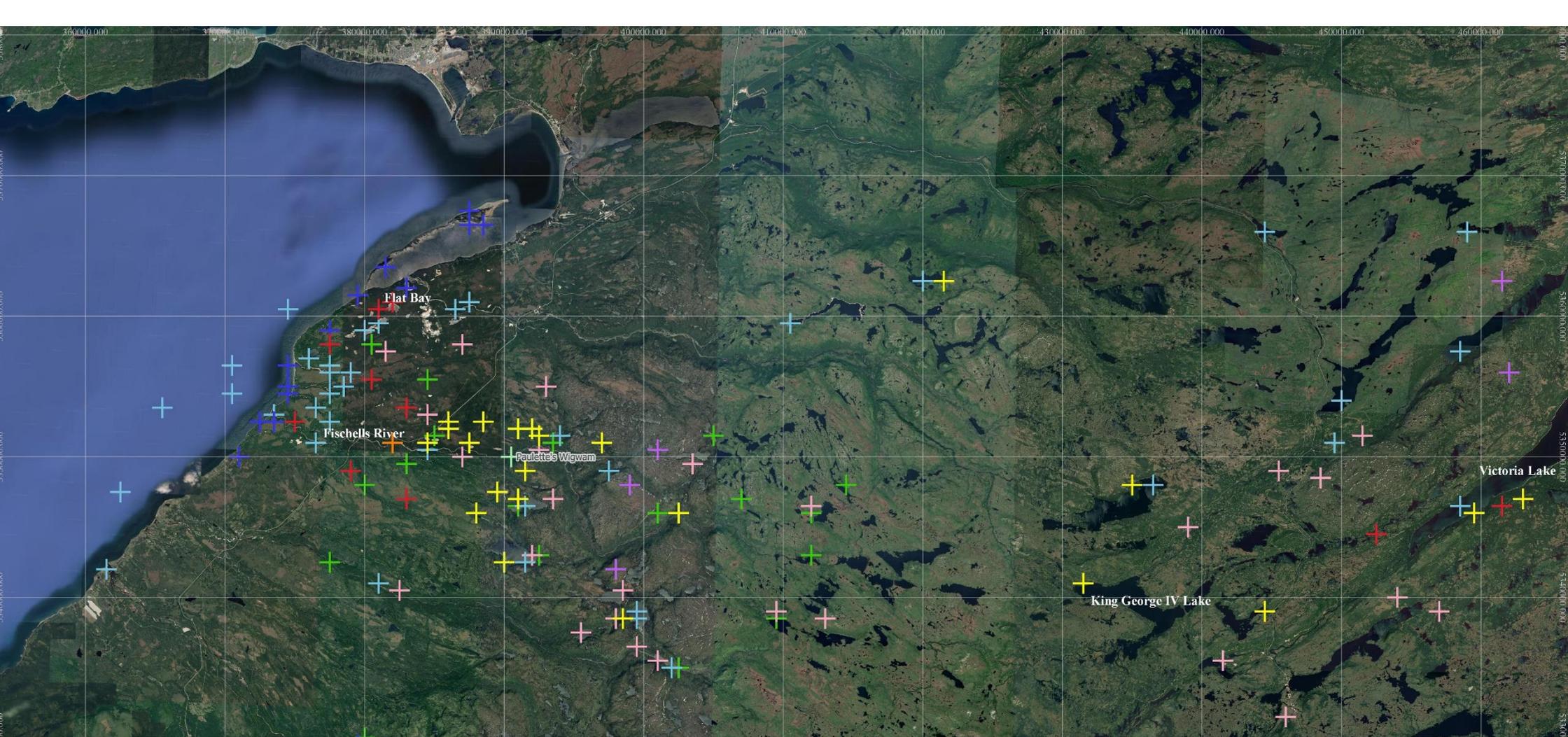
Traditional Land Use & Occupancy
Ewipkek, Ktaqmkuk

The Traditional Land Use & Occupancy Study was a project undertaken by community members and partners with the No'kmaq Village Band in Ewipkek, known in English as Flat Bay. The study has been active for several years with different collaborations and narrates the cultural and historical heritage of the community and its relationship to the land. Information on the map has been collected through in-person focus groups with families and Elders and although it does not represent a comprehensive list of the land use and occupancy in the community, many important locations have been identified.

No'kmaq Village

Legend
Flat Bay TUS Field Data
+ Berry Picking Area
+ Cabin Location
+ Fishing
+ Harvesting Birds
+ Hunting Areas
+ Lean-to
+ Other Seafood Harvesting
+ Trapping Areas
+ Paulette's Wigwam

Flat Bay
Fischells River
Paulette's Wigwam
Victoria Lake
King George IV Lake

Figure 5

Created by Rory McInnes - BA, Adv.Dip
9th June, 2019

0   5   10   15   20   25 km

N
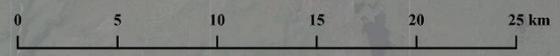
One location that was mentioned was Paulette's Wigwam, named after Paul Benoit, who constructed it. It has since been destroyed, but knowledge holders in the community recall the wigwam as an important location for learning in their youth. Elder White stated that the wigwam "was our school. It was a schoolhouse. We learned about everything … it was a Mi'kmaw training institute, that is what it was" and another Elder in the room added that it housed "very many students" (personal communication, February 18th, 2019). The stories that were shared in this study are important not only as a way of understanding the potential for the knowledge within the community that could meaningfully influence development projects, but also accounts for the oral history for the community of Ewipkek.

The provisions in the Agreement in Principle limit rural Mi'kmaw communities such as Ewipkek in accessing the land adjacent to their community and in having their traditional knowledge considered in decision making that impacts the land and natural resources. This is significant when comparing the 2007 Agreement in Principle to the 1988 proposal by the FNI which listed a provision to "use, manage, administer and regulate human and natural resources available to the communities, including wildlife" (Federation of Newfoundland Indians, 1988, p. 3).

3.7. Contemporary Colonialism

According to Qalipu (2016), the Agreement in Principle (2007) passed with 90% agreement of the voters that participated in the 2007 referendum. Though the motivation behind the wide acceptance of the Agreement in Principle is unknown, recognizing the

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ways in which it continues to disenfranchise rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw communities outside of Miawpukek is important.

In an era of reconciliation, constant reflection on the ways in which the settler-governments work with Indigenous people is necessary. As a dynamic concept, steps toward true reconciliation can only be taken if the "solutions" evolve alongside the ever-changing Nations that they encompass. For example, Hingley (2000) discusses the theory of "postcolonialism" and states that it "implies that colonialism is a phenomenon that has been relegated to the history books. To truly achieve postcolonial status for nations and a global community, as individuals we must embark on personal voyages of introspection" (p. 101). Placing the colonization of a nation in the past after making small efforts to decolonize only perpetuates and further embeds the "colonial mind-set" that have "overtly or covertly benefited from the oppression and subjugation of other groups of people" (Hingley, 2000). As evident from the original proposals for self-negotiation from the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (1988), the formation of Qalipu represented a small victory for Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq: *recognition*. Validation of the existence and identity of Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq outside of Miawpukek was a short step towards decolonization yet cannot be seen as a panacea for reconciliation.

Taiaiake Alfred (2009), a Kahnawake Mohawk educator, states that "active collaboration with colonial power cannot be supported within the framework of a traditional culture. The structure of colonialism … allows co-opted politicians to cloud the air with misconceptions and avoid true accountability for their compromises" (p. 125). Though its applicability to the situation faced by Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq is not clear,

this excerpt is a reminder that the Agreement in Principle existed within colonial frameworks. Instead, policy makers and relevant decision-makers must listen to communities and nations as they evolve and their priorities shift. In this study, the community of Ewipkek and its knowledge holders have demonstrated a driven effort to have control over matters that concern the community but have been disempowered by the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation. The structure of the Agreement in Principle does not provide for localized control over the use and benefit of land adjacent to the wards of Qalipu which allows for their traditional knowledge to then be silenced during consultations such as the Maritime Link Project. Despite direct negative impacts on the community of Ewipkek, mitigation efforts from Emera NL were targeted at Qalipu as the representative First Nation, yet little benefit found its way to the grassroots level in the community.

When I mentioned the impacts that the community of Ewipkek brought forward during this study to the industry leader that agreed to an interview, the respondent was concerned. The respondent stated that "had there been an identified problem, they [Emera NL] would have worked to avoid, mitigate or deal with it in some manner" (personal communication, May 7th, 2019). Despite best efforts, the disparity between the localized impacts in the community and the representative structure of Qalipu facilitated the silencing of the voices in Ewipkek. Instead of having autonomy over the consultation process "in-house" to empower community members to share potential concerns, the centralized governance of Qalipu based in an urban center removes the process from the grassroots level. This disconnection between industry and community occurred due to the

structure of Qalipu, and not as a result of the design or legal requirements of the consultation process during the environmental assessment.

Several Indigenous scholars advise against approaches to reconciliation that are founded in "Western" or colonial principles (Alfred, 2009; Samson, 2016; Wilson, 2008). Instead of empowering Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies, attempting to rebuild relationships with Indigenous groups through government policy and legislation can further alienate and disenfranchise the Indigenous community (Alfred, 2009). For example, Samson's (2016) article highlights the way in which the Canadian Land Claim process is disguised as a panacea to give land rights back to Innu communities yet remains oppressive in nature and perpetuates the dependency of the Innu on the government. For example, Samson (2016) states that the Innu must agree that they "have no claims other than those mentioned in the AIP [Agreement in Principle] for any violations of their Aboriginal rights. This applies to past, present and even future violations and can refer to both acts and omissions" (p. 93).

Through my research, I have concluded that the continued oppression of Indigenous peoples through what is deemed an effort at reconciliation is a form of "contemporary colonialism". Different to the traditional forms of colonialism, such as the assimilation agenda, the 1969 "White Paper" or the enactment of residential schools, contemporary colonialism impacts communities while being described as addressing the underlying issues. For Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq, particularly in rural communities, this relates to the aforementioned quote by Alfred (2009) in which these "solutions" to colonization "avoid true accountability for their compromises" by remaining stagnant and constant (p.

125). Instead, when the Agreement in Principle (2007) was ratified that created the

Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, it should have been considered a work-in-progress that

required continued consultation, over time, as the needs of the communities that it

impacted evolved. The original proposal by the FNI in 1988 facilitated this process and

stated "given the unique situation of the FNI, its Bands and membership, an evolutionary

or phased approach is proposed so as to normalize relations gradually and then improve

the capacity of our communities to be self-governing" (p. 3).

3.8. Conclusion

This study has responded to the question: *How do the governing policies of the*

Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation limit the use of traditional knowledge from the community

of Ewipkek through meaningful participation in development projects that impact the

community? This response was structured through a critical examination of a provision in

the Agreement in Principle (2007) of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, gathering stories

about land use and access to traditional practices shared by knowledge holders in the

community of Ewipkek, and analyzing the Maritime Link Project as a case study.

The Mi'kmaw framework of "Two-Eyed Seeing" was implemented at various

stages throughout this collaboration. Through our strong working relationship, Elder

White and I were able to co-create this project from both my "Western" paradigm and his

Indigenous paradigm. Moreover, the stories that were collected and presented from the

Indigenous method of *story* were coupled with a review of literature. Finally, the case

study was selected and analyzed, and the results were described through both the stories collected from the community and by ideas drawn from scholarly literature.

Returning to the original three points presented at the beginning of this paper, the community of Ewipkek displayed a capacity for involvement through the strong collaboration that was formed during this project and stories shared about the challenges during negotiations for the Maritime Link Project. Despite this capacity for meaningful participation, the community of Ewipkek was not adequately represented during the Maritime Link environmental assessment consultation process. This prevented the validation of the knowledge in the community. Finally, due to the lack of a formalized duty to consult during the Maritime Link Project as a result of the "landless" nature of Qalipu, the provisions in the Agreement in Principle (2007) limit the level to which community members can participate in consultation processes for development projects. The structure of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation and its governing policies in the Agreement in Principle (2007) perpetuates a form of *contemporary colonialism* for the community of Ewipkek. With a demonstrated capacity for autonomy, the community of Ewipkek continues to face obstacles that limit their ability to assert control over decision-making processes relevant to the surrounding land.

As a collaborative project, this study allowed the community of Ewipkek, recognized under the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, to control the research process and thus validate the knowledge shared by community members with ownership of the material produced. Focusing on the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq outside of Miawpukek, the stories shared by knowledge holders in the community of Ewipkek also highlight specific

ways in which the formation of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation continues to perpetuate the "colonial mind-set" that silenced the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq in the first place.

Since the denial of the existence of Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq and the "Mi'kmaq Mercenary Myth," the formation of the Miawpukek and Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation represents one of the first major steps towards reconciliation with Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq. However, the consultation process during the Maritime Link Project demonstrates a clear example of the limitations placed on the community of Ewipkek through the governing policies of Qalipu. The community is, therefore, unable to meaningfully participate and share their knowledge. Despite asserted efforts of thorough consultation by Emera NL, community members in Ewipkek felt that their concerns were not heard and that a forum did not exist for them to exercise a right to be consulted. Instead, Emera NL was able to negotiate a socio-economic agreement with Qalipu to the tune of nearly $500,000, of which the grassroots community directly received little to none. Direct negative impacts from the Maritime Link Project were described by knowledge holders in the community yet were not heard during the consultation process at the time.

For future studies, a deeper analysis of the Agreement in Principle (2007) that formed the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation can better define the underlying issues that continue to perpetuate contemporary colonialism among Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq. For example, the enrollment process has been discussed heavily among mainstream media sources (Hanrahan, 2012; Meloney, 2018). Immediate families have been divided in identity as some are granted membership to Qalipu while others have been denied. The legitimacy and use of blood quantum and ancestry as eligibility must also be analyzed to

a more in-depth degree (Gaudry and Leroux, 2017). As Canada continues to work towards repairing the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, it is important that solutions are collaborative and that Indigenous peoples have ownership over the decision-making processes that affect them and their lands. The current study with the community of Ewipkek and Elder White demonstrates this capacity. As non-Indigenous researchers, it is important to self-reflect before using research as a vehicle to promote reconciliation and release ownership over a project that involves Indigenous people in order to influence future research on policy and its outcomes for Indigenous communities.

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Chapter Four: Conclusion

4.1. Re-search and Un-learn

This thesis presents two papers that are the product of a close collaboration with the community of Ewipkek, a rural Mi'kmaw community in western Ktaqmkuk. Through this partnership, I have grown both professionally and personally. The research question asked in the first paper was: *How can a non-Indigenous researcher apply "Two-Eyed Seeing" as an appropriate framework in collaborating with a rural Mi'kmaw community in western Ktaqmkuk?* The second paper posed the research question: *How do the governing policies of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation limit the use of traditional knowledge from the community of Ewipkek through meaningful participation in development projects that impact the community?* Together these questions and the papers that respond to them have allowed me to reflect on responses to the guiding research questions posed in this thesis: *(1) Can traditional knowledge be effectively harnessed to promote development in a rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw community? (2) What lessons were learned throughout this study that can help guide research projects in western Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw communities in the future?*

The first paper responded to its research question through a review of Indigenous and non-Indigenous literature that discussed research involving Indigenous communities and stories shared by community members. The tensions that exist through research with an Indigenous community were explored, emphasizing the importance of an Indigenous research paradigm. The Mi'kmaw framework of "Two-Eyed Seeing" emerged as an appropriate approach for conducting research with Mi'kmaw communities in western

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Ktaqmkuk. However, researcher self-reflection and dialogue with the community partners are necessary to ensure that the approach is specific to the project design and respects, validates and empowers the knowledge gathered from participants. As Findlay (2016) asserts, the approach to research must be unique to the community involved to support and empathize with that community's experiences, culture and territories.

The second paper employs "Two-Eyed Seeing" and explores the ways in which the community of Ewipkek continues to be disenfranchised by the lack of provisions in the Agreement in Principle (2007) for the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation. A duty to consult with the community of Ewipkek was not triggered during the Maritime Link Project at either the provincial or federal level due to the structure of Qalipu. The community of Ewipkek felt that their concerns were not heard by decision-makers in the environmental assessment of the Maritime Link Project. By exploring the community's capacity, the lack of adequate representation in decision-making processes, and the limitation of governing policies, it concluded that the structure of Qalipu perpetuates a contemporary colonial relationship with the community of Ewipkek.

This thesis is a product of experimentation to better understand ways to promote positive development in rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw communities through knowledge sharing and research. Increasingly, researchers in Ktaqmkuk are looking to rural areas to shift away from a narrative of out-migration and decline towards a positive outlook to empower an existing capacity for growth and development (Minnes and Vodden, 2017). One way in which this has traditionally been done is through collaborative research and knowledge gathering to explore the avenues for development. Absolon (2011) asserts that

"the term 'research' has a lot of colonial baggage attached to it. In most Indigenous communities, research is a bad word" (p. 21). To assume that research is an appropriate tool to implement with Indigenous communities as collaborators is problematic. Instead, as I experienced throughout this study, it is important to self-reflect throughout the research process to effectively measure whether it is appropriate or not.

To remove the connotations with the word "research," Absolon (2011) employs the term "re-search" to invoke the concept of "looking again" and un-learning the colonial assumptions behind Western research. Similar to the arguments presented in the first manuscript of this thesis, researchers must perform this "looking again" before pursuing a research project involving an Indigenous community. In the case of traditional knowledge and its use for development *with* the rural Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw community of Ewipkek, a simple answer to the overall question guiding this thesis is yes, traditional knowledge can be harnessed to promote development with this community – *with conditions*.

To respond to the lessons learned to help guide research projects and the sharing of traditional knowledge, the following section acknowledges and respects the implications of research in the community of Ewipkek. Researchers must understand certain responsibilities that come with their agreement and commitment to work with an Indigenous community to ensure that knowledge is gathered and shared through an effective, anti-oppressive, and empowering approach. Knowledge holders in the community of Ewipkek have described their experiences with an alienating research process in which knowledge is gained through story that is then reinterpreted by the

researcher and has, at times, been twisted in very derogatory and demeaning ways (personal communication, April 8th, 2019). Therefore, the next section presents the responsibilities for researchers drawn from lessons learned during this research project for future work with the community of Ewipkek and potentially other Mi'kmaw communities in western Ktaqmkuk.

4.2. Responsibilities and Lessons Learned

This section is presented only to fellow non-Indigenous researchers in Ktaqmkuk currently or anticipating collaborating *with* an Indigenous group or community in research. The generalizability of the information presented here is limited as the concepts that emerged throughout this project are situated in both space and time (Absolon, 2011). Therefore, in its most honest interpretation, the responsibilities listed here apply only to non-Indigenous researchers working *with* the community of Ewipkek in western Ktaqmkuk in the current context. For researchers working with Indigenous groups or communities outside of Ewipkek or especially Ktaqmkuk, a similar thorough self-reflection and learning journey is necessary to assess the appropriateness of research as a tool for development in that community at that time.

Throughout this journey, several responsibilities have emerged for non-Indigenous researchers that are important to meet in order to ensure research is conducted with respect in an anti-oppressive manner. From the first manuscript, several lessons were learned through the consideration of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholarly literature. First it is important to involve the community as early as possible. All efforts

must be made to meet, build relationships, and gain a mutual understanding with research partners in the community before any research question or design is formulated.

Second, the formulation of the research question and design must be collaborative in nature and reflect the priorities of the community. All efforts must be made to employ an Indigenous research paradigm, framework, approach and methodology that acknowledges, validates and empowers the knowledge gathered from the community. Once a research question and design have been created, a research agreement must be devised and signed by both the researcher and the community partners outlining their respective commitments and duties throughout the project (see Appendix A as an example). This research agreement should encompass the full scope of the project and be revisited should any aspect of the project change, or priorities shift. Every effort should be made to have a community partner (or community co-investigator) present during knowledge collection to not only benefit from greater knowledge sharing but also to promote mutual respect and trust between the knowledge holders and the research process.

Third, knowledge holders must also be given the opportunity to review the knowledge that was collected after it has been transcribed or otherwise processed. Both raw and processed knowledge (recorded interviews, maps created, transcribed audio, etc.) must be returned to the community to be the sole owners. The researcher must ask the community partner before using the knowledge in future projects / presentations / papers. Therefore, the community partners must verify all of the dissemination of knowledge before being released to the public or private sector as necessary. The researcher must be

prepared to change / revise / redo or destroy any or all part(s) of their project should the priorities of the community change or the situation no longer become desirable for the community. At any time the researcher must understand that if their research is no longer of interest to the community, it is no longer appropriate to continue with the project. This involves significant risk in terms of completion for typical research timelines, for example a graduate student finishing their program, however the risk that the community assumes in this partnership is greater and thus takes priority.

Furthermore, additional responsibilities emerged from lessons learned in the second manuscript, after the research design is completed, the framework and methods are implemented, and knowledge gathering has begun. First, in order to ensure the applicability of "Two-Eyed Seeing" and validate both an Indigenous and "Western" research paradigm, an effort must be made to validate both approaches in the project equally. This balance of the "two eyes," an Indigenous and "Western" research paradigm exists at every stage of the research project including the initial formation of the design and approach. For example, when stories are presented from the community, the researcher can reference scholarly literature relevant to the study that provides a different perspective on the topic at hand.

Second, a case study can be used, when appropriate for the community, to give a real-life example that supports the stories gathered from the community. It is important to include the community partners in the analysis of the case study as well as the interpretation of the stories from knowledge holders. As in the case of this study, there may be an interview, or series of interviews, that do not allow for a community partner to

be present to ask relevant questions themselves. To ensure that the voice of the community is not lost, the researcher must give members of the community the opportunity to provide questions that the researchers then takes to the interview on behalf of that person. The transcript of this interview should then be returned as soon as possible to the individual who posed the question.

Finally, As Black and McBean (2016) assert, it is important that researchers "check" their interpretation of stories that have been shared from community members as traditional knowledge can be taken out of context to justify the needs of environmental decision-makers without meaningful consultation in the community. The stories shared by community members in this study surrounding traditional land use and occupancy demonstrates the value of traditional knowledge as a resource in development decision-making processes.

4.3. "Two-Eyed Seeing" Towards the Future

As Indigenous scholars assert a stronger voice in the academic world, there is less and less room for non-Indigenous scholars to represent Indigenous communities, especially through "Western" research processes that were founded on colonial assumptions and have oppressed and disenfranchised Indigenous peoples (Pfeifer, 2018). However, as the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples involves both parties, it implicates the non-Indigenous researchers in their efforts to re-pair and re-build this relationship that has been so drastically damaged. In academia, non-Indigenous researchers can no longer speak for the marginalized but instead must act as allies in the

sincerest way possible. Through the validation and empowerment of the knowledge produced in Indigenous communities, non-Indigenous scholars are able to partner respectfully to research with Indigenous peoples.

"Two-Eyed Seeing" validates both Indigenous and Western research paradigms with collaborators working from both knowledge systems. Though not a panacea to bridge the gap between Indigenous communities and research, "Two-Eyed Seeing" can provide interesting insight to a different approach and, combined with constant self-reflection and collaboration, can empower the capacity of both the researcher and the community. A final quote by Elder White signifies the importance of this relationship and the work that must be done between the Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaq and researchers in their communities:

> "Yes, I guess to put it into a nutshell, what I would like to see is the kind of relationship that if a student from MUN is going to do any type of research or any type of involvement that includes Aboriginal people, whether they be Flat Bay or Benoit's Cove or Conne River, then I think that there should be consultation between that group of people and the researcher, to determine what the research is going to be used for, and who has access to it when it is completed".

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A Collaborative Research Agreement

Project Title: *Indigenous Knowledge and Land Use : Building relationships with a Ktaqmkuk Mi'kmaw Community*

This collaborative research agreement is made this   day of   ,   .

Between:

Principal researcher: Brady Reid
Supporting Agency: Grenfell Campus, Memorial University
Telephone: 1-902-880-7433
Email: bradyreid95@gmail.com
And:
Principal researcher: Calvin White
Supporting Agency: Flat Bay First Nation
Telephone: 1-709-649-2821
Email: calshunting45@eastlink.ca

Both principal researchers from the University and community partnerships agree to conduct the named collaborative research project in accordance with the guidelines and conditions described in this document.

The purpose of the research project

The purpose of this project is twofold: First, to collect stories from community members who wish to share the ways in which they use the land. This information will be used to produce a comprehensive land use study that will act as a living history of the community of Flat Bay. Second, to reflect on the research process of this project to understand better how to best conduct research with Indigenous communities, and more specifically with Mi'kmaw communities in Newfoundland.
The results of this research may be used to create a completed Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study that will tell the story of the Flat Bay First Nation. For Mi'kmaw communities in Newfoundland that have been historically forgotten about and undermined, this document will provide space to have their story told.

Scope of the project:

The project has the following objectives and/or aims to answer the following questions:

1. How do members in the community of Flat Bay meaningfully experience the land on which they live?
2. How can research be used as both a decolonizing and development tool in Mi'kmaw communities on the West Coast of Newfoundland?

Expected Benefits and Risks

The project will benefit the external researchers in the following ways:

The scholarly/scientific community will benefit from this work in being able to understand what it means to work from an Indigenous paradigm, and one that is context specific to the Mi'kmaw peoples on the West Coast. Many fields including the social sciences, environmental management and policy all have interests in working with the Mi'kmaq of Newfoundland to create more appropriate models of development, but it is integral that this work is conducted in a manner that is empathetic to the unique situation of the community involved. This research strives to provide some sort of theoretical and methodological understanding of how to conduct further research with Mi'kmaw communities (and other Indigenous communities) in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador as well as possibly elsewhere.

The project will benefit the community in the following ways:

There are two possible benefits that may result from this study. The first is a direct benefit whereby the community will be having a completed Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study that will tell the story of the Flat Bay First Nation. This document may be able to act as a guiding light for development in the community of Flat Bay. Therefore, the second benefit that can come from this project is the leverage that the Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study can give to the Flay Bay First Nation in future negotiations between the community and external parties.

The possible risks and steps to mitigate these risks are as follows:

There is a possibility that talking about lived experiences of land use and life in a Mi'kmaw community can bring up difficult memories of the negative impacts of colonial practices in Newfoundland. For example, recently the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation, of which the Flat Bay First Nation is a ward, has reviewed their membership and cut a substantial portion of self-identifying Mi'kmaw peoples from legally holding "status". The idea that someone's identity is based on a points system where they are ranked from "most" Mi'kmaq to "least" Mi'kmaq can be very difficult to comprehend and surmount. It is possible that reliving experiences of one's life that has been centered on Mi'kmaw traditions and practices can bring back old or new memories of colonial values that impacted their lives. As such, it will not be a requirement to have a status card that

legally identifies an individual as Mi'kmaq. Instead, all participants need only to reside in the community of Flat Bay and self-identify as Mi'kmaq.

Should any participant feel triggered or upset throughout any stage of the research process, they are able to contact the mental health services department of Western Health in Stephenville, the nearest medical facility, at 1-709-643-8740. As well, participants can contact the Regional Mental Health Promotion Consultant, Tara Walsh, at 1-709-634-4927. Resources within the community of Flat Bay for participants will also be made available upon demand.

Obligations and Responsibilities

Community Partner

The First Nation is the community partner and has the following obligations:
- First and foremost, to represent the interests, perspectives, and concerns of community members and of the community.
- To ensure that research carried out is done in accordance with the highest standards, both methodologically and from a First Nations cultural perspective.
- To serve as the guardian and owner of the research data during and after completion of the project.
- The ensure that confidentiality during the research process is upheld for the participants.
- To offer the external and community researchers the opportunity to continue data analyses before the data are offered to new researchers.
- The ensure that all data of a participant who withdraws from the study is destroyed properly.

External Researcher

External researchers include consultants, people working at research institutions (i.e., universities) and will agree to:
- Do no harm to the community
- Actively involve the community in the research process and to promote it as a community-owned activity.
- Ensure the research's design, implementation, analysis, interpretation, reporting, publication, and distribution of its results are culturally relevant and in compliance with the standards of competent research.
- Undertake research that will contribute something of value to the community.
- Ensure that new skills are acquired by community members, such as research design, planning, data collection, storage, analysis, interpretation, and so on.
- Be stewards of the data until the end of the project if requested or appropriate.
- Promote the dissemination of information to society at large if desired and appropriate through both written publications and oral presentations.

- Be involved in any future of the data after the data is returned to the community, if requested.
- Abide by any local laws, regulations, and protocols in effect in the community or region, and to become familiar with the culture and traditions of the community.
- Advocate and address health, social, or other issues that may emerge as a result of the research, within their respective roles as researchers and community representatives.
- Ensure that the community is fully informed in all parts of the research process including its outcomes through publications and presentations, and the promptly answer questions that may emerge regarding the project and its findings.
- Communicate equally with the other partners in all issues arising in the project.
- Ensure that research carried out is done in accordance with the highest standards, both methodologically and from a First Nations cultural perspective.
- Abide by their own professional standards, their institution's guidelines for ethical research and general standards of ethical research.

Funding

The principal researchers have acquired finding and other forms of support for this research project from Memorial University through graduate student funding. Any future funding applications will be developed in consultation with the First Nation community to ensure standards and criteria meet both the researcher's and community's ethics and values.

Dispute Resolution

In the event that a dispute arises out of or relates to this research project, both parties agree first to try in good faith to settle the dispute by mediation administered by an agreed-upon neutral party before resorting to arbitration, litigation, or some other dispute resolution procedure. A mediator will assist the parties in finding a resolution that is mutually acceptable.

If a dispute cannot be resolved to the satisfaction of both parties, the research project may be terminated.

Term and Termination

This agreement shall have an effective date of   and shall terminate on   .
This agreement may be terminated by the written notification of either party.

Signatures

Flat Bay First Nation Representatives

_____

First Nation Chief

_____

First Nation Community Contact

External Research Partners

_____

Principal Investigator

_____

Direct Supervisor of Principal Investigator

Appendix B
Qalipu First Nation Enrollment Decision

Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada
Box 9100
Winnipeg MB R3C 0M9
Tel: 1-800-561-2266

Canada

COPY

January 31, 2017

Your file number: 1003050915

BRADY TANNER REID
4A - 918 MCLEAN ST
HALIFAX NB B3H 2V1

Dear Brady Tanner Reid:

This is to inform you that your application to become a Founding Member of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation has been reviewed by the Enrolment Committee pursuant to the Agreement for the Recognition of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq Band (the "Agreement"), the Guidelines contained in the Agreement, the Supplemental Agreement, and Directives to the Enrolment Committee. These documents, as well as other useful information, can be found at www.aandc.gc.ca/qalipu or www.qalipu.ca.

Decision

The Enrolment Committee has **approved** your application, because you **meet** the criteria to be enrolled as a Founding Member of the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation Band.

This decision means your name will be added to the updated Founding Members List for the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nation Band, according to section 7 of the Supplemental Agreement. In spring 2018, you will be contacted by the Indian Registrar after your name is added to the Indian Register to confirm your registration as an Indian under the *Indian Act* and to inform you of the programs and benefits available to registered Indians and members of the Band.

Sincerely,

Ronald Penney
Enrolment Committee Chair

Encl: Enrolment Process Next Steps
c.c.:   Federation of Newfoundland Indians
        Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada

[A]

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Appendix C
Responsibilities for Researchers Conducting Research with the Community of Ewipkek

- The community is involved as early in the project as possible. All efforts must be made to meet, build relationships, and gain a mutual understanding with research partners in the community before any research question or design is formulated.

- The formulation of the research question and design must be collaborative in nature and reflect the priorities of the community. All efforts must be made to employ an Indigenous research paradigm, theoretical framework and methodology that acknowledged, validates and empowers the knowledge gathered from the community.

- Once a research question and design have been created, a research agreement must be devised and signed by both the research and the community partners outlining their respective commitments and duties throughout the project (see Appendix A).

- Every effort should be made to have a community partner (or community co-investigator) present during knowledge collection to not only benefit from greater knowledge sharing but also to promote mutual respect and trust between the knowledge holders and the research process.

- Knowledge holders must be given the opportunity to review the knowledge that was collected after it has been transcribed or otherwise processed.

- All raw and processed knowledge (recorded interviews, maps created, transcribed audio, etc.) must be returned to the community to be the sole owners. The

researcher must ask the community partner before using the knowledge in future projects / presentations / papers.

- All dissemination of knowledge must be verified through community partners before released to the public / private sector as necessary.

- The researcher must be prepared to change / revise / redo or destroy any or all part(s) of their project should the priorities of the community change or the situation no longer become desirable for the community. At any time the researcher must understand that if their research is no longer of interest to the community, it is no longer appropriate to continue with the project.

- In order to ensure the duality of "Two-Eyed Seeing" and validate both an Indigenous and "Western" research paradigm, an effort must be made to include both approaches in the project. For example, when stories are presented from the community, the researcher can reference scholarly literature relevant to the study that provides a different perspective on the topic at hand.

- A case study can be used, when appropriate for the community, to give a real-life example that supports the stories gathered from the community. It is important to include the community partners in the analysis of the case study as well as the interpretation of the stories from knowledge holders.

- In the case that there may be an interview, or series of interviews, that do not allow for a community partner to be present to ask relevant questions themselves, the researcher must give members of the community the opportunity that the researchers then take to the interview on behalf of that person. This ensures that

the voice of the community is not lost The transcript of this interview should then

be returned as soon as possible to the individual who posed the question.