Steps Towards a Relationship between Quechua/Kishwa People and First Nations, Métis, and Inuit People

Brenda Polar Aliaga

Abstract: This article examines how Quechua immigrants can collaborate with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations. It analyses their understanding of these fellow Indigenous groups; developing such a collaborative process first requires grasping the pre-existing beliefs the Quechua immigrants living in these lands now known as Canada have of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples. The article focuses on an interview with one of the 17 Quechua and Kishwa participants I recruited for my doctoral research. Her interview along with my review of related literature suggest that racialized immigrants, such as Quechua immigrants from South America, often have limited access to information about First Nations, Métis, and Inuit cultures, their struggles, and their resilience, which hinders potential collaboration. At the same time, education is not sufficient to address colonization. A critical analysis of settlers' complicity in colonization is also necessary.

***Keywords*:** Quechua, immigrants, First Nations, Métis, Inuit, allyship

Background

I began to conduct this research in 2019 as part of my doctoral dissertation at York University. I used a snowball technique to locate participants by contacting Latin American and Abya Ayala agencies to recruit participants and key informants who were Latin American living in Tkaronto. The participants I recruited were 18 or older and identified as Quechua[1]/Kishwa[2] or Mestizx (with Quechua roots and European or other roots). They spoke Spanish and have been living in these lands called Canada[3] for a minimum of five years. Before migrating, they lived in their homelands or other countries where Quechua and Kishwa people originate from. I used a theoretical framework based on multiple Indigenous worldviews—however, I focus on Quechua worldviews, and I also draw upon Indigenous worldviews from North America, specifically the "Two Row Wampum Belt." I chose to use the Two Row Wampum Belt teaching from the Haudenosaunee, a First Nation in Canada and the US, because it teaches about the relations between settlers and Indigenous Peoples (Green, 2016). I also drew upon the Quechua prophecy of the "Eagle and Condor" as it discusses the coming together of Indigenous peoples from the South and the North (Noriega Rivera, 2010). This research also follows Indigenous scholars Tuck and Mackenzie's (2014) research on "place" and its importance in research. I use Tuck and Mackenzie's critical place and land inquiry model to interrogate Quechuas' connection with land and place in Canada. As I speak of Indigenous worldviews from First Nations, Métis, and Inuit and Quechua philosophies, I recognize that as an outsider to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities and an immigrant, the knowledge that I provide is incomplete. Indigenous

[1] Quechua immigrants are Indigenous Peoples who are originally from Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and, to a lesser degree, Colombia and Argentina (Ministry of Culture, n.d.).
[2] Kishwa immigrants are Indigenous people originally sharing roots with Quechua people and that are coming from Ecuador and, to a lesser degree, Peru (Benítez Bastidas et al., 2016).
[3] Although I will later only use the term Canada, I am referring to the lands now known as Canada.

worldviews from First Nations, Métis, and Inuit philosophies come from a review of the literature. Similarly, although I have a mixed heritage, I recognize that part of me is also an outsider to the Quechua culture, as I have not lived in Peru for years. I use a methodology based on Kovach's (2009) and Wilson's (2008) conceptualizations.

Introduction

Understanding First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people, their cultures, and the process of colonization is one of the first steps towards engaging in anti-colonization projects. This paper is part of a more extensive study that aims to investigate how Quechua/Kishwa immigrants can collaborate with Indigenous people in Canada in anti-colonization practices. In this article, I will address the first of several related questions: What are Quechua people's views and understandings of the Indigeneity of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples? In the more extensive study, I also address three further questions: 1) What are Quechua/Kishwa people's relationships with these communities? 2) How can these understandings and relations facilitate their collaboration on anti-colonization projects with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people? 3) How can their Indigeneity be used as a bridge to facilitate their potential collaboration with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people in these lands, so-called Canada?

To address these questions, I held discussion sessions with 16 Quechua and one Kishwa immigrant living in Toronto, "Sonia" being one of the Quechua participants. The following summary represents solely Sonia's understanding of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people and how it has shaped her relations with Indigenous people and their lands. Sonia focused on the role of the Canadian government in the trauma caused by settler colonialism, discrimination towards Indigenous people, and the role of stereotypes in shaping immigrants' knowledge. As Sonia and I discussed her understanding of Indigenous people, we questioned how she acquired this knowledge and how these understandings shaped her views of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people.

To begin, I will contextualize our discussion within the nation-state of Canada and how Indigenous people are treated here.

Context

First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations are Indigenous people from Canada. They experience settler colonialism, which involves a vast number of colonizers taking over their lands and resources (Wolfe, 2006). The colonizers' access to land has depended on keeping the number of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations as small as possible so that they cannot fight back and reclaim their lands (Wolfe, 2006). Colonizers have attempted to eliminate First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations through genocide and strategies of cultural assimilation; Tuck and Yang (2012) call attention to the expropriation of Indigenous people from their lands as a driving force in settler colonization. As well, settler colonial racism has been institutionalized within child welfare, legal justice, education, health care, social welfare, and other systems that operate in subtle ways (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Dion et al., 2010; Kuokkanen, 2015).

Settler colonization is the root cause of oppression of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations. Tuck and Yang (2012) analyze the way settler colonization operates in North America (excluding Mexico). For example, the reproduction of Indigenous people meant more resistance to land appropriation, which threatened the wealth of white settlers. Therefore, the colonial government introduced very "restrictive racial classification" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388) systems that limited who was legally recognized as Indigenous. Settler colonization relied on European domination of the land and people. Although there were places where Indigenous sovereignty was recognized, Europeans held the "ultimate dominion over the territory" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 391) by invoking the designation of *terra nullius* (Wolfe, 2006). The doctrine of terra nullius was used to justify the dispossession of Indigenous lands and is based on the principle that if "there's no people here, it's ours" (Watson, 2014, p. 509). Although international human rights law has "condemned doctrines of superiority" (Assembly of First Nations, 2018, p. 1), they are still part of Canadian law. Doctrines of superiority/discovery and terra nullius have been used to abolish Indigenous rights throughout history (Assembly of First Nations, 2018). These doctrines continue to be used in judicial rulings: "As recently as 2012, the BC Court of Appeal not only validated such destructive acts, but also attempted to extinguish Indigenous rights through judicial ruling" (Assembly of First Nations, 2018, p. 3).

Beliefs that Canada is part of a new nation built by settlers, that dominant settlers are peacemakers, and that Canada helps Indigenous Peoples have served to erase the injustices and atrocities against First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations committed during the ongoing colonial project. According to Coulthard (2014), settler colonization has dominated First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations through a process of colonizing of the mind. Settler colonization has relied on mechanisms that make youth believe in the benefits of capitalism and their inferiority to white people, distance themselves from their Indigenous roots, and transform their minds so they can no longer fit into their communities (Coulthard, 2014). Educational institutions such as residential schools and child welfare have tried to destroy Indigenous cultures: One of the first residential schools was the Mohawk Institute, established in 1828 in Brantford, Ontario, on the Six Nations Reserve, and the last one was in Saskatchewan—the Muscowequan Residential School, closed in 1996 (Lavalle & Menzies, 2014). These educational systems reinforced harsh punishments and torture with the purpose of destroying Indigenous cultures and often led to the deaths of Indigenous children (Lavalle & Menzies, 2014). The Sixties Scoop also aimed to destroy Indigenous families and their cultures: During the 1960s, state-run child welfare services took Indigenous children from their homes without their families' consent, which led to family and community breakdown (Lavalle & Menzies, 2014). Since children were placed in non-Indigenous families, it become more difficult to pass on Indigenous teachings to the newer generations. For these reasons, residential schools are considered a form of genocide (Lavalle & Menzies, 2014).

All these tactics of colonization aim to cause a divide within First Nations, Métis, and Inuit cultures that benefit the hegemony of white national[4] settlers (Coulthard, 2014). The constant

[4] As Thobani (2007) explains, the *national identity* refers to a type of citizen of European descent that is Christian and is considered "exalted above all others … the embodiment of the quintessential characteristics of the nation and the personification of its values, ethics, and civilizational mores" (p. 3). Compared to these standards imposed by the national identity, the values and beliefs of Indigenous people are viewed as inferior to those of "nationals" (Thobani, 2007, p. 87).

attacks on the Indigenous identities of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations have forced some Indigenous people to turn to a "politics of recognition" (Coulthard, 2014, p. 3) to re-establish the value of their identities. Under recognition politics, the state acknowledges Indigenous Peoples and their histories based on their own terms (Coulthard, 2014).

In Coulthard's (2014) view, a politics of recognition selectively recognizes certain Indigenous people's histories and supports Indigenous struggles against colonization. Recognizing Indigenous Peoples' histories and current situations shows an effort on the part of settlers to "reconcile" with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations. However, these actions help support settler disputes with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations over their rights by painting an image of acceptance and collaboration (Coulthard, 2014). Under a politics of recognition, First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations end up existing to please and be recognized by others, particularly national settlers, living under terms imposed by settlers (Coulthard, 2014). In this way it reinforces the Canadian nation-state.

In the section below, I will elaborate on my positionality and personal reflections as relevant to this study. I originally come from Peru and am part of what we call the Chola population, one of the largest populations in Peru. The term Chola has various meanings, but I use Chola to refer to people with mixed Indigenous and European heritage. Within Peru, there is much stigma attached to having an Indigenous heritage. Such attitudes have led my family to distance themselves from their Indigenous heritage and embrace their mixed heritage only. I choose the term Chola instead of "Indigenous Latinx" because this term acknowledges my mixed race. In the past, it has been used as a derogatory term to refer to someone's Indigenous mixed heritage, but it is being reclaimed nowadays, which I endorse and practice.

I am personally invested in learning more about the relations between Quechua and First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples in Canada. I have a mixed family: My daughters have First Nations heritage, and I witness the barriers they face in accessing proper education and health services. Also, living in Thunder Bay allowed me to work extensively with Indigenous people on the reserves supporting Indigenous health programs. Through these job opportunities, I learned more about Indigenous cultures and resiliency and the impacts of settler colonialism on their communities. I hold an outsider position to their experiences, striving to learn but fully aware that I will never capture their experiences or fully understand their cultures. I hope to learn how Quechua immigrants, including myself, can form respectful and symbiotic relationships with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations. These relations would involve giving back to these cultures and lands based on their demands while supporting the growth of Quechua identities after migration to Canada.

As I share fragments of my conversation with Quechua participant Sonia, I remind myself of my insider/outsider positions based on who I am and how these positions inform my views and interactions with the participant. I am aware of my privileged position as a student, which encourages learning about Indigenous cultures. I recognize that many immigrants are not aware of this information because they may not speak the language, the information may be challenging to find, or they do not know about its existence. At the time of the discussions, Sonia attempted to understand some of these topics for the first time, and I believe her

comments reflect this process. At the same time, I am aware that as a racialized immigrant with mixed Quechua heritage, I may be trying to excuse Quechua immigrants for not knowing this information. I am aware that people may just not want to learn. It is essential to recognize that colonization also benefits racialized immigrants; therefore, immigrants may support colonialization because of its benefits. In order to disrupt colonization, immigrants may need to embark on a journey of self-reflection and awareness that could lead them/me to question their/my understanding and views on First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples. Since these processes ask immigrants to question their/my own values and complicity in colonization as they are/I am asked to engage in collaboration, these discussions are conflicting and unsettling. These are some of the complications that participants and I tried to discuss when we engaged in conversation.

I met Sonia in Tkaronto, where she now lives, and she graciously agreed to participate in my study. She was so kind as to meet with me after her work shift. Sonia speaks Spanish and English. She does not speak Quechua because her parents were not encouraged to learn this language as it was used as a reason to discriminate against Quechuas. Sonia was born in Ayacucho, a city in the Peruvian Andes populated mainly by Indigenous people. Her formative years were marked by a civil war in Peru. Her town was greatly affected by the shining path, an extremist Communist party described as "an organization subversive and terrorist, which in May 1980 triggered an armed conflict against the State and Peruvian society" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru, 2004, p. 13). It punished or killed anyone who protested against their actions (Degregori, 1991). Likewise, in a parallel fashion, the military took cruel measures against any public supporters of this extremist group (Degregori, 1991; Mantilla Falcón, 2006) or people they assumed were supporters. Living in Peru during the shining path period was a challenging experience, and it is very likely that after experiencing the harshness of this civil war, people would be deeply affected. I also lived in Peru during these times, and I recall people wanting to migrate to other countries due to the crisis. Because of the violence that the shining path members (many who were Indigenous from the Andes) were exercising against other civilians, many people in Peru were again those that had more Indigenous heritage and came from the Andes. The shining path had its hub in Ayacucho, therefore there was a strong negative stereotype that Indigenous people from Ayacucho were terrorists. I thought about how living in Ayacucho during these times and having Indigenous heritage may have affected one's connection with their Indigenous roots. I did not ask Sonia if this case applied to her because there was so much trauma involved with the years of the shining path, particularly for people from Ayacucho. Another aspect of the time period that may have affected Sonia is the financial crisis that occurred in Peru when the shining path was at its peak; this may have influenced her adjustment to life in Canada after she migrated.

Throughout our conversations, Sonia shared that moving from a young age helped her in general to survive and adapt despite any adversities she faced. As a child, Sonia moved from her family home in a small town to Lima, the capital city, to pursue her studies, causing her much suffering. She accepted that moving to a larger city meant adapting to that way of living and leaving her former lifestyle in her home behind. Sonia similarly left Peru and migrated to Canada to seek more employment and educational opportunities.

Sonia no longer practices her traditions but maintains strong ties to her town. Sonia does not feel the need to participate in Indigenous Quechua groups directly but helps Quechua people in Peru. She has adapted to the way of life in Canada. Sonia accepts her Indigenous heritage and feels proud, yet she prefers to identify as Peruvian or Latin American. It is outside the scope of this paper to understand why people change the way they may identify with their Indigenous heritage or no longer state their Indigenous identity. However, it is worth mentioning because it shows how people with Indigenous roots may begin to relate differently after living in Canada for some time. Their ties with their Indigeneity may shift, affecting how they relate to other Indigenous groups. The relations that people have with their Indigeneity are complex and constantly shifting.

Regarding her contact with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations, Sonia has not had many relations and admits that her understanding of their cultures is limited. At times, she shared that she was unsure what to respond when asked about her views on these Nations and issues that they are facing. Sonia has had more contact with Indigenous people through her work in the medical sector, but only professionally. She saw Indigenous people struggling with mental and physical health issues and was able to connect these struggles to trauma and colonization. She saw how Indigenous people in Canada are judged for the effects of trauma in their communities without analyzing why that is the case. Sonia sees the need for immigrants to collaborate with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples but is unsure how because she does not know many. This was also one of the first times that Sonia was thinking about collaborating in anti-colonial projects with Indigenous people from Canada.

This article discusses Sonia's knowledge of Indigenous populations, ranging from comprehensive to very limited, and her views on the challenges they are facing. Sonia learned what she knows about Indigenous people and settler colonialism through her own experiences with colonization, stereotypes she's heard, and the information shared in our conversations. She compared settler colonialism to colonization in her homelands to better understand settler colonialism. Based on these various ways of knowing, Sonia discussed her understanding of settler colonialism.

Views on Settler Colonialism

Sonia shared that she has a limited understanding of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people, settler colonialism, and how it impacts these communities. In our conversation, I felt the pressure to provide her with information and believed I was not prepared enough for this task. I became more aware of what I did not know. I only began to feel more comfortable sharing information in my conversations with Sonia and the rest of the participants after acknowledging that we were engaged in an exchange where we were both learners and educators. As I reflect on our conversation, I realize that I need to learn more about the ongoing issues First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations experience in Canada. It is difficult to talk about First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations as a settler because of my own implications in colonization. In general, it is unsettling to talk about other ethnic populations and the issues they are going through as someone who is an outsider to those Nations. I understand the need to do so because otherwise it would leave First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples to take on that job to educate immigrants

and this is something that they have criticized many times. I have learned to become more comfortable with being uncomfortable and constantly recognizing that I need to learn more. I realize that this process requires humbleness as I will continue to make mistakes and others hopefully will correct me.

Sonia received her knowledge based on the required citizenship test, which is information that lacks depth around Indigenous Peoples' realities and histories. Sonia pointed to the lack of support from the government to teach newcomers about Indigenous people and their history. When Sonia was asked if she had an opportunity to learn about Indigenous cultures, she stated: "Not directly. I used to visit a national park, and there was always a display in the park about Indigenous people … Because of my profession, when I worked downtown [in a health care setting], I saw Indigenous people … When you arrive, you do not know anything. The government does not encourage you to learn about them [Indigenous people]." Sonia explained that she had learned more about Indigenous people through her Indigenous service users than through formal education or training. Sonia is a professional providing essential health care services; some of her service users are Indigenous. Her work setting allows her to have contact with Indigenous people and learn more about them. However, she is getting exposure to Indigenous people when they are experiencing a stressful time. Without their providers having the necessary background to understand them, Indigenous Peoples may be placed in a very vulnerable situation where they are open to judgment.

Sonia's experience is not unique; many of the participants that I interviewed shared similar experiences. I recall coming to Canada and not knowing anything about Indigenous Peoples or their cultures. It took some years after high school to learn more about Indigenous Nations. I reflect on how Indigenous people may feel about immigrants learning much later in their immigration process about Indigenous cultures and how disrespected they may feel by immigrants. It does not come as a surprise to me that Indigenous people may be hesitant to trust and form relationships with immigrants. I am also aware that it is challenging for non-English speaking immigrants to be exposed to information on First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples in a format that they can understand unless they seek it. Immigrants would have to come here well-informed that these are Indigenous lands; that First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations are the First Peoples in these lands; and that there is an ethical responsibility to learn about these Nations and support them. However, I am doubtful that many immigrants would feel the commitment to do so. In the case that immigrants do not take on these responsibilities there is no system that enforces them to engage in these practices.

Scholars such as Casuncad (2020) have argued that there is a lack of education about Indigenous Peoples in settler-colonial society. As elaborated in the following sections, lack of information contributes to maintaining settler colonialism. In his book *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1967) also points to the lack of information on the effects of colonization and, consequently, the arguments that have been used to justify it. Fanon criticizes views that, in subtle ways, blame Indigenous people for being colonized to justify colonization. Fanon critiques scholars, such as Mannoni, who claim Indigenous people were waiting for an outside leader since they were continuously evoking the "awaking master" (as cited in Fanon, 1967, p. 75). In this critique of Mannoni, Fanon exposes how Indigenous people are blamed for being colonized. These

explanations allow colonizers to avoid responsibility towards Indigenous Peoples and minimize their appearance as barbarians in their processes of colonialization.

When I talked to Sonia, she was mostly not aware of the resistance to settler colonialism from Indigenous people. It is unclear whether she is aware or not that First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people are blamed for the situation that they are in, but she was aware of some of the ongoing abuses committed by the settler state.

Due to a lack of education that teaches immigrants about Indigenous cultures, immigrants are misinformed or lack knowledge of Indigenous people and their cultures (Casuncad, 2020). However, making changes and improving Indigenous education is not enough for ending colonization. Chatterjee (2018) argues against the "transcendental frame of analysis that seems to claim the pursuit of education as the key condition for reconciliation" (p. 3). Without minimizing the importance of education in ending colonization, Chatterjee (2018) states that lack of information or misinformation is one factor supporting discrimination. However, it cannot be assumed that if racialized immigrants, such as Indigenous immigrants, had the correct information, they would oppose colonialization. It is essential to recognize that colonization also benefits racialized immigrants; therefore, immigrants may support colonialization because of its benefits. The tensions between racialized immigrants and Indigenous people go beyond education (Chatterjee, 2018). Discussions on collaboration need to address what is preventing racialized immigrants from relating to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations, as appears to be the case.

The way colonization has affected the relations amongst Indigenous Peoples in the "Americas" is very particular. The state is built on structures that discriminate against First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples (legal system, child welfare, health system) and racialized immigrants (immigration system, labour force, educational system) such as Quechua people. Colonization has created structures that divide Indigenous people from the South and North. For instance, immigration policies that govern the relations between Indigenous people from the North and South are often imposed by Western states with little to no consultation from Indigenous people in the North. Therefore, we have divisions caused by the structures in place and those caused by racialized immigrants, including Indigenous immigrants. Both forms of oppression divide Quechua immigrants and First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people.

There are some suggestions that the lack of relations between the two may make it more challenging to engage in collaboration. Scholars have argued that the gap between First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations and immigrants, mainly led by the government (MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015), has made Indigenous Peoples cautious of the intentions of immigrants (Davis et al., 2007). The Calls to Action that came out of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru (2004) demanded that settlers address the tensions with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples and work towards ending colonization (Nardi, 2021).

As I reflect on the Calls to Action, I go back to Chatterjee's argument that education is necessary but not enough to stop immigrants from supporting colonization and engage in anti-colonial projects instead. As mentioned earlier, there needs to be more recognition of the

benefits immigrants obtain from colonization and their/our complicit role in colonization. Acquiring this social consciousness and recognizing the sovereignty of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations may be a step towards having immigrants be more accountable to these populations and respond according to the Calls to Action. Besides acknowledging the complicity of immigrants in settler colonization, it is as important to address the government's hegemonic role with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples. According to MacDonald and Steenbeek (2015), immigrants must learn how government policies and legislation work to assimilate First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples into dominant cultures. Sonia was unaware of how the government not only attempts to eliminate the autonomy and rights of immigrants but also encourages immigrants to support similar attempts against Indigenous Peoples from Canada. In this way, the assimilation of immigrants into dominant Canadian society contributes to settler colonialism.

In our conversation, Sonia shared her opinions on the state's relationship with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations and critiques the discrimination and biases of the government towards these groups.

Understanding of the Government's Role in Settler Colonialism

Sonia discussed the government's role in settler colonialism by focusing on assimilation. Assimilation is "the process by which a minority population is absorbed into a prevailing dominant culture" (MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015, p. 34). Sonia's knowledge of assimilation stems from her internal migration experiences moving from smaller to larger cities in her homeland of Peru. She discussed the pressure Latin American immigrants experience from Western systems to assimilate into Canada and compared it to the pressure to assimilate that First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations experience. She has witnessed First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples having to assimilate when they move to Tkaronto.

Throughout colonization, colonizers have worked towards imposing Western cultural beliefs and ways of life on Indigenous Peoples (MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015). Fanon (1967) discusses assimilation by focusing on a particular Indigenous population, the Malagasy, to explain the psychological effects of colonization. Fanon argues that the identity of Indigenous people, such as the Malagasy people, ends up shifting due to colonization and the discrimination they experienced. Contrary to common belief, Fanon argues that the Malagasy people do not desire whiteness after colonization. Any changes the Malagasy make are due to the suffering and poor treatment at the hands of white people; they believe that the only way that discrimination will stop is if they become somehow white. Being white is the only way they can be seen and considered human. Fanon discusses how Indigenous people learn white ways of being, not necessarily because they want to be white but because they learned that whiteness allowed them to have more rights. In this way, people assimilate for their well-being within a system that values whiteness. This view questions the concept of colonization of the mind because it is a conscious effort people make to survive. By thinking this way, we are also shifting the focus from the mind of the colonized, which can lead to individualizing people's experiences, to the structures of colonization which are the roots of the problem.

If Fanon's explanation of what happens is accurate, then people would not truly assimilate and perhaps they can question the structures in place supporting colonization. However, I wonder if people are able to distinguish their assimilation as a conscious effort to survive as Fanon claims, or if they end up adopting it and assimilating to the culture that they are in.

Sonia shared her experiences with immigration and assimilation from an early age that taught her to adapt and absorb the culture from where she moved. Sonia moved to Lima, where circumstances forced her to adapt to her new residence. She engaged in the assimilation process again when she moved to Canada. Sonia placed aside her Indigenous identity to better fit into her new home. She learned from an early age that if she did not do so, she would not survive. Her story shows the strength behind assimilation and its use as a survival strategy. It is not so much a choice for Sonia to dissociate from her culture.

My position on this topic is somewhat different as I believe that we need to resist assimilation as much as possible. Or if we do not resist it, we may have to give into it while acknowledging that assimilation is a system used to oppress us and other marginalized groups.

Sonia discussed the way Indigenous people in Peru acquiesce to the idea that they cannot hold onto their Indigeneity if they wish to obtain and secure employment in larger cities. She talks about her experience moving from a small city, Ayacucho, to the capital back home: "Going from Ayacucho to Lima so young was very difficult. They throw you into the water, and you learn to swim, or you sink. That has helped me to adapt to here. … When I went to Lima … I saw … that they [classmates] made fun of me." We can see that Sonia did not freely choose whether she assimilated or not. She saw it as a matter of life or death. It is unclear if these assimilation processes are followed consciously or if Sonia is dismissing the point that she is not choosing to assimilate but is doing so because she has no option. As well, she has little option but to put aside the discrimination that she experienced and assimilate to follow her plans to move to the city to study.

Reflecting on Sonia's experience with racism, this is an example of how people try to cope with racism the best they can with little support from institutions or the state. In this way, racism against Indigenous Peoples continues to not be addressed due to the lack of support that its victims experience.

Racialized immigrants in Canada are also pressured to assimilate and fit into dominant society to have a "better life." In the process of trying to fit in, racialized immigrants end up embodying the values of the dominant society (MacDonald & Steenbeek, 2015). Sonia shared her views on the pressures that Quechua immigrants in Canada experience to assimilate to white society as a strategy to have a "better life."

The concept of a "better life" may differ for every person. For some people a better life may mean living in a place where their lives are not at immediate threat, whereas for others it may mean living in a place where they can have luxuries. This concept is very subjective and can lead to judgement. For example, I have heard people judge others for migrating here to live a rich life; however, the question of who should be entitled to come to Canada is a topic outside of

the scope of this paper. Through assimilation, some racialized immigrants, including Indigenous immigrants, may follow, by choice or due to pressure, dominant ways of thinking and regulations that support settler colonialism in order to pursue a better life (Thobani, 2007). Whether participants have a choice, are pressured, or are forced to assimilate is debatable.

Sonia discussed her process of integrating into Canada, stating:

> I do not miss it [Ayacucho] much. Yes, I miss the music sometimes, but I do not have that need to go back. Unless it is for the 28th [of July, Independence Day], maybe it has not been a part of me … that is deeply rooted. I learned to be where I was. If I was in Iquitos [a province in Peru], I was in Iquitos. If I was in Lima, I was in Lima … if I am in Toronto, I have to be in Toronto. … I adapt to what is here … probably also for the kids. To look after them, work. That does not mean you do not want to go there. When I go to carnivals or for Easter, yes, I miss it because my dad was buried there.

Sonia has adapted and absorbed the culture of her place of residence. Often, this approach has helped her support her children and find employment. However, she still discussed her connection with her homeland and culture, even when she takes on the culture of her new place of residence. As Sonia was talking about her experiences adapting to Canada, I thought that she was trying to justify the fact that she was not deeply connected with her Indigenous heritage. I wondered if these responses were connected to how I set up our discussion and what I shared. I may have given the impression that I support the idea of keeping our Indigenous heritage after migration. Since her testimony differs from my stance, I think Sonia may have felt that she needed to highlight parts of her connection to her Indigeneity. Carrying out these discussions showed me the power that I may have as a researcher over participants and how careful I needed to be when discussing my views so that the participants do not feel judged or swayed to support my opinions.

Mesinas and Perez (2016) studied Zapotec immigrant families from Mexico now living in the US. They focused on the connection Zapotec families have to their Indigeneity after migration and how this impacts their children. The families interviewed were involved with Indigenous cultural organizations, newspapers, and radio programs. Consequently, there is an "Indigenous cultural continuity" (Mesinas & Perez, 2016, p. 500) with their children, who also became involved in some of these activities. However, it is unknown if this is possible with Quechua groups in Canada. For example, in Tkaronto, there is no large Quechua community; therefore, there is less space to develop and maintain Indigenous identities. These communities run very few programs. There are Quechua dance programs, but if people are not interested in dancing, it is challenging to find a Quechua community. It is also unknown whether there would be more Indigenous cultural continuity if these groups existed.

Sonia compared the assimilation process of Quechua people to that of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples. She knows some forms of assimilation that First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples experience and its effects on their lives. She spoke about how Indigenous people from Canada are forced to fit into dominant ways of life to keep their employment. Sonia stated: "If [First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people] leave [the reserves], those who overcome the barriers … in the

city … have to assimilate to the people who live [in the city] because otherwise, no [they would not make it]." Sonia shared her views on the assimilation that First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people experience as they move to the city. She is aware that Indigenous people experience many barriers if they decide to leave and move to larger cities, including being pressured to assimilate.

As I reflect on Sonia's views of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples, I think she is unaware that even though people may assimilate in their outside worlds, they may still keep their heritage within their closer circles.

In summary, through Sonia, we can see that assimilation does not necessarily mean giving up one's culture completely. Some people keep their traditional practices generally or privately while assimilating into specific environments. Then, assimilation may also mean performing in specific environments as a response to the barriers of discrimination while keeping one's traditions. In cases where Quechua immigrants have no other option than to assimilate, making a conscious choice to do so and let go of their cultural beliefs may help some Quechua immigrants continue being close to their Indigenous identity in other settings where it is more accepted.

When talking about Indigenous people from Canada, and their process of assimilation, Sonia interpreted it as forced assimilation. However, when it comes to her experiences of having to assimilate into the dominant society, she did not see assimilation as an attack on her culture. Sonia described it as part of the process of moving. I question if this way of processing assimilation is a way to come to terms with the painful process of assimilation by not seeing oneself as a victim. Placing aside the forced assimilation involved in her migration could be a method of survival. It is vital to take Sonia's experience with immigration into consideration. Ideally, Indigenous Peoples would be able to integrate into the place they move to without having to distance themselves from their own cultures; however, as Sonia stated, this is not always possible. When understanding Sonia's migration process, I had a few questions and observations regarding the way she processed her immigration experiences. I was careful not to mention this at the time of our discussions because I thought this may come across as a criticism of her way of understanding her assimilation process. As I reflect on the interview, I am more aware that what we said we would discuss at the beginning of the study might change drastically as the conversation progresses. Therefore, what the participant had agreed to discuss originally may differ from what they may be later asked. I recognize my power in my role of researcher to have participants discuss different topics that they may not necessarily have agreed on when giving their permission to participate in the study.

Sonia used her understanding of the assimilation of immigrants to learn about the assimilation of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people. This comparison can be helpful to a degree. Aspects of the assimilation of Quechua immigrants resonate with Indigenous Peoples' experiences. The two groups are being discriminated against by a Western government differently. Experiences of colonization might converge and diverge at some points, but they cannot be equated because of the contextual differences. The scholar Fachinger (2014) claims that "any discussion of intersections between diasporic and Indigenous peoples needs to proceed with an awareness of crucial differences between them, and that more work needs to be done to theorize the

relationships between diaspora studies and Indigenous studies" (p. 76). In comparing the assimilation of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples and Indigenous immigrants there may be the risk of forgetting that the first are the original Indigenous Peoples from Canada. Consequently, their rights and autonomy are different from immigrants/guests.

I was hesitant to caution Sonia about making these comparisons without keeping in mind the differences that the two groups experience. I thought that Sonia would feel that I was trying to place myself above her by giving her this information, especially since I had already been giving her information throughout our meeting. I was uncertain whether that was what the participant expected from our conversations.

I realized that although I am comfortable taking on an educator role with people from other ethnicities older than me, with people from my own ethnic background, this task became more difficult. I think it may have been because where I am originally from, Peru, older adults are treated in respectful ways partly for the knowledge they carry. Part of me felt that I was being disrespectful towards them by taking on an educator role.

Religion as a Tool for Settler Colonialism

Another way assimilation works to colonize First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples is by indoctrinating them into Christianity. Sonia discussed her understanding of the discrimination Indigenous people experience through the exaltation of Christian values and beliefs embodied in the national identity (defined earlier on; Thobani, 2007). As a consequence of this exaltation of national identity, the discrimination Indigenous people experience becomes justified, more accepted, and normalized.

Sonia shared her opinions about how immigrants, including racialized immigrants, discriminate against First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people based on Christianity. Sonia talked about Christian values and how some immigrants believe that Christian values are superior to all others. Consequently, they try to impose their beliefs on Indigenous people. Sonia explained that being Christian may influence service providers to treat service users better, but still, they are judgmental of them. She stated, "so that [Christianity] is also going to influence the treatment you will give people. Sometimes it could be that you give them good treatment, but at the same time, you are judging them."

Sonia explained that while Christian values may influence service providers to treat all Indigenous people with respect, people may still judge them negatively when an Indigenous person does not fit into the Christian standards of an acceptable lifestyle. If the Indigenous person fits into this lifestyle, prejudicial attitudes will still distort the situation to categorize them outside the dominant standards. Based on Sonia's shared experiences, we see the irony of how Christian values lead some service providers to be more empathetic towards people in need. However, these same values discriminate against people who do not fit the lifestyle that Christianity approves of.

Sonia discussed the imposition of Christian values on Indigenous populations by immigrants, stating: "you can believe in loving your neighbour, but at the same time, you are trying to educate them [Indigenous people]. In the end, it may be that the one who has to be educated is you." Sonia showed the double standard embedded in religion. According to Sonia, while Christianity teaches people to love their neighbour, it also teaches people to believe in their own exaltation based on Christianity. In her opinion, religion encourages "others" to convert to Christianity by creating this superiority. I agree with Sonia's perspective that being Christian represents goodness and brings exaltation depending on the group to which the person belongs. For instance, the exaltation of Indigenous people and racialized people would never be the same as the nationals, even after converting to Christianity. Historically, in Canada, Christianity has been the foundation for implementing mechanisms of settler colonialism, such as residential schools (Lavalle & Menzies, 2014); Christian beliefs, including the need to evangelize Indigenous people, became the justification for residential schools and the genocides they committed.

Up to now, I have discussed my conversations with Sonia about her understanding of Indigenous people and how she came to know by comparing her experiences as an Indigenous person in her homelands to the experiences of Indigenous people in Canada. Next, I will share her experiences of how she came to know about Indigenous people through misconceptions based on stereotypes.

Misconceptions about Indigenous Peoples

Sonia discussed the misconceptions about Indigenous people and settler colonialism that are often rooted in stereotypes. In our discussions, we talked about these beliefs and challenged them. Sonia had an analysis of these stereotypes and assumptions and connected them to forms of discrimination. She spoke about the stereotypes portrayed in the media about Indigenous people and the influence these have on people's perceptions. For example, Sonia talked about how Indigenous people were cast as the "bad guys" on TV. Sonia stated:

> When I was a girl [watching cowboy movies in Peru] … there were some Indigenous characters [from North America] who were the ones that helped. However, most of them were the bad guys … this we watched in Peru. … [In contrast], you did not see that [negative] portrayal of Indigenous people from Peru.

Sonia brought attention to media and television's power in giving rise to discrimination against Indigenous people. In Sonia's case, the only exposure she had to Indigenous people from North America was through these movies. With the advent of globalized media, stereotypes can be spread worldwide. Nowadays, the portrayals of Indigenous people in media continue to be based on stereotypes, and they are romanticized (Wente, 2018). By the latter, I mean that their Indigeneity may be based on stereotypes and essentialist portrayals of Indigenous people, far from depicting the diversity they embody. In retrospect, I wish I had highlighted the structures in place that promote and benefit from these stereotypes. I felt the pressure that since this may be one of the only times that participants may have discussions on First Nations, Métis, and

Inuit Nations, I needed to give a comprehensive picture of how settler colonialism was maintained through these stereotypes.

In her comparison between stereotypes of Indigenous people in Peru and Canada, Sonia pointed out that racist stereotypes about Indigenous people from Peru were not so common in their television programs (though other Quechua people may challenge this). In contrast, North American movies portray Indigenous people from the North inappropriately, and these programs are openly accepted internationally.

Sonia is referring to what she witnessed about 30 years ago. However, they still contributed to how she and perhaps other people from South America and worldwide view Indigenous people from North America. These stereotypes have hurt and traumatized Indigenous people and continue to do so as they struggle and resist settler colonialism. In general, stereotypes and misconceptions are tools of oppression that challenge the well-being of Indigenous people. Stereotypes about Indigenous people infiltrate society as part of the apparatus that maintains the status quo and reinforce the trauma that Indigenous people experience. Sonia discussed the oppression of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples as a contributing factor to the trauma they experience. As a health provider, Sonia witnessed how the trauma that Indigenous people from Canada experience has led to their health deterioration.

Trauma and its Impact on Indigenous Communities

Sonia examined the ongoing trauma and its effects on Indigenous people due to settler colonialism. As Sonia and I discussed the impacts of trauma on First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people, I was aware that she was basing her discussions on the challenges she faces every day as a health service provider working with Indigenous people from Canada. In contrast, I was coming from a different perspective where I examine the structures in place that contribute to the trauma that Indigenous people are experiencing. However, I understood that as a front-line worker, Sonia wanted to focus on how to best serve the needs of her clients on an everyday basis. Still, she connected the trauma that people are experiencing to settler colonization. Ideally, there will be a focus on the individual factors that are affecting the service user combined with efforts to address the structures in place that support settler colonization. However, I did not discuss this approach with Sonia. Again, I felt I was not there to discuss ways to improve her service practices. In retrospect, it could have been helpful to bring up these discussions. My preconceptions on what my role was in these discussions became an obstacle to suggesting these alternatives.

Problematically, trauma caused by colonization has been addressed through individualistic approaches rather than approaches that examine systemic processes of settler colonialism (Nicholas, 2010). Individual approaches to trauma assume that the issue is within the individual and that "there is nothing wrong with the system" (Nicholas, 2010, p. 18). This assumption has marginalized people being blamed for a presumed lack of resilience. Therefore, the effects of the trauma caused by ongoing colonization are used to maintain it (Allan & Smylie, 2015). The outcomes experienced by Indigenous people, such as poor physical and mental health, high rates of missing and murdered Indigenous women, poverty, unemployment, under-housing and

homelessness, and overrepresentation in incarceration and the child welfare system are used to justify their colonization and racist beliefs and ideologies about them (Allan & Smylie, 2015). For example, these outcomes justify interventions through intrusive policing, social work, and health care (Allan & Smylie, 2015). In this way, the present trauma that is part of settler colonialism is deeply connected to systemic problems in criminal justice, child welfare, educational, and health care systems.

The impacts of ongoing colonization are often denied or downplayed in society, and Indigenous Peoples are harshly judged when they struggle with trauma. Sonia, who provides emergency services in the health sector, was conscious that service providers' stereotypes may influence how they treat Indigenous communities, thereby becoming barriers to access. Sonia questioned the ill-treatment that some Indigenous people receive when accessing services. She discussed how Indigenous people are stigmatized by the health care professions, who lack understanding of poverty, mental health stresses, and their connection to settler colonialism. She talked about how health providers respond to struggling Indigenous clients: "You judge them, and it is wrong, but that is what happens." Sonia sees that when a non-Indigenous person is in a stressful situation and asks for medical care, there are not the same assumptions about their "race." She recognizes that Indigenous groups are targeted. Sonia wished that the health care setting offered more training to workers; they barely offered training about Indigenous people, their histories, and their current situations. Sonia is still learning about the causes of the hardships that Indigenous people experience. She also knows that part of her knowledge of Indigenous people and settler colonialism is based on misconceptions. However, she believes that settlers must behave as guests on the host's land despite lacking specific information (her reference to guest-host relationships[5] is based on a previous conversation we had on the Two Row-Wampum Belt). In general, there is minimal questioning about the stereotypes of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples by non-Indigenous people, thereby supporting settler colonialism; also, there is minimal focus on the resistance and resilience of Indigenous people (Mclaurin, 2012).

As I reflect on my conversations with Sonia, I see there was minimal discussion of the resilience of Indigenous people. I realize that she had not been exposed to the strength of Indigenous people in their fight against oppression and colonization. The information I shared with her was likely the first she had ever heard. I did not expand on it as much as I did colonization and its effects on First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations. I was more focused on informing Sonia about the adversities faced by Indigenous Nations from Canada than on the many examples of resilience that they have shown both historically and presently.

This stance may be related to my position as an outsider. First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples have critiqued this approach that deprioritizes present-day activism. Many initiatives happening across Canada demonstrate how Indigenous people are working to solve the problems that the state has created in their communities with little help from any government. Resilience takes

[5] The guest-host relationship refers to that between non-Indigenous (guests) and Indigenous people (hosts). Mohawk scholar Koleszar-Green (2018) defines a *guest* as "someone who is in relationship to the Land in a way that supports stewardship and not ownership. A guest is an individual … who respects reciprocal engagement" (p. 175). Hosts have responsibilities towards their guests. Reciprocally, being a guest involves taking care of the land and following the regulations set out by the hosts for how to treat the lands being occupied.

various forms: "community-based systems of reciprocal economic and social support such as community food sharing and intergenerational and extended family-child rearing roles" (Castellano, 2002, as cited in Allan & Smylie, 2015, p. 30), to name a few. These forms of resistance are not the public image that the dominant society promotes; portraying Indigenous people as powerful threatens the state and the national identity. Therefore, they rely on stereotypes as the prominent portrayals of Indigenous communities (Mclaurin, 2012). Consequently, many non-Indigenous people living in Canada are unaware of the issues that affect First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples or are unconcerned about them.

Reflections

So far, I have presented and analyzed Sonia's understanding of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Nations and the impact of colonization on these groups. Her views are based on her early stages of thinking about these topics. Knowledge of Indigenous histories and cultures is relatively new to racialized immigrants. Lack of accessible knowledge is one of the challenges to engaging immigrants in collaboration with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples. Before engaging in these conversations, I was unaware that such a large portion of our discussion sessions would involve my sharing information regarding First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples. This experience showed me the urgency of reaching out to more racialized immigrants and making this information accessible.

Going through this learning process was easy with Sonia, who was humble and open to expanding her ideas and assumptions. We shared knowledge: I learned more about Quechua people living in Ayacucho, and Sonia learned more about First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples and how settler colonialism impacts them. Although Sonia had limited information about these communities, she could see beyond the stereotypes, and together we analyzed the purposes these serve. Sonia's experience with immigration within Peru and later in Canada gave her an insight into what happens to one's Indigeneity after migrating to larger cities. Also, as a critical practicing Christian, Sonia could see the connection between Christianity and colonization.

As I provided information to Sonia and the rest of the participants in the study, I was aware that some pieces of this information would be unsettling. When I mentioned that colonization might benefit us racialized immigrants, there was a possibility that participants in the study would disagree, especially if the participant had been severely discriminated against. Sonia recognized both the discrimination that immigrants experience and the benefits of migrating to these lands. Her openness to accepting these two conflicting realities could be because she is a professional in these lands and has therefore experienced some significant benefits from migration. Also, I recognize that the power dynamics may be working in my favour, and my role as a researcher may prevent interviewees in general from disagreeing with me.

Conclusion

In this article, I have presented and analyzed a Quechua immigrant's views and understanding of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples and settler colonialism in Canada. As discussed above and informed by a literature review, immigrants living in these lands are misinformed about

Indigenous cultures, their struggles, and their resilience. At the same time, there is a benefit, for the most part, that immigrants gain from settler colonialism. Therefore, besides gaining accurate knowledge, immigrants also need to raise social awareness of the fact that, despite the benefits that colonization may bring them, they/we need to oppose it and collaborate with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples.

It is also crucial to understand how settler colonization challenges potential relations between the two groups and to have an open dialogue regarding how this situation could change. Mitigating factors such as education and consciousness-raising could be the first steps to having Quechua people engage in relationship-building. Immigrants would need to take the lead in this process. By learning about Sonia's understanding of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples and the impacts of settler colonization on these groups, this study hopes to contribute to how Quechua immigrants can engage in collaborative relations with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people and be allies.

References

Alfred, T., & Corntassel, J. (2005). Being Indigenous: Resurgences against contemporary colonialism. *Government and Opposition*, *40*(4), 597–614. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00166.x

Allan, B., & Smylie, J. (2015). *First Peoples, second class treatment: The role of racism the health and well-being of Indigenous peoples in Canada.* The Wellesley Institute.

Assembly of First Nations. (2018). *Dismantling the Doctrine of Discovery*. https://www.afn.ca/secteurs-de-politique/18-01-22-dismantling-the-doctrine-of-discovery-en-v2/

Benítez Bastidas, N. M., Hernández Carretero, A. M., Gurría Gascón, J. L., Cisneros Vásquez, F. L. (2016). Hechos y realidades de las principales culturas del Ecuador, con énfasis en los Pueblos Kichwas de Imbabura, a partir de la historia, el territorio, la Constitución e indicadores de desarrollo. [Facts and realities of the main cultures of Ecuador, with emphasis on the Kishwa Peoples of Imbabura, based on history, the territory, the Constitution and development indicators]. *Turydes Journal of Tourism and Development*, 21(2016). http://www.eumed.net/rev/turydes/21/kichwas.html

Castellano, M. B. (2002). *Aboriginal family trends: Extended families, nuclear families and families of the heart.* Vanier Institute. http://www.vanierinstitute.ca/include/get.php?nodeid=1142

Casuncad, N. (2020, September). Exploring Indigenous-newcomer relations in the city of Toronto: Changing demographics, reconciliation, and potential of city planning. *Working Papers Series, No. 2020/6.* Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement (RCIS) and the CERC in Migration and Integration at Ryerson University. https://www.torontomu.ca/content/dam/centre-for-immigration-and-settlement/tmcis/publications/workingpapers/2020_6_Casuncad_Niko_Exploring_Indigenous_

Newcomer_Relations_in_the_City_of_Toronto_Changing_Demographics_Reconciliation_and_Potential_of_City_Planning.pdf

Chatterjee, S. (2018). Teaching immigration for reconciliation: A pedagogical commitment with a difference. *Intersectionalities*, *6*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.48336/IJRXSC6536

Coulthard, G. (2014). *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition*. University of Minnesota Press.

Davis, L., O'Donnell, V., & Shpuniarsky, H. (2007). Aboriginal social justice alliances: Understanding the landscape of relationships through the Coalition for a Public Inquiry into Ipperwash. *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, *2007*(36), 95–119. https://doi.org/10.7202/040778ar

Degregori, C. I. (1991). ¿Por qué apareció Sendero Luminoso en Ayacucho?: El desarrollo de la educación y la generación del 69 en Ayacucho y Huanta. [Why did the Shining Path appear in Ayacucho?: The development of education and the generation of '69 in Ayacucho and Huanta.] In A. Pérotin-Dumon (Ed.), *Historizar el Pasado Vivo en América Latina [Historicizing a Live Past in Latin America]* (pp. 1–29). IEP. https://www.verdadyreconciliacionperu.com/admin/files/libros/146_digitalizacion.pdf

Dion, S. D., Johnston, K., & Rice, C. (2010). *Decolonizing our schools: Aboriginal education in the Toronto District School Board*. York University. https://www.ontariodirectors.ca/UA_Pilot_Project/files/Toronto%20RE/Decolonizing%20Our%20Schools%203.pdf

Fachinger, P. (2014). Intersections of diaspora and indigeneity: The standoff at Kahnesatake in Lee Maracle's *Sundogs* and Tessa McWatt's *Out of My Skin*. *Canadian Literature*, *2014*(220), 74–91.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks*. Grove Press.

Green, R. (2016). *Understanding your education: Onkwehonwe and guests responsibilities to peace friendship and mutual respect* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto]. Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. https://utoronto.scholaris.ca/server/api/core/bitstreams/92a4ee79-3bcb-45e2-bc9d-9a9b7111fc9f/content

Koleszar-Green, R. (2018). What is a guest? What is a settler? *Cultural and Pedagogical Inquiry*, *10*(2), 166–177. https://doi.org/10.18733/cpi29452

Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. University of Toronto Press.

Kuokkanen, R. (2015). Gendered violence and politics in Indigenous communities. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, *17*(2), 271–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2014.901816

Lavalle, L. F., & Menzies, P. (Eds.). (2014). *Journey to healing: Aboriginal people with addiction and mental health issues: What health, social service and justice workers need to know.* Centre for Addiction and Mental Health (CAMH).

MacDonald, C., & Steenbeek, A. (2015). The impact of colonization and Western assimilation on health and wellbeing of Canadian Aboriginal people. *International Journal of Regional and Local History*, *10*(1), 32–46. https://doi.org/10.1179/2051453015Z.00000000023

Mantilla Falcón, J. (2006). La Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación en el Perú y la perspectiva de género: Principales logros y hallazgos [The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Peru and the gender perspective: Main achievements and findings]. *Revista del Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos*, *2006*(43), 323–365. https://repositorio.iidh.ed.cr/handle/123456789/1114

Mclaurin, V. A. (2012). *Stereotypes of contemporary Native American Indian characters in recent popular media* [Master's Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst]. ScholarWorks. https://doi.org/10.7275/2758411

Mesinas, M., & Perez, W. (2016). Cultural involvement, Indigenous identity, and language: An exploratory study of Zapotec adolescents and their parents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *38*(4), 482–506. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986316670390

Ministry of Culture. (n.d.). *Base de datos de pueblos Indigenas u orriginarios*. [Database of Quechua Communities and Original Peoples]. http://bdpi.cultura.gob.pe/pueblo/quechuas

Nardi, C. (2021, June 5). *Much work remains on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's 94 calls to action.* National Post. https://nationalpost.com/news/much-work-remains-on-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commissions-94-calls-to-action

Nicholas, A. B. (2010). *Canada's colonial mission: The great white bird*. Department of Native Studies, St. Thomas University.

Noriega Rivera, P. (2010, October). *El vuelo del aguila y el condor: Historia de un Yachak* [*The flight of the eagle and the condor: A story of a Yachak*; Master's Thesis, Universidad Politécnica Salesiana]. DSpace. http://dspace.ups.edu.ec/handle/123456789/10463

Thobani, S. (2007). *Exalted subjects: Studies in the making of race and nation in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru. (2004). *Los actores armados: El Partido Comunista Del Perú Sendero Luminoso.* [*The armed actors: The Shining Path, Communist Party of Peru*]. Amnesty International. https://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *1*(1), 1–40. https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18630

Tuck, E., & Mackenzie, M. (2014). Relational validity and the "where" of inquiry: Place and land in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *21*(7), 633–638. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414563809

Watson, I. (2014). Re-centring First Nations knowledge and places in a Terra Nullius space. *AlterNative*, *10*(5), 508–520. https://doi.org/10.1177/117718011401000506

Wente, J. (2018, June 13). *Truth-gathering process: Expert & knowledge-keeper panel - Racism* [Inquiry session]. National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Truth-Gathering Process Part III Volume X, Toronto, Ontario. https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/20180613_MMIWG_Toronto_Racism_Part_III_Volume_X.pdf

Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Fernwood Publishing Press.

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *8*(4), 387–409. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240

***About the Author*:** Brenda Polar Aliaga, PhD Candidate (she/her) is Lecturer, School of Social Work, Renison College, University of Waterloo, ON, Canada (brendapolaraliaga@gmail.com).