

Lateral Violence as a Process in First Nations Institutions

by

Gil Rocky Konrad James
BA, Vancouver Island University, 2006

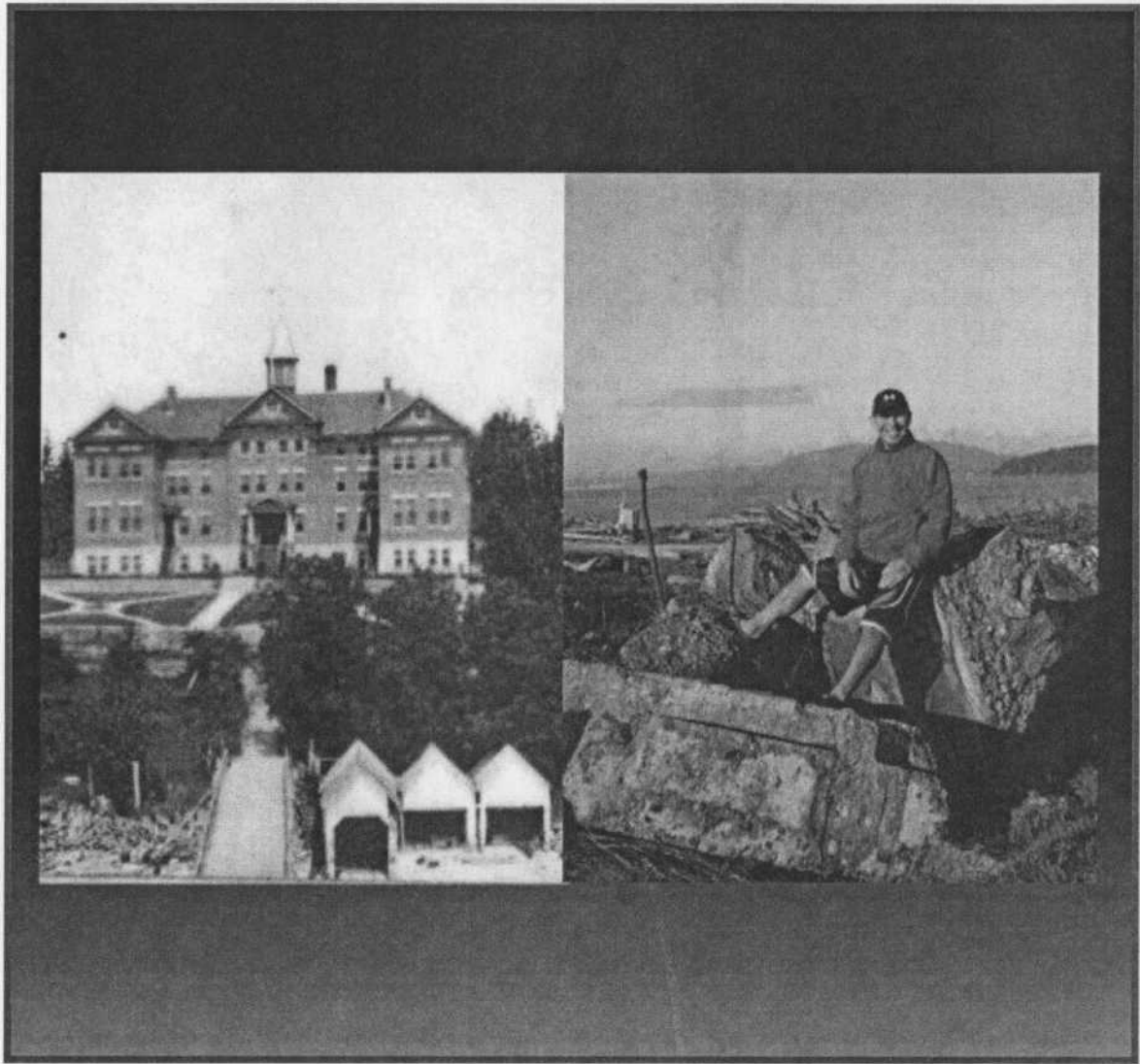
A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the Faculty of Human and Social Development (Studies in Policy and Practice)

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Left: The Kuper Island Indian Residential School

Right: (Qwtiis/Siimultun) Rocky James, Penelakut Tribes member, on top of the remains of the Kuper Island Indian Residential School

Supervisory Committee

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Supervisory Committee

Leslie Brown, Department of Social Work, Faculty of Human and Social Development
Supervisor

Dr. Michael Prince, Studies in Policy and Practice Program, Faculty of Human and Social
Development
Departmental Member

Abstract

Supervisory Committee

Leslie Brown, Department of Social Work

Supervisor

Dr. Michael Prince, Studies in Policy and Practice Program

Departmental Member

This thesis paper was written to meet the requirements for a master's degree in the Studies in Policy and Practice Program through the University of Victoria, British Columbia. A grounded theory was developed studying lateral violence as a process in First Nations institutions in Coast Salish territory.

The research question was how does lateral violence function as a process in First Nations institutions?

To answer this question, one-on-one interviews were conducted, digitally recorded, transcribed, and analysed using grounded theory techniques.

What came from the research findings was a theory on the effects of fear based learning on lateral violence. This research paper looks at the evolution of fear based learning from the Indian Residential School system, into the home of First Nations people, and its progression from the home into community, and into First Nations institutions. Nine properties of fear based learning were identified.

This project contributes as a solution to lateral violence the process of identifying conditions for the perfect storm. Identifying conditions for the perfect storm help administrators navigate developing episodes of lateral violence. Furthermore, this project contributes framing solutions within the Coast Salish cultural and political act of witnessing. Witnessing is seen as providing a cultural foundation for justice.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Figures	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Dedication Page	viii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Literature Review	5
Chapter 3 Methodology	18
Chapter 4 Findings.....	36
Chapter 5 Conclusion	84
References	95

List of Figures

Figure 1	13
Figure 2	14
Figure 3	19
Figure 4	21
Figure 5	22
Figure 6	52
Figure 7	57
Figure 8	66

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University of Victoria

Faculty of Human and Social Development
Studies in Policy and Practice Program

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Daisy Williams

Thank you for such generous support.

Vancouver Island University, Nanaimo

Faculty of First Nations Studies

Dr. Melody Martin, Co-Chair

You have been a constant source of power for me, my family, my tribe, and my nation. Your teachings are porous in my life.

Dr. Laurie-Meijer Drees, Co-Chair

You have been a constant source of power for me, my family, my tribe, and my nation. I never knew there could be so much adventure in education.

Uncle Ray and Aunty Flo

You are the embodiment of culture and community. My education would not have been the same without your love. I often feel like I could not thank you enough for what you have shared with me. I promise to do my best to share your sense of belonging with others.

Grandma Ellen

You have always been a matriarchal presence in my life. I am truly blessed to come from that side of the family, so full with language and culture.

Chemainus Secondary School

Walter Stoochnoff

Thank you for being a father figure when I needed one, and for encouraging my academic pursuits.

Mrs. Rouest

Thank you for pulling me through when I almost walked out on it all.

Dedication Page

Coast Salish Nation

Huy'ch'qu Tsi'tsulh'siem, Huy'ceep'qu uy' mustimuhw

I would like to acknowledge all of the Coast Salish people living in the Victoria area. I would also like to acknowledge the Coast Salish people living across the world. Thank you to the elders and chiefs in Coast Salish territory, who continue to work towards improving our lives.

Thiyas / Florence Diana James / Mother

Thank you for your endeavouring spirit to educate me in the Coast Salish world. Thank you for your endearing effort to ensure that I never felt like I had limitations on success. I believe any direction I may travel in, I have the capacity to seize success when I see it. I now also have the courage to be responsible for achieving success in a way respectful of my teachings.

Qaapuluq / Gilbert James / Father

My memories of you come and go like the sound of waves under the hull of the Princess Eileen. The only time I truly feel at home is when I can smell the salty air of the ocean. I feel my higher power, the creator, when I feel the swell of the ocean guiding me along into dusk.

Eileen James / Sister

When I remember you, I remember you getting up every morning to drive me to school. I remember how much effort you and mother put into making sure I was well dressed, and well fed, so that I would never feel the walls of poverty closing around me after the passing of father. The courage you planted grew thick and firm roots at the bottom of my heart.

Pqaaltunaat / Mary Joe / Grandmother

Your most important teaching to me is to remember who I am, and where I come from. When I think of you I remember how important it is to be S'ts'ielh wherever I am in the world. Because of you Pqaaltunaat, I have the courage to go anywhere and live with the comfort of knowing that where I come from is filled with your love in the faces of the families you raised.

Kristofor George Hokanson / Partner in Crime

From you I have learned to be relentless about the pursuit of joy in life, and that when there is no light, the sound of laughter can shake the spirit free. We found each other in hell, and we fought our way out. In gods will may we continue to live free, moving each mountain in our way.

To all my relations, you have helped me become the person I am today. You have filled the space of my father and sister when I wanted one, and given me the gift of a brotherhood that I didn't know existed.

Insanity can be repeating the same mistakes over and over again, expecting different results.

Chapter 1 Introduction

As a First Nations man of Coast Salish descent living on the Gulf Islands of British Columbia I would like to invite an audience to consider my interpretation of administrative problems that are often overlooked in First Nations' administrations on Vancouver Island. The problem is lateral violence, the political infighting; bullying or mobbing that negatively affects the healthy productivity of Coast Salish workers.

Lateral violence is an event or sequence of events where a worker perceives that they are at the receiving end of bullying type behaviours, resulting in a worker feeling isolated and powerless over resolving working conditions. Although many workers have experienced such incidents, policy mechanisms need to be developed that are pragmatic, relatable to administrators, and easily interpretable by organization staff, creating opportunities for greater implementation. Growing up in First Nations' communities there have always been members of my family who have worked in tribal organizations. As a child in grade school I used to skip school to follow my older cousin, who is like an older sister, to her job at our tribal office. I would spend my day colouring under the table of the board room. The same conflicts that existed when my older cousin was administrator exist in my community today, conflicts between family, competition over limited resources and a never ending cycle of poverty with an unemployment rate that is over 80 percent.

Grounded theory is used to explore what effects fear based learning has had on the process of lateral violence in First Nations institutions. My argument for this thesis paper is that some forms of fear based learning resulting from experiences in residential

schools have continued to evolve out into First Nations communities. In the course of evolution, fear based learning moved from residential schools into survivor's homes, out into community, and then into First Nations institutions. Until communities address fear based learning, First Nations institutions will continue to struggle with episodes of lateral violence.

This thesis paper will explore the issues of lateral violence through four chapters that follow this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 is the literature review chapter. The literature review chapter looks through what other people have written about the topic of lateral violence. Some of the literature on lateral violence comes from medical journals, since lateral violence is prevalent in the hierarchy of medical institutions. The hierarchy is recognizable in the political structure of First Nations institutions. The content lays a recognizable foundation for readers to start working from. Additional information comes from social theorists, or conflict resolution literature. The thread moving through these pieces of literature is the definition of lateral violence in the workplace. These definitions and experiences with lateral violence are then applied to First Nations institutions. The literature chapter outlines the structural relationships that First Nations people operate in. These structural relationships create an environment for lateral violence to begin its process. Being able to identify lateral violence as a process is important for this project because the research question is concerned with understanding how lateral violence functions as a process in First Nations institutions.

Chapter 3 is the methodology chapter. First, the methodology chapter identifies my position within the research project. It is an introduction to what life experiences have brought me to the topic of lateral violence in First Nations institutions. Introducing

me to you is important because it is keeping with the traditional cultural protocols of the Coast Salish people living in the area. Introduction and identification of self is necessary so that Coast Salish people are aware of the history of someone doing work with First Nations people in the area.

Second, the methodology chapter identifies the framework of the research project from a grounded theory perspective. The framework represents how the researcher approached the research question using grounded theory, and how grounded theory influenced the method of interaction with research participants. This method of interaction paved the way for representation of data in the findings chapter.

Chapter 4, the Findings chapter, is where data from interviews with research participants are shared. The data is shared in three sections that identify fear based learning as a process of lateral violence. The first section of fear based learning is the "what we learned section." The "what we learned" section examines the relationship between residential school administrators and students, and how residential school administrators used fear to sever connections between students and community. Following is the section called "how we used it." In this section what comes out of the data is how the process of fear based learning began to permeate First Nations community. The findings chapter finishes with how research participants have developed skills to deal with lateral violence. Developing this capacity is important for counteracting the impact of lateral violence in First Nations institutions.

The final section of the thesis paper is the conclusion chapter. The conclusion chapter begins with a look at the progression of fear based learning, from experiences

in residential school, through to the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement. Assessing levels of harm offers an understanding of the evolution and impact of fear based learning in the development of First Nations communities.

In addition, the conclusion chapter incorporates the traditional Coast Salish practice of witnessing. People hired as witnesses in Coast Salish ceremonies are asked to remember how events have unfolded, the purpose of the event for community development, and to remember stories shared about community by members of the Coast Salish community.

Witnessing became the best means of acknowledging the contributions of administrators as research participants. Witnessing worked well with grounded theory because witnessing builds understanding by being based on the perspective of people participating in an event. Witnessing is explored as an option for healing from the effects of the residential school experience. Witnessing can be taken up by any community member, thus providing the perfect forum for collective healing. Healing provides the foundation for working towards justice. People who are recovering from trauma as a collective have the capacity to define justice and self-empowerment.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

What is lateral violence? First I look at the definition of the term. Lateral violence can be described as the political infighting that happens between peers that work within the same institution. The best way to describe lateral violence is as a form of bullying. In social science journals, lateral violence, or bullying, is generally described as when an individual or a group moves to assert domination over another individual or group to reach an unhealthy self-serving desired outcome. Mogens Agervold (2007) defines bullying as *"a social interaction in which the sender uses verbal and/or non-verbal communication regularly, weekly and for a period of at least six months that is characterised by negative and aggressive elements directed towards the personality and self-esteem of the receiver"* (pp.161-172). The receiver(s) perceives that they are powerless in a situation, and have difficulty resolving the situation. Diana Dickson expands on the definition by writing,

A bully tends to be in a position of relative power. This allows him or her to behave towards one or many others in an unacceptable way. This can be as simple as making it impossible for subordinates to progress up the career ladder by ensuring that they are not given opportunities. Bullies may prevent a subordinate from developing their ideas, and develop them as if they were their own. They may manipulate subordinates to take on unacceptable commitments by playing on their vulnerabilities.

This is quite common, and the bullies may be perceived as good managers because they get more work done. In the medical world, bullies may avoid taking their fair share of onerous or unpleasant tasks in a department. They may do this by offloading some of these tasks onto others who are powerless to protest. If the affected individual does complain, the bully may threaten to activate certain sanctions within their power, to which the victim is vulnerable. (Dickson,2005).

Second I will look at the experience for the victim of lateral violence. Agervold (2007) goes on to say that *"[B]ullying is an escalating process in the course of which the person*

confronted ends up in an inferior position and becomes the target of systematic negative social acts" (p.161). The process of lateral violence takes form when individuals engage in a discussion and after the discussion members neglect to include the topic of discussion with other peers, and focus on belittling one person, or a group of individuals. *"Dependent upon who one talks to, evidence can reveal multiple realities of bullying at work from bullying as managerial, bullying as organisational and bullying as something that happens between individuals"* (Lewis, 2004, p.283). When an individual feels like they are experiencing lateral violence in the workplace *"...there is a sense of depressive paralysis for some as they struggle to come to terms with being exposed as victims to colleagues, family and themselves"* (Lewis, 2004, p.291). A situation of lateral violence in the workplace can go unresolved because the situation never sees the light of day, so administrators are not provided with the opportunity to cooperatively provide solutions to maximize workplace effort. *"A definition therefore needs to consist of two parts: an objective identification of activities that need to be recognized as bullying, and a subjective part which indicates the person's perception of being bullied"* (Agervold, 2007, p.172).

Third, to create a functional definition of lateral violence, we need to be able to distinguish lateral violence from healthy and normative disagreements between peers that contribute towards collective achievements. As we progress towards enhancing our understanding of lateral violence, *"it is important to distinguish bullying from more normal conflicts, a poor social climate and crude social tone in the workplace"* (Agervold, 2007, p.162). We can distinguish lateral violence with features that are widely agreed upon by authors who write on the topic. *"It should be emphasized that the difference between conflict and bullying does not lie in what is done or is not done, but on the frequency and duration of what is done"*

(Agervold, 2007, p.161). Other authors such as Duncan Lewis (2004), Charlotte Rayner (1997), Karleen Kerfoot (2007), and Diana Dickson (2005) agree with Agervold that “[I]n order for the label bullying...to be applied to a particular activity, interaction or process it has to occur repeatedly and regularly (e.g. weekly) and over a period of time (e.g. about six months)...” (Agervold, 2007, P.162). The frequency and duration feature create an agreeable starting point for exploring further features of lateral violence.

In addition to frequency and duration, Charlotte Rayner provides categorical features that explain the characteristics of actions taken during an episode of lateral violence. Rayner states that,

Generally, bullying behaviours can be grouped into the following categories: threat to professional status (e.g. belittling opinion, public professional humiliation, accusation regarding lack of effort); threat to personal standing (e.g. name-calling, insults, intimidation, devaluing with reference to age); isolation (e.g. preventing access to opportunities, physical or social isolation, withholding of information); overwork (e.g. undue pressure, impossible deadlines, unnecessary disruptions); and destabilization (e.g. failure to give credit when due, meaningless tasks, removal of responsibility, repeated reminders of blunders, setting up to fail). (Rayner,1997, p.182)

Understanding what characterizes behaviour in lateral violence provides a framework that builds on the concept of frequency and duration, making it possible to really distinguish between normative conflicts or disagreements and lateral violence. Being able to make the distinction prevents the term lateral violence from being negatively used to manipulate a situation.

Karleen Karefoot builds upon Rayner's work by providing examples of what episodes of lateral violence may look and sound like in the workplace. Karefoot lists “*The dirty dozen... which includes personal insults, invading personal territory, uninvited physical contact,*

threats and intimidation, sarcastic jokes and teasing, toxic e-mail, humiliation, public shaming, rude interruptions, two-faced attacks, dirty looks, and treating people as if they are invisible" (Kerfoot, 2007, p.149). It can take a great deal of effort sometimes to discern whether an episode of lateral violence is occurring, sometimes if all we do is look for the negative in people we will see it in everyone we look at. Some people do contribute to lateral violence, otherwise the term wouldn't exist. Some people are victims of lateral violence, and eventually some people contribute to lateral violence instead of preventing it from occurring. Lateral violence like colonialism or racism is not an abstract theory without human attachment. Lateral violence is acted upon by people. There are "two tests for spotting these people: (a) does this person create a feeling of oppression, humiliation, deenergizing and make one feel worse; and (b) does the person target others less powerful?" (Kerfoot, 2008, p.149).

Now I will work towards applying the term lateral violence to First Nations institutions. While searching for authors who specialize on the topic of lateral violence I came across the work of Roger V. Gould. Gould's work really struck a chord that reflected lateral violence as I have witnessed it as a Coast Salish person living in Coast Salish communities and surrounded by institutions representative of Coast Salish people. I came across Gould's (2003) book *Collision of Wills; How Ambiguity about Social Rank Breeds Conflict* very early on in my search for the appropriate literature on lateral violence. Gould's work still feels like it is one of the most appropriate books to describe lateral violence as a process in First Nations institutions. Gould (2003) wrote that "[M]y thesis is that violence happens when people get caught in contests for social rank and when for various reasons the contest is difficult to resolve using external social cues concerning the proper

outcome" (P.69). Coast Salish tribal communities are typically small, people know who each other are and which tribe people come from.

The relationships between most Coast Salish people are personal in nature. Because these relationships are so personal, when there is a contest regarding advancement in employment and/or social status, and outcomes are not favourable, grievances or grudges take form after an accumulation of resentments. In communities where poverty is prevalent, finding any means of a way out of poverty becomes a priority. This creates an environment of vulnerability where notions of infighting, colonization, segregation, and poverty are the norm. Gould (2003) goes on to say that "*[I]f this notion is right, then some kinds of relations are more vulnerable to serious conflict than others, regardless of the kinds of people in those relations. The more ambiguous the relation is with respect to who should be expected to outrank whom, the more likely violence is.*" (p.69) Due to the process of decolonization, there is ambiguity about how power should be defined in First Nations institutions, and how it should be used. How we make the decisions to act will reflect what kind of institutions or organizations we have. Gould states three things to watch for,

1. *Conflict, including violent conflict, is particularly likely to occur in relations that are explicitly symmetrical, such as 'friend' or 'sibling.'*
2. *Violent conflict is particularly likely in relations that are inconsistent with respect to rank—as when the formally subordinate party to the relation is older than the formally superior party.*
3. *Conflict is more likely to occur in relations that are adjacent to other relations undergoing instability. Consequently, violent conflict of any sort, including interpersonal disputes, is more widespread during moments of political transformation than during moments of political stability. (Gould, 2003, p.66)*

First Nations institutions are in a constant state of transformation due to the political climate in British Columbia. Coast Salish people in the Central Vancouver Island area are working towards self-government, and in the process learning how to be self-sustaining. These factors create a climate of uncertainty, one that increases the risk of lateral violence.

The struggle to create successful institutions in First Nations communities is the hardest battle. Power exists in our traditional institutions (long-houses), in our language and culture, but power in the western sense of the word is minimal. The world watches as we struggle to integrate western style organizations such as the "band office" into our communities. The longer we work to make this happen, the more blurry the desired outcome of self-government looks. Combining two opposing world views (western and First Nations) means compromise and sacrifice. As First Nations people we feel we have compromised enough, and have lost our languages and culture due to colonization, yet we continue to establish organizations with methods that contradict our values. Colonization still occurs in our work environment and is a contributing cause to lateral violence.

Calving Helin (2006) describes Lateral Violence in First Nations communities. He writes,

Lateral violence is a product of colonization, and has been applied to describe the conditions of various oppressed ethnic and non-ethnic minority groups (such as women). When you are at the bottom of the social heap and cannot strike out "vertically" (i.e., at those above you), frustration erupts and is directed instead at your peers by your side. Ironically, it amounts to the colonized colonizing one another, a situation of the oppressed oppressing each other (p.125)

Unfortunately tribes are still stuck in the effects of colonization. Deciding what western style institutional processes work in our western style workplace on reserves-- combined with the conflict of incorporating First Nations world views, affects our success. In our institutions we decide how we can work together with the resources that we have.

In government, any First Nations person working in tribal administration offices feels the impact of institutional violence. People working in First Nations institutions rarely communicate racist attitudes today, but the racism still exists through the institutional mechanisms that were created during the colonial period. Racism in some ways has been internalized by people working as First Nations administrators, and expressed as frustration. Helin goes on to say that,

This violence can take the form of shaming, humiliating, damaging, belittling and sometimes violent behaviour directed toward a member of a group by other members of the same group. This kind of violence has been identified as being so prevalent in Aboriginal communities that workshops are offered to assist community members in dealing with the emotional fallout from it. Lateral violence impacts the whole community and has been described as 'an internalized feeling of anger and rage that develops in a person as a result of being constantly put down. It also manifests itself...[in the] community through family feuds, gossip, and organizational infighting. It is responsible for dividing...communities into factions, thereby preventing...[them] from becoming a more strong and unified people.' (Helin, 2006, p.125).

In order to reach an understanding of organizational infighting and fragmentation, there needs to be an understanding of relationships between the various institutions, organizations and bureaucracies. **Figure.1** has been created outlining the First Nations administrative relationships as I see them. First, we have the ***Relationships between Bureaucracies***. The Department of Indian & Northern Affairs has created policies to

administer tribal communities, so tribal administrators work at interpreting these policies and establishing political relationships with the respective community based on these policies. From personal experience First Nations people usually resent being granted unequal decision making power while participating in a system of government and power structure that they had little to do with creating, but still have to live and work by. However, in order to establish a well balanced community, one must be able to successfully negotiate the demands of living between two worlds. Second, the relationship between First Nations people and the Canadian Government is defined as a **Hierarchical Relationship** within an unequal power structure. The hierarchical relationship may also be understood as paternal, because we as First Nations' people are the benefactors of services of the Canadian Federal Government. Third, the relationship is further complicated by the **Centralization of Government Organizations**. Centralized administrators lose touch with the reality of daily lived experiences of First Nations' community members, particularly the isolated Penelakut Tribes' of the Coast Salish Nation. Prior to contact the Coast Salish people did not have a centralized form of government. There were various family long-houses. One long-house was not a single site of government activity. The multitude of family long-houses acted as sites of governance. Fourth, the **End Result of Administrative Relationships** points out that what results are practises of one sided interest claims with either side pointing the finger of injustice at the other.

Figure 1

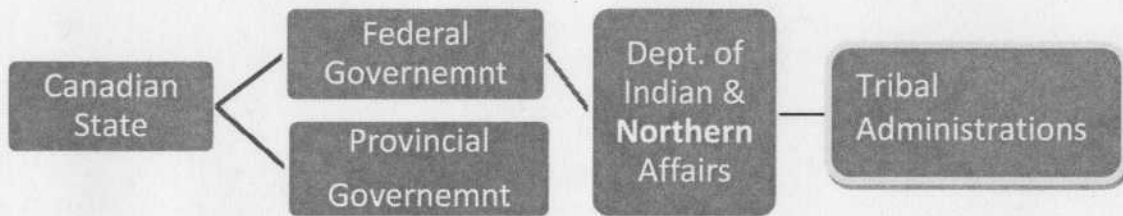
<u>First Nations Administrative Relationships</u>	
(1) Relationships Between Bureaucracies	
Department of Indian & Northern Affairs (DIA) Policy Intentions for Tribal Administrations	Tribal Administration Interpretation of DIA Policy, combined with personal intention to meet needs of community
(2) Hierarchical Relationships	
"...attempts by superiors to assert their hierarchical rights..." (Ham, Hill, 1993, p.158)	"...aspirations of subordinates to introduce greater certainty for their activities" (Ham, Hill, 1993, p.158)
(3) Centralization of Government Organizations	
DIA acts as central office for tribal administrations across Canada. Tribal offices act as central office for tribal communities as well as the center for all decision making powers.	The end result is that tribal communities changed from a decentralized form of governance, to a centralized form of governance
(4) End Result of Administrative Relationships	
The end result and common theme affecting the relationships between all levels of First Nations administrations and between all parties is that simultaneously "[O]ne party claims a superordinate position, whilst the other asserts that it has a measure of independence" (Ham, Hill, 1993, p.158).	

The bureaucratic structure of First Nations institutions is convoluted, making it difficult for people to distinguish the order of stress occurring over any period of employment. Paulo Freire says "*Submerged in reality, the oppressed cannot perceive clearly the 'order' which serves the interests of the oppressors whose image they have internalized. Chafing under the restrictions of this order, they often manifest a type of horizontal violence, striking out at their own comrades for the pettiest reasons*" (Freire, 1970, p.62). This line of thinking develops an order in which First Nations people contributed very little.

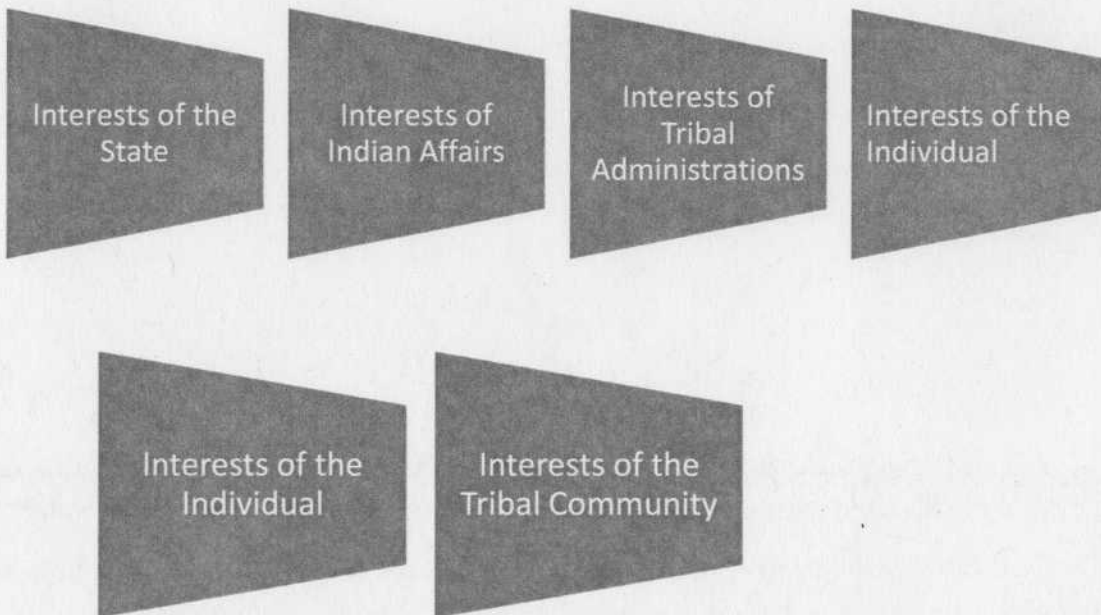
I have never considered using the words "order" and "arrangement" of interests, values, and practises in the relationship between the Canadian State and First Nations

Administrations. Order implies a positioning of administrators in the relationship, as in the following figure,

Figure 2



It implies something else too, maybe a practise of placing order for the individual in an administration



Speaking from personal experience the band administration model created under the Indian Act does not work. In my tribal office there is one worker for each major

portfolio; Administration, Education, Finance etc. etc. The structure fails in the sense that so few people can solve the problems facing a community. The number of people hired to work these positions, with the shortage of funds to administer such positions, isn't sufficient to solve community problems. Communities continue to live in survival mode because there is not an adequate structure in place to improve the quality of life for First Nations people.

What results from this situation is a small number of people with increasing responsibilities trying to negotiate administration between a western form of administration, and a traditional Coast Salish form of administration. Taiaiake Alfred (1999) in his book *Peace Power Righteousness; an Indigenous Manifesto* speaks of the same problem. Alfred (1999) writes, "*band councils, tribal councils, and the Assembly of First Nations are all creatures of the federal government...this dependence imposes a set of parameters that constrains the actions and even the thoughts of those working within the system*" (p.70). The residual institutional racism left from colonialism, combined with the institutional restrictions on front-line workers exacerbates lateral violence in tribal administration offices.

The ideological structure of institutions creates a sense of identity for an individual that is polar in nature; an individual is being pulled in two different directions in order to meet the needs of community. Freire further contributes that

The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting them; between human

solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. This is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed which their education must take into account. (Freire, 1970, p.48).

All of these problems converge in the policy making process and greatly impact any economic, policy or community development practises intended to improve the conditions of First Nations communities, and the institutions that represent their needs.

Where am I Going With the Research?

The most vital component in deconstructing lateral violence in professional community environments is the history of how it came about. In First Nations administration the history of lateral violence springs from the process of business itself. Colonial ideology has created the professional environment I work in as a First Nations person. I have to ask myself two questions. Do I want to engage the system and reform it? Or do I want to disengage myself from the system and seek solutions outside of the norm, which can be a prolonged personally isolating process. It is isolating in the fact that as a policy practitioner who frames his work in critical theory, I ask questions that make people uncomfortable, questions that try to clarify values. Critical theory does not mean acting with violence or intimidation, but provoking thoughtful conversation that requires strain to reach an answer. If I act with violence or intimidation I only perpetuate lateral violence.

To deconstruct lateral violence is to be conscious of my actions, and how my actions positively or negatively affect other people, and how we create social attitudes. Social attitudes, from my perspective and experience as a student and first time field

worker, can possibly take an individual about a decade to fully understand. Most often field work and the act of perceiving the world happens within the idea I call transformative learning. Transformative learning happens when one intersects with different ways of knowing. Institutional ethnographer Dorothy Smith (2005) says *"Isolating an individual, might represent how one individual acknowledges a way of knowing, accepts or rejects that way of knowing, and then proceeds to make a commitment to either perpetuate that way of knowing or leave it alone"* (p.55). People can choose to accept a view different from their own, agree with it and let it change the way they function? Or ignore it and carry on with life as usual? Or resist and fight against it?

Through this thesis project I work towards answering these questions. I get to learn how to build on the experience of other people, while applying information to a greater understanding of policy in First Nations institutions in Coast Salish territory. Lateral violence is a common problem in administrative bodies, but it is a problem that is not spoken about in a way that produces policy solutions. As a researcher I want to isolate the problem in First Nations institutions so that working conditions can be improved for administrators, which may result in greater policy and program implementation in First Nations institutions. The endeavour of this project is to answer the question "How does lateral violence function as a process in First Nations institutions?" When I tell people what kind of research I'm doing the typical response is *oh it's out there!* It is my hopes that by exploring this topic, with the help of literature I've selected, that we will be able to move beyond the ambiguity lateral violence creates, and more towards pragmatic solutions.

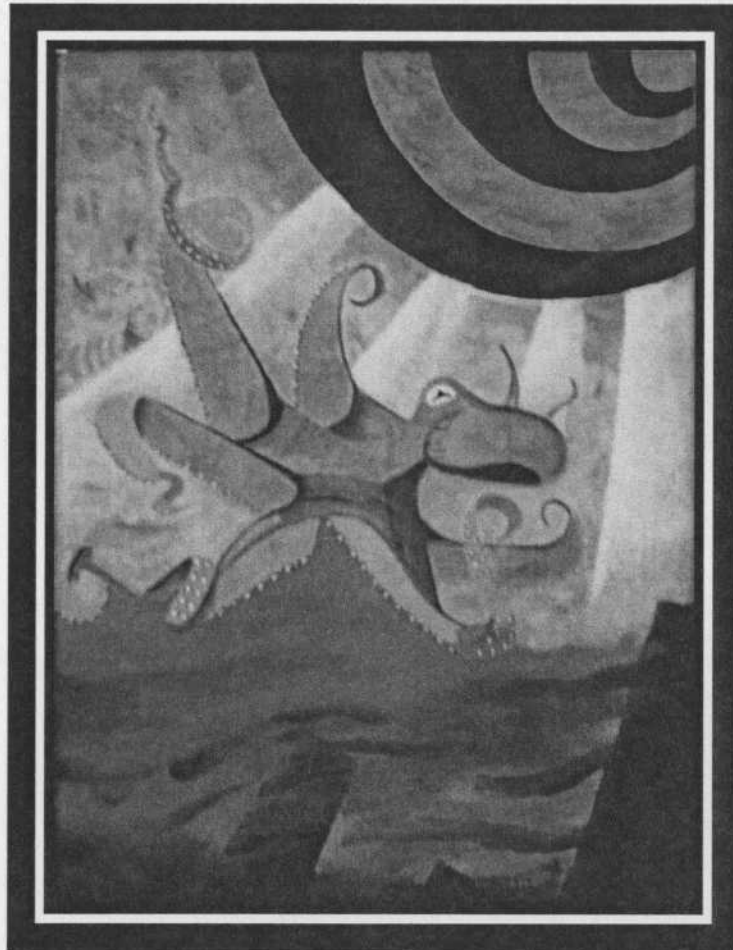
Chapter 3 Methodology

(i) Researcher in the Research Project

As a First Nations individual my worldview has been shaped by my First Nations community, but outside that are forces that have shaped the First Nations community around me. My world is not fixed, but is porous in structure; forces outside of my community interact with forces coming from within. Indeed “...any explanation of experience would be incomplete without (a) locating experience within the larger conditional frame or context in which it is embedded...”; and (b) “...describing the process or the ongoing and changing forms of action/interaction/emotions that are taken in responses to events and the problems that arise to inhibit action/interaction” (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p.17).

When I locate myself within the larger context of my research as an academic doing research within a western academic institution, the direction in which I gaze is influenced by the oral history of my family. It is not that a First Nations person is denied the ability to choose whether or not to learn or follow his/her inherent rights as a Hwulmuhw (First Nations person), but that I must choose to take up the initiative. I am the son of a Hul'qumi'num language and cultural teacher, my character is comprised of attaching myself to the importance of my history. Take for example this painting of mine entitled *Sacredness*,

Figure 3



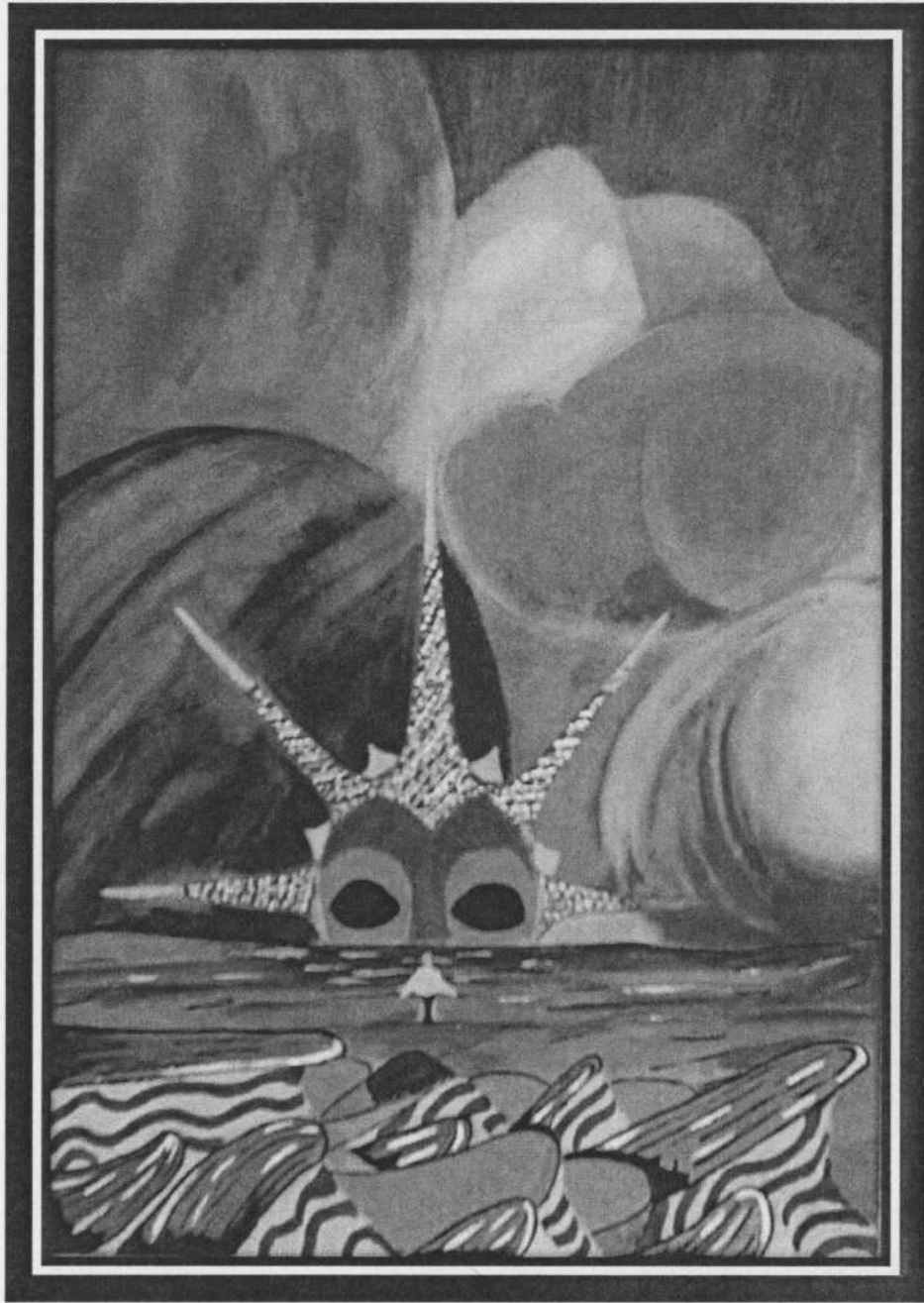
This painting was inspired by some stories my mother was telling me about sacred sites in our area. As an intern for a not-for-profit organization concerned with developing ecological based planning methods with my tribal administration, it is necessary to understand how to identify sacred sites for tribal people to practice their culture. The process of identifying sacred sites, geographical locations of cultural significance, is such an empowering process of personal identity formation. I am feeling what my mother always tells me, in order for me to feel like a rich person I have to know my history and where I come from. I may not be wealthy in terms of monetary funds, but

I am surrounded by a wealth of opportunities in terms of natural resources. These opportunities are not for the purpose of exploitation, but are opportunities for developing an abundance of protocols on the topic of respecting the complex relationships of the natural world around me. This painting is a result of the "feeling" of tradition, knowing who I am, where I come from and what my purpose is in life.

In another painting that resulted from my work in the communities I belong to, both First Nations and non-First Nations, I explore the relationship between the spiritual and physical world. After work one day I was walking along the beach and discovered a rock formation that strongly resembled a very large footprint. After that my mother told me a story of one of the giants that use to roam through Coast Salish territory. While the story illustrated the presence of highly intellectual beings other than humans, it also demonstrated the expansive space of our Coast Salish territory.

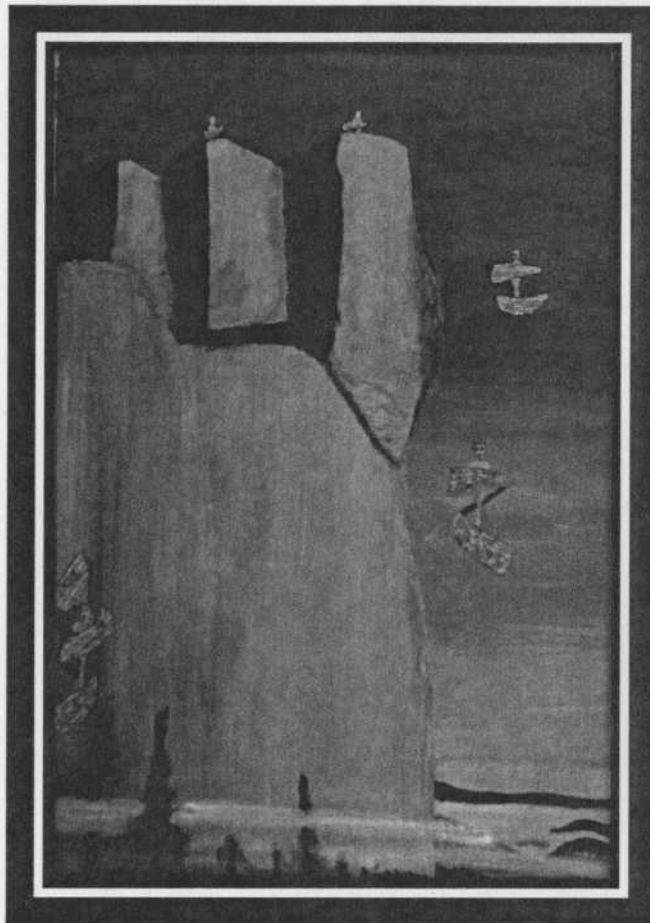
This painting is called *Interdimensional Beings; Transitioning Between the Physical and Spiritual World*. This image was inspired by one of my comic book drawings of Smuqwuts transitioning between different worlds. I have often wondered what happened to historical figures? Where is the evidence of such figures? I came to the conclusion that historical figures just transitioned between worlds. Smuqwuts is the figure before the sun. During the transition the physical perception of the world begins to dramatically change from images we are accustomed to seeing. Power as we know is decentred, and a different way of knowing becomes possible.

Figure 4



Furthermore, while exploring the relationship between ancestry, oral history, community/economic and policy development, I represented my way of knowing through a piece called *People Who Fell From the Sky Wrapped in their Gifts*.

Figure 5



This painting was inspired by the book *A History of the Cowichan Peoples: Those Who Fell From the Sky*. The book references people who are part of my family lineage from my mother's side of the family. The people who fell from the sky is a story from my mother's family history. Each of us, I believe are born with talents that are specific to an individual. In addition, there are talents or gifts inherited from our ancestors. This

painting has been a process for me to learn how to identify with my ancestors without exploiting specific names or stories. A majority of political process for Coast Salish peoples are practised only within a specific community. Part of the reason for this is to maintain a level of sacredness, another reason is because of the complicated process of interconnecting and validating information between massive family lineages.

"One of the standards of 'good' qualitative research is the visibility and acknowledged presence of the researcher in a research account" (Kirby et al., 2006, p.37). These paintings, or visions, have come to me at various stages of community work, usually when I've felt the need to express my own interpretation when learning information that cannot be changed for the sake of cultural continuity. These paintings represent a history of learning Coast Salish protocols with First Nations administrations. Political process is an art that must be humbly learned over vast lengths of time, while learning to consider the vested interests of community.

Upon gaining skills in First Nations' communities, there are three professional experiences that influence my interest in conducting research on the topic of lateral violence. I will briefly describe each in turn.

First Experience: Land and Resource Management Skills

As an intern with the Galiano Island Conservancy Association I was asked by the Penelakut Tribes' Chief and Council to look at ways of resolving the traditional boundaries of family plots on the Kuper Island Reserve. Within this are two conflicts: (1) space appointed to First Nations' people on reserve by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs; (2) process of handing family plots down from generation to generation

through inherent rights procedures, or sale of land. First Nations' reserve land is not fully communal, families own rights to certain areas of land, and there can be conflict within families over who inherits land.

Second Experience: Economic Development

I've been witnessing and observing the economic development plans for the Penelakut Tribes for about 6 years now. I even volunteered for the department when I was employed as the liaison for the Penelakut Tribes'/Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group. The same plans have been on the table for 20 years. Every year there is an incremental change in how the plans will be carried out. Moreover, plans never get off the ground because of family disputes in the administration and/or the reserve community.

Third Experience: Administrative Politics

I've always had family on chief and council. There have been instances where an administrator has been verbally attacked by members of the community during a chief and council meeting, during regular business hours, at another community event, or out and about doing personal routines. A relative who used to work at a treatment centre suggested that we look more into the issue of lateral violence as an administrative coping mechanism.

These three experiences lead me to look at the problem as an academic in the following manner. Lateral violence is one of the greatest barriers to policy creation in First Nations communities. When creating policy I have to reflect on the history and affect of colonization in First Nations' communities. First Nations' people work in organizations that were not designed by First Nations' people, but were designed by

people that were not familiar with the variety of First Nations' cultural and political practises. The result is a workplace where people must negotiate the tensions that arise as a result of First Nations' people choosing to work in a government structure not designed by their own community. Individual workers must decide for themselves how to negotiate the tensions that arise in the workplace. C. Wright Mills (1975) suggests that "*the individual can understand his own experience and gauge his own fate only by locating himself within his period...*" (P.5). Being aware of oneself as a researcher in a time and place provides the opportunity to participate in discussions moving through the community, "*A researcher's location is not fixed;; it is fluid, simultaneous, and allows the researcher to move back and forth with some kind of agency*" (Kirby, Greaves, Reid, 2006, p.39).

(ii) Framework

Here I will explicate the framework that will be used through the research activities. "*In qualitative research methods, all evidence-gathering techniques fall into one of the following three categories: listening to... informants, observing behaviour, and examining historical traces and records*" (Kirby et al., 2006, p.13). Contributions to knowledge coming from this research project is constructed on the point of view of research participants. Where quantitative research is controlled by the researcher who may be following strict laboratory techniques this project will "*...embrace the complexity of social interactions as expressed in daily life and with the meanings the participants themselves attribute to these interactions*" (Kirby et al., 2006, p.12). A researcher can explore the lived experiences of research participants within their natural settings of daily life.

Exploring the experience of research participants is paramount in this research project. *"Qualitative research allows researchers to get at the inner experience of participants, to determine how meanings are formed through and in culture, and to discover rather than test variables"* (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p.12). When discovering variables from the perspective of research participants, we are able to refrain from imposing a world view or truth on research participants. *"Qualitative research occurs in natural settings; often requires multiple methods; is grounded in the lived experiences of people; and is naturalistic, emergent, and evolving"* (Kirby et al., 2006, p.12). In qualitative research participants can represent how they see the world, and more importantly as a First Nations researcher doing qualitative research, I do not have to remove my personal experience from the process.

As a First Nations researcher I share the experience of working in First Nations institutions with research participants. I am not an outsider working my way into the lived experiences of people I am not familiar with. Linda Tuhiwai Smith says that how First Nations people are represented in text must be carefully considered;

Representation is important as a concept because it gives the impression of the 'the truth.' When I read texts...I frequently have to orientate myself to a text world in which the centre of academic knowledge is either in Britain, the United States or Western Europe; in which words such as 'we', 'us', 'our', 'I' actually exclude me. It is a text world in which...I have learned that I belong partly in the Third World, partly in the 'Women of Colour' world, partly in the black or African world..." (Smith, 2006, p.35).

As a First Nations researcher I am closer to representing the experience of First Nations people than a non-First Nations researcher who is unfamiliar with First Nations communities. However, it is important to define my position within First Nations communities so that I can make visible my intentions with research participants.

According to Kirby, Greaves and Reid, there are four positions to locate myself within as researcher; (1) External outsider (2) External insider (3) Indigenous Insider and, (4) Indigenous Outsider. *"The external outsider is a researcher who does not belong to or join the field of study. An external insider is a researcher who leaves the original field and joins or affiliates with the field under study."* (Kirby et al., 2006, 39). I am First Nations, I am Coast Salish, and my research is motivated by the interactions I have witnessed between community members and administrators in my tribe. I am not an external outsider or external insider. There is *"[a] researcher who belongs to the field under study and share mainstream perspectives of that field is labelled an indigenous insider..."* but I am taking a more critical stance as an indigenous outsider, which *"is a researcher who belongs to the field under study but is marginalized or takes a critical view of it..."* (Kirby et al., 2006, p.39). Lateral Violence is a common problem in administrative bodies, but it is a problem that is not spoken about in a way that produces policy solutions. As a critical researcher I want to isolate the problem in First Nations institutions so that working conditions can be improved for administrators, which may result in greater policy and program implementation in First Nations institutions.

(iii) Grounded Theory as a Method of Exploration

I want to explore the topic of lateral violence as a process in First Nations institutions. The research project is exploratory in nature because the aim of the research is to represent the lived experience research participants have had with the topic of lateral violence. I am not going into the research project with the intention of legitimizing an already existing theory. The theory from this research project will come from the research participants. John Creswell (1998) said *"...the intent of a grounded theory*

study is to generate or discover a theory, an abstract analytical schema of a phenomenon, that relates to a particular situation. This situation is one in which individuals interact, take actions, or engage in a process in response to a phenomenon" (p.56). Through the research project, people who provide services to Coast Salish people can address the ambiguous circumstances lateral violence creates in the workplace. Material resulting from the research can be used in the future to improve our capacity for dealing with situations of lateral violence.

Creswell (1998) said *"The researcher needs to recognize that the primary outcome of this study is a theory with specific components: a central phenomenon, causal conditions, strategies, conditions and context, and consequences. These are prescribed categories of information in the theory"* (p.58) The phenomenon is lateral violence as a process in First Nations institutions. The causal conditions of lateral violence are difficult to define. From one perspective, causal factors of lateral violence are attributed to residual effects of the colonization of First Nations people in Canada. Strategies by the Canadian Government to assimilate First Nations people into western society transformed the way First Nations people interacted with each other and with those from outside their community. Traditional governing institutions, cultural practices, and norms were altered because of the attempt to civilize First Nations people. Conditions dramatically changed for First Nations people, and for some of the population the damages were irreversible. For the people who have not died because of colonization, what is left are generations of First Nations people who do not fluently speak their own language, who are struggling to maintain the cultural practices hidden within their language. So I do not want to look at 'why' lateral violence happens (causal factors), but rather 'how' it happens.

In addition, Creswell (1998) urges people *"To study how people act and react to this phenomenon, the researcher collects primarily interview data, makes multiple visits to the field, develops and interrelates categories of information, and writes theoretical propositions or hypotheses or presents a visual picture of the theory"* (p.56) Grounded theory is the best choice for this research project for two reasons; (1) theory is built on the perspective of the research participants, allowing outsiders to familiarize themselves with their experience of lateral violence; (2) *"the purpose is to explain a social order in such a way that it becomes itself the catalyst which leads to the transformation of this social order"* (Neuman, 1997, p.74). Lateral violence is an ambiguous force within First Nations institutions, but a force with social consequences that can take years for a community to identify and heal. By exploring how lateral violence functions a process, the research will be able to provide direction for change.

(iv) Research Design

Development of Research Question:

The development of the research project really comes from an articulated research question. The research question for this project came about as a result of endless conversations about lateral violence with community members, administrators, and the thesis committee. The research question became clearer as I worked on the research proposal, and filling out the Human Research Ethics Application Form.

Through the proposal and the ethics application form it became possible to narrow the topic of lateral violence down into a single workable idea. Gradually the research question became more about how lateral violence functions as a process in

First Nations institutions. This question provided the opportunity for research participants to share from their point of view how lateral violence functions in the work environment.

Ethics:

When working with First Nations people it is important to be very aware of the standards of ethics of any researcher. Developing the ethical guidelines for this research project was difficult to do because of the very nature of the topic, which is that of violence. I had to be very clear about my procedures in the proposal.

In the proposal I outlined the purpose of doing the research project. The purpose I outlined was to explore the topic of lateral violence as a Process in First Nations Institutions. Through the research project, people who have provided services to Coast Salish people can address the ambiguous circumstances lateral violence creates in the workplace.

In addition to the purpose were the goals of the project, which were listed as;

- To develop research skills within grounded theory
- Represent the experience of First Nations' administrators who provide services to Coast Salish First Nations' people
- Use research data about the process of lateral violence in First Nations' institutions as an informative tool for policy development in Coast Salish First Nations' institutions
- To develop coping mechanisms as a researcher in the context of community conflict where competing interests and a plurality of opinions need to be resolved in order to effectively implement policy

The proposal was good for informing my faculty what intentions I had for doing my research. In addition to the development of ethics in the proposal, there was further

work done in the human research ethics application form. In the human research ethics application form I interacted with research administrators outside of my faculty who regulate research throughout the university setting.

A human research ethics application form must be filled out when doing interviews with anyone. This form is in place so that research participants are not harmed during a study, and are not re-traumatized by revisiting past events in their life.

Selection of the research participants was as follows. First, potential participants were discussed with my thesis committee. Second, potential participants were given a brochure that I created introducing me as researcher, explaining my interpretation of lateral violence, my intentions for conducting research in Coast Salish Institutions, and ethics affecting research participants. Third, research participants were given a copy of the research interview guide to be given time to ease into a research project relationship. Fourth we met to do the research interview.

Research participants were selected based on the amount of conflict that they have to deal with while working for organizations that provide services to First Nations people in Coast Salish territory. Participants were selected to represent a cross section of organizations as well.

The first research participant was selected because of a developed expertise on the topic of lateral violence. This research participant has spent years in the First Nations health care field developing experience with the topic of lateral violence. In addition, the research participant works a great deal with off-reserve First Nations people, or, the urban Indian population. From this work the participant spends a great

deal of time bridging the connections between on-reserve and off reserve people and organizations.

The second research participant was selected based on work developing relationships between several First Nations communities on Vancouver Island, and the government of Canada. The research participant works between tribal administrations and elders, and federal, provincial, and municipal levels of the Canadian Government.

The third research participant was selected for being a chief in one Coast Salish community. The chief was also politically active on a national level. The chief was aware of the similarities of lateral violence between local tribal communities and national First Nations communities.

The fourth research participant was selected for being a Coast Salish elder. The elder was in a very traditional manner, and was not taken away into the Indian Residential School system. The research participant works as a Coast Salish language and culture teacher for a university. In addition, the research participant has been working for each of the Coast Salish child and family service organizations in the central Vancouver Island area. Furthermore, the research participant participates in First Nations land and resource management with not-for-profit organizations operating in Coast Salish territory.

Analysis of Data:

I interviewed each participant individually to respect their anonymity. I digitally recorded each interview, and stored them in my computer as separate files. I transcribed each of the interviews into word documents. The individual interviews were

kept separate from each other so that the data could be kept separate, and would not be cross contaminated.

The transcribed interviews were then printed off so I could read the interviews and highlight information that really stood out as identifying a process of lateral violence. Research participants clearly identified a problem, how people proceeded to deal with a problem, and the social impacts that resulted from the interaction.

After identifying instances of lateral violence in each of the separate interviews I looked for similarities between each of the research participants. I cut out the instances from each of the individual interviews and placed them in baskets according to similarity. I then pasted the pieces onto the left side of presentation sized pieces of paper. I left room on the right side of the paper for writing. The space on the right was used for first explaining why this data fit into this pile, followed by bullets explaining the process of lateral violence it represented.

Following the development of piles of data, and the purpose for each piece being in place, the purpose was further used to represent the different properties of each pile of data. Time was then spent looking at what each pile of data was trying to say it represented, and choosing a way to depict its voice. The chosen name came to represent the identification of a category of data.

Ten categories developed from the data. It was essential to prioritize the categories. Two categories were chosen to be written up first. The two categories provided sufficient information to represent the findings chapter of the thesis paper.

While working on the findings chapter, simultaneously the rest of the chapters of the thesis paper were being framed and written up. The literature review chapter, methodology chapter, and conclusion were being worked on. Since the thesis paper was a grounded theory paper, the introduction wasn't worked on until proper representation of the research participants' ideas was depicted.

(v) Limitations of the Research

There are limitations to grounded theory research that I must be aware of. These limitations are theoretical bias, systematic approach, and category saturation. "*The investigator needs to set aside, as much as possible, theoretical ideas or notions so that the analytic, substantive theory can emerge*" (Creswell, 1998, p.58). As a researcher I have to be able to distinguish between my world view and the world view of the research participant. If my own personal interpretation of events foregrounds that of the participants the research will not advance beyond my own assumptions. The point of grounded theory is to build the theory on the lived experience of research participants.

In addition to the methodological limitations of the research, there are limitations regarding content. Fear based learning in this research paper is connected with the Indian Residential School experience in Canada, but it is not to say that fear based learning comes from the Indian Residential School system. Fear based learning is also connected with the topic of lateral violence in First Nations institutions. Fear based learning is not meant to explain lateral violence, instead it is meant as an explanation of how it functions as seen by the four research participants involved in this study.

(vi) Methodology Conclusion

On my academic journey it has become apparent that there are two layers for creating an understanding of the world, an objective layer and a subjective layer. Community shapes our way of knowing as individuals. Struggle is inevitable in communities, suffering is an option. As a First Nations person wanting to work in administrations that provide services to First Nations people, I chose not to suffer from the consequences of indifference resulting from Lateral Violence. I want to know how others working within the Coast Salish community understand the process. Lateral violence is a common problem in administrative bodies, but it is a problem that is not spoken about in a way that produces policy solutions. As a critical researcher I want to isolate the problem in First Nations institutions so that working conditions can be improved for administrators, which may result in greater policy and program implementation in First Nations institutions. The endeavour of this project is to answer the question "How does lateral violence function as a process in Coast Salish First Nations institutions?"

Chapter 4 Findings

A Note on Writing Style: To protect the anonymity of research participants, research participant names are not used, or the name of the institutions they work for. Research participant quotes are in italics.

(A) Introduction

(i) Finding Fear Based Learning in the Data

Researching lateral violence is like running through fog, sometimes things are clear, and sometimes they are not. Sometimes when people are in an episode of lateral violence the amount of fear they are experiencing is enough to keep them from seeing a way out of conflict with others. Whether someone is reflecting on past experiences, or is in the midst of conflict, it has always felt like there is an underlying issue that keeps lateral violence going in First Nations institutions.

After becoming familiar with the information that came out of the interviews, and separating the information into categories based on similarities between research participants, fear based behaviour began to pop up as a link between ideas. It was becoming apparent that Coast Salish people learned fear through experiences with colonialism. Coast Salish people have used that fear on each other to develop dominance in relationships.

The idea of fear based learning as a process theory of lateral violence, developed using grounded theory, began from one interview where a research participant was describing how residential school students were taught how to use fear on each other from residential school staff. The research participant said,

Then there was another process when you're in cultural initiation that they started to do in residential school. It made me think of that when I was talking to my sister about it. She said in residential school when they wanted to attack that one child they'd get the one student, the older student, and the student would gather a group of students and they'd all go and go after that one person that the priest picked out. They would gang on that person and they'd do things to them; intimidate them, rough them up, and make them feel they weren't included; and they'd gather in a group and that's how I see it today what happened to the people. They go in groups. They don't operate in whole families and whole groups working together. They're all in separate groups. Say if education has a function it's just them functioning together. They haven't called separate groups, and if this family is a part of it all their family gets to take part in it. Or if they run the canoe race it's just the one family running the canoe, and the other families don't get to get on the canoe and travel around to war canoe race and compete. So I saw this podding together of this strange thing that was taught in residential school; and they'd pod together and then attack, or intimidate, or be aggressive, or show this one person they're not a part of this group. So that's how I saw it operate (Anonymous Research Participant)

As soon as I heard the research participant share this part of their experience with me it felt like finding a defining moment in history that shapes interactions between people in the present moment, and in the future. Finding fear based learning was like ringing the bell in the middle of town. I proceeded to look at this material while writing memos that would help me reflect on the experience of the research participant. Doing this would ensure that I developed my grounded theory from the lived experience of the research participant. I broke the data into a data sequence, which defines the progression of events through steps. The steps were meant to show the process of events and how things happened throughout the research participants sharing. Data presented as steps is meant to provide a summary of an event in a research participant's life.

As I interacted with the data I found,

First: Conditioning for Fear Based Learning; Isolation in Residential School

Step 1: When a residential school educator wanted to isolate a student, the educator would pick one older student to gather a group of students to socially isolate another student

Step 2: The gang of students would isolate another student by intimidating them, roughing them up, and make them feel like they weren't a part of the group

Step 3: The result, a student would be isolated from any source of community identity in an already hostile environment

Step 4: As residential school students grow up and have families of their own these social coping mechanisms are passed down to the next generation of children, thus beginning the cycle of violence and fear based learning.

Second: Conditioning for Fear Based Learning: Podding in Community

Fear based learning was paramount to pedagogical practice in residential schools; as was demonstrated in a priest using an older student to isolate a younger one. This is one example of fear based learning, and the statement is not a blanket statement about how all school administrators behaved. This example is used because of the ability to tease out information about the effects of fear based learning on the process of lateral violence. Residential school educators would use fear to begin to sever connection to the former source of identity, which were family or community members.

"They would gang on that person and they'd do things to them; intimidate them, rough them up, and make them feel they weren't included; and they'd gather in a group and that's how I see it today what happened to the people" (Anonymous Research Participant). There has been potential for residential school students to grow up and make their own families, with the risk of

mimicking the legacy of violent social coping mechanisms learned in residential school. As families continue to grow they participate in developing community.

As seen from this portion of an interview with a research participant, in the development of community people learned how to cope with the world around them. Some social coping skills were learned in residential school. These skills were built on the foundation of fear based learning, an involuntary desire to disassociate with the Coast Salish language and culture, and in conflict the tendency to isolate individuals who deviate from the norm.

In the development of community residential school survivors were left to navigate the binary identities of self-perception. One identity taught to fear language and community, the other identity meant to encourage language and community. The internal world view from which one looked out at the world was premised on conflict. At moments in present day administration groups can still isolate themselves in the office, in families, or out in the community, *"They don't operate in whole families and whole groups working together. They're all in separate groups."*

Departments within an administration may put together a forum where only members from within that department are in attendance, thus excluding the wider community. Wariness increases in some situations when a large percentage of those in attendance are family.

In community recreational activities resentments may take shape when one family that controls access to resources meant for the wider community exclude participation from members outside the family.

People having grown up in residential school, or people that grew up with families

that were in residential school, have seen the social coping mechanism of exclusion carry on into community administration. The term assigned to the process of forming exclusionary groups is called podding, resulting in a pod of people excluding access to resources by others. One research participant says, *"so I saw this podding together of this strange thing that was taught in residential school; and they'd pod together and then attack, or intimidate, or be aggressive, or show this one person they're not a part of this group. So that's how I saw it operate."*

As I looked at the data from other interviews I recognized similarities. I proceeded to gather quotes that were similar in nature. Within this pile of data relating to fear I was able to distinguish three components of fear; (1) What we learned about fear, (2) How we used fear on each other, and (3) the purpose of being taught this fear. These piles of data tell the story of how fear based learning was learned in residential school, how it worked its way into family, community and administrations, and how service providers deconstruct the harmful behaviour in the workplace today.

(B) What We Learned About Fear

(i) Introduction of Fear to Manipulate Relationships

Many personal stories have been shared about the trauma experienced by First Nations children in residential school. Research project after research project has been developed from those stories outside of this research project in hopes of finding justice and freedom. Some people learned to cope with the trauma experienced in residential school by turning to substance abuse, which resulted in a proliferation of other problems such as verbal abuse, physical abuse, mental abuse, and spiritual abuse. *"Lateral violence impacts the whole community and has been described as 'an internalized feeling of anger and rage that*

develops in a person as a result of being constantly put down. It is responsible for dividing...communities into factions" (Helin, 2006, p.125). Some of the trauma that continues is a result of learned behaviour.

Children in residential school learned the impact fear can have on a relationship. Fear made children in residential school fear their own language and culture. As a result children learned to fear each other, their family, and their community. The dynamic in the relationship between residential school administrators and students, is key to understanding why we still experience problems in First Nations communities resulting from the residential school system. We learned from the residential school administrators how to cope and manage life.

In this 'what we learned' portion of this paper the following topics will be explored; Belonging and Isolation; From residential school to family; Intergenerational Conflict; From Family to Administrations; Infighting in Coast Salish Institutions; Set up to compete; Scarcity Model Funding; and Bloodism.

(ii) Belonging and Isolation

Children learn from adults how to develop relationships, and cope with problems that arise from those relationships. Children emulate the actions of adults. Residential school children were removed from their homes and placed in the care of residential school administrators. The purpose of this relationship was to role model for children how to function in non-First Nations communities. Unfortunately students ended up feeling like they didn't belong in non-First Nations communities, and felt ashamed of the communities they did come from.

I am going to introduce information in the following section that was not a contribution from any of the research participants, but contributes evidence to how the effect of isolation in Indian Residential Schools contributed to the feeling of not belonging when students finished at the residential school and returned home to their community.

The following information looks at the Level of Harm Assessment in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. The Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement looks at the evolution of fear based learning from when students left Indian Residential Schools, to its impact in present day First Nations communities.

In addition to the conditions of fear based learning, there are levels of harm that need to be considered when looking at the experiences of children in the residential schools. This thesis paper sheds light onto how fear based learning moved from interactions between school administrators, between students and their family when they returned home, then into community, and on into First Nations administrations. Beneath the surface of fear based learning is the exact nature of wrongful acts committed against children.

Harm caused to children resulting from the Indian Residential School experience is being addressed through the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement. The official website of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement states that the agreement is where,

Canada and certain religious organizations [who] operated Indian Residential Schools for the education of aboriginal children and certain harms and abuses were committed against those children...desire a fair, comprehensive and lasting resolution of the legacy of Indian Residential Schools...The Parties further desire the

promotion of healing, education, truth and reconciliation and commemoration
(<http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/Settlement.pdf>)

The process of reconciling the Indian Residential School experience can become abstract quickly because of the complexity of the problems. Understanding becomes complex because it is difficult for people to imagine adults systematically torturing children in academic institutions. The problems become generalized because we understand one child was tortured, and that understanding is applied to a single race of people, that being First Nations people. Understanding moves quickly from individual suffering to the suffering of a general population who attended Indian Residential Schools.

For outsiders to the situation, empathy can be difficult to develop while trying to understand the problem. It can be difficult to grasp the impact of harms caused to First Nations people, their communities, and the negative impact the experience had on developing healthy relationships.

Since the Indian Residential School Agreement is working towards healing for First Nations people, I propose to administrators to look at exactly what First Nations people are healing from, and what is contributing to recurring social dysfunction. To protect residential school survivors' anonymity, information can be gathered by looking at assessment tools used in the settlement agreement.

In hearings where residential school survivors share their truth, students are assessed using a scale that measures the level of abuse and harm caused by the abuse. Residential school survivors are then compensated based on their level of abuse and harm.

The fields of psychiatry and psychology have contributed a process of understanding trauma experienced in the residential schools. Susan A. Clancy (2009) contributes an understanding of trauma that has been constructed after working with child sexual abuse survivors for decades. Clancy writes that "*the way professionals in psychology define a traumatic event is clear: It is either objectively life threatening when it occurs (like getting shot at) or subjectively results in the same kind of intense fear, horror, or helplessness that objectively life-threatening events arouse*" (2009. Pg7). Residential school students were removed from their home without expressed permission from their parents. Students lived in a residential school administered by strangers. Some students were tortured through malnutrition, physical abuse, sexual abuse, racism, and cultural eradication.

What happens for the individual in a traumatic event? "*The experience of psychological trauma causes extreme, unnaturally high levels of neurobiological arousal in the victim, arousal so extreme that it becomes toxic: It destabilizes the victims neurobiology, leading to long-term emotional, behavioural, and cognitive dysfunction and, in some cases, even to brain damage*" (Clancy, 2009, p.7). Due to the shame of being sexually abused, some residential school survivors will go decades without seeking adequate treatment for their traumatic experiences. Residential school students experience prolonged periods of unnecessary physiological reactions resulting from abuse.

The Indian Residential School Independent Assessment Process website lists the levels of abuse and the levels of harm experienced by children. These harms disrupted the lives of residential school children during their period of residency, it then continued to disrupt their connection with family when they moved back home, and then had prolonged evolving social consequences in their community. These social

consequences are not something that people look at as being part of their history. The problems are current and continuing to evolve.

Social problems persist because administrators in the western sense do not need a psychiatry or counselling background to develop administrations. First Nations people on the other hand need psychiatry or counselling backgrounds because fear based learning has evolved into varying illusive but harmful normative behaviours, such as lateral violence. The Independent Assessment Process (IAP) is the first instance where the exact nature of people's stories will be heard. Not until the truth of peoples experiences are heard, can people begin to look for solutions.

All levels of sexual and physical abuse in an IAP assessment will not be identified here, but the highest level of the two will be looked at. All the levels do not need to be discussed because these highest levels of harm are more pertinent to the purpose of this paper.

The highest level of sexual abuse identified in the IAP is sexual abuse level 5 (SL5). In SL5 there was "*Repeated, persistent incidents of anal or vaginal intercourse; and/or Repeated, persistent incidents of anal or vaginal penetration with an object*" (<http://www.iap-pei.ca/fs-hrm-eng.asp>). Residential school children were unable to leave the premises, leaving them vulnerable to repeated assaults by one or more staff members over a long period of time. Repeated assaults increased the intensity of trauma for each student. Intensified trauma affects ones abilities to develop healthy relationships in the future, which will be looked at further in the levels of harm in IAP.

The highest level of physical abuse (PL) is,

One or more physical assaults causing a physical injury that:

- *led to or should have led to hospitalization or serious medical treatment by a physician*
- *caused permanent or demonstrated long-term physical injury*
- *impaired or disfigured*
- *caused loss of consciousness*
- *broke bones*
- *caused serious but temporary incapacitation requiring bed rest or infirmary care for several days. Examples include severe beating, whipping, and second-degree burning. (<http://www.iap-pe.ca/fs-hrm-eng.asp>)*

Physical assaults typically accompanied sexual assaults for the purpose of increasing fear in the student, and to keep the student silent. Children end up leaving residential schools with cumulative trauma. Clancy (2009) writes that "*the traumatogenic model encompasses three basic assumptions. First...trauma is the central concept used to explain the long-term effects of child sexual abuse*" (p.8). Because sexual abuse occurred at such an early age, a way of learning how to develop healthy relationships was disrupted. If students lived out their entire childhood in residential schools, than they continued to learn how to develop relationships within the institution in this manner. When they left the institution they left with a distorted sense of purpose for how human relationships should develop.

Clancy continues to explain that "*Second, the pathway through which the trauma of sexual abuse affects wellbeing is direct...victims report different negative outcomes in adulthood as a result of sexual abuse, all are symptoms of a lingering psychological disorder, the etiology of which is traced directly to the original sexual experience*" (Clancy.2009.Pg.8). Episodes of lateral violence as identified in this research paper, and the nine accompanying properties of fear based learning are commonly understood to be problems experienced by adults. These problems may be traced back to and connected with fear based learning experienced by students in the residential school setting.

"The third assumption embedded in the traumatogenic framework is that child sexual abuse experiences fall on a continuum of severity that describes the level of stress induced and predicts the extent to which the child will suffer long-term negative consequences" (Clancy.2009.P.9). A worst case scenario is where a child leaves a residential school with the highest level of sexual abuse (SL5) combined with the highest level of physical abuse (PL). These consequences for communities of people have not been addressed on a large scale until the signing of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement on May 8th 2006.

Residential school survivors can choose to share their story in an IAP hearing. The IAP allows survivors to share their story with a panel of people who can provide survivors with services to address the harms resulting from keeping their story a secret for 40-60 years of their lives.

People working for First Nations institutions need to be aware of the level of harms experienced by people in residential schools. These harms have moved from Indian Residential Schools into family homes, into communities, and into First Nations institutions. These harms are visible through symptomatic instances of lateral violence.

To connect lateral violence in this research paper with the Independent Assessment Process, I suggest looking at descriptions of behavioural dysfunctions in relationships in the harms assessment aspect. The IAP harms assessment looks at how abuse disrupted how individuals functioned in relationships, and the impact it had on their interpersonal skill development. Fear based learning has been a persistent factor in the lives of residential school students, and the communities they lived in.

There are five levels of harm assessment in an IAP. Each level looks at the long-term harms experienced by the individual. Administrators in First Nations institutions who are open to this information will see why and how the residential school experience continues to impact the psyche of First Nations people.

The highest level of harm experienced by residential school survivors is an H5: Continued harm resulting in serious dysfunction. The H5 describes this level of harm as being evidenced by,

psychotic disorganization, loss of ego boundaries, personality disorders, pregnancy resulting from a defined sexual assault or the forced termination of such pregnancy or being required to place for adoption a child resulting from such a pregnancy, self-injury, suicidal tendencies, inability to form or maintain personal relationships, chronic post-traumatic state, sexual dysfunction, or eating disorders (<http://www.iap-pej.ca/fs-hrm-eng.asp>)

The well being of a child was permanently altered because of trauma experienced in residential schools. Survivors living with the effects of a level H5 experience prolonged breaks from reality because of a loss of safety. These pathologies reveal realities where people live in isolation in every aspect of their life. If we skim the surface of each diagnosis on the list we see that people assessed as being an H5 have no clear sense of self, are unable to bond with others, feel chronically ill, do not eat properly, and are unable to have healthy sexual relationships.

The next level is an H4: Harm resulting in some dysfunction. Survivors living with the effects of an H4 will display,

frequent difficulties with interpersonal relationships, development of obsessive-compulsive and panic states, severe anxiety, occasional suicidal tendencies, permanent significantly disabling physical injury, overwhelming guilt, self-blame,

lack of trust in others, severe post-traumatic stress disorder, some sexual dysfunction, or eating disorders (<http://www.iap-pei.ca/fs-hrm-eng.asp>)

Survivors with an H4 experience dysfunction but are able to move through the motions of life with periodic disruptions in living conditions. From skimming over the behavioural descriptors of this list, it looks like survivors have the capacity start a relationship but have difficulties maintaining them because of a lack of trust in others due to overwhelming guilt and shame. These overwhelming feelings induce severe anxiety. There is some degree of sexual dysfunction accompanied by eating disorders.

The next level is an H3: Continued detrimental impact. H3 seems to be a level where survivors act out to a greater degree their learned anti-social behaviours. A level H3 survivor displays the following behaviours,

difficulties with interpersonal relationships, occasional obsessive-compulsive and panic states, some post-traumatic stress disorder, occasional sexual dysfunction, addiction to drugs, alcohol or substances, a long term significantly disabling physical injury resulting from a defined sexual assault, or lasting and significant anxiety, guilt, self-blame, lack of trust in others, nightmares, bed-wetting, aggression, hyper-vigilance, anger, retaliatory rage and possibly self-inflicted injury. (<http://www.iap-pei.ca/fs-hrm-eng.asp>)

The one concept worthy of more attention from the list is hyper-vigilance. The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology defines hyper-vigilance “*as excessive scanning of the external environment and preferential attention to threat*” (<http://www.informaworld.com>). Anecdotally, I have heard others commonly refer to hyper-vigilance as the need for someone to constantly defend themselves. Based on my observations as a Resolution Health Support Worker for Health Canada, Hyper-vigilance with Indian Residential School survivors may be accompanied by retaliatory

rage. Residential school survivors develop intolerance for people who may be in a position of authority. This is due to their experience in the past with people in a position of authority who abused their power and privilege.

Also noteworthy in H3 is the presence of substance abuse. Substance abuse in this level assessment is a contributor to anti-social behaviour. Friendships, professional, or romantic relationships suffer because of substance abuse issues accompanied by hyper-vigilance and retaliatory rage. Individuals experience isolation. The isolation is initiated by survivors and is more observable because it is directed outwards at others, rather than inwards.

Harm level H3 can potentially be a contributor to lateral violence. H3 points out that the physical and sexual abuse has a continued and detrimental impact on the survivor. The impact is acted out with distrust in others, being angry about not being able to trust others, and responding with retaliatory rage.

The next level of harm assessment in an IAP is level H2: Some detrimental impact. H2 survivors' display,

occasional difficulty with personal relationships, some mild post-traumatic stress disorder, self-blame, lack of trust in others, and low self-esteem; and/or several occasions and several symptoms of: anxiety, guilt, nightmares, bed-wetting, aggression, panic states, hyper-vigilance, retaliatory rage, depression, humiliation, loss of self-esteem(<http://www.iap-pe.ca/fs-hrm-eng.asp>).

The emotional, psychological, and physical long-term reactions to abuse do not seem to be persistently chronic; that is survivors do not have to resolve difficulties in relationships on an ongoing basis. However, there is still the presence of hyper-vigilance, retaliatory rage, and a loss of self-esteem.

The final level of harm assessment is H1: Modest detrimental impact. Behaviours connected with this level are as follows,

Occasional short-term, one of: anxiety, nightmares, bed-wetting, aggression, panic states, hyper-vigilance, retaliatory rage, depression, humiliation, loss of self-esteem
(<http://www.iap-pei.ca/fs-hrm-eng.asp>)

Survivors with H1 occasionally experience difficulties with one of the long-term impacts of abuse. This is not to say that the occasional experiences are not severe, but the impacts from harm are not experienced as often as someone with an H5 level.

Fear based learning is about how residential school administrators used fear to sever the connection between residential school children and their language, family, and community. The harm assessment model looks at the consequences of fear based learning from the perspective of service providers for the Government of Canada.

Children learned from their abusers how to abuse people in close proximity to them to manipulate their environments to get what they want. In this dynamic relationship we find the concept of fear based learning. Fear based learning is what the colonizer used to sever the connection a child felt to their language, family, and community. Fear based learning created a new way of being in relationships for First Nations people. In moments of conflicts people would use fear to isolate and silence people they were in disagreement with.

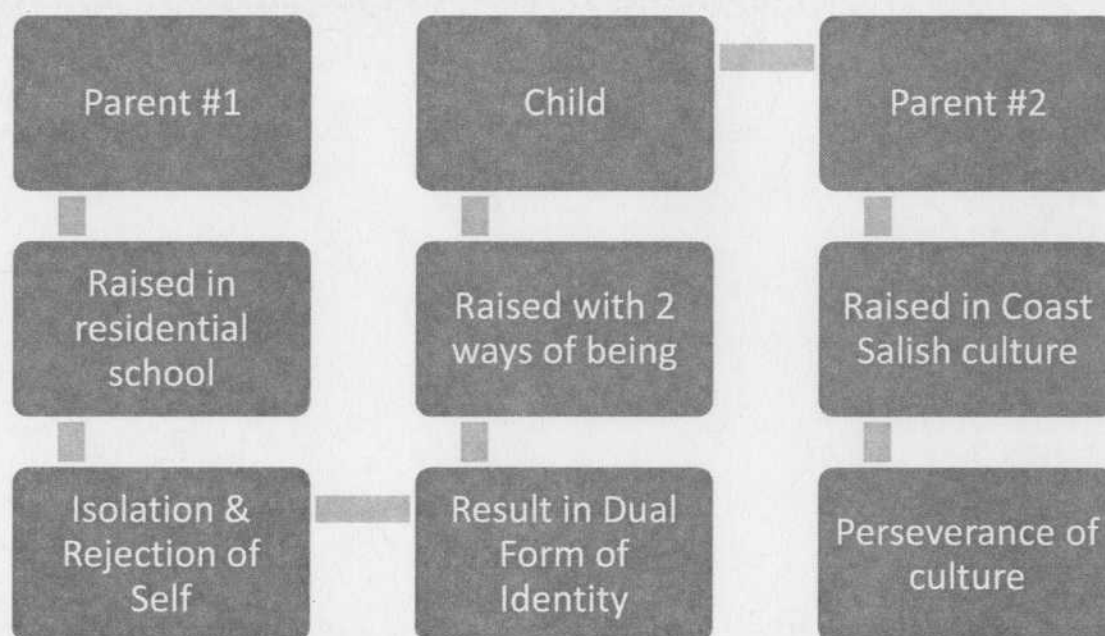
(iii) From Residential School to Family

In the development of community some residential school survivors were left to wrestle with two forms of self-perception as a result of colonialism. One perception

learned in residential school was to fear language and community, the other from Coast Salish communities was meant to encourage language and community.

One research participant notes *"when I tell you that I've never seen this kind of mouth violence I call it, coming from their thoughts and feelings. There's a teaching on it, what's coming out of your mouth was coming from your heart, what the people fills your heart with. In your home is where you learn that. So your teachers, your first teachers are your family."* From this we can see the impact fear based learning from the residential school system had on the family system.

Figure 6



First Nations people learned through abuse to hate themselves and to desire to be something other than what they were. In the transformation from self into other, what resulted were violent interactions between community members. As these children grew into adulthood and created their own families, they passed this way of coping with problems onto another generation.

(iv) Intergenerational Conflict

Fear based learning learned passed from residential school administrators to students, and then from students into family. Fear based learning became intergenerational, and is a contributing factor to the social problems experienced by First Nations communities today. One research participant remembers a moment where she witnessed child rearing out in the community that was in contradiction with tradition. The research participant said,

they'll go over there to their little children sometimes and shoving and shouting; "You get in that car and shut up and stop your crying! Shut up you!" You hear them, that is the oppressive way to speak to a child. You could say why are you crying? What is it? Then the little child if they can speak they'll tell you what it is. You could say I'm waiting. When you stop crying could you tell me what's wrong so I can help you? That's the way you tell them. They have their cry then you wait for them, and then you'll learn from them what's wrong. Crying, for them, they haven't learned how to speak yet to tell you what's wrong, not like an adult.

We can see from this example the research participant connecting oppressive behaviour learned in residential school to present day circumstances. Child rearing in this situation resembles behaviour learned in residential school system. Educating children on the norms of society involves intimidating the child into silence as passive behaviour. This way of instructing children is hierarchical. Youth are viewed as receptacles of information, without opportunity to contribute their lived experience to the development of community knowledge.

(v) From Family to Administrations

This history has resulted in episodes of lateral violence in First Nations institutions, where administrations without the capacity to cope with lateral violence, end

up perpetuating fear based learning, and the continued deterioration of unity in First Nations communities.

Unity deteriorates because of the component of isolation. The residential school system taught First Nations students how to live through isolation. In the post residential school experience people continued to isolate each other. One research participant notes that *"I saw this podding together of this strange thing that was taught in residential school; and they'd pod together and then attack, or intimidate, or be aggressive, or show this one person they're not a part of this group. So that's how I saw it operate."* This behaviour carried over into administrative institutions. Fear based learning was paramount to pedagogical practice in residential schools; as was demonstrated in a priest using an older student to isolate a younger one. As residential school students grow up and make their own families, they create a legacy of violent social coping mechanisms learned in residential school. As families continue to grow they participate in developing community.

In the development of community there is a mixture of two learned social coping mechanisms, as demonstrated in one interview. The research participant offered this understanding; *"So those things that people learned in their own inner world to cope and manage life, and inside their family system, resulting from things like residential school, in my view, end up being the very instruments of the oppressor where people fight each other off, and then it's all worked out for the government."* Residential school dismantled family dynamics. Residential school victims had lost their traditional way of dealing with healthy conflict. The first set of coping mechanisms were learned in residential school. Mechanisms from this set were built on the foundation of fear based learning and resulted in an involuntary desire to disassociate with the Coast Salish language and culture. Also modeled in residential

school from a fear based approach were behaviours around dealing with conflict. In conflict or disagreement with a peer there is the tendency to isolate individuals who deviate from the norm by isolating and silencing them.

In the second set, coping mechanisms were learned through the percentage of the population retaining the language and culture who did not attend residential school, such as adults and elders. In one case a research participant's parents fought to keep them from attending residential school, so the research participant's life is where the idea of two coping mechanisms came from. The participant said,

...today I'm going to help with the thoughts about violence. I was raised in a traditional way in my home. I see the violence in the mouth that I never seen before. So if you look at my family one has been schooled in residential school till it closed 1975. One side is traditional they had no education, and they spoke the language to communicate in the community...

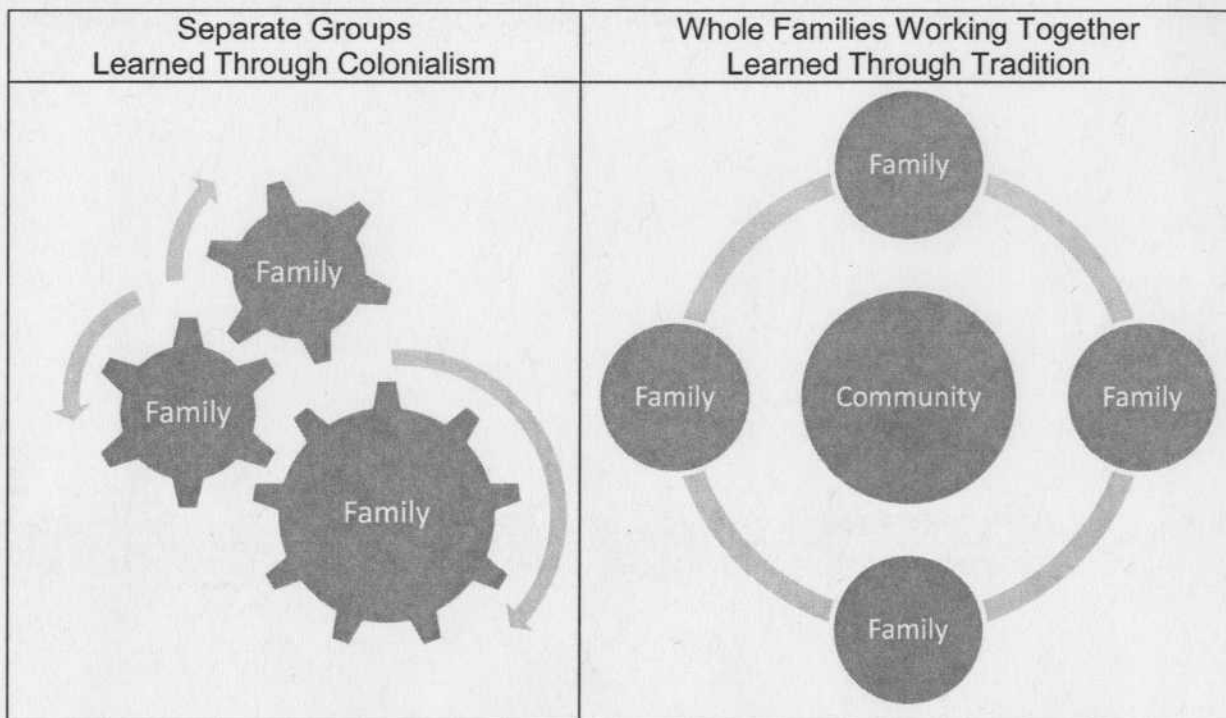
... So when I tell you that I've never seen this kind of mouth violence I call it, coming from their thoughts and feelings. There's a teaching on it. What's coming out of your mouth was coming from your heart, what the people fills your heart with. In your home is where you learn that. So your teachers, your first teachers are your family. And they never did tell us to violent with our mouth. When we raised our voice we had to explain that

As the research participant states "*I see the violence in the mouth that I never seen before,*" which illustrates two ways of existing in community. One way is to exist in community through tradition, and the other way is to exist in community with fear based learning from residential school. These adults and elders were the community waiting for students as they graduated from residential school and returned home. The awaiting community members did the best they could to reintegrate children back into the community, which was difficult due to the learned resistance to feel ashamed of culture.

The awaiting community members had the desire to continue to honour and preserve our culture, and they cared enough to share this way of coping in society.

Some social behaviour in conflict is attributed to the dual coping mechanisms from tradition and residential school. At moments in present day administration groups can still isolate themselves in the office, in families, or out in the community. Since the residential school experience First Nations communities have had to literally beat each other down in order to identify the problem of isolation, and the devastating long lasting impact it has on community, and yet still be unable to identify the illusiveness of the condition. In the experience of one research participant, "*They don't operate in whole families and whole groups working together. They're all in separate groups.*" This experience of the research participant is demonstrated in the two diagrams below. The diagram on the left demonstrates that although families live and work within the same community, there is tension between the families due to fear based learning. Families will work side by side, but lateral violence hinders the process. The diagram on the right compares with the one on the left by demonstrating the desired outcomes of community development. If communities abide by the values of culture families will work together, as opposed to podding into smaller groups.

Figure 7



The residential school experience and the introduction of fear based learning into community, as processes of colonialism, began the transformation of how Coast Salish people administered their institutions and interacted with each other. Institutions in this research project can be Coast Salish long-houses, tribal administrations, family institutions and corresponding accounts of oral history, or Canadian government institutions.

(vi) Infighting in Coast Salish Institutions

In theory, colonialism is the idea of one nation moving into another nation, and then colonizing that nation by displacing the governing structure. One research participant witnessed and commented that,

I was attending the World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education, and there were 4,000 Indigenous peoples from all over the world. I was really inspired by the energy around, but I was also really struck by the similarities and the issues for Indigenous peoples across the world; Issues of substance misuse and abuse, the issues of domestic violence, the issues of child abuse; all those issues huge issues that people are dealing with. As well as systemic racism, you know impoverished lives, all those kinds of things.

One of my theories about lateral violence is that if I make an analogy as to what's happening in this part of the world, say to South Africa, when Apartheid was officially dismantled, or you know officially it was no longer a thing that South Africa that the white minority South African Government could use as a way of controlling and subjugating the numbers and masses of people...

The colonization of Coast Salish people resulted in the development of institutions designed for Coast Salish people, rather than developed by Coast Salish people. The colonized nation is then left in a temporal conflict, or balancing out traditional governance with imposed modern governance. What is created is a tension between how things use to be, and what we want things to look like in the future.

In British Columbia, Canada, the Coast Salish Nation on Vancouver Island is still struggling in the perpetuating impact of colonialism. The concept of fear based learning moved from the relationship between residential school administrators and students, into the family institution and accounts of oral history, and from there into the community. As colonialism progressed, so did the development of Indian Affairs and the establishment of tribal administrations. Community members with intergenerational effects of fear based learning, took those problem solving skills into tribal administrations. As Coast Salish people were integrated into a foreign form of governance, competition for resources in tribal communities increased, providing another potential condition for lateral violence.

(vii) Set Up to Compete

In colonization Coast Salish people were divided from a nation into smaller tribal communities. For one research participant this process was compared to the Apartheid of South Africa where the white minority monopolized the government of the country, and broke down the indigenous form of governance. The research participant works from this understanding,

...one of my theories about lateral violence is that if I make an analogy as to what's happening in this part of the world, say to South Africa, when Apartheid was officially dismantled...it was no longer a thing that...the white minority South African Government could use as a way of controlling and subjugating the numbers and masses of people. The white minority government stood back and watched people in-fight, and destroy one another, and there were tribal wars for a while after it was officially deconstructed. You know the kind of message being sent out was we don't have to do anything anymore; they're doing it to themselves.

I really thought a lot about that and I tried to look at that in relationship to what has happened to people here. And you know if the in-fighting and the battling – if people are set up to battle against one another, whether that's for scarcity model funding, or whether it's family feuding, or whether it's gangs that are developing, or whether it's the bloodism, because what a lot of students used to say to me was well you know I would be treated less than in my community because I'm only this – my blood ratio, or my blood quantum rate is only this because compared to that.

I went to this place in my mind where I thought isn't that interesting that when people are busy fighting amongst themselves that they can't join forces. And strength comes in numbers. And so if the oppressor, for lack of a better word, or the colonizer, is standing watching people fight they no longer have to do the kinds of things that they once did. They just have to stand back and watch people killing each other off, whether that's metaphorically or literally.

Colonialism geographically isolated Coast Salish people by literally placing them on the margins of society on reservations. Once geographically isolated, Coast Salish people were then psychologically isolated in residential school. The cultural protocols for interacting within families, with other community members, and in government

institutions were radically changed. Residential school students were taught to feel ashamed of themselves when they spoke their own language and culture, and were severely punished if they did. As protocols for interaction between community members changed, how Coast Salish communities distributed services to one another changed as well.

The Canadian government established band offices where Coast Salish people would distribute services according to the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs, or other related government agencies. These policies were developed without contributions from First Nations people across Canada. Coast Salish people still follow the policies made by people they have never seen before. Policies do not reflect the cultural protocols of how Coast Salish people should interact with one another in the administration of community.

The band office became a location where tribal members would compete with each other for elected positions as chief and council members. Individuals serve a term of office and then compete for re-election to chief and council. Tribal community members also compete with each other for standard Department of Indian Affairs positions, such as band manager, social assistance officer, education coordinator, housing administrator, etc. Tribal communities adapted to receiving aid from the convoluted Department of Indian Affairs. The minimal aid gives Coast Salish communities just enough to get by. As a result the small communities can experience moments of hostility when securing funds to maintain employment, in addition to providing better services.

(viii) Scarcity Model Funding

The scarcity model is a concept that comes from one research participant's experience of working with institutions that provide services to Coast Salish people. The participant said "*there's a lot of different dynamics at play on reserve and in reserve communities, and even the urban community. There is a scarcity model, and I think people are set up against one another.*"

Scarcity model funding represents the competition between First Nations people for limited resources to provide services to community. It is a process where people can become trapped in an adversarial relationship, forgetting that the purpose is to provide better living standards for people in need. The following model was developed from the same interview with one research participant. The model is a summary of the process of one incident. The summary is necessary to protect the anonymity of people involved. Direct quotes are not used so that people and institutions are not easily identifiable, and so that focus remains on the process of the incident.

The Scarcity Model

Step 1: A government ministry sets aside a limited amount of money for a region of First Nations institutions in Coast Salish territory. The institutions work separately from each other, but provide similar services

Step 2: The money is distributed equally among the First Nations institutions

Step 3: The government ministry decides it's not going to continue the equal distribution of funds

Step 4: The government ministry brings the region of First Nations institutions together. The ministry gives the regional institutions a lump sum of money and tells them to decide amongst themselves how it will be distributed

Step 5: The regional institutions couldn't agree on how to distribute the funds

Step 6: The government ministry decides the best way to distribute the funds is to put out a call for proposals, setting up the institutions to compete against one another

Step 7: The government ministry decides who to award the funds to. The government calls the winning institution into the office of a different competing institution to inform them of the decision, which further adds insult to injury

Step 8: The winning institution decides to include the other institutions in the decision making processes and continue to develop community rather than remain divisive. The effort took years of collaboration to establish a healthy sense of community

The scarcity model symbolizes situations where peers within the same social standing fight with each other over limited resources. During the competition for the resources people become segregated. The relationship becomes adversarial. Once the limited resource has been awarded and distributed, the rationale for the rifts may result in unresolved conflicts, which perpetuates a hostile working environment. The segregation will continue until peers develop the capacity to deal with conflict in a healthy way.

(ix) Bloodism

Bloodism is another way people use methods of discrimination learned from colonialism to discriminate each against each other in the competition for scarce resources. In the data discrimination carries over from a colonizer-colonized relationship, into institutions that First Nations people work together in. The following portion of an interview with a research participant demonstrates this progression.

if people are set up to battle against one another, whether that's for uh scarcity model funding, or whether it's family feuding, or whether it's gangs that are developing, or whether it's the bloodism because what a lot of students used to say to me was is well you know I would be treated less than in my community because I'm only this – my blood ratio, or my blood quantum rate is only this because compared to that. And so I kinda went to this place in my mind where I thought isn't that interesting that when people are busy fighting amongst

themselves that they can't join forces. And strength comes in numbers. And so if the oppressor, for lack of a better word, or the colonizer, is standing watching people fight they no longer have to do the kinds of things that they once did. They just have to stand back and watch people killing each other off, whether that's metaphorically or literally.

As colonialism progressed Coast Salish communities became increasingly bureaucratized. Coast Salish people were geographically isolated on reserves, and then sent to school to learn a new way to live and feel shame about the way they had been living. Traditional government institutions were displaced as the predominant form of governance. The Department of Indian Affairs established offices in tribal communities and hired local tribesmen to administer the office. As the Department of Indian Affairs became the location where resources were distributed out to tribal communities, decision-making powers about what constituted community was slowly surrendered to non-First Nations people.

Blood quantum ratios became the standard which determined who was Coast Salish and who was not. Prior to first contact Coast Salish people did not have a history of recorded incidents where people decided who was excluded from community based on how much of their blood was Coast Salish. This process of including and excluding people is a direct result of contact between Non-First Nations people and First Nations people. This process is also representative of the central government of Canada deciding who should be eligible for benefits from the social welfare system provided to First Nations people. Although regulation is necessary for such a large population, regulation based on blood quantum encourages racial discrimination by both First Nations and Non-First Nations people.

Just as racism is prejudice based on race, the act of violence is typically between different races. Bloodism is animosity expressed by peers of the same race. One person's experience is as follows, "*what a lot of students used to say to me was well you know I would be treated less than in my community because I'm only this – my blood ratio, or my blood quantum rate is only this because compared to that.*" Bloodism creates a dynamic where Coast Salish people colonize each other with the same prejudice used by Non-First Nations colonizers to subjugate Coast Salish people. In addition to the fear based learning from the residential school experience, blood quantum policies increase a sense of indifference between peers.

(C) How We Used It

(i) Disassembling Political Institutions

Colonialism fragmented the system of nation politics for First Nation people by disassembling political institutions. One research participant comments,

...through marriage, through culture what have you; we have roots that connect us through the territory. And so how do you deny that? How do you say well fine! We'll draw lines around our current reserves. But then you look at an archaeological map and that's the missing links for all of our reserves. At one time we used all the land, like you see where we had like bathing sites, fishing sites, villages, all that. You look at the midden was all over and everything where we lived all through the land we had resources for a gigantic population.

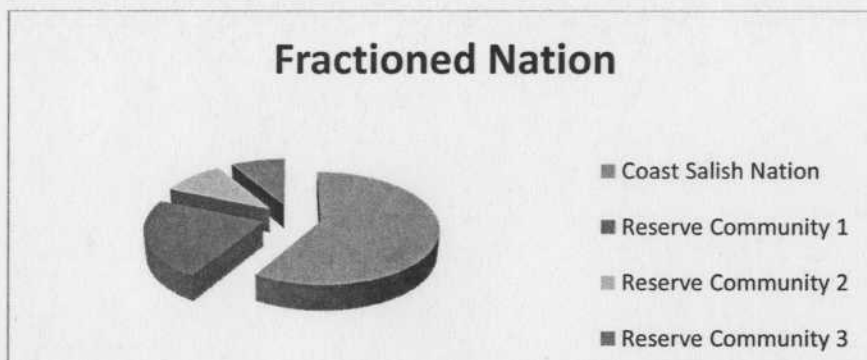
Introduction of disease has narrowed us down completely to little areas, and then reserve creation really put us into postage stamp areas. Now people are calling that their nations. And that's not what we're about. We're much bigger, our language shows that. But people now try to draw lines around those reserve nations, like for territories, but it doesn't work.

First Nations people were dislocated from traditional territory by being denied access to larger areas containing resources necessary for the function of culture, these were primarily food resources. First Nations people were restricted to reserved territories. Reserved territories were given new political tools like the band office, or tribal administrations, which fostered individual identity apart from neighbouring communities with familial connections. Prior to contact villages were not seen as being distinct from neighbouring villages, because *"through marriage, through culture and what have you, we have roots that connect us through the territory. And so how do you deny that? How do you say well fine! We'll draw lines around current reserves!"* This tension exists for Coast Salish people because of the imposition of policies that do not reflect the governing rules of Coast Salish people. The rules reflect the Department of Indian Affairs process of reserve creation, the process of status Indian approval, and the resulting misconception of distinct tribal identity; where each Coast Salish tribal community is thought to operate separately from the other communities. This is true from the Department of Indian Affairs perspective, but for Coast Salish people the reality is quite different.

(ii) Political Acculturation

After decades of political acculturation, it is my opinion that unified nations look more like mathematical fractions, although still part of a whole; the ties that bind weaken as the colonized take up practices that reinforce the division between tribal communities. Prior to colonization the Coast Salish functioned as one sovereign nation. Colonialism began to divide the nation into individual tribal communities. The individual tribal communities were left with no forum in the Canadian government to function as the Coast Salish nation.

Figure 8



This diagram gives the impression that Coast Salish tribal communities are separate from the idea of the Coast Salish Nation, and in a way it's true. The diagram depicts the development of a colonial way of being. Colonialism in the Coast Salish Nation was intended to divide the nation into separate tribal communities. By dividing up communities a distinct identity could begin to be imposed on tribal members. Tribal members could identify themselves as belonging to one tribe, coming from one reserve location, and having one band office. This is my personal response as a researcher trying to answer the research participant's question, "*How do you say well fine! We'll draw lines around current reserves!*" Drawing lines around reserves is about dividing up the nation into smaller and smaller communities.

Throughout the process of colonization, as reserves have been further divided, it has become increasingly difficult to work towards adding the reserves back up into a self-governing nation. Coast Salish people want to add themselves back up into a sovereign nation, but maybe Coast Salish people need to look at how colonialism has impacted the way people think of themselves as Coast Salish people. A research participant suggests looking at the concept of thinking through a reserve mentality.

(iii) Reserve Mentality

Coast Salish people continue to colonize each other by breaking down the identity of nation. People learned how to isolate each other in social situations, so sometimes all that comes out of a political interaction is further isolation. According to the rationalization of one research participant, the Coast Salish Nation becomes limited when a tribe only identifies itself within its private territorial claim. One research participant feels that,

You can have your cultural identity as an individual band, but they still could be part of a bigger group. You know they can share jurisdiction, they can share resources, and they can share decision-making, and still maintain control over their immediate areas. They can say like well we make decisions here, but when the decisions are in a common area, we come together and we work out decisions collectively. They have to get to that point.

In building on this participants understanding, reserve mentality is when a service provider operates from an individualized world view, as opposed to interacting with a nation mentality, a world view where political activity depends on political unity of the nation. When members of tribal communities sit side by side in political forums our world views collide resulting in episodes of lateral violence.

(D) I Was Taught That for a Purpose

(i) Hostile Pedagogy

Fear based learning is a mechanism of colonization. Coast Salish people were involuntarily taught a new way to live in the world. Some colonizers used fear to sever the connection a child felt to their language, family, and community. A research participant said "*through colonization and residential school particularly, people learned what they*

lived, and what they lived lots of times in residential school was – and later on in the 60s scoop; were sexual violence, physical violence, emotional violence, spiritual violence...so it's not a human beings fault that they learned that...they live what it is they've learned." Coast Salish people were taught a hostile way of interacting with the world, and although people resent the experience, the colonized end up mimicking the actions of the colonizer.

Although the intention was to instruct Coast Salish people how to engage with society, due to the hostility experienced by students, they were actually taught how to disengage society with anti-social behaviour. The research participant continued, saying that the history of violence "*affects how one engages in family, extended family, or community...*" What is difficult to understand from just reading about this history, is the individual experience. Reading about the subject makes it abstract; it lacks the human interaction necessary to make emotional connection, because some of us are detached from the situations. On the other hand people are not in a position to interfere with the healing process of traumatized individuals, their family, and community. What is necessary to understand is that people were removed from their family and forced to learn a new way to live. In this new way to live children learned how to fight each other off in residential schools; they learned how to fight each other off in their families and communities.

This way to live does not dominate or represent daily living of Coast Salish people, but it does offer a way of interpreting persisting social issues that both non-First Nations and First Nations are working to solve. What is suggested here is that violent coping mechanisms are learned in abusive, isolated incidents, where an individual is not provided with options. How an individual is treated affects how they treat others. This new way of living was in contradiction with tradition.

(ii) Instead of the Traditional Way

Fear based learning rooted in colonialism has had an unrelenting presence in Coast Salish communities. Fear based learning may not be taught by teachers anymore, but the social behaviour is haunting. In order to unlearn the purpose of fear based learning we must identify situations that help us look the problem in the face, deconstruct its purpose, and then take responsibility for choosing a new way to live.

Nowhere is the persistent effect of colonialism more apparent than in the traditional cultural institutions of the Coast Salish people. Physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse and death are symptomatic of intergenerational fear based learning. For one research participant the incidents are rationalized as

The way they were treated is the way they're treating the new initiated person, instead of using the traditional way; the virtues, gentleness, kindness, value, and being the new born being initiated. They are now aggressive towards that person, and they hurt that person in their body physically by the way they treat them. The aggression, the things they do, now they're biting, stabbing, and jabbing, and punching. They warm up the sacred rattle and they burn the person that's being initiated. They're not supposed to do that. They're only supposed to touch it to warn them that they can't be aggressive in their physical way when they're learning, or being taught. They weren't supposed to apply it to the body the way they do now...That's never ever – that's been unknown in the traditional way.

Again it is important to remember that out of the ordinary incidents do not represent daily occurrences, but incidents do represent underlying social schisms. Using fear based learning separates First Nations people from practice of their traditional culture, “*instead of using the traditional way.*” In cultural institutions if someone is taught fear based learning then that's how they teach the next generation about culture. “*Instead of*” implies opting not to use traditions in favour of teaching methods that

assimilate intimidation as an instructional tool in the relationship between teacher and student.

(iii) Environments Permeated by Racism

People have grown up in environments where racism is a persistent factor. In these environments people learn to feel guilt and shame about their race, or the generalizations about their race. One individual said "*I was taught that all First Nations people are lazy Indians for example.*" It is a denial of reality to believe that these beliefs do not exist anymore. Denial is a way of deflecting the responsibility to change the situation. Our social relationships in Coast Salish communities are affected by racism, no matter how small or large the degree of severity. In reflection the participant wonders, "*How can you not be racist when you grew up in a culture, and in a world, and in an environment that is just soaked in it.*" People need to make a personal choice to contribute to change.

Coast Salish people have a right to change the negative values that impact service delivery to community members. Changing values in the bureaucratic structure increases the probability of reflecting the reality of Coast Salish people. We learn to change values by understanding what our own values are. One research participant said,

It took me a long time in my life to look at – you know what, yeah! I've learned those things and I don't need to feel guilt and shame because I don't have to be taught those things, because that's what was taught in the world around me, and now that I'm an adult I have the right and the responsibility to look them square in the faces and say you know what, that's not my truth anymore, and I can deconstruct it for myself. And once we begin to do that, once we begin to erase the shame, or allow ourselves to be free of shame and guilt, umm then we can begin to look at the things we've all learned, and look at that and go ok yeah I was taught that, and this is the purpose it served

Once we understand our own values we can begin to understand how colonialism has impacted our lives. We understand our history when we engage it. We change the future when we decide to deconstruct the purpose of colonialism in our personal lives. We may feel ambitious about changing the lives of every individual member of the Coast Salish nation, but that may not be a reality. People need to make choices for themselves. If we all make the choice to deconstruct colonialism and fear based learning, we develop the capacity to enrich service delivery to Coast Salish people, and the policies that guide the process of the profession we are in.

(E) Capacity

Having the capacity to understand the process of lateral violence is a way of developing the means to prevent lateral violence from happening. The research participants shared about lacking an understanding of lateral violence early in their careers. Research participants developed capacity as they progressed in their career. It was a wonderful opportunity to speak with administrators about how they deal with lateral violence, because generally this type of capacity is not spoken about publicly. This research project provided an opportunity to speak directly about the importance having the capacity to deal with lateral violence as an administrator in First Nations institutions.

The first portion of this research paper consisted of creating an understanding of fear based learning. The second portion of this paper consists of adding to that understanding the capacity to deal with lateral violence in the work place. There are three areas arising from research data to look at; (1) Lateral violence develops in

oppressed groups (2) Lateral violence between peers (3) Lateral violence between service provider and service user. Capacity has to do with looking more closely at lateral violence in the administrative environment.

(i) Lateral violence develops in oppressed groups

One research participant testified that "*lateral violence develops in oppressed groups.*" When a community of people are oppressed, resentments at the oppressor fester in the group conscience of the oppressed. Due to the nature of the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, the oppressed are unable to resolve the political suffrage. Peers within the oppressed group resolve their anger and resentment by lashing out at their peers as they struggle for the power to relieve the political injustice resulting from colonialism. Oppressed people establish dominance over peers by using behaviours learned through fear based learning. The process of lashing out at peers to resolve issues is known as lateral violence.

One research participant's definition is as follows, "*lateral violence is when two people of equal status, power, or placement in the world act out violently with each other. Violence may be emotional violence, mental violence, spiritual violence, and physical violence, sometimes all of that against one another. The result is that people work against each other, and instead of joining forces.*" There are two defining characteristics of lateral violence. The first, people work against each other instead of joining forces. The second, acts of lateral violence are directed towards members of the same group. Acts are usually in the form of shaming, humiliating, damaging, and belittling behaviour. These acts are intended to change the equal status, power, or placement in the world between two or more people.

Given that lateral violence occurs between peers of an oppressed group, it was said in one interview that "*self-hate is necessary for lateral violence to exist.*" Fear based learning is a principal condition in episodes of lateral violence. Oppressed individuals were taught to fear their own epistemology in favour of one developed by another community.

In the process of fear based learning students learn to develop characteristics that become a part of how they interact with the world. Individuals develop an unhealthy self-image of themselves because they learn how to look at themselves from the perspective of the oppressor. An individual ends up with low self-esteem.

One service provider mentioned that in "*low self-esteem power comes from outside yourself,*" it is an extension of a person. A person must manipulate people in their environment in several different ways to get what they want. The act of manipulation makes the relationship unhealthy because someone is acting in a devious manner.

In episodes of lateral violence "*you can get power by putting other people down.*" Attempting to put other people down is an effort to degrade social status in an equal relationship. "*You can get power by gossiping about other people.*" This erodes the protocols in place for governing relationship quality.

"*You can get power by stealing it from other people.*" When stealing power from other people it can be a situation where an individual takes the work of somebody else and presents it as their own. The situation immediately results in indifference between employees that if not properly resolved will continue to fester in workplace relationships, but the severity depends on the capacity of individuals involved.

There is also the consideration of cultural influences in the world around us, both First Nations or not. Not all cultural influences are positive. Positive does not exist without negative, but we do not have to get trapped in pathologizing ways of seeing the world. Getting caught up in negative perspectives is not the purpose of exploring this material. Exploring this material is meant to acknowledge what we need to work with. There is racism in the world around us, and sexism. One research participant wonders *"how can you not be sexist when you grew up in a culture that teaches sexism? How can you not be racist when you grew up in an environment soaked in it?"* How we learn from the world around us influences our interactions with each other in our work environments.

When a community of people experience oppression because of racism, sexism, and isolation, some people will perpetuate oppressive behaviours with each other. Learning to understand how fear based learning and lateral violence function in community can help individuals understand conflicts that arise between peers in an administration.

(ii) Lateral Violence between Peers

What follows after looking at how lateral violence develops in oppressed groups, is looking at how lateral violence develops between peers working in the same administration.

From one participant's perspective there are two ways of dealing with conflict in the workplace, and that's either directly with the person, or behind the person's back.

People are developing more knowledge and more skill, and I call it muscle, around addressing issues directly with people, rather than talking about people behind peoples backs; trying to resolve conflict with another person in a respectful way, and

understanding that the conflict model that is...indicated to us through mainstream and dominant culture is not a win-win respectful model.

From this knowledge about conflict in the work environment two approaches about dealing with conflict surface. The first approach is the adversarial approach, and the second is the passive approach. Both represent a way of dealing with unresolved anger.

In the adversarial approach several different interactions may transpire, such as social status positioning, looking for reactions, or belittling peers. In the adversarial approach people have conflicting interests and desired outcomes. People are in contest with each other in the adversarial approach.

In social status positioning people use their positions in a department to intimidate people as opposed to helping them. This abuse of power occurs within administrations between peers, as well as between service provider and service user.

Within the relationship between peers in an administration, a superior will find a disadvantage on part of the subordinate. The superior in the relationship creates a disadvantage regarding employment status.

Within the relationship between administrator as service provider, and the service user, the service provider may create a disadvantage regarding education. The disadvantage begins with how an employee treats other people in the workplace. For one research participant, she says,

"So to me the mouth violence, that's what you're calling in English lateral violence, it's a very sharp words. People practice it all the time, that's how they manipulate their world. This is how they're going to get their work done by violating someone's thoughts, that's what you're doing with lateral violence. You want to scare them so

you intimidate them by the way you speak. Cause these people they have – they're in power in these businesses or offices. So they speak to you a certain way and they violate your thoughts."

The research participant points out that an employee may become accustomed to treating people a certain way to solve their problems. If this behaviour continues to be accepted, then that same problem solving skill will be applied to service users as well. The participant continues on to say from a service user's perspective,

Lateral meaning right here and now you're violating me in the energy, in my presence; you're using a harshness towards me, or others. You're using that power given to you from your department, whatever you work for. You're supposed to be helping people that are down and out and destitute. They haven't went to school to learn. The other disadvantage is that they were all residential school products from great grandparents to grandparents, so that's four generations experiencing violence...

In this scenario the service provider plays on the vulnerability of the service user, and his/her unfamiliarity with system information.

When a person is looking for a reaction out of someone they are trying to catch that person off guard and without time to properly prepare for a conversation. One research participant says about their experience, "some people will bait you into an argument and wait for you to answer back with the same feeling they approached you with. If you react with anger you may not help the person solve their problem."

A group of peers can isolate an individual by making fun of them when he or she is not around; In some instances the humour is distinguished as violent when the joke cannot be repeated to the person the joke is about. A research participant shares this experience,

About two years ago – my office wasn't here it was in a different building. I came through reception and I heard three staff – I asked where one staff was and I

was told kind of a flippant answer. It was a joke amongst a group of people standing there and I didn't think it was funny. And I said I don't think that that's funny. And I think that's lateral violence what you're doing. Two of the people looked at me and said oh we're just making a joke, and I said exactly. You're making a joke about another human being who is not here to defend oneself, and so the joke is at that individual's expense. And so they were a bit rattled because I called it. And I said I get that you're making a joke, I said really what you are is angry, and they were, they were pissed off with this individual and I won't go into detail, but they were pissed off. And so I said what you're using is the cloak of humour to hide your anger and your resentment. And what I want to know is would you say to that individual's face what you just said now? And they went no and I went there it is.

So instead of going to the individual and saying I got an issue with you, or going to the individual and saying you know I get pissed off when...now there's three of you making a joke about this person who isn't even here to know what you're saying, it's wrong.

Individuals, who were making fun of someone that they were angry with, were using the cloak of humour to deal with their anger. The example shows that anger continued because of their inability to speak directly with someone over an issue they disagreed about.

In the adversarial approach peers can get caught up in competing with each other, however in this approach peers confront each other directly. In the passive approach the opposite is true.

In the passive approach people do not resolve disagreements directly with each other. The problems continue to carry on because people have not developed the interpersonal skills to work through problems with their peers. There are three examples to look at in the passive approach; (1) fear of conflict, (2) acting out, and (3) unresolved anger.

Some people are afraid of conflict because to them disagreement means it will turn into violence and escalate. Some people recognize this fear in another and will create an advantage out of it. People are afraid of being targeted or bullied because they disagree with someone. One research participants experience is as follows,

I remember early on when I started here a staff member had come to me and said I have an issue with another staff person. And I said did you go to the person? Cause to me I didn't care, it's not mine, like I'm not worried about that right. And the individual said to me but yeah I'm telling you and you're a manager. And I'm inviting you to look at what's stopping you from going to that individual and saying hey this bugs me and I want to talk with you about it? And I knew of the individuals very well because I have a connection to the families. So I said I want you to take this home and just think about it. So that was fine and the next day the person came back and I said did you think on it, and the individual said yeah, and I said what did you come up with? Yeah you're right I should do it but I don't want to. How come? Help me understand how come? Because I don't want the person to be mad at me and not like me. I said I get that, so what makes it ok for me to do it? Cause I was trying to deconstruct their thinking right. And the individual said well because I've made it your responsibility because you're a manager, and so it's your job. And so I said ok so you have made it my responsibility and this time I'm going to do it because you brought it to me, but this is the only time. And what you and I are going to do now is work on building your muscle so that you can learn to do that; because to kind of just devoid yourself and divorce yourself from that responsibility doesn't really serve you. It doesn't, how can you be an adult? How can you be raising children? How can you want to be a helper in the community? How can you do that if the people in front of you – how can you support people in front of you as a helper to resolve conflict when you have fear of going to a colleague around an issue that's not even a big deal

When an individual is afraid of approaching a peer in the workplace to resolve an issue, it affects their individual work, and may possibly hamper their ability to deal with conflict with people from the community.

If someone is afraid to speak with others about a disagreement, they may act out their feelings in different ways because their disagreement doesn't go away. One research participant understands it in this way,

...you know sometimes when someone's on you for no reason you know you just have to be professional. You just have to maintain that professionalism. And separate! Separate, be objective, separate the job from the personal stuff, and see what's really worth it in the end. And then always try to figure out, well where is this person coming from? Where – like are they really mad at me? Do they have all the facts? And how can I really turn this around? Cause there's one teaching that always comes to mind! If we don't help our people, who's going to? If we don't like – if someone comes to me and they're all pissed off, and mad and mean, and say, let's say I send them on their way you know like get out of here! You know like don't bug my ass! And – but then where do they go! They go and they bug someone else, or they hurt someone else, or they go home and beat up their wife or kids or something like that. All it's doing is feeding the problem. If we don't help our people in some other way, then nobody is going to. And so like that's kind of our responsibility, we have to try and address it, try to deal with it ourselves. And then it starts to get real, then it starts to get better.

When conflict goes unresolved it may go underground, and be directed at individuals who have nothing to do with the problem. Part of resolving the disagreements are developing the skills to help other individuals learn how to define the problem, and where to go to resolve it.

When someone has unresolved anger and lacks the capacity to address a disagreement *with* someone, they end up speaking negatively *about* that person with others. Sometimes this anger is expressed as gossip. A research participant says, "Person A goes to Person C to talk about Person B. Person B doesn't know about it until there's feedback from Person H, Y, and Z." Not resolving anger directly with someone and then gossiping adds another layer of conflict to work through, which just increases the stress in the situation.

With an introduction to the two approaches to lateral violence there is an increased understanding of the interactions between peers in the workplace who are in conflict. What I am proposing as researcher is that whether the approach to the conflict is adversarial or passive, what is being presented because of the interaction is a dilemma. Peers position their interests in favour of a desired outcome. Each time peers communicate with each other it influences the direction and quality of the relationship.

(iii) Lateral Violence between Service Provider and Service Users

Lateral violence between a service provider and a service user may not be so different from that experienced between peers, at least in reference to the two approaches to lateral violence. The dilemma changes in episodes of lateral violence between service provider and service user. The consequences of a dilemma affect the quality of life for the service user. There is an additional two approaches for interactions between service provider and user. The first approach involves cooperating with the service user, and the second approach involves rejecting and turning away the service user.

When a service provider is in disagreement with a service user and they are going to cooperate with each other, the service provider will work towards understanding why the service user is upset. One research participant offered insight into dealing with disagreements in a healthy and cooperative manner.

One research participant says he must consider a few questions when dealing with an angry service user. First, "*Is the service user angry with me or angry about an issue?*" It takes time with a service user to define the problem and find appropriate solutions.

Second, it is important to ask oneself, "Does the service user have all of the facts?" Part of the problem may be identifying if someone is lacking information about a service that could change the quality of a person's life. This leads to wondering if "as service provider do I need to consult with peers to address the issue?" One peer may speak with another peer, increasing discussion about an issue. One research participant remembered speaking with a service user and saying,

Help me out, help me understand or try to tell me, or let me show you where I'm coming from, and what we have to work with and maybe together we can...get to where it is you want us to be, or you can at least share what you're trying to tell me, or with somebody else, and show you that I'm really doing it, and like I can come back to you later and to meet with you later and say well I talked to that guy up there and he didn't know this either! And so he's talking to the chiefs about it and I'll let you know what they say. And later the chief said yeah I see what you mean, like that isn't quite right the way we've been doing it, and so some change happens. At first they're like o.k., you heard me, now that's all I wanted, is somebody to hear me, and not just put me out and stuff like that, so sometimes little things like that make the difference.

Administrative process may change as a result of an enquiry. Service providers do not have all of the answers to problems. It is important to remain open to the lived experience of the service user, because great change may result from someone just wanting to be listened to.

People working in Coast Salish institutions have a responsibility to role model for community behaviours that encourage people to resolve disagreements in a healthy manner. People get caught up in the dream of a utopian administration where people have no problems working with each other, but the reality is we each have different life experiences. We each have a vision of a just community. The stronger our interpersonal skills are, the greater the probability we have of being able to work with each other.

I spoke with some of the band folks on band council, and I said I really respect what you're doing, and I'm – what I was told was that 'we can't expect our people to do what we're not willing to do.' I thought there's strong leadership; Walking the talk. And if we want the people in the community, and our members in the community to learn how to do things differently, then we need to role model that. And so that comes back to that piece for me that we are instruments of change. We walk our talk, or do the very best to do it. You know we're human beings, we're not perfect, and we mess up. I mess up all the time, but I'm not afraid to look at how I've messed up and learn from it. I'm not afraid to look my demons in the face, or look at my shadow, or see the blind spots that I have.

You know I've always said to the staff here from day one, you know what, I'm a human being, I grew up with racism, I've done my very best to deconstruct that; If I have blind spots and if I cross over, if I ever abuse power, if I ever abuse authority, if I say or do things or don't say or do things, please tell me; because I'm not afraid to take responsibility

(iv) Findings Conclusion

Introducing fear based learning in this thesis was meant to provide a way of approaching lateral violence from the experience of people working in Coast Salish institutions who provide services to Coast Salish people. The purpose was also to tell the story of how fear based learning was learned in residential school. The anti-social behaviour continues to affect how people interact with each other in Coast Salish institutions today.

What came out of the interviews was a demonstration of how fear based learning worked its way into family, then into community, and how it impacted the development of administrations in First Nations institutions. Research participants who are service providers contributed a way to deconstruct the harmful behaviour in the workplace, which came to be the capacity portion of this research project. It was important to include the capacity portion, because without the capacity to identify fear based learning and lateral violence, both will continue to negatively impact the development of

communities within the Coast Salish Nation. As a Coast Salish person I would like to thank all of the research participants for sharing their experience, strength and hope with me. It is upon their experience that this project has been made possible. It is their understanding that has structured this research project.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

(i) Progression of Contextualizing Fear Based Learning

This thesis paper is framed within grounded theory. As a researcher I entered the project without any preconceived notions about what the outcomes would be. What came out of this project was a theory on fear based learning. This theory developed within several environmental contexts. Each of these environments provided a different way of seeing how fear based learning has oppressed, and continues to oppress First Nations people.

The first environment consisted of working with research participants. As the principal researcher I found willing University of Victoria faculty members to sit on the thesis committee. I developed a research proposal, and submitted a Human Research Ethics Application Form. I was able to then recruit people that I could interview who have worked with Coast Salish institutions to provide services to First Nations people. Research participants did not have to be First Nations. Research participants were chosen based on their experience in dealing with conflict.

After interviewing research participants I worked on analyzing the material and building a theory based on what research participants contributed. Fear based learning was the resulting theory, along with the solution of identifying conditions for the perfect storm in First Nations institutions.

The second environment contributing to the development of the theory of fear based learning was my current employment environment. Currently I am working for the Tsow Tun Le Lum Society in Lantzville, BC. I am employed as a Resolution Health Support Worker for Health Canada. I assist people going through residential school

claims. My development of the research participants' ideas on fear based learning, via the Indian Residential School experience, was a contributing factor in me getting the job.

It was a pleasure to have applicable thesis content that had not yet been defended within the academic environment. The thesis content provided an excellent intellectual understanding of lateral violence and fear based learning. Working within a treatment centre added the layer of real world application. Working as a recovery worker I have seen first hand the emotional result of living in Indian Residential Schools. The intellectual understanding of this thesis paper is far removed from the human emotional experience.

The third environment is the legal system of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement. While working with Indian Residential School survivors, I could see how fear based learning had permanently altered an individual's life. It was plainly visible that sexual and physical abuses were the catalyst, and primary mechanism for fear based learning. Fear was porous in Indian Residential Schools. Children entered the schools in fear. Children went to bed and woke up in fear. Children left school, and continued to live the rest of their lives in fear because of their academic experience with torture. Survivors still experience a heightened sense of fear at their court hearing because they have to relive life threatening situations. Some without adequate healing support networks of people die from suicide or situations where they are at risk after their hearing.

One instance of fear based learning in a residential school setting affected an individual for the rest of their life. If they experienced repeated instances of abuse, recovery could feel all that more complex to achieve.

Fear based learning has the potential to be a communicable disease. Fear based learning spread from the residential school into the family home, into the community, into administrations, and into the First Nations psyche. Fear based learning continues to spread and is clearly visible in episodes of lateral violence.

Fear based learning is a very effective component of lateral violence because it affects a person's sense of safety in the world. As one research participant put it, "self-hate is necessary for lateral violence to exist." All of the economic development plans, projects for self-governance, and community needs assessment will continue to struggle until administrators in First Nations institutions understand how fear based learning is transferred from one person to another. It is not the only way of understanding, but it may be useful in communities experiencing repeated episodes of lateral violence.

(ii) Witnessing

The Coast Salish people of British Columbia follow the concept of Snuw'uy'ulh as a protocol mechanism during community gatherings. First Nations people across Canada utilize similar protocol mechanisms. Protocols are used to facilitate communication between people involved in community issues. One of the most important facets of the protocol process is the hiring of people to witness events. People are hired to witness an event so that if something goes wrong specific people can be called upon to share their account of what happened.

Towards the end of this research project I was hired as a Resolution Health Support Worker with the Tsow Tun Le Lum Society. It occurred to me that all of the information research participants shared with me during this project is pragmatic and immediately applicable in the settlement process.

This research project for me from day one has been a mix of grounded theory and grounded practice. Grounded theory has helped me understand the world of lateral violence through the eyes of research participants. Their experience working with First Nations people has provided me with an understanding of interactions between people in Coast Salish territory in a variety of institutions. The theory of fear based learning materialized as a result of immersing myself in their experience, and from their experience a practical understanding of lateral violence has emerged, or a grounded practice, so to speak.

I cannot keep up with the practicality of this research project. As a grounded practitioner I am privileged to understand, in the words of one research participant, that "the experts of community are at a community level." Grounded theory has helped me transcend beyond the isolation of oppression. Grounded theory brought me in touch with service providers eager to have a discussion about defining the process of lateral violence in First Nations institutions; together with reaching a greater understanding about the effects of fear based learning on lateral violence. When community understands what lateral violence looks like as a process, then actions can be taken to counteract the process.

(iii) Witnessing as Collective Healing

Witnessing can be an important component of healing for First Nations communities. A hired witness is usually someone participating in an event because he or she lives in the same area as others, shares a common history with others, and cares about the development and outcomes of community.

The concept of witnessing is applicable in communities of people recovering from traumatic experiences. Reynolds (2002) writes that *"[C]ultural witnessing groups are structured to celebrate preferred sites of cultural belonging and provide witnesses to amplify the meanings given to these connections. Understandings of culture in this witnessing work are expansive, mindful, and centered in belongingness"* (p.89). The shared experience between community members increases the mental, spiritual, physical, and emotional connection between people. Bonding provides the framework for political cooperation.

"A witnessing therapy identifies with the culture of political activism, moving beyond individual pain into social and collective responses to oppression" (p.89). Belonging to community keeps individuals from living alone, and dealing with hardships in isolation. *"Collaborative therapy...externalizes responses to oppression and encourages liberation from problems"* (Reynolds, 2002, p.89). Together people can free themselves from social constraints.

(iv) Witnessing as a Cultural Foundation for Justice

As people witness the social transformations of community, people develop a gained understanding of what works and what doesn't work. It is from this understanding that people orientate themselves to a sense of justice.

People hired as a witness have gained experience in community by interacting with other public figures, both professional and non-professional. Witnesses hired in Coast Salish ceremonies are similar to those hired through the Round Table Group. The Round Table Group online site explains that they are the leading authority in expert witness search and referral. This online site offers the service of hiring witnesses to assist lawyers in litigation. Similarly witnesses in Coast Salish institutions are hired to witness traditional legal and political ceremonies.

The Round Table Group shares that *"[O]ur expert witnesses, speakers, and consultants on culture are primarily scholars from major universities whose diverse knowledge of the subject is extensive and ranges from the study of culture in anthropological, sociological, historical, and psychological contexts to its impact on business, education, politics, science and medicine, literature, and religion"* (www.roundtablegroup.com). This understanding of witnessing is similar to that of Coast Salish people. Not all witnesses in Coast Salish witnesses would call themselves experts on culture, nor are they all teachers, but the understanding of being a witness is identical.

As an academic, and as a member of the Coast Salish community, my research bears witness to the experience of First Nations people in British Columbia. I refuse to proclaim myself as an expert. There is always so much to learn from community. The experts on community are the people who live in the community, that's where a clear sense of justice comes from.

Research participants connect fear based learning to lateral violence. The different components of fear based learning identified by research participants can

represent the conditions for the perfect storm. The conditions for the perfect storm are an exercise in understanding all of the conditions happening in each administrator's life that could potentially contribute to an episode of lateral violence. From this research what is identifiable are two major conditions; the first is fear based learning; the second is how we used it. Fear based learning is the identification of anti-social behaviours learned through the process of colonization. How we used it paints a picture of how colonialism has been perpetuated by First Nations people themselves, a perpetuation of self-hate where First Nations people oppress each other.

There were nine properties identified contributing to a fear based learning condition. All of the properties do not need to be functioning together to create a storm condition in the workplace. Only one of the properties may be identifiable to contribute to "the perfect storm." The nine properties identified in this research project are as follows:

- (1) Introduction of fear to manipulate relationships – fear is used to sever the emotional connection one feels to contributing sources of identity, i.e. family, language, etc.
- (2) Belonging and isolation – the isolation of individuals resulting from unhealthy interactions between people in similar social standings
- (3) From residential school to family – here we see the transference of internalized conflict being passed from the residential school system into the family system of First Nations people
- (4) Intergenerational conflict - Fear based learning became intergenerational, and is a contributing factor to the social problems experienced by First Nations communities today
- (5) From family to administrations - The residential school system taught First Nations students how to live through isolation. In the post residential school experience people continued to isolate each other. People in instances treated each other through the example of how they were treated

(6) Infighting in Coast Salish institutions - As Coast Salish people were integrated into a foreign form of governance, competition for resources in tribal communities increased, providing another potential condition for lateral violence

(7) Set up to compete – “people are set up to battle against one another, whether that's for scarcity model funding, or whether it's family feuding, or whether it's gangs that are developing, or whether it's the bloodism...and so if the oppressor, for lack of a better word, or the colonizer, is standing watching people fight they no longer have to do the kinds of things that they once did. They just have to stand back and watch people killing each other off, whether that's metaphorically or literally”

(8) Scarcity Model Funding - Scarcity model funding represents the competition between First Nations people for limited resources to provide services to community. It is a process where people can become trapped in an adversarial relationship

(9) Bloodism - Bloodism is animosity expressed by peers of the same race.

The conditions in fear based learning represent one aspect of what residential school students learned from the residential school system, as identified by participants in this research project. These conditions exist in First Nations administrations, and were identified by service providers in this research project as a common problem. These common problems prevent administrations from reaching maximum potential because the conditions are cyclical and intergenerational.

Following is a suggested approach to identifying conditions for the perfect storm. Identifying conditions for the perfect storm help administrators navigate developing episodes of lateral violence. The model was based on how data was analyzed in this thesis. The conditions for the perfect storm, and the nine properties identified were adjusted to a particular workplace situation.

1. It is clear that a volatile situation is developing in the workplace because people have unresolved conflict, and increasing resentments towards each other

2. Resentments begin to interfere with worker productivity. Workers may spend hours gossiping about the person they have an unresolved disagreement with, rather than speaking directly to the person. In addition workers will not have a planned resolution.
3. Someone suggests identifying conditions for the perfect storm to start working towards a solution. It is explained that the exercise allows individuals to vent their resentments with the exercise facilitator.
4. There are two stages to the venting process. The first stage consists of sitting with an individual and having an introductory conversation about the situation. Identifying people involved. Identifying what purpose people are working together for. Defining what the disagreement was about and what process is affected by the disagreement. The second stage consists of writing out the resentments in relation to a process of work. What follows is writing out possible solutions to the problem.

There are two stages to the process because feelings need to be dealt with first before dealing with facts. When people are in a place of resentment a solution may be harder to reach. Having a second stage allows individuals a cool down period, instead of looking at facts through intense emotional reactions.

5. Following the two stage venting process is the data analysis. First the facilitator reads over individual venting contributions. Second the facilitator identifies work place procedures that are being addressed in both stages of an individual's venting contribution.

The facilitator will also identify possible conditions for disagreements; (a) miscommunication about roles and responsibilities (b) unclear lines of accountability between the executive body, midlevel management, and front line workers (c) policies that no longer reflect the purpose of work (d) unresolved conflict (e) unwillingness to change

If it is possible the facilitator may address disagreements with existing policy and procedures. If existing policy and procedures do not adequately address the disagreement, then the facilitator may consider revising policy.

6. After the data analysis the facilitator shares the findings with the parties to the disagreement, and discussed possible solutions. There are two alternatives; first alternative, if the parties agree that the solutions are workable then terms of implementation will be discussed. Second alternative, if there further insight is gained from discussions about the solutions, policy will be revised again before being implemented.
7. Workers continue to make contributions so that policies continue to reflect changes in the workplace

To be able to identify how the conditions from fear based learning impact First Nations administrations is clearly important. Conditions from fear based learning contribute to episodes of lateral violence in First Nations administrations. Episodes of lateral violence result in administrative in-fighting, where administrative processes become wrapped up in the competition between differing political interests.

In conclusion, lateral violence is one of the greatest barriers to policy creation in First Nations communities. When creating policy I have to reflect on the history and

affect of colonization. It is necessary to be aware of how colonization has created process in the First Nations workplace, and its impact on our decision-making process. Part of the natural process in organizations now consists of lateral violence, the infighting that occurs between peers.

I have learned from this experience that there are ideas that will help me frame the policy problem. First, the history of lateral violence must be taking into consideration. From this the barriers to success become apparent, and the solutions visible. Second, what follows naturally is an integration of pluralism in terms of justice; various perspectives of what is right and wrong must come to together in conversation to reach the right direction to work towards.

Lateral violence is a condition whereby one person is abused. The person(s) act out the learned violence towards others. Lateral Violence does not have to control our lives. Just as we are stewards for our environmental concerns, we have to be stewards for our culture in First Nations administrations where colonization tries to make us think and believe otherwise.

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