The Ethical Space of Engagement Between Indigenous Women and Girls of a Drum Circle and White, Settler Men of a Police Chorus: Implications for Policing Ideology, Policies, and Practices

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Centering an Indigenous research framework and methodology, this study set out to inquire as to how an unlikely singing partnership between Indigenous women and girls of a drum circle and white, Settler men of a police chorus has been sustained within a local context for five years. Through engagement with one another, an ethical space upheld by willingness, responsibility, accountability, and reciprocity was created that enabled dialogue and understanding of the historical and ongoing systemic violence perpetrated against Indigenous peoples and the need for ideological structural and systemic change in policing policies and practices. An emergent and, decidedly, central theme deriving from participants' stories was the importance of the shared ethics of: truth, care (love), respect, courage, honesty, humility, and wisdom that served to maintain the ethical space. Interpretation of these findings through an Indigenous epistemological lens reveals the sacred teachings of the Anishinaabe[1] peoples about living in harmony with all of one's relations.

Keywords: indigenous/police relations, ethical space of engagement, singing partnerships between adversaries, whiteness

INTRODUCTION

Why would you (i.e., referring to Indigenous[2] women and girls) partner with the police? Behind this one question, which is primarily asked by Indigenous peoples, lives many stories. The idea of any kind of partnership is, for many, unfathomable. Asking a contrasting question, "Why wouldn't you partner with the police?", many white Settler[3] Canadians may not contemplate the implications. The analysis of these submerged and embedded stories is discussed in this article and is derived from my dissertation research where I sought to understand how a singing partnership between Indigenous women and girls of a drum circle and white, Settler men of a police chorus[4] has been sustained, so far, for five years. Knowing the historical and ongoing colonial systemic racism and violence in policing practices with Indigenous peoples in Canada, it seems unlikely that such a partnership could take place.

Introduction of Myself
It is common Indigenous practice in scholarship and research that the writer and researcher introduce oneself to readers (Absolon & Willett, 2004; Kovach, 2009; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). This introduction clarifies one's identity, location, intentions and context of the writing (Baskin, 2016;

Hampton, 1995; Pelletier Sinclair, 2003) and it helps to establish trust and accountability between writer and reader (Absolon & Willett, 2005).

I identify as Indigenous Sámi[5] and Irish with 26 years of lived Anishinaabe experiences. As an Indigenous and Settler woman born in Northern Ontario, Canada and living on the original territories of North American Indigenous peoples, I have felt a sense of responsibility to contribute to the Truth and Reconciliation process. I have learned that Indigenous peoples have no reason to believe that the police will respond effectively, if at all, to their needs and no reason to believe that they will be protected. I feel impelled to reveal the structural ideology that contributes to ongoing harm and violence in policing practices.

As well as being the researcher for this study, I acknowledge that I have been the facilitator of the Indigenous women and girls drum circle for 14 years. I have known several of the men in the police chorus for five years. Before this research study began, positive and trusting relationships with all of the participants were well established.

Truth and Reconciliation in Canada

Reporting on the need for reconciliation in the relationships between Indigenous and Settler peoples has been documented at least since the 1970's (Haig-Brown, 2018). There is no shortage of evidence of violence, injustices and inequities in these relationships. Indigenous peoples' self-determination and livelihoods have been severely impacted by broken treaty agreements which have resulted in dispossession from their territories and relocation to reserves, often resulting in oppression and dependency (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017). Missionaries imposed conversion to Christianity (TRC, 2015). Imposed legislated government policies (e.g., enfranchisement, Indian Act, Indian Residential Schools) were designed with the specific mission to assimilate Indigenous peoples into dominant settler society (Lawrence, 2003; TRC, 2015) where the primary purpose has been to control and govern nearly all aspects of Indigenous peoples' lives. In 1996, a report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the largest and most extensive work ever done, documenting historical and present day economic, political, and social gaps between Indigenous and Settler peoples, and the need for reconciliation between Indigenous and Settler peoples was published. This 3, 999 page report should have been enough to rally government and public support for change; but it did not. In 2015, a final report of the Truth and Reconciliation[6] Commission created perhaps more publicity than in years past with television and radio broadcasts and nation-wide public forums pertaining to the traumatic impacts of government forced attendance of Indigenous children at Indian Residential Schools. The final report includes 94 calls to action targeting provincial, federal, territorial and Indigenous governments, and also Settler peoples in all sectors of society. This article calls attention to numbers 30, 31, 38-41, & 57[7] of the TRC Calls to Action (TRC, 2015) that address past and ongoing injustices in Indigenous/police relations and in the justice system, and a pathway towards justice for Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women and girls.

Within the justice system there have been abuses of power in the interactions between the police and Indigenous peoples (Comack, 2012; Chan & Chunn, 2014; Monchalin, 2016). For example, in the past, the police were often responsible for enforcing attendance of Indigenous children at residential schools (Belanger, 2018; Comack, 2012). Police are implicated in the high numbers of arrests of Indigenous peoples, the overwhelmingly high incarceration rates (Belanger, 2018; Cao, 2014; Chan & Chunn, 2014; Monture-Angus, 1995) and the high numbers of under-investigated murdered and missing Indigenous women and girls (Buller, 2019; Human Rights Watch, 2017; Tasker, 2016; Amnesty International Canada, 2009). There have also been many violent interactions with police at Indigenous land occupations (Belanger, 2018; Christmas, 2012; Edwards, 2001; Obomsawin, 1993; Palmater, 2016).

Reports of Violence Perpetrated Against Indigenous Women and Girls

Perpetual violence has been perpetrated against Indigenous women and girls. While they represent only 4.3% of the female population in Canada, they are overwhelmingly over-represented as victims of violence. Indigenous women and girls are 12 times more likely to be murdered or missing than any other women in Canada, and 16 times more likely than white women (Buller, 2019). This alarming travesty is

manifested in 58 reports reviewed by the Legal Strategy Coalition on Violence against Indigenous Women (LSC, 2015) and now in the final report of the national inquiry into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (Buller, 2019). In 2017, the Human Rights Watch investigated policing-related abuses experienced by Indigenous women and girls in Saskatchewan. There was found to be: use of excessive force; inappropriate body and strip searches by male officers during routine stops and in detention; sexual harassment; sexual assault; police insensitivity to the well-being of Indigenous women and/or girls, especially in instances where they were victims of violence; and threatening arrest (e.g., for drug possession, public intoxication, breach of parole conditions when the situation at hand was related to a woman reporting domestic violence).

There have also been several commissioned inquiries where police have been implicated in murders, violence, sloppy case management and inaction with regard to Indigenous men, women and youth. These include: the Manitoba Inquiry (Hamilton & Sinclair, 1999), Wright Inquiry (2004), Davies Inquiry (2011), Val d'Or Inquiry (Viens, 2019), Thunder Bay Inquiry (McNeilly, 2018), and the National Inquiry of the Commission of the Missing and Murdered Indigenous women and girls (Buller, 2019). An especially alarming finding is that most of the Indigenous women who lived through the violence did not bring these violent incidents to the attention of the police or any other formal victim service (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Research

Centering an Indigenous research framework, Indigenous knowledge and methodology were used in this qualitative research study. Indigenous philosophies of relationships, wholism, and interconnectedness (e.g., Absolon, 2011; Brant Castellano, 2004; Getty, 2010; Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Kovach, 2009) guided the research process and analysis of participants' stories.

METHODOLOGY

The Indigenous methodology used in this study was derived from familiar Anishinaabe knowledge in Southern Ontario. Research methods used in this study were storytelling (Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Lavallée, 2009) and sharing circles (Absolon, 2011; Lavallée, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Storytelling is integral to Indigenous peoples' lives and history and how knowledge has been shared. Sharing circles involve individuals sitting together in a circle with one person sharing at a time until everyone is heard.

Participants were invited to a total of three sharing circles: one circle with their own members to respond to research questions; a second circle of everyone so that I could obtain feedback to my initial interpretations of their stories; and a third circle where I provided feedback of this study, a feast and hand-crafted gifts as gratitude for their participation. Each sharing circle lasted three hours.

For all participants each sharing circle began with familiar protocols (e.g., offering of tobacco[8], smudging ceremony[9], prayer, lighting candles to acknowledge the Anishinaabe Seven Sacred Teachings[10], and song if chosen). Emphasized as necessary ethical protocols in Indigenous research to maintain relationships with the participants (Absolon, 2011; Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008), I incorporated the values of reciprocity, responsibility, respect, and relevance into this research study.[11]

Sampling

There were 10 Indigenous women and 2 Indigenous girls[12] (whose ages were 14 and 16 years) recruited from Mino Ode Kwewak N'gamowak[13] and 2 police officers and 10 civilian men, active and retired, recruited from Waterloo Regional Police Male Chorus. All of the chorus members were white, male, Settler, of European ancestry, and non-Indigenous. It was not a concern that few of the police chorus members were actual or retired police officers because all members wear police uniforms and represent the values and mandate of Waterloo Regional Police Services at public performances (Waterloo Regional Police Services, 2017).

RESULTS

Differences: Gender, Police, Power, Social Class Identity

Discussions of gender, police, power and social class identity were frequently included in the stories of the Indigenous women and girls and rarely considered by the white, Settler men.

Most of the women shared stories of difficult and abusive relationships that they have had with men, including male police officers. As a result they questioned their ability and comfort level to be with men. They were also very aware that they were not just partnering with a male chorus, but with a police chorus. This awareness fuelled certain emotions to surface such as fear and mistrust of police, and therefore, of the police chorus. The women also expressed doubts about whether any real change in policing could come about. This is stated by Susan[14] who stated, "I don't think that it is going to change because I mean they're authority right?"

While not a dominant conversation among the men, there was some indication that they were aware that they represented police services, and not just men in a chorus. For example, they questioned if the women could accept them, knowing that they represented police services. There was, however, an absence in their stories of the overt use of the word, power, or any discussions alluding to power or authority that a police chorus exudes because it represents police services.

With regard to social class identity, there was recognition by both groups of participants that the men were part of the dominant white society and the women and girls were Indigenous and marginalized. Katherine described this so clearly, "We have all those dynamics. We have a minority group, we have a gender difference, we have an empowered male, largely white group." None of the men acknowledged a Settler identity. Two men emphasized that their families have lived in Canada for many generations, and therefore, they were not Settlers.

Impact of Partnership: Experiences Connected to Spirit, Emotion/Relations, Mental (Learning), and Physical

Knowledge of the circle, derived from the Anishinaabe peoples, was integral to this research study. The circle is viewed as a wholistic concept that represents the interconnectedness of all of life. This concept is a way to understand oneself and all of life through teachings found in aspects of the circle often referred to as spirit, emotions/relations, mental, and the physical. An Indigenous lens prompted notice, interpretation and organization of these aspects (i.e., themes) from reviewing participants' responses to research question two[15] that pertains to how this partnership impacted them. The following discussion utilizes teachings of the circle to organize participants' responses. I will begin in the east quadrant of the circle with spirit, then move to south with emotions/relations, then west with the mental aspect, and then the north with the physical aspect.

Spirit – Energy, Intention, Genuineness

Spirit is a life force that can sustain individuals and communities. One can seek guidance from the spirit world for many of life's questions, and it is from spirit that intentions are realized and acknowledged. Spirit seemed to be ever present, yet not spoken of directly in the sharing circles with the women and girls. From observing the ease with which they carried out ceremonial protocols as perceived needs arose, it was as if spirit was a natural part of their being and interactions. For example, in addition to opening and closing the circle with ceremony, there were times that the women spontaneously lit the smudge when a woman was discussing a difficult or upsetting topic. It was known that smudging can help certain emotions to dissipate.

Spirit was reflected in the stories of the men regarding how this partnership came about not by chance, but through Creator/God; as if it was meant to be. This is expressed by Robert:

> The events leading up to the initial exchanges between the Indigenous women's group
> and Waterloo Regional Police Male Chorus were possibly by chance. Personally, I feel

that a higher power was at work that brought about a coming together which has led to opportunities of building relationships between the groups when carefully nurtured.

It is important to note that the word "intention" was mentioned 21 times, with the women and girls using this word 17 times and the men using it 4 times. I interpreted participants' use of this word to reflect the essence of spirit, and hence, the reason of existence for this partnership. The importance of intention was discussed by Katherine:

> I think there was a clarity of intention. I think we did know what we were doing early on. There was an intent to build a relationship. In other relationships that we've had with other groups, that hasn't been so intentional…The police were really quick to interact with us in the way in which we dictated. They very quickly were willing to let us set the stage for our interactions together…

The men's reference to intention came in their discussions of the beginning of the partnership when they put the needs of the women and girls ahead of their own and they knew that they needed to step back and wait for direction. This was expressed by Allan:

> …when you wanted to have it [speaking to me about a singing event] we didn't want to interfere and say well we're stepping in here and taking over; because that wasn't the idea at all. It was yours and we just wanted to be a willing partner and help out.

From participants' stories I interpreted spirit and intention connected to genuineness; meaning a conscious or intentional way of being in the partnership. The following comment by Katherine shows the movement of the women and girls' thinking from doubts, mistrust and apprehensions experienced near the beginning of the partnership towards believing that the partnership felt genuine a few years into the partnership. In explaining her point, Katherine recalled an experience that happened three years into the partnership where the women were racially violated and kicked out of a Baptist church by a Deacon because of drumming:

> I remember [Allan] and [Stan] and the unmitigated anger that this happened to us. They were so wounded. And wounded because they were behaving like 'you' had attacked a member of their family. It was kind of; I can't believe this happened…And in their interactions with the church which I loved and appreciated because of course the Deacon called them with the non-apology apology [laughs]. [Allan] kept saying back, well it's nice that you've called us and all but you need to apologize to those women. In particular, I remember [Allan] recounting his phone call with this gentleman, and some of the words that were used and [Allan] cut him off, and said, no, I will not allow you to say that. I know these women…That's not what that's about. I won't permit you to speak about them that way. [Katherine says] I'm going to cry…It was genuine. This wasn't the politically correct response. This was not orchestrated. This was not run through the PR department…This was the genuine heart felt response to what they understood to be an injustice…

Genuineness was demonstrated in Allan's words to the Deacon; but it developed even further than this. The police chorus was faced with what might be interpreted as an ethical and moral dilemma. Their weekly meeting place for rehearsals was located in this church and they had already paid a year's rental on their space. It was also the location for an upcoming fish fry for their annual fund raiser which brings in over 400 people. Our drum circle became aware that the police chorus cancelled their rental agreement and fish fry, took a financial hit as a result, and found another location which was friendly to Indigenous peoples for the two groups to rehearse. This appeared to be a transforming moment for the women and girls. They saw that the actions of the police chorus demonstrated a genuine caring, perhaps even an act of

solidarity. The women and girls felt a relationship was building between them and that the police chorus was prepared to maintain this at their expense.

Emotions/Relations – Emotional Impact of Partnership

The emotions/relations aspect includes past and present experiences that can trigger certain kinds of emotions and relationships. A notable finding was participants' emotional reactions to this partnership. Interpreting the emotions through the Indigenous concepts of wholism and interconnectedness (as opposed to just a collection of different emotions), a pattern of expressions along continuums was found. In my analysis, I created a circle with several 'spokes' to depict all of the emotions expressed and to show that in some way, they were connected to one another. In addition, the expression of a particular emotion at one end of the spoke (or continuum) was connected to an opposite (or contrasting) emotion at the other end. These continuums of emotions were: anger and love, mistrust and trust, violated and respected, sadness and happiness, abandoned and supported, closed and openness, fear and safe, doubt and hope.

An important finding is the disparate meanings attributed to these emotions between the Indigenous women and girls of the drum circle and white, Settler men of the police chorus. These disparate meanings were interpreted to be related to participants' different experiences with police, power and gender. For example, a feeling of fear was experienced by both groups of participants, particularly in the beginning of this partnership, but for different reasons. Some of the women and girls felt fear about being safe because of previous experiences with men and male police officers. On the other hand, the men felt fear about not knowing what to expect in this partnership.

When the stories of the participants were analyzed from earlier to more recent times in the partnership, there was generally found to be a movement or shift in emotions towards more positive expressions. Early on the women and girls felt anger, mistrust, concerns about being violated, sadness, fear and feeling closed. The men's stories revealed an absence of anger, mistrust, trust, and concerns about being violated. While both groups expressed sadness, the women and girls' stories related to not being helped and/or believed by police officers in personal situations of family violence. The men expressed sadness from not knowing about the traumatic history that Indigenous peoples experienced. With regard to feeling respected in this partnership, the women and girls expressed gratitude for being respected by the men. It was as if this expectation was not a given and that they expected to be violated or disrespected. In contrast concern over being respected was not an aspect of the men's stories. It was as if respect was a natural expectation.

It is noteworthy to point out that there was an absence of any stories by both the women and girls and men of feeling abandoned (or unsupported) in this partnership. In contrast, there were considerable stories of participants feeling supported in this partnership. Feeling closed for the women and girls was associated early in the partnership with apprehensions and uneasiness because of their experiences and perceptions of police officers. For the men, feeling closed was associated with the perceptions they had of Indigenous peoples (e.g., lazy, "drunken Indian, " "they get stuff for free") and how these preconceived ideas interfered with them fully engaging in the early years. Hope was expressed by all of the participants that this partnership could lead to their mutual advocacy for changes with police services.

Mental (Learning) – Education, Self-reflection, Engagement

The mental aspect reflects one's learned knowledge, beliefs, and assumptions. The Indigenous women and girls learned about themselves in relationship to men in general, police, and the men in this partnership. They learned that not all men or police officers are bad, abusive and/or violent. Some of the women and girls were able to step out of their own experiences and see that for this partnership to work, the men had to do their own work of learning about the truth of the federal government's direct involvement in policies to destroy Indigenous peoples' culture and identity such as through the Indian Act and Indian residential schools. Additionally, some of the women and girls recognized that the men needed to learn about policing abuses and violence with regard to Indigenous peoples. Cindy spoke about the learning the men have had to do:

Sometimes when there's police relationships with community there is not commitment to learning about each other. So in general there is a power over relationship instead of power between relationship...There is a power dynamic that is historical violence but the police [referring to the police chorus] are actively trying to re-story [referring to the recognition that they are engaging in conversations with the women and girls] all of that...And I can see it in the words and the promises and the relationships and the activities that we plan together. And in the partnership when the police said to that church [referring to the Baptist church incident] you know you guys were really disrespectful to the women and we're not going to book our space with you anymore. So I think that this sustained partnership that I see is because I see that the police can see that too. I feel that the police [chorus] that we're dealing with have done their work.

In a spontaneous sharing of what the white, Settler men learned from books and newspapers about Indigenous peoples, I asked them if they thought that this learning and these conversations would be happening if there was no partnership. Almost in unison, they said "probably not." This is a telling statement suggesting that sustained connection and the development of a relationship that leads to mutual understanding of one another may be an important motivator to want to learn.

Acknowledging his lack of information about Indigenous peoples and how this partnership created an opportunity to learn, James stated, "I never had any contact with Indigenous peoples at all and this [referring to the singing partnership] has allowed that to happen...It has greatly educated me about the horrific past which I literally knew nothing about and I am greatly disturbed about it." The men asked critical questions and made reflective statements. For example, Stan asked, "What does reconcile mean?" He also spoke about a game he played as a child called "cowboys and Indians" and how he learned that the Indians were always the bad guys. Bill questioned what the next steps would be in Indigenous/Settler relations. Gerry recognized that it was his white skin colour that afforded him a privilege that most likely affected his not being punished for a crime when he was younger. Harry spoke about the loss he felt in not having previous connection with Indigenous peoples, about missed opportunities to engage with them, and wondering what could have been.

Physical (Action) – Ethical Space of Engagement

The physical aspect looks at where actions can evolve out of various dialogues, understandings and relationships. Participants' responses to research questions one[16], three[17], and four[18] were organized around two emerging dominant themes. The first theme addressed responses to research question four regarding what they would advise to other such partnerships. Participants spoke of the need for conscious intention and implementation of four commitments. *One*, is willingness. There needs to a genuine desire to want to enter into a partnership or relationship. *Two*, is responsibility. A person must take personal responsibility for educating oneself about the history of Indigenous peoples and the ongoing violence in Indigenous/police relations. *Three*, is accountability. There needs to be acknowledgement that one's actions and inactions will affect the relationship and is, therefore, accountable in the relationship. *Four*, is mutual reciprocity. While initially in engagements, the greater effort must occur with Settler peoples and police because of the harms deriving from Settler colonialism, relationships cannot be sustained without mutual engagement. The second theme addressed research questions one and three which pertained to the key factors participants saw that helped sustain this partnership and changes they would recommend to policing services. Through an Indigenous lens of searching for interconnectedness among participants' stories, an emerging pattern of seeing particular values (or what could be ethics) of: truth, care (love), respect, courage, honesty, humility, and wisdom prompted me to interpret the findings as being reflective of the Anishinaabe Seven Sacred teachings of how to be a 'good' human being. Key elements of participants' stories are included under each of these ethics and are meant to guide how dialogue and engagement could take place in partnerships, including policing personnel.

Truth

Understanding one another's history, social, and political contexts is required; with particular emphasis on Indigenous peoples' realities, past and present. There needs to be mutual recognition that individuals have different stories (truths) and different emotions connected to this partnership; yet a commitment to finding a common ground amongst one another. A truth is that the institution of policing, like most institutions, are not adequately informed about the historical and ongoing embeddedness of the colonial and racist ideology that pervades society; but more specifically policing, and which creates stereotypical thinking, policing policies and practices regarding Indigenous peoples. New learning needs to take place at all levels of policing (i.e., police chief, officers, staff, administration). This requires going beyond typical diversity and equity training and education programs to the critiquing of the institutional ideologies of whiteness and their impacts on Indigenous peoples. Engagement with Indigenous peoples is needed in the training and education process.

Care (Love)[19]

There needs to be a living spirit (i.e., genuineness) felt by Indigenous peoples, the police chief, and police personnel of wanting this partnership to work. Reflection of the following questions is needed to make the intentions of the partnership visible: What does it mean to have a genuine caring for one another? How will this genuine caring be felt, explained, perceived, sustained, and carried out in the relationships and actions with one another? Genuineness in police services' actions could be demonstrated through commitment to ideological change in policing education, policies, and practices with regard to Indigenous peoples. Importantly, genuineness could be demonstrated and felt by allocating designated funding and permanent positions for Indigenous Liaison personnel to help build and maintain relationships with the local Indigenous community.

Respect

There is a mutual acknowledgement and regard for each other's identities, faith, and spiritual practices. If there is respect for one another, there is mutual accountability and responsibility to one another. There is acknowledgement and support for people being at different places of the learning and healing journeys regarding Indigenous peoples and their history, police relations, and the TRC process.

Courage

It takes much courage to look at the source of one's emotions that are triggering certain responses about this partnership. Support by one another is very important as individuals address these roots. It takes courage to be willing to risk learning about what one did not know (i.e., about oneself, the police, and Indigenous peoples). It takes even more courage to find ways to incorporate what one has learned into policing ideology, policies, practices and education and training programs.

Indigenous and Settler peoples, including the police, can have varying reactions or triggers to certain discussions such as: love, anger, trust, mistrust, respected, violated, happiness, sadness, supported, abandonment, openness, closed, safe, fear, doubt and hope. Because of the unsettling nature of learning about Settler and police violence against Indigenous peoples, reactions can prompt avoidance, defensiveness, denial and/or minimization of these travesties (Regan, 2010). If a partnership is going to work, it is important that individuals take personal responsibility for understanding and working through their reactions to hearing unsettling narratives of Indigenous peoples' experiences.

Following the TRC (2015) Calls to Action (i.e., specifically 30, 31, 38-41, 57) and implementing significant institutional change is likely unpopular; but risk being the change that is necessary to improve Indigenous/police relations. Getting rid of bad police officers and personnel who cause harm is not only a moral, ethical and professional thing to do, it is a cost-savings strategy (i.e., due to potential law suits and investigations of not doing so). It is also an opportunity to set justice right with Indigenous peoples.

It is critical to gather accurate and comprehensive data collection regarding: ethnicity of perpetrators against Indigenous women, use of force, police stops, and searches as this is one way to ensure the needs

of Indigenous women are being met and it is a way to hold police personnel accountable for doing what is right.

Honesty

Building partnerships is not enough. Relationships cannot be sustained if inequities, injustices, and violence are still happening to Indigenous peoples, particularly to Indigenous women and girls. Not only do the TRC Calls to Action need to be addressed, so must institutional change that is sanctioned by top leadership, including the police chief. This means designating assigned staff and accompanying funds to create the changes needed at all levels of policing.

Humility

An important aspect of humility is to first acknowledge what one did not know without trying to deny, defend, or avoid and then be open to new knowledge. Humility means acknowledgement of the harm and violence caused by policing policies and practices towards Indigenous peoples and a genuine desire and effort to create institution-wide change. To do less maintains status quo, complicity in institutional racism, and violence against Indigenous peoples. It is also important to acknowledge the harm that can come from imposing one's knowing on another. Humility means not stepping in to do for, but to work alongside, work towards mutually agreeable and defined goals, and seek consultation at every step.

Wisdom

Wisdom means acknowledging that whiteness and colonization form the basis of institutional ideology and that they are the root causes of ongoing systemic racism, injustices, oppression and often violent policing practices against Indigenous peoples. Institutional changes that do not address the ideology serve to keep the system intact.

Discussion

It is important to bring light to the ideology that is submerged in Settler society, yet has served to maintain settler ignorance, denial, and even the legitimization of violence against Indigenous peoples. In this study, most of the white, Settler, men of the police chorus admitted to not having to think about the history or present experiences of Indigenous peoples, nor the stereotypes and assumptions they have had about Indigenous peoples that may have helped to maintain certain injustices and inaction. In addition, the absence of discussion in their stories about their own whiteness and Settler ancestry and the finding that they did not have to think about such emotions as: trust, mistrust, fear, safe, lack of respect, anger, and fear of being violated in this singing partnership is telling of the whiteness and privilege they impart and hold. To help convey the embedded and interconnected nature of whiteness ideology and its impact of violence on Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women and girls, I use Indigenous knowledges of the circle to depict this in **Figure 1**. I begin in the centre of the circle.

Centre - Whiteness Ideology as the Legitimizer

The social construct of whiteness has enabled the legitimization of colonization, racism, superiority, dominance, racial categorization, privilege and power at the individual, structural and systemic levels (Gilborn, 2006; Matias, Mitchell Viesca, Garrison-Wade, Tandon, & Galindo, 2014). Whiteness ideology has legitimized violence against Indigenous peoples, particularly women and girls (Palmater, 2016; Razack, 2014)

FIGURE 1
WHITENESS IDEOLOGY: ENABLING COLONIAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST INDIGEOUS PEOPLES, PARTICULARLY WOMEN AND GIRLS
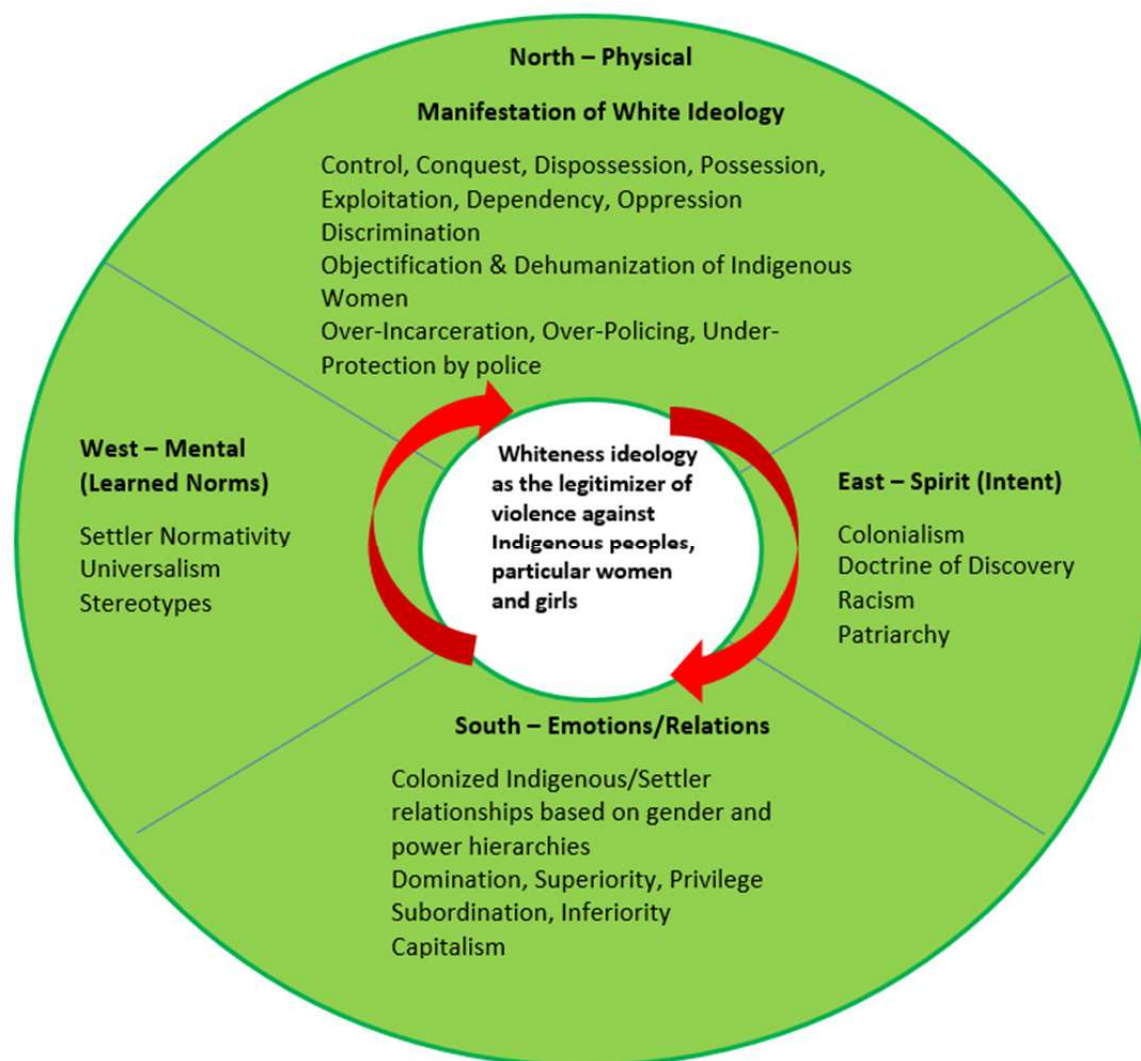
Spirit – Intentions of Whiteness Ideology

In the east part of the circle is the spirit (or intent) of whiteness. The colonization of Canada was premised on white supremacist and gender hierarchical beliefs derived from Christianity (Rotondaro, 2015; Woelik & Heinrichs, 2016); beliefs that gave entitlement and rationalization for white settler power, authority and presence on stolen lands (Maynard, 2017; Monchalin, 2016). A papal decree in 1493 (i.e., called Inter Caetera) legitimized a *Doctrine of Discovery* that provided for the right to "full and free power, authority and jurisdiction over every kind" (i.e., those who were non-Christian) (Reid, 2016, p.15; Rotondaro, 2015, p. 3b). Embedded in the Canadian justice system this doctrine has impeded Indigenous peoples' ability to claim Indigenous title to their historical lands and it has provided the justification for the federal government of Canada to create racist policies to assimilate, if not eradicate Indigenous peoples such as through enfranchisement, Indian Act, and Indian Residential Schools.

Whiteness is manifested through racism (Helms, 2017); an ideology of the superiority of a white race and white ideology over others (Barber, 2001; Delgado & Stefanic, 2001; Parker, 2015). Racism is

particularly dangerous when everyday racist practices are lived by racialized peoples; but not seen (or racism is denied) by white Settler peoples. Whiteness is also manifested through patriarchy (i.e., a society controlled by white men) and the legitimization of gendered violence against Indigenous women and girls (e.g., Anderson, 2016; Bourgeois, 2018; Chacoby & Amik, 2018; Comack, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2013, 2017; Monchalin, 2016; Native Women's Association of Canada, 2010, 2016; Palmater, 2016).

The ideology of patriarchy is closely aligned with Christianity and an understanding that the Creator/God, who is a white male, is the central authority figure in Creation, and who stands above all others (Anderson, 2016). The colonizers purposefully targeted (i.e., marked) Indigenous peoples in their efforts to conquer and seize new lands (Smith, 2008). Because Indigenous peoples did not have hierarchical social structures, the colonizers saw the necessity of instilling patriarchy and heteropatriarchy (i.e., dominance of heterosexual males and authority over heterosexual women and other sexual orientations in society) as the norm and way to gain authority and control over them (Bourgeois, 2018; Smith, 2008). A significant point here is the intention with which the colonizers used, "gender violence as a tool of colonialism and white supremacy" (Smith, 2008, p. 312). As Indigenous peoples were dispossessed from their territories to make way for settlement and extraction of resources, many were massacred, sexually mutilated and raped (Smith, 2008). The colonizer's use of sexual violence was a way to "seal" Indigenous peoples' inferiority and helplessness, and make way for colonization. Smith powerfully described this state of violation as rendering the Indigenous peoples as, "inherently rapable, their lands inherently invadable, and their resources inherently extractable" (p. 312).

Emotions/Relations: Relationships Founded on Whiteness

David Gilborn (2006) defined white privilege as the enjoyment of advantages by people, who identify as white. While white people may enjoy these privileges, they may not necessarily recognize these privileges as advantages because it is normal to expect them (Monchalin, 2016). This invisibility necessitates uncovering the roots that explain and sustain this privilege (Leonardo, as cited in Gilborn, 2006) which continue to deprive and harm Indigenous peoples. By examining the roots of white privilege, the relationships of superiority and the exercise of power and domination are revealed (Gilborn, 2006; Parker, 2015). From a whiteness ideology European settlers learned to see the Indigenous peoples as lesser beings and as obstacles to the advantages they would reap from their settlement and civilization of the lands.

White privilege and its invisibility could be heard in the striking contrast of explanations for emotions expressed by the Indigenous women and girls and the white, Settler men of the police chorus. The emotions expressed by the women and girls were mainly associated with fears and experiences of gendered violence; whereas, the men did not express any such emotions. This finding could be associated with the natural place that white men having power and authority hold in colonial society and therefore, less likely to experience fears and/or experiences of gendered violence. It is white heterosexual males who consistently have the power and authority to formulate and maintain the rules for determining who has access to what whiteness can offer and at what level (Helms, 2017). Those who hold authority and power are unlikely to question the authority and power within institutions as the systems work to benefit them. In this study, it can be said that the men held inherent power and authority that goes with being white males and representing a policing institution. Power was not a word that the men used; yet it was felt and spoken of by the women and girls. For the reasons stated above, it is likely that power was embedded in the men's lives and, therefore, it may not have been in their consciousness to think about or discuss in the sharing circles. The women and girls, on the other hand, acknowledged that the police in society are the authority and that they have power that can hurt or help.

A striking difference between the women and girls and the men was with the use of the word, "expectation," and its' relationship to feeling respected. Connected to the women and girls' feelings about anger, mistrust, trust, violated, sadness, abandoned, closed, fear and doubt were expressions of gratitude for being respected by the men. The expression of gratitude for being treated a certain way gives the impression that it was not a "given" that the women and girls thought that they would be respected. This experience may be closely connected to the expectation among many Indigenous women and girls (in

society) that they will experience racism and gendered violence from men and the police (Palmater, 2016). The men, on the other hand, did not mention concerns about being respected; suggesting that it was a natural entitlement of white, patriarchal privilege to expect respect. This finding has important implications regarding white, Settler assumptions about such notions as what constitutes respect and safe environments and the need to dialogue with Indigenous peoples regarding their experiences.

Mental – Learned Norms: Settler Normativity, Universalism, Stereotypes

When a certain discourse is collectively told, relied on, and then, "held up as 'truth', its power rests on people believing, internalizing, and acting on it" (Monchalin, 2016, p. 78). This is the pattern that contributes to normativity and universalism in Settler society. A strategy that serves to reinforce normativity and universalism is the use of stereotypes as they are designed to separate white people from the other (Anderson, 2016). These stereotypes are based on believed truths; but, which are actually fallacies about a person or peoples. Not only is a stereotype harmful to the recipient, it serves as a diversion away from consciousness about whiteness, colonization, and racism and the harm that these ideologies cause. In this way, stereotypes reinforce the status quo in society.

Comack (2012) discusses how the stereotypes of Indigenous peoples in the past cast them as "savage, inferior, child-like" (p.79) who were, "in need of a civilizing influence and paternal benevolence" (p. 79). Now, Indigenous peoples are cast as, "welfare recipient, drunken Indian, criminal 'Other'," (p. 79) who are, "in need of heightened surveillance and control" (p. 79). Specific stereotypes connected to Indigenous women were Indian princesses, who were perceived as wanting to be rescued from their savage life by a white man (Comack, 2012) or "an erotic image of the Native female as 'new' territory to be conquered" (Anderson, 2016, p. 81). There were also Indian squaws, who were viewed as uncivilized, sexually promiscuous, and dirty (Comack 2012) and also resistant and uncooperative, and therefore justifying violence towards them (Anderson, 2016).

Stereotypical beliefs are impacted by the media and popular culture. In a comparative study of local press coverage of Indigenous and white women who were missing, murdered, or victims in any capacity, Gilchrist (2010) found there to be racial bias with story coverage, word counts, and type and placement of photographs used that favoured white women. She concluded that, "The lack of coverage to missing/murdered Aboriginal women appears to suggest that their stories are not dramatic or worthy enough to tell, that Aboriginal women's victimization is too routine or ordinary, and/or irrelevant to (White) readers" (p. 382). A society, or the media, that sees violence perpetrated against Indigenous women and girls as too routine to be newsworthy reveals the entrenched nature of whiteness that normalizes such atrocities.

That routine violence perpetrated against Indigenous women and girls and these incidents not being newsworthy can be connected to the idea that "[T]he Aboriginal body is a body that cannot be murdered" (Razack, 2014, p. 54). This kind of thinking suggests that Indigenous people are perceived by Settler society and police to be already dead (i.e., through assimilation) or dying from the choices they have made in their lives (e.g., drug and alcohol addiction, poverty, homelessness, prostitution). Deeply embedded within this perception lies the perpetuating historical Settler belief that Indigenous peoples are less than human, and they are, therefore, not worthy of intervention when their lives are at risk. When the colonial and racist beliefs about Indigenous peoples are put together, no conclusion is conceived by Settler peoples, police and the justice system; except that Indigenous peoples are responsible for their own deaths.

The colonial and racist stereotypes historically attributed to Indigenous peoples continue and they are what have enabled a twisted and self-serving sense of justification of police actions towards Indigenous peoples in the city. When Indigenous peoples are only known as stereotypical alcoholics, drug users, gang members, prostitutes and criminals (Walsh (2011, cited in Sherene Razack, 2014), it becomes easy to not see them as human beings and, therefore, not worthy of intervention when their lives are at risk. This kind of embedded and normalized racist and discriminatory stereotyping, in society and by police, is detrimental and life-threatening to Indigenous peoples.

With this fictional story of the dying and disappearing 'Indian' still existing in the minds of Settler peoples, Indigenous peoples are perceived to be out of place, as if they should be dead or on reserves (Razack, 2014). The Settler (i.e., or police) conception of Indigenous peoples not belonging in the city conjures a perception that they must be up to no good, if they are in the city. This perception leads to their being prey to over-policing (Razack, 2014; Comack, 2012) and police behaviours of "dumping" (Razack, 2014, p. 52) Indigenous peoples with disorderly behaviours (e.g., from alcohol, drugs, mental incapacity) outside of city limits. Dumping enables the death of an Indigenous person to be viewed as the person's own fault; that they are dead because of their own behaviours. From this perspective it could be said, for example, that the Indigenous women and girls who went missing and/or who were murdered was their own fault. When an Indigenous person's death can be explained from the perspective of the victim's actions, it releases any gaze and culpability back at police actions (Razack, 2014).

Physical - Manifestation of White Ideology

Ideological processes have normalized government and institutional racist tactics against Indigenous peoples and have been manifested with regard to: *conquest* (e.g., exercising a doctrine that gives God-given right to seize lands) (e.g., Reid, 2016); *possession* (e.g., Settler claims to ownership of Indigenous territories) (e.g. Reid, 2016; Rotondaro, 2015); *dispossession* (e.g., of Indigenous peoples from their territories; of Indigenous peoples from their identities; of Indigenous women from traditional roles in their families and communities) (e.g., Anderson, 2016; Manuel & Derrickson, 2017; Monture-Angus, 1995); *control* (e.g., policies to limit power of Indigenous peoples' self-determination of their economic, political, and social ways) (e.g., Manuel & Derrickson, 2017); *domination* (e.g., Euro-Western Settler narratives have deemed Indigenous knowledges, ways of life, and the peoples as inferior.) (e.g., Monchalin, 2016); *exploitation* (e.g., Indigenous lands have been exploited for Settler purposes, as have been Indigenous peoples; particularly, Indigenous women and girls who are viewed as inherently violatable and rapable.) (e.g., Anderson, 2016; Monchalin, 2016; Razack, 2014); *dependency* (e.g., Because the economic, political and social means to sustain themselves have been taken away from them, Indigenous peoples are dependent on a foreign system that further entrenches dependency.) (e.g., Manuel & Derrickson, 2017; Weber-Pillwax et al, 2012); *oppression* (e.g., Dependency creates extremes in poverty, homeless, disease, poor health, and suicide.) (Weber-Pillwax et al, 2012); *discrimination* (e.g., Indigenous peoples experience racism and discrimination daily within society and they experience significant challenges getting their basic needs met because of who they are.) (e.g., TRC, 2015; Weber-Pillwax et al, 2012); *over-incarceration* (i.e., Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women and girls, are over-represented in the prison system and there is disregard for the structural and systemic issues that may have contributed to their incarceration.) (e.g., Comack, 2012; Monchalin, 2016); *over-policing* (e.g., Racist stereotypes of Indigenous peoples being inherently criminal pervades policing policies and practices towards Indigenous peoples.) (e.g., Bourgeois, 2018; Comack, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2013, 2017; Monchalin, 2016); *under-protection* (e.g., Racism, prejudice, discrimination, and stereotypes affect Indigenous peoples' lives, particularly, Indigenous women and girls, as being not worthy of being protected.) (e.g., Bourgeois, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2013, 2017; Monchalin, 2016; Palmater, 2016); *misogyny* (e.g., Whiteness, colonization and historical stereotypes have contributed to an extreme hatred and contempt for Indigenous women.) (e.g., Human Rights Watch, 2017; LSC, 2015; Palmater, 2016); *gendered-violence* (e.g., Indigenous women and girls are marked (targeted) as being violatable and inherently rapable.) (e.g., Palmater; Razack, 2014; Smith, 2008); and *murder*. As noted earlier, while Indigenous women and girls represent only 4.3% of the total female population in Canada, they represent 16% of female homicides (e.g., Buller, 2019; Monchalin, 2016).

Settler ignorance is also a manifestation of white ideology. White people do not typically know or think about the whiteness ideology that they have inherited from their ancestors. It is out of their consciousness; mainly because they do not need to think about being white, as white is the norm. This study revealed that while the women and girls were very aware of their Indigenous and racialized identities and experiences of colonization, racism, discrimination, oppression and violence and that they felt separated from the white, Settler men of the police chorus by gender, identity and power the men did

not indicate this kind of awareness about their identities. It is likely that the lived ideologies of whiteness have insulated the men from being able to see how whiteness and colonization have created such tragic injustices and violence for Indigenous peoples; particularly Indigenous women and girls. The experiences of the Indigenous women and girls and of the white, Settler men are common in Canadian society.

Ethical Space of Engagement

I return to the question that began this paper: Why would you (i.e., referring to Indigenous women and girls) partner with the police? Knowing of the pervasive violence against Indigenous women and girls in Settler society, including within the policing institution, and of the embeddedness of whiteness ideology that has legitimized colonialism, racism, discrimination and violence, there is an urgent need for engagement (and reconciliation) if there is to be any hope for greater understanding, ideological change, equity and justice between Indigenous and Settler/police relations. Herein, is the concept of ethical space. This was not a concept that the participants used, but one that I interpreted as such through their stories.

The concept of ethical space reminds me of what I heard Elders in our local community say about the importance of building and keeping relationships with one another. Elder, Jean Becker, told me that, "One cannot just make a relation one time and expect the relationship to take care of itself. It needs to be re-visited and nourished. When we forget that we are connected to everything and we do not renew our relationships, things fall apart. People get disconnected and the land, water and environment become sick. The animals, plants and trees stop helping us" (2010, personal communication). From this teaching moment with the Elder, I have contemplated the relationships between Indigenous and Settler peoples, including the police and how disconnected they are from one another. The previous discussion about whiteness ideology has largely fractured these relationships in such a way that racism, discrimination, violence and perpetuating stereotypes often dominate their interactions with one another. Essentially, colonization has prevented them from really knowing one another. This then prompts me to think about the reason for this research study. I have questioned that if Indigenous and Settler peoples do not connect with one another, how will they know each other or care enough to build equitable and just relationships with one another? I have learned that it is in the coming together and through dialogue that one comes to know HOW to relate to another.

The idea of an ethical space existing between opposing entities was conceived by Roger Poole (1972). Recognizing the subjective nature of all knowledges, Poole (1972) saw that worldview shapes perceptions, beliefs, and assumptions. New information will be evaluated against what one knows to be their (subjective) truth. Thus, information that does not fit one's truth will not be given interest and it will be denied and submerged from awareness. There are moments, however, when one becomes aware of their own subjectivity and that someone else might, therefore, have a different truth (perspective). Herein, is the space between the intentions of one and those of another; the ethical place where the unspoken intentions confront one another and the entities decide how to engage with each other. While each person has their own space of subjectivity to think within, reflection happens when someone crosses into someone else's lived space. As understanding grows, one reorganizes their own knowing into something else that now makes sense. This process of thinking and putting meaning to one's truths, re-evaluating and then letting go of previously held assumptions, is what Poole (1972) referred to as the philosophical space of ethical thinking.

Cree educator, Willie Ermine (2007) adapted Poole's work of ethical space to address the contrasting knowledge systems in thought, research and worldviews between Indigenous and Settler peoples and the resulting "undercurrent" of assumptions that have created animosity and misunderstanding (p. 198). Ermine (2007) saw the philosophical space between entities as not empty, but containing what was not said or acknowledged and that this is what creates assumptions, misunderstandings and animosities. He suggested that ethical choice in this space can be made to understand this deeper knowing. Through dialogue with one another, the entities can learn what harms, hurts and creates divisions; as well as what is moral and can enhance well-being between one another.

A point to emphasize is that ethical space is not something that exists or just happens between entities. It is a conscious decision to move into this space (in one's mind); to be open to learning new

knowledge systems of knowing, being, seeing and doing. If this pre-condition can be met, then there can be an understanding of a collaborative partnership with both entities sharing the power (Ermine, 2007; Styres, Zinga, Bennett & Bomberry, 2010;), and where there is no fear of assimilation by the other (Longboat, 2011). There can be the potential for the sharing and creation of new knowledge based on respectful relations (Kapyrka & Dockstator, 2012; Longboat, 2011; Ermine, 2007).

CONCLUSION

Police-related abuses create a climate of suspicion and mistrust (Human Rights Watch, 2017). Indeed, there is a widely held belief among Indigenous peoples that the police target and discriminate against them with there being little accountability for violent and racist police conduct (Buller, 2019; Comack, 2012; Palmater, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2017). In addition, Indigenous women have expressed fear that they would face retaliation if they filed any form of complaint against an officer (Human Rights Watch, 2017; Monchalin, 2016; Palmater, 2016). Mistrust of police begs for changes in the policing system; not just with policies and practices, but with the ideology that perpetuates colonization, racism, and discrimination. As found by Cao (2014), for there to be trust in police, Indigenous peoples need to feel confident that the police are people they can go to and that the police will respond to their needs in efficient, thorough and appropriate ways.

This article discussed an unlikely partnership between Indigenous women and girls of a drum circle and white, Settler men of a police chorus. The truth is that there has been historical and ongoing violence between Indigenous women and girls and the police. This truth cannot be glossed over or minimized by just singing songs together. While it was song that brought them together, it was efforts of education, learning, self-reflection and dialogue initiated in this partnership that allowed it to be sustained for five years.

Findings from this study were interpreted and organized through an Indigenous lens and methodological approach. The impact of this partnership was experienced in four ways: spirit, emotions (relations), mental (learning), and physical (action). Spirit was interpreted from hearing participants recognize the need for a conscious and genuine intention of commitment to one another. The expression of disparate emotions was a prominent finding. Feelings of anger, trust, mistrust, fear, and feeling violated were common lived experiences and discussions amongst the Indigenous women and girls; yet they were markedly absent in the stories of the white, Settler men. These disparate experiences showed the entrenched nature of colonization in Canadian society and bare a significant implication for reconciliation. An important reflection to consider is how emotions can be an enabler of maintaining status quo because of the discomfort experienced and/or an incredible opportunity for transformation of previously held thoughts and assumptions. The mental (learning) aspect of participants' stories revealed how education, self-reflection, and ongoing dialogues between Indigenous and Settler peoples can help to bring the invisibility of whiteness and colonization to light. If policies and practices are created from the dominant white Settler culture experience (white males in particular), the mark of addressing violence will be missed and harm will continue to be done to Indigenous women and girls. The physical (action) aspect was expressed through what participants advised when partnering with Indigenous peoples and for changes to policing services. Emerging from their responses were seven key ethics: truth, love (care), respect, truth, honesty, courage, humility and wisdom; and interpreted to be the necessary components for an ethical space of engagement in a partnership. For these ethics to be exercised and maintained, it was found that there needed to be conscious and genuine intention and implementation of four commitments: willingness, responsibility, accountability, and reciprocity.

This study illuminated the importance of the historical and current colonial and socio-political contexts of Settler, particularly police, violence against Indigenous women and girls and an analysis of the deeper ideological forces of whiteness and colonialism that are entrenched in Canadian society, carried out in everyday activities, and reinforced through their manifestation in government and societal institutional policies and practices. It is important to "hang onto"[20] this discussion because addressing the

ideological roots can be a way for there to be genuine engagement between police and Indigenous peoples.

It can be very unsettling to learn that what one thought they knew is not so. Ego and denial can come in to discount the information that is heard (Regan, 2010). The white, Settler men of the police chorus in this study allowed themselves to hear disturbing stories of Indigenous peoples' history and ongoing experiences of colonization and violence from the women. They also began to disrupt the narrative of how they had known themselves in relation to Indigenous peoples. As the researcher, I did not hear defensiveness or rationalization from the men, about what they heard. They listened. The men did their own learning through reading books and talking amongst themselves and with family and friends. While some of the women continue to feel some anger towards men and the police, and uncertainty as to whether the institution of policing could really change, they are still in this partnership with the hope that they, their children and grandchildren will, one day, not fear the police. The women, girls, and men learned, through this partnership, that when they spend time with each other, they may hear one another's stories differently, than previously known. Engagement in an ethical space provides an opportunity to listen, learn and understand more deeply the experiences of another; and therein, is the possibility for undertaking genuine change and justice.

ENDNOTES

1. Anishinaabe is another term for the Euro-Western word, Ojibwe, which refers to particular Indigenous peoples, many of whom live in Southern Ontario and northern United States.
2. I wish to denote the term, Indigenous, as representing peoples who have distinct identification with the land called Canada. I view Indigenous peoples as descendants of the first peoples of the land from pre-colonial times. In Canada, Indigenous and Aboriginal are often used interchangeably with the legal term, Aboriginal, referring specifically to First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples.
3. I recognize the contentious nature of defining the term, Settler. It holds many interpretations. I refer to Battell Lowman & Barker (2015), who use this term to acknowledge non-Indigenous peoples as inherently bound up with Settler colonization of this land in Canada (p. 18). This perspective takes into consideration new immigrants, refugees, visitors on vacations, enslaved peoples and indentured workers. I want to acknowledge that I use capital letters to reflect the terms, Indigenous and Settler, as proper nouns are reflective of identities.
4. I use the words, "police chorus," to refer to a chorus comprised largely of non-Indigenous, civilian, white European Settler men who represent public relations for Waterloo Regional Police Services. Making this statement is not meant to de-emphasize the close connection the chorus has to Waterloo Regional Police Services and its adherence to the police services' values and mandate; nor de-emphasize the impact that the men of the chorus in uniform have on those who encounter the chorus. Indeed, as was found in this research study, the Indigenous women and girls, while acknowledging that many of the men were not police officers, they saw them as police when they were in uniform.
5. My roots come from the Indigenous peoples of Northern Finland.
6. I acknowledge that there are different words used by Indigenous and Settler scholars (e.g., Alfred, 2014; Freeman, 2014; Manuel & Derrickson, 2015; TRC, 2015) to reflect the work to be done regarding injustices experienced by Indigenous peoples. I use the word, reconciliation, because the "re" can be reminder to remember the past so that efforts created in the present focus on justice in the relationships between Indigenous and Settler peoples into the future.
7. TRC (2015) Calls to Action:
   #30: We call upon federal, provincial, and territorial governments to commit to eliminating the overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in custody over the next decade, and to issue detailed annual reports that monitor and evaluate progress in doing so.

#31: We call upon federal, provincial, and territorial governments to provide sufficient and stable funding to implement and evaluate community sanctions that will provide realistic alternatives to imprisonment for Aboriginal offenders and respond to underlying causes of offending.

#38: We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to commit to eliminating the overrepresentation of Aboriginal youth in custody over the next decade.

#39: We call upon the federal government to develop a national plan to collect and publish data on the criminalization of Aboriginal people, including data related to homicide and family violence victimization.

#40: We call upon all levels of government, in collaboration with Aboriginal people, to create adequately funded and accessible Aboriginal-specific victim programs and services with appropriate evaluation mechanisms.

#41: We call upon the federal government, in consultation with Aboriginal organizations, to appoint a public inquiry into the causes of, and remedies for, the disproportionate victimization of Aboriginal women and girls. The inquiry's mandate would include:
- i. Investigation into missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls.
- ii. Links to the intergenerational legacy of residential schools.

#57: We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to provide education to public servants on the history of Aboriginal peoples, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal-Crown relations. This will require skills-based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism.

8. In North America, the protocol of offering tobacco is common. This offering is an acknowledgement of a reciprocal agreement and denotes accountability to one another. In Indigenous research, many Indigenous researchers will offer tobacco to participants as an ethical protocol of acknowledging and respecting their knowledges that they provided and to maintain the relationships and integrity of the research (e.g., Absolon, 2011; Lavallée, 2009).

9. Smudging involves the burning of sage in a small shell for the purpose of cleansing oneself spiritually, emotionally, mentally and physically. It can help with centering and with being more fully present.

10. These seven teachings are: Love, Respect, Courage, Truth, Honesty, Humility and Wisdom. These teachings guide one to be in good relation with oneself and all of one's relations (Benton-Banai, 1988). To not be in good relation with these teachings means that one's relations with all else is not in balance, and that is when harm and hurt can happen.

11. See Laurila (2019) for discussion of these ethical values.

12. Indigenous identities of the women and girls were Anishinaabe, Chocktaw, Cherokee, Miqmaw, Oneida

13. Mino Ode Kwewak N'gamowak in the Anishinaabe language means Good Hearted Women Singers in the English language.

14. Pseudonyms were given to all participants in this study.

15. Research Question 2: How has the experience of collaborating with one another affected you?

16. Research Question 1: Given the historical tensions between Indigenous peoples and the police force, it is rare for groups such as ours to come together. In your experience what are the key factors that have contributed to our sustained partnership of 5 years?

17. Research Question 3: In the context of the Truth and Reconciliation process underway in Canada, what changes would you recommend in this region to the relationships between the police and Indigenous peoples, particularly Indigenous women and girls?

18. Research Question 4: If you were to provide advice on your experiences to other partnerships between police choruses and Indigenous women and girls entering into reconciliation, what knowledge from your experiences would you offer them?

19. Participants did not use the word, 'love', to express their feelings towards one another or this partnership. However, they did use the word, 'care', frequently.

20. I purposefully use the words, "hang onto," to reflect how easy it is to lose sight or memory of this deeper ideology that is often not visible to the dominant, white society.

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