Master's thesis

The Rematriation of Reconciliation:

Investigating the Contributions of Spiritual Place-interconnectedness in the Concept of Rematriation to Reconciliation Practices in Canada concerned with Missing and Murdered Indigenous Womxn

Name and initials: Januschka Budimka Imtraut Schmidt

Student number: S3250857

Email address: j.b.i.schmidt@student.rug.nl

University: University of Groningen

Programme: Research Master Theology and Religious Studies, Religion, Conflict and Globalization track

1st Thesis supervisor: Dr. Joram Tarusarira

2nd Thesis supervisor: Dr. Kim Knibbe

Word count: 19,253

Date: 31.07.2019

Contents

1. Introduction

"Although I acknowledge who the target audience was and the purpose of the [TRC] report, the recommendations [of the 94 calls to action] did not acknowledge or empower Indigenous Peoples' responsibilities to actively participate in the re-strengthening of our communities. Not one recommendation acknowledged that we have inherent strength, resilience and power that we can use to contribute and participating in the self-determination of our (own and individual) healing as an integral part of (Native North America's) collective healing. [⋯] Healing is provided to us by 'them'. This maintains the understanding that we are passive recipients of healing, we are waiting for healing, and creates the illusion that we are powerless." (Doxtater, 2016, pp. 67–68)

This quote from the Six Nations artist Elizabeth Doxtater of the Kanyen'kehá:ka (Mohawk people) in the book 'Art of Peace' illustrates the ambivalent relationship indigenous peoples in Canada have with contemporary reconciliation practices. Doxtater illustrates the perception that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's calls to action did not jointly address Canada's First Peoples and settler descendants, but only targeted the latter. Moreover, Doxtater highlights how existing negative stereotypes about indigenous peoples in Canada are reproduced in the initiative and how these were ultimately translated into disempowering and repressive policies. In particular, the narrative of indigenous peoples being a part of the settler Canadian history and the stereotype of being passive, tacitly exclude Canada's First Peoples as active participants in reconciliation practices. Doxtater is not the only indigenous person in Canada criticizing the harmful consequences of subjugating stereotypes for Canada's First Peoples. In recent years, the term 'rematriation' has developed as an activist password, slogan, and counter movement to battle some of the stereotypes, subjugations, and exclusionary reconciliation efforts. Introduced in 2015 by the ReMatriate Collective, the term started out as a campaign title emphasising the harmful consequences of existing negative stereotypes and aimed to challenge the stereotypes through a diverse Social Media campaign. The ReMatriate Collective was founded and run by indigenous womxn and aims to take back the identity of indigenous womxn by posting pictures of indigenous womxn on Social Media that depict the diversity and strength of indigenous womxn in Canada. In recent years, however, the concept of rematriation has grown beyond the activism of the ReMatriate Collective and has seemingly become a concept that takes on several aspects of indigenous struggles in Canada. In this master thesis, I explore the content and character of the concept of rematriation and what it can contribute to Canada's reconciliation practices.

Before I continue this introduction, I would like to take a step back to situate this project, its methodology, and my own role in it. My name is Januschka Schmidt; I am a white European woman and I received my bachelor's education in History and Publishing at the Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany. From the start of my academic education, I have been interested in how people represent their ideas and beliefs. I pursued this interest in my research master's in religious studies at the University of Groningen, Netherlands. At a conference for the anniversary of the Research Centre for 'Religion, Conflict and Globalization' at the University of Groningen, Dr. Tarusarira gave a lecture about power structures and how those influence the way we do research. This lecture inspired me to focus on how power structures and hierarchies shape representations and how vulnerable groups can protect their agency within their own representation. At the same time, I started to consume more indigenous media and on the podcast 'Media Indigena' I first heard about rematriation as an indigenous, native feminist, and critical alternative to reconciliation, which made me curious. I learned about the ReMatriate Collective and how they use social media as an activist tool. I also learned more about how Twitter, in particular, became more and more important within indigenous grassroots activism in North America. This made me curious, how the concept of rematriation deals with, relates to, and possibly changes contemporary reconciliation practices in Canada and which role indigenous beliefs play in the concept.

In this thesis, it is important to me to apply decolonial and indigenous research methodologies in order to create a relevant and inclusive project output (for a full discussion see sections 3.a and 6). Next to a general appeal to reflexivity in academic work, decolonial and indigenous methodologies suggest for researches to explicitly position themselves at the beginning of their work, to account for how their backgrounds (or more precisely, their ontologies) shape their academic work (Nicholls, 2009). I hope to have offered a sufficient reflection on my background and role in the previous paragraph. Yet more importantly than acknowledging one's own role in the research process, is for many advocates of decolonial and indigenous methodologies, a need of the scholars to include the indigenous communities they conduct research with, into the research process from the start. This is suggested to ensure that the conducted research is important and beneficial to the indigenous communities (Kovach, 2009). This thesis, is consequently, and has been from the beginning, a collaboration with the initiators and the team of the ReMatriate Collective.

Yet another prerequisite for this thesis is a reflection on the terms used throughout this text. Indigenous peoples around the world prefer different terms. However, indigenous organizations have emphasised that it is best to address the concerned group of people by their preferred names and as precisely as possible.

The correct terms vary from people to people. *Indigenous* and *First Peoples* usually refer to societies with ancestral ties to their territories in Canada that predate colonial occupation (de Finney, 2017). In recent years, in Canada the term *native* has increasingly been perceived as offensive. The term *First Nations* is used since the 1970s and is preferred by the majority of Indigenous Canadians. However, it excludes the Inuit and Métis populations, and thereby excludes a major portion of indigenous northerners (Alia, 2010). The Inuit are the indigenous population living in Inuit Nunangat, which are the Arctic regions of Canada. The Métis are the Indigenous population in the northern regions of Canada who are of mixed indigenous and European ancestry. The term *aboriginal* is used in the majority of legal documents and policies, concerning all Indigenous Canadians. However, in recent years, the term *indigenous* has been preferred (Miller, 2002). Therefore, in this paper, I use the terms *indigenous* and *First Peoples* when referring to all indigenous Canadians and *First Nations* when specifically referring to Indigenous peoples in Canada excluding the Inuit and Métis population.

In this thesis, I also use the word *womxn* (spelled *ˈwʊm ən* or *ˈwɪm ɪn*) instead of *woman/women*. The ReMatriate Collective refers to women as *womyn* or *womxn*, to emphasise the empowerment and centrality of womxn in their campaign. Moreover, they argue that the term *womxn* is more inclusive, as it also includes other feminine identities. For the same reasons, in this thesis, I will use the term *womxn*.

Additionally, in this paper, *the West* or *western* is used to refer to the socio-political ideology and culture of the European or North American nation state. Lastly, I want to highlight, that in this paper I use the gender-neutral pronouns they/them when referring to people. I use these terms independently from gender presentations in name or appearance. I do so to avoid accidental miss-gendering. I also do so to avoid reproducing gender binaries within my academic work.

Even though the concept of rematriation is a direct result of the activist work of the ReMatriate Collective back in 2015 up until now, there has been a lack of academic work on the concept. So far, the only theoretical discussion can be found in Bazinet's master thesis (2016). Bazinet conceptualizes rematriation as (1) a return of Mother Earth to Canada's First Peoples, and (2) as an empowerment and re-centralizing of indigenous womxn as spiritual backbones within indigenous communities (Bazinet, 2016). Yet, despite its lack of definitional discussions, the concept of rematriation has found a variety of applications. Stephen Newcomb (1995) introduces the concept as a holistic indigenous approach to repatriation. In the context of academic knowledge production, Tuck (2013; 2018) argues for rematriation as a means to centre indigenous epistemologies in the decolonialization of academic research. Moreover, the concept

has been applied to food sovereignty in the form of the website 'seed rematriation' (White, 2018) and the non-academic 'Rematriation Magazine' introduced itself as an indigenous approach to the #metoo-debate, focussing on gender discrimination (Rematriation, 2018).

As a result of critique on reconciliation practices in Canada, scholars argued that for reconciliation to be sustainable it is necessary to include solutions rooted in indigenous and spiritual ontologies. The argument is that solutions for problems that include indigenous peoples need to link back to the spiritual and cultural ontologies of indigenous peoples. This is particularly the case for problems concerning violence towards indigenous womxn and land issues (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013; de Finney, 2017; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy, 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012). This thesis is an explorative study of the indigenous grassroots concept of rematriation and what it can contribute to reconciliation practices in Canada. Up until now, the concept has not been thoroughly analysed in academic work, especially not in its relation to First Peoples' spiritualities or reconciliation practices concerned with current structural violence issues, such as missing and murdered indigenous womxn (MMIW).

This master thesis is, consequently, among the first to look in detail at the concept of rematriation, its relation to First Peoples' spiritualities and land, and its relation to reconciliation practices in Canada by looking at the following research question:

To what extent and how does the grass-roots concept of rematriation contribute to reconciliation efforts concerned with structural violence issues, such as MMIW in Canada?

The following sub-questions will help to answer the research question:

1. What are the origins and development of the concept of rematriation?
2. What are the most common targets of rematriation?
3. How do First Nation spiritualities influence the concept of rematriation and its applications?

To do so, I will, in the following section (section 2), give an overview of the issues surrounding missing and murdered indigenous womxn and critiques of Canada's reconciliation practices concerning them. In section 3, I will introduce a theory-based understanding of the violence towards indigenous womxn as well as the rise of Social Media, in general, and Twitter, in particular, as activist tool in indigenous grassroots activism. I will then showcase the potential of online social media activism by analysing an interview with the ReMatriate Collective on the Red Man Laughing podcast and

Twitter tweets referring to the concept (section 4). After the data analysis, I will discuss whether and how the concept of rematriation is influenced by First Peoples spiritualities and connections to the land and what it offers to reconciliation practices (section 5). And after a short concluding summary (section 6), I will, in section 7, reflect on my decolonial and indigenous methodology in this thesis.

2. Background and First Peoples' criticisms of reconciliation practices in Canada with focus on MMIW

Reconciliation is defined as the process which tries to create a shared, harmonious future for both victims and perpetrators of a violent past (Tarusarira & Manyena, 2016). Reconciliation also refers to reconciliation practices, which includes the mindset but also a local place where reconciliation can take place and implement transitional justice measures. Transitional justice is concerned with the application of legal and non-legal means to look back on and critically reappraise issues that lead to violent conflict. As a consequence, reconciliation can transform existing structures to achieve mutually benefitable futures for victims and perpetrators as well as prevent future conflicts (Tarusarira & Manyena, 2016).

To address the contemporary injustices in the conflict between the Canadian nation state and the indigenous nations, in 2008, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established. Initially, it was only concerned with the consequences of the residential school system[1], but quickly evolved to cover a variety of consequences of colonialism in Canada. In 2015, the TRC published 94 so-called 'calls to action', which are suggestions on how the indigenous and the non-indigenous population of Canada can be reconciled. The 'calls to action' offered suggestions for revising policies and practices in a nation-wide reconciliation programme in the fields of education, child welfare, language, culture, health, and justice (Eisenberg, 2018; Government of Canada, 2019c, 2019a; Moeke-Pickering, Cote-Meek, & Pegoraro, 2018; Suzack, 2015).

The reconciliation practices of the Canadian government have been criticised for their focus on the experiences of settler-descendants as well as its non-transformative character. For example, Jung (2018) argues that because of the colonial and Christian approach to reconciliation, the practices adopted by the Canadian

---

[1] From the 1880s with the last one closing in 1996, residential schools were part of the assimilation policies by the Canadian government. In these schools, indigenous children were supposed to be taught Euro-Canadian values, which should replace indigenous identities. In the majority, these school were run by Christian missionary bodies. The education practices at these schools did enormous damage to those who experienced them through excessive workloads for students, poor diet, inadequate care, and physical punishment. Sexual, physical, and psychological abuse were frequent and resulted in further generational trauma (Miller, 2002; Stanton, 2013).

government aim to restore relationships of a time in which relations were supposedly good. However, this approach ignores the experienced history of First Peoples, because for Canada's indigenous populations there never was such an "idyllic past" (Jung, 2018, p. 253) that could "model a just future" (see also Henderson & Wakeham, 2009; Jung, 2018, p. 253). Instead, this focus on the experienced history of the settlers is another form of colonialism as it gives the power to decide which past is supposed to be restored to the majority population and not to the minority population (Henderson & Wakeham, 2009; Jung, 2018).

As a result, these reconciliation practices are criticized for looking more like assimilation of First Peoples into existing structures rather than a transformation of these structures (Bowers, 2017; Eisenberg, 2018; Henderson & Wakeham, 2009; Jung, 2018). By not challenging structural injustice and supporting the existing structures, the reconciliation practices legitimize the perceived superiority of the Canadian state rather than giving agency to the First Peoples (Bowers, 2017; Eisenberg, 2018; Henderson & Wakeham, 2009; Jung, 2018). Moreover, some scholars argue that the reconciliation program creates a sharp cut between the past and the present, efficiently undermining all criticism and activism by First People who argue that the consequence of the past still affect their lives today (Bowers, 2017; Henderson & Wakeham, 2009; Jung, 2018). This interpretation is rooted in the Christian origins of the concept of reconciliation, in which, originally, the sinner apologises for their wrong-doing and is then granted forgiveness (Jung, 2018). As a result, they get a fresh start where the wrong-doing is over and has no consequences for the future. However, this interpretation of reconciliation is criticized, because (1) the past is not over for First Peoples in Canada but is still affecting their lives. And (2) Because the Christian churches were in charge for the residential schools with the goal to assimilate Canada's indigenous population (with often very traumatic long-term effects; Eisenberg, 2018; Jung, 2018). From this, scholars argue for the necessity of incorporating indigenous spiritual concepts into Canada's reconciliation efforts to truly transform existing structures and take historical consequences into account (Eisenberg, 2018; Jung, 2018).

Another criticism of the TRC was that the perpetrators of the violence experienced by First Peoples, notably those who ran the residential schools, did not participate in the TRC events (Eisenberg, 2018). According to Eisenberg (2018), for sustainable justice, it is necessary to recognize and evaluate the agency of both, the victims and the perpetrators, which is also referred to as interactional justice (Eisenberg, 2018). Additionally to the unresolved issue of the residential school system, the reconciliation efforts by the Canadian government receive a lot of criticism concerning the issue of missing and murdered indigenous womxn (MMIW) in Canada. According to the report of the Native Women's Association (NWA) in Canada, until 2010, 582

indigenous womxn have been murdered or went missing. Moreover, according to this report, indigenous womxn in Canada are three times more likely to experience violence (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2015) and are five times more likely to die as the result of violence than non-indigenous womxn (Amnesty International, 2004). Scholars have linked the consequences of the residential school system to the violence against indigenous womxn in Canada (Stanton, 2013).

Concerning MMIW, the TRC suggests in their 41st 'call to action':

> "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." (Government of Canada, 2019b)

As a result, in 2015, the Canadian government implemented a pre-inquiry and final inquiry into the issue of MMIW, which handed in its final report in April 2019 with 231 'Calls for Justice' to work against the colonial and patriarchal roots of this violence against indigenous womxn for sustainable reconciliation (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018; The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). Despite the past criticisms of the TRC, also the inquiry into MMIW has received heavy criticisms (de Finney, 2017).

According to the NWA, the major concerns are miscommunication of important information by the inquiry to participants, lack of funding, missing after-care for traumatised participants, and the exclusion of indigenous approaches to justice and healing. However, after being criticised, there has been a formal revision of the Inquiry, that adopted indigenous approaches and spiritual practices, which has been received very positively by the participants (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018).

Additionally, and similarly to general critique on the reconciliation practices of the Canadian government, Bowers (2017) and de Finney (2017) argue that one major problem of the inquiry is its non-transformative character. The institutions trying to prevent the violence and trauma from happening to indigenous womxn are often reinforcing the structures that enable and normalise the violence and trauma in the first place (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017).

One example for the reinforcement of oppressive structures, is the contemporary childcare system in Canada. In a study by Amnesty International Canada (2004) found that indigenous children are four to six times more likely to be removed from their families and placed in foster care. While there are significant reasons to do so in some cases, the report also found that children are increasingly removed from families who want to care for them but are unable to do so because of poverty, substance abuse, and stress, for example as a result of generational trauma (Amnesty International, 2004). The last report in 2019 by the First Nations Child & Family Caring Society of

Canada (2019) highlights the lack of funding for First Nations childcare organisations, which are rooted in indigenous cultural and spiritual worldviews and societies. Additionally, the report emphasises the limited amount of funding by the Canadian government into preventative measures, such as poverty reduction or access to affordable housing for indigenous families (First Nations Child & Family Caring Society of Canada, 2019). Scholars have highlighted how these existing structures of the Canadian government to protected indigenous children, are often reproducing and normalizing violence towards indigenous peoples, and womxn in particular (de Finney, 2017). For example, a report by 'The Representative for Children and Youth' (2016) concluded that indigenous girls in foster care who are 12 or younger are four times more likely to experiences sexual violence and indigenous girls from the age 13 to 18 were two times more likely than non-indigenous girls. Scholars and Human Rights organisations alike argue that, through its assimilation based policies and funding system, the Canadian government reproduces and normalises this violence and keeps indigenous womxn knowingly in poverty (Amnesty International, 2004; de Finney, 2017; First Nations Child & Family Caring Society of Canada, 2019).

Some scholars argue, that it is necessary to transform these existing structures through more sustainable reconciliation practices or reconciliation alternatives, and that one way to do so is by incorporating ideas of a future outside of colonial nation-state images. These particularly focus on indigenous interpretations of what future could look like, which are a result of indigenous cultural and spiritual worldviews. They strongly emphasise that a structural transformation can only happen through decolonialization, which enables us to imagen a future outside of what contemporary colonial structures allow us to imagine. And these futures should strongly draw from indigenous spiritual and cultural worldviews (de Finney, 2017; Dhillon, 2015; Robertson, 2016; Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Tuck et al., 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012). However, to be able to make suggestions for how First Peoples spiritual and cultural worldviews can help to improve the reconciliation practices it is essential to understand the structures that create the violence towards indigenous womxn in Canada.

3. Theoretical perspective on the criticisms with a focus on MMIW and the importance of First Peoples spiritualities

a. *A Native feminist understanding of violence against indigenous womxn*

To understand the structures resulting in indigenous womxn in Canada experiencing more violence than non-indigenous womxn and how First Peoples' spirituality is related to possible solutions, I will focus primarily on native feminism (Arvin et al., 2013; de Finney, 2017; Smith, 2008; Suzack, 2015). Native feminism is

also sometimes referred to as indigenous feminism (Knobblock & Kuokkanen, 2015). In this paper, I mainly use the term native feminism as including indigenous feminism.

Native feminism is concerned with a theoretical understanding of the interrelations between the political struggles of indigenous peoples for self-determination and decolonialization, and the struggles of indigenous womxn for gender equality and social justice (Knobblock & Kuokkanen, 2015; Suzack, 2015). Native feminism focuses especially on systemic forms of oppression (Suzack, 2015). In doing so, native feminists try to build theoretical solutions to the question of how to build non-indigenous and indigenous governance institutions that are not reproducing colonial and patriarchal structures, which keep indigenous womxn in fear of violence (Knobblock & Kuokkanen, 2015; Suzack, 2015). Patriarchal structures exist not only in the wider societies, but also in indigenous communities, where indigenous womxn often feel paternalized (Knobblock & Kuokkanen, 2015). Thus, in contrast to other feminist approaches, such as for example post-colonial or liberal feminism, native feminism not only fights for gender equality, but also for a collective self-determination of indigenous peoples. This means, native feminism is also concerned with nation- and community-building (Bowers, 2017; Knobblock & Kuokkanen, 2015).

The role and aim of native feminism also have to be seen in their historical context. Scholars such as de Finney (2017), have pointed out that First Peoples womxn historically were (and still are) essential to the intergenerational transmission of culture in most First Peoples communities. Consequently, they held important social positions in their communities. In the open and later latent wars against the First Peoples, womxn were specifically targeted with violent force, and later suppressive policies, such as the Indian Act. Native feminists often point to the colonial, heteropatriarchal policies as a tool to stop the transmission of culture by changing the role of indigenous womxn in First Peoples communities (Bowers, 2017; Buddle, 2008; de Finney, 2017). Heteropatriarchy in Native Feminism describes a system in which heterosexual and patriarchal structures and values are perceived as the norm. In a heteropatriarchal society the man is apprehended as the center and leader of the society and womxn are supposed to be subordinate (Arvin et al., 2013). All deviating approaches such as egalitarian societies or different gender roles are perceived as 'abnormal', where 'abnormal' structures and values have to be eliminated (Arvin et al., 2013).

Dawn Martin-Hill (2003) summarizes these colonial heteropatriarchal influences and their policies in the concept of 'She No Speaks' that portraits the traditional indigenous womxn as silent and obedient to male authority. Such a re-conceptualization of the indigenous womxn offered a corrosive tool to the settler state to effectively prevent handing down of First Peoples cultures. According to de Finney (2017), the image of She No Speaks is still reinforced in today's Canadian

society. The representation of indigenous womxn as She No Speaks is one major reason for the amount of gendered violence against indigenous womxn, which the inquiry and reconciliation efforts are trying to battle (de Finney, 2017). Moreover, indigenous womxn and girls, as a result of the stereotype of She No Speaks, are rarely included by Canadian institutions in action trying to find solutions for these problems (de Finney, 2017). This is especially harmful, as cultural and spiritual practices to prevent and respond to violence in First Peoples communities have been compromised by colonial policies and the internalization of the harmful stereotype of She No Speaks (de Finney, 2017).

Additionally, Bowers(2017), Suzack (2015), and Buddle (2008) describe how First Peoples womxn within indigenous activism are silenced because of the internalization of the concept of She No Speaks in indigenous communities. Suzack (2015) defines these processes as 'active silence', where active silence refers to a phenomenon in which the experiences and struggles of indigenous womxn within indigenous activism are overlooked and dismissed. One common argument is, for example, that a focus on gender injustice would dismantle the broader indigenous activism against the injustice by settlers and settler descendants (despite the fact that gender injustice was, in fact, oftentimes imposed on the community by settler policies). Consequently, First Peoples womxn are effectively silenced despite their participation in political activism (Suzack, 2015), a process I will refer to in this thesis as 'She Not Heard' inspired by Martin-Hill's (2003) She No Speaks.

Moreover, until today, indigenous womxn are object to image-making by other (mostly non-indigenous) actors, where First Peoples womxn are often misrepresented (Ginsburg, 2008). These misrepresentations, for example, depict indigenous womxn as either an exotic princess (e.g, the story of 'Pocahontas') or the savage squaw (e.g., the movie 'Dances with the Wolves' or the fashion line 'DSquaw'). Misrepresentation of indigenous peoples, in general, and First Peoples womxn, in particular, are still steeped in the language of conquest and colonization and these depicted stereotypes still actively harm indigenous people (Alia, 2010; Ginsburg, 2008; P. Wilson & Stewart, 2008). Therefore, I argue that indigenous womxn are not only 'She No Speaks' and 'She Not Heard', but also 'She Not Seen' where there is no diverse and realistic depictions of who they really are. And in turn, such misrepresentations in colonial terms result in the reproduction of violence towards indigenous womxn.

In summary, First Peoples womxn experience more violence in part because they experience structural opposition in the form of: (1) She No Speaks (active and internalized colonial heteropatriarchy), (2) She Not Heard (active silencing in indigenous activism) and (3) She Not Seen (modern misrepresentation of indigenous womxn as the sexualized exotic or savage submissive).

In a response to these three major criticisms of societal mechanisms propagating violence towards indigenous womxn in Canada, the image of First Peoples womxn has to be transformed. As a theoretical framework I propose in this paper to bring together three progressive responses of (1) 'She Speaks', a deep-rooted cultural and policy shift to re-center womxn as important community leaders who are equal to men. She Speaks womxn can, literally, speak their mind, voice their opinions, and their voices are given equal importance to male voices. (2) 'She Is Heard' refers to womxn whose experiences and voices are given equal attention within indigenous activism. Their concerns are accepted as valid and are incorporated into indigenous activism as equally important aspect of decolonialization. And (3) 'She Is Seen' refers to the representation of indigenous womxn in culture, narratives, and media in all their diversity and strength.

According to Bowers (2017), in order to dismantle the systemic violence against First Peoples womxn in their own communities, indigenous societies have to practice cultural resurgence. Cultural resurgence, for Bowers (2017), refers to daily practices of traditional cultural and spiritual rituals that re-center and re-value indigenous womxn in every aspect of their communities. As a result, First Peoples strengthen their self-identity rooted in indigenous traditions and spiritualities[2] (Bowers, 2017). In extension, native feminist scholars argues that it is critical to revitalize indigenous cultural and spiritual practices and structures to strengthen the position of indigenous womxn in their communities as well as in the general society (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017).

For de Finney (2017) and Bowers (2017), this resurgence is best done by strengthening the spiritual connection between indigenous womxn and their ancestral territories. Ancestral territories have been established as being essential to First Peoples worldviews and general well-being, a process de Finney (2017) calls 'place interconnectedness'. Place interconnectedness describes how multiple aspects of daily life for First Nations are dependent on a spiritual connection with their ancestral territories. Through displacements of the indigenous populations for resource extraction, these spiritual and cultural links have been damaged (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017). Native feminists argue that ownership over ancestral territories is a crucial part in fostering economic self-determination but also cultural and spiritual sovereignty and resilience to cope with historic and contemporary trauma and violence (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017; Suzack, 2015).

---

[2] It is important to note here, that there is no such thing as First Peoples spirituality. The worldviews of indigenous womxn are as diverse as there their Nations (Ramirez, 2007). However, scholars have often emphasized that the majority of First Peoples spiritualities share a focus on the territories they occupy during their creation (Miller, 2002).

And also, more concretely, in the battle against violence towards indigenous womxn and girls, Native Feminists have highlighted the spiritual connection to the land. Native Feminism draws a direct connection between the colonialization of indigenous territories and indigenous female bodies (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017; Knobblock & Kuokkanen, 2015; Suzack, 2015). In consequence, scholars such as Suzack (2015) and de Finney (2017) argue that for sustainable healing the spiritual link between land and womxn needs to be restored. This requires a transformation of existing structures in the Canadian nation state as well as in indigenous communities, because indigenous cultures, languages, and spritualties have historically been prohibited and punished and are still shamed. Additionally, heteropatriarchal values and structures have been imposed onto First Peoples, which resulted in the devaluation of indigenous womxn in the Canadian society, but also in First Peoples communities (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017; Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018; Suzack, 2015).

Therefore, She No Speak, She Not Heard, and She Not Seen can potentially be transformed into She Speaks, She Is Heard, and She Is Seen through activism focused on cultural resurgence and a focus on spiritual place interconnectedness.

b. Ontological approach

Similarly to native feminist scholars, such as Smith (2003, 2008) and Arvin et al. (2013), who argue that to transform the existing colonial and heteropatriarchal structures it is necessary to revitalize indigenous interpretation of gender roles and family networks, Wilson (2017) and Blaser (2009a, 2009b, 2013) emphasize that to understand local, structural injustice, we have to listen to the stories from the people affected by the injustice. Wilson (2017) calls this 'ontological justice', a concept based on Blaser (2009a, 2009b, 2013) ontological approach.

The ontological approach in cultural anthropology is concerned with reality-making and what is considered 'real' or what 'exists' (Crook, 2014; Goriunova, 2016; Jensen, 2014). Blaser (2012) argues that, different from a culture, an ontology is not a mere interpretation of the one world that we all inhabit. Instead, all humans live in different worlds, meaning ontologies. Cultures and cultural practices are just one way of how ontologies are expressed and conceptualized (Blaser, 2009a, 2009b, 2012). For example, a building can be a spiritual place for some people, while for others it is just shelter. However, the ontological approach emphasizes that the place in different ontologies *actually exists* as spiritual place and shelter at the same time.

Moreover, Blaser (2012) emphasizes that the ontological approach is political because not all ontologies are perceived as equal. The so-called Eurocentric, western ontologies are perceived as being the only 'real' one and all other ontologies are perceived as mere interpretations of this 'real one' (Blaser, 2012; Cameron, de Leeuw,

& Desbiens, 2014). Wilson (2017) refers to this imbalance as ontological injustice. Ontological justice, according to Wilson (2017), can only be achieved if all ontologies are accepted as equal. To do so, people have to become 'fluent' in multiple ontologies, like we are fluent in multiple languages. To become fluent in different ontologies, Blaser (2012) argues that we have to listen to stories and narratives by people from that ontology.

Therefore, I argue that in order to find sustainable solutions to violence indigenous womxn experience and in extension more sustainable justice (and reconciliation), we have to understand the ontological reality as well as the structural and systemic power dynamics between the indigenous ontologies and the dominant Canadian ontologies. To do so, we have to listen not only to institutions but most importantly to the stories of indigenous peoples on the grassroots level and understand how their ontological spiritualties shape their stories and solutions.

c. *Social Media and grassroots voices*

One way for indigenous peoples at the grassroots level to voice their critique and alternatives (and consequently for academics to hear them), is through media output by indigenous actors. Indigenous media is defined as "forms of media expressions conceptualized, produced, and/or created by Indigenous peoples across the globe"(P. Wilson & Stewart, 2008, p. 2).

In recent years, the number of people who own technological devices, such as mobile phones, and have access to the internet in Canada have significantly increased. Nonetheless, not all indigenous peoples in Canada have access to internet. Especially in remote areas such as Arctic Canada, access to internet is still difficult. Despite these differences in access, generally speaking, more and more indigenous peoples have access to the internet (Alia, 2010; P. Wilson & Stewart, 2008). And although this increase in access to media also exposed more indigenous people to stereotypical depictions of indigenous peoples, and of indigenous womxn in particular, this process has sparked a steep increase of online activism for decolonialization and indigenous self-determination in Canada (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018). This process is part of a larger, global development, which Alia (2010) has defined as the 'New Media Nation'. The New Media Nation refers to the global emergence of indigenous owned and -led media, which is independent from colonial institutions. Additionally, it describes the increasing international exchange between different indigenous populations through media, which can result in the global coordination of indigenous activism (Alia, 2010). In general, media in the New Media Nation is used to rewrite and present history and culture from an indigenous point of view, which can also be used for activist purposes (Alia, 2010; Ginsburg, 2008; P. Wilson & Stewart, 2008). Especially increasing access to the internet creates a boom in online activism (Alia, 2010; P. Wilson & Stewart,

2008). As such, indigenous media became an important tool for indigenous self-representation (P. Wilson & Stewart, 2008).

In her work, Buddle (2008) highlights how First Peoples womxn use media to confront harmful stereotypes in the wider Canadian public, but also within their own communities. Indigenous womxn in Canada employ different forms of media to expose their audience to a variety of ways they can be indigenous womxn. They are effectively "refunctioning" (Buddle, 2008, p. 131) the roles of indigenous womxn and express and represent their lived experiences with cultural practices, spiritual beliefs, and images. As a result, they create new possibilities for indigenous womxn in Canada and greater mobility between different roles (Buddle, 2008).

According to Moeke-Pickering et al. (2018), Social Media has become the norm for portraying and asserting indigenous perspectives and self-determination. Social Media is particularly suited for indigenous activism within the New Media Nation, because, contrary to traditional media, on social media there are not gatekeepers who control the media content. And in consequence, indigenous activists have the possibility to raise awareness for their situation (Ginsburg, 2008; Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018). Additionally, the internet, and social media in particular, enable even remote actors and communities to reach a vast and global audience for their issues and connect with other activists from all around the world (Ginsburg, 2008). As a result, the TRC in Canada uses Twitter to inform its audience about events, issues surrounding indigenous peoples in Canada and the world, as well as about help concerning trauma (NTRC, 2010); but it is also a platform for indigenous peoples to voice their opinion about the NTRC as an institution and reconciliation practices more generally.

Twitter in particular has become the indigenous activist tool of choice in recent years (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018). This is especially the case, because not only does Twitter allow its users to post independently from any gatekeepers, but Twitter also gives its users the feeling of being part of a community. According to Gruzd et al. (2011), Twitter gives its users a sense of community, because it gives them the experience of belonging to a network, that they can make a difference in that community they are supported by, and that they can support other members of the community, and that they share similar experiences. As a result, Twitter is more and more used for collaborations and conversations within one network but also between networks (Gruzd et al., 2011). This sense of community on Twitter is especially suitable for political activism, because it allows members of one network to share their experiences or political issues, for example concerned with reconciliation practices, with a variety of connected individuals (Hodges & Stocking, 2016).

Additionally, Twitter is very suitable for political activism, because it allows its users to share and interact with other users they are not formally connected with, meaning independent from formal rules and hierarchies. As a consequence, Twitter allows users to expand their reach. Additionally, it gives its individual users the potential to participate, interpret, and add to political movements and concepts (Hodges & Stocking, 2016).

The use of Twitter as an activist tool in the context of MMIW is best illustrated by a study by Moeke-Pickering et al. (2018) about the influence of Twitter on the inquiry into MMIW. At the beginning, the inquiry was very much structured like court room hearings. However, participants wished for the inclusion of First Peoples spiritual and cultural practices for healing purposes. Inspired by NWA, Twitter users started calling for inclusion of First Peoples spiritual and cultural practices into the inquiry under the hashtags #MMIW, #MMIWG, and #inquiry (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018). The inquiry listened to these suggestions and incorporated more indigenous practices into the inquiry, effectively changing reconciliation practices (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018).

Moeke-Pickering et al. (2018) conclude that Social Media has become a tool for indigenous peoples to take control over the representation of their lived realities and political agendas. Additionally, they emphasize the potential of Social Media platforms such as Twitter in influencing societal views of indigenous peoples. Moreover, they highlight how Social Media can be a tool for healing for the families of victims of violence, because it can make them feel heard (Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018).

Because Twitter became a tool for First Peoples to voice their opinions and concerns as they experience them in their ontological realities, I argue that Twitter is among the most suitable environments to study grassroots opinions and approaches to MMIW.

4. Case Study: ReMatriate Collective and the concept of rematriation

As shown above, to find sustainable solutions for the short-comings of current reconciliation practices in Canada concerned with MMIW, we have to look for solutions from indigenous womxn for indigenous womxn. In recent years, the concept of rematriation as an indigenous solution to reconciliation practices concerned with missing and murdered indigenous womxn became more popular.

The term was originally coined by the ReMatriate Collective in 2015. The ReMatriate Campaign, now ReMatriate Collective, was founded by the Vuntut Gwitchin artist Jeneen Frei-Njootli (Frei-Njootli, 2017), Kelly Edzerza-Bapty (Tahltan Nation), and Denver Lynxleg (Tootinaowaziibeeng First Nation) as a reaction to the cultural appropriation of indigenous womxn in the fashion industry (Edzerza-Bapty &

Lynxleg, 2016). The ReMatriate Collective started as an art project that uses social media (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and Tumblr) to reclaim identities of indigenous womxn by representing diverse, traditional, and contemporary identities. Indigenous womxn all over Canada can send their pictures to the ReMatriate Collective, which publishes them on their Social Media sites. Each picture is provided with a 'WE ARE' caption that highlights the diverse identities of indigenous womxn. The collective chose the term ReMatriate as a word play on repatriation to highlight the centrality of indigenous womxn to their communities, for example in the forms of matriarchs or matrilineal kinships (@ReMatriate, 2015; Edzerza-Bapty & Lynxleg, 2016; McMahon, 2015; ReMatriateCampaign, n.d.-a, n.d.-b). After a successful start of the campaign, the concept of ReMatriate started to evolve into the much wider concept of rematriation.

As some examples, the concept of rematriation has been applied to research methodology (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Tuck & Yang, 2018), activism concerning seed repatriation (White, 2018), land repatriation (Newcomb, 1995), or as an indigenous approach to the #metoo movement (Rematriation, 2018).

In its general idea, rematriation refers to the recentralization of indigenous womxn as spiritual backbones and the land in form of mother earth in indigenous communities, but it also explicitly criticizes misrepresentations of indigenous identities, in particular of indigenous womxn (Bazinet, 2016). As such, the concept of rematriation addresses all the issues of She No Speaks, She Not Heard, and She Not Seen and offers solutions by emphasising traditional indigenous practices and identities as well as re-centralisation of spiritual connections with the land. Consequently, the main question of this thesis is to investigate the development of the concept of rematriation and its potential for reconciliation practices in Canada.

Therefore, the research questions for the case study following sections are:

To what extent and how does the grass-roots concept of rematriation contribute to reconciliation efforts concerned with structural violence issues, such as MMIW in Canada?

With the following sub-questions:

1. What are the origins and development of the concept of rematriation?
2. What are the most common targets of rematriation?
3. How do First Nation spiritualities influence the concept of rematriation and its applications?

a. Methodology

This master thesis applies decolonial and indigenous research methods. Therefore, I will, firstly, offer a short discussion of these methodologies and the issues

they try to resolve. Thereafter, I will, secondly, highlight how these methodologies shape this thesis.

Decolonial theory is concerned with how power structures privilege and normalize western worldviews, institutions, and forms of governance as a result of the colonial past. Under those circumstances, decolonial theory argues for deconstructing colonial worldviews and hierarchies to achieve equity (Mignolo, 2009). Similar to ontological injustice, decolonial theories criticize the reproduction of the prioritization of western forms of reality-making (or ontologies) over non-western forms. As a result, these non-western ontologies are devaluated (some feminists would say patronized) and not taken into consideration. This happens through stereotyping non-western societies (e.g., African education being perceived as being of lower standard than the European or North-American education) or neo-colonial practices resulting in power hierarchies with western nation-states on the top (e.g., only assigning white scholars from western Universities as experts in their fields). Decolonial theory argues for a deconstruction of colonial and western structures to reach an ontological equality (Grosfoguel, 2011; Mignolo, 2009).

One of the many fields of application for decolonial theory is knowledge production. Within knowledge production, decolonial theory criticizes the normalization of western epistemologies, such as the notion of an 'objective truth'. Decolonial theorists argue that scholars can never be objective or universal, because they always bring with them their background, which influences the questions asked as well as the analytical tools employed. Therefore, decolonial scholars argue for academics to reflect on their background and make these reflections transparent in their work. Additionally, decolonial theorists question the dominance of western knowledge production centers in the process of theorizing. They argue for an opening of our theoretical canon of knowledge to theories from a variety of backgrounds (Grosfoguel, 2011; Kovach, 2009; Mignolo, 2009; Tarusarira, 2018; Tuck, 2009; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

One methodological approach which applies decolonial concepts are indigenous methodologies. Indigenous scholars created this methodological approach as a direct response to negative experiences with research conducted on and with indigenous populations. Every Nation in Canada has their own guidelines, but the majority of them are based on the OCAP principles, which were created by Brian Schnarch for the First Peoples Centre, National Health Organization in 2004. OCAP stands for the *ownership* and *control* by indigenous peoples over data concerning them,

as well as *access* to and *possession* of research with that data. In general, the OCAP principles emphasize the agency of indigenous communities and communal forms of ownership over cultural knowledge (Kovach, 2009). For researchers, the OCAP principles formulate a clear set of guidelines: the data and knowledge are collectively owned by the indigenous communities and, as a result, researchers need to collaborate with the communities from the start of the project. This also means for academics to establish together with the indigenous communities whether the research is relevant and potentially beneficial for them (Kovach, 2009). The OCAP principles are not the only application of indigenous methodologies. Yet, given that in this project I only used publicly available data, the OCAP principles are the methodological guidelines applied together with the decolonial methods of reflexivity of my own background and a balanced approach to the theories and sources used.

In this thesis, based on decolonial and indigenous methodology, I am transparent of my personal background and reflect on how it influences my research approach as well as my analysis. Moreover, I am conscious of existing power structures within the academic knowledge canon. To ensure balance, I actively include theories and approaches by indigenous scholars into my work. Lastly, to ensure the relevance of my project and analysis, I am collaborating with the ReMatriate Collective.

b. *Research Strategy*

This thesis is concerned mainly with the development of the concept of rematriation and what it can offer reconciliation practices in Canada in regard to MMIW. In detail, the data collection and analysis of this thesis aims to (1) investigate the development of the concept of rematriation, (2) its conjunction with spirituality, and (3) their potential for reconciliation practices in Canada.

To understand what the concept of rematriation refers to, in this thesis, I analyze two data sets. The first one is an interview by the 'ReMatriate Collective' with the 'Red Man Laughing' podcast in 2015. The analysis of this interview shows us what the ReMatriate Collective originally wanted to achieve. The second data set consists of Twitter tweets from 14th of April 2015, when ReMatriate Collective first tweeted, to the 25th of May 2018, when this data was collected. This data sets includes all tweets with the hashtags #rematriation, #rematriate, as well as the Twitter account @ReMatriate.

This data set allows me, firstly, to get an **overview** of how the concept of **rematriation** evolved over time, meaning which aspects are most influential and whether these changed over time. Secondly, it enables me to analyze how the concept responded to certain events, such as the active TRC efforts, the MMIW pre-inquiry, or the inquiry into MMIW from 2016.

Moreover, I can analyze in more detail, how important **spirituality and place interconnectedness** are in the concept of rematriation by looking at:

- how often they appear overall,
- how consistently they are referred to over the years,
- what they are mostly associated with
- whether their use reacted to certain events such as the TRC or pre- and inquiry into MMIW

Additionally, I can have a specific look at how rematriation reacts to MMIW and **reconciliation** practices in Canada by looking at:

- what both, MMIW and reconciliation, are mostly associated with in the tweets,
- how these associated themes change over time or after events,
- how much they are associated with indigenous solutions,
- and how much they are associate with spirituality.

The two data sets were coded with Atlas.ti 8 and visualized with R (R Core Team, 2014). The data sets were analyzed with a mix of deductive coding (concept- or theory driven coding) and inductive coding (data driven or open coding). A mixed approach to coding allows me to structurally focus on the main research questions (deductive coding), but to also account for the exploratory character of this study and ensure that the voices of the 'research subjects' actively inform the conclusions of this thesis (inductive coding).

The deductive codes are created on the basis of the theoretical literature and include the following terms: *Rematriation, ReMatriate Collective, Reconciliation, MMIW, land, indigenous womxn, spirituality, patriarchy, feminism, appropriation, culture, indigenous solutions, media, news,* and *peace/conflict transformation.*

Lastly, it is important (to me) to talk about the difficulties in coding spirituality and how I approached this problem. The concepts of 'spirituality' and 'religion' defy any universal definition (Cheer, Belhassen, & Kujawa, 2017). Their interpretations depend on the individual as well as cultural background of the interpreter (Schlehofer, Omoto, & Adelman, 2008). Consequently, my Christian European background shapes what I understand spirituality to be and how I code it.

To avoid an entirely Christian European reading of indigenous spiritualties, I apply the theoretical conceptualization of spiritual experiences by Schlehofer, Omoto, and Adelman (2008). Schlehofer et al.'s (2008) conceptualization is inspired by Hills et al.'s (Hill et al., 2000) theory and is based on their qualitative study with 64 participants.

Schlehofer, Omoto, and Adelman (2008) conceptualized spirituality in four categories: (1) the characteristic of and relationship with a spiritual entity (the concept of the sacred); (2) the realization of spiritual values (the search for the sacred); (3) reaching non-spiritual goals (search for the non-sacred); (4) and the importance of the spiritual rituals and practices (methods of searching for the sacred). Schlehofer, Omoto, and Adelman (2008) introduce further sub-groups for each category, which can be seen here in this table by Schlehofer, Omoto, and Adelman. In the data sets, I coded *spirituality* in line with these categories.

Category Code	Subcategory Code	Key Features
Search for the sacred	Personal beliefs	Spiritual or religious beliefs mentioned, such as belief or faith in God / Higher Power / the divine / personal values, view of God, etc.
	Questioning beliefs	Doubting religious or spiritual beliefs, making choices as to beliefs, mystery and uncertainty surrounding beliefs
	Religious meaning	Having or striving to gain meaning or maintaining meaning of God / Higher Power, etc.
	Self-discovery	Adapting meaning of God / Higher Power, etc. in response to self-discovery.
	Oneness	Feeling or experience of connectedness / relationship / oneness with God / Christ / Higher Power; experiencing sacred.
	Integration	Integrating one's own values or beliefs about the sacred with behaviour in daily life; following the divine's will in one's life; commitment to following God's plan; path to God; God working to guide or control your life, etc.
	Concern	A form of integration manifesting itself in concern for others; aimed at obtaining a better world; altruistic motives embedded in a sacred context; care for others; putting religious beliefs into practice by helping others; demonstrating God's love to others.
	Life meaning	Religion as a source of meaning in one's life, defining who you are.
Search for the non-sacred	Good feelings	Aimed at attaining a desirable inner affective state such as comfort, anxiety reduction, security, safety, etc. either now or after death; using knowledge of the sacred to provide solace and comfort.
	Control	Having, or striving to gain, control over problems or ability to solve problems in one's life.

	Negative means	Using knowledge of sacred for negative means or ends such as: feeling superior to others; religious-based conflict; an excuse to avoid personal responsibility.
	Growth	Aimed at obtaining personal growth; improving yourself from having contact with the sacred.
	Self-esteem	Hope and positive self-outlook; self-esteem; enjoyment in life.
	Affiliation	Finding affiliation; social support; friendship; sense of community; social identification; etc. with other followers of one's faith.
	Political mobilization	Using knowledge of the sacred as a force of political mobilization (e.g., church communities organizing together in protest).
Method of searching for the sacred	Nonorganizationally based	Personal, either private or public (unorganized) worship or practices such as prayer, Bible reading, meditation, watching religious TV programming, listening to religious music on the radio, etc.
	Organizationally based	Organizational practices, rituals, or activities such as attendance at services, performance of rituals (including marriages, baptisms, etc.).
	Codes of conduct	Commitment to organizational beliefs or adherence to institutionally-based belief systems or dogma; organizational form of faith; following a code of conduct, rules, or teachings.

(Schlehofer et al., 2008, pp. 416–417)

c. Data description

Before I offer an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the data I collected, I will offer some general descriptive remarks on the data.

The first data I analyzed is an interview with the ReMatriate Collective founders Jeneen Frei-Njootli (Frei-Njootli, 2017), Kelly Edzerza-Bapty (Tahltan Nation), and Denver Lynxleg (Tootinaowaziibeeng First Nation). On the 4th of May 2015, the three womxn sat down in a 01:34 hour interview for the Red Man Laughing podcast. The podcast is hosted and produced by Ryan McMahon (Anishinaabe/Metis) who is based out of Treaty #1 Territory (Winnipeg, MB). The podcast is discussing world events from an indigenous perspective as well as covering development within the indigenous communities in Canada (McMahon, n.d.). The interview is publicly available at: https://www.redmanlaughing.com/listen/rematriate. I transcribed the full interview (559 words) using the program temi (https://www.temi.com/) and coded the content

using the pre-defined coding strategies. I ultimately used 7 of the 15 deductive codes and 82 inductive codes (total of 54 codes).

The second data set I collected, was a collection of all publicly available Twitter messages using the predefined search-terms. I collected three types of Twitter messages: (1) 'Tweets' (original message of up to 280 characters), (2) Retweets (commented or uncommented shares of a Tweet by someone else), and (3) Replies (comments to a Tweet or Retweet). Any form of Twitter message can consist of free text, emojis, links, question polls, GIFs, photos, and/or videos. In my coding I mostly focused on the written text and hashtags (topic or indexing words indicated by a '#' symbol), however also included the emoji or media content in the code if it was important to the content of the tweet. In total, this data set consists of 1258 tweets, which were all coded. Of the 15 deductive codes, except for *peace/conflict transformation*, all codes appeared in the data set and were among the strongest. The remaining 112 codes were created with an inductive approach during the open coding process.

Across both data sets there are a couple of codes that warrant some further explanatory remarks.

The code *news* does not code the content of the tweet but rather refers to the intend and information quality of the tweet. Tweets coded as *news* usually refer to the ReMatriate Collective as news. *News* includes tweets which give no further (original) information about the Collective or connected topics and only give information about its existence. An example is a tweet by Northern Journal:

"Northern Journal @Northernjournal · 5 May 201 5

Northern-sparked 'ReMatriate' campaign takes on cultural appropriation - Northern Journal"

This tweet, and many like it, includes information about the ReMatriate Collective and its intentions. Therefore, it was also coded with *culture* and *appropriation* and is taken into the analysis of the overall approach of the concept of rematriation.

Other tweets which include only information about the Collective without further information about its approach, are only coded with *news* and are not taken into consideration for the overall approach of the concept of rematriation. An example would be:

"NCTR @NCTR_UM · Jan 1 5   V

#ReMatriate opens first ever gallery show at Arts Underground buff.ly/2DckpgU #lndigenousAr"

The code *event*, often used in combination with *news*, refers to the mentioning of events which had any kind of connection with the concept of rematriation. These events can have rematriation as topic:

"CanadaHub @canadahubfringe · 14 Aug 2017

TODAY at 4:45, @ArticleEleven host @Maraclelee for their "ask an elder" event as part of DECLARATION: Rematriation. Very limited capacity!"

Or can be hosted by the ReMatriate Collective:

"ReMatriate @ReMatriate · 23 Nov 2016

Tomorrow night join us at Western Front in Vancouver!!"

The code *event* also refers to tweets describing events independent from the concept of rematriation, which were later described by the person tweeting with the hashtag #rematriation or #rematriate:

"nupqu7ak+am @Skink00ts · 17 Jun 2017

I am so proud of my amazing partner inimin paikiy! Her dance performance tonight was so inspiring. My heart is full. #rematriate"

The code *calls to action* refers to tweets that include a demand to act by the reader of the tweet. It is important to note that this code does not necessarily relate to the 94 calls for action of the TRC or the 231 calls for justice of the MMIWG inquiry.

"DrMJW @DrMJW 30 Oct 2016

#Rematriate. Do not wear Indigenous regalia unless you are Indigenous and understand the significance. Attend Pow Wows too learn. #respect"

The majority of these tweets, but not all, include the hashtag #rematriate:

"ReMatriate @ReMatriate · 12 Oct 2016

All Halloween costume stores need to pull racist "costumes" from the shelves. Why is this still ok? We are not a costume, we are a people."

The code *critical* refers to tweets that criticize something:

"Robin M. La'a ◊ @RoknRob121 · 27 Jun 2016

Time to restore balance into dis world #Rematriate! ! ! 100 #Str8N8v4LYF Style"

"Joanne Hammond @KamloopsArchaeo · Mar 12

Yes this land rematriation is gonna cost a LOT, so Canada & provinces should probably split the bill with the firms & institutions that have made wealth from them - looking at you, resource extraction companies / banks / realty boards / agrifood (yep)"

The code *chat* refers to all retweets replying to another Twitter account:

"pete langman @elegantfowl · 21 Jul 201 7

Replying to @SirGuyGuisborne @sadiehasler VV

Less a defence than - I wanted to say repatriation but rematriation may be more appropriate. May I say you cunted that one out of the park?"

Tweets coded with *chat* that include information about the concept of rematriation, such as this, are included into the analysis. This tweet was also coded with the code *repatriation*, as it includes information about the relationship between those two concepts.

Other tweets coded with *chat* include no further information about the approach of rematriation and are, therefore, not taken into consideration for the analysis:

"N.Chambers @ChambersNadine · 3 Oct 2017

 I would have shot to heaven if I were in the crowd for this one. Sia and Maggie can sit quietly now . . . #rematriate"

Data set: Interview ReMatriate Collective at the Red Man Laughing Podcast
        The analysis of the interview aims to gain a better understanding of the initial definition, motives, and intentions of the term rematriation. The interview consisted of three conceptual and topical elements that define the original meaning of the term rematriation: (1) resistance against cultural appropriation in fashion, (2) reclaiming and presentation of indigenous womxn identities to indigenous and non-indigenous communities, and (3) the potential of social media for indigenous activism.

1. Resistance against cultural appropriation in fashion
        The main focus of the ReMatriate Collective when they started in 2015 was to resist against cultural appropriation of indigenous womxn in the mainstream fashion industry by sharing images of indigenous womxn as they are in realty. In particular, the DSquaw clothing line stirred Jeneen Frei-Njootli, Kelly Edzerza-Bapty, and Denver Lynxleg to create the ReMatriate Collective:

"[The creation of the ReMatriate Collective is a reaction to] a lot of the current trend, the indigenous or the tribal trend that's happening in fashion right now [···] and in starting this collective [we want] to kind of create a positive [indigenous] identity that's created through our own lens and our own hand, and in trying to show what a contemporary identity is for indigenous womxn [is] representing the diverse cultures that exist across Canada."

DSquaw refers to a clothing line by the Canadian label DSquared2, which is supposedly inspired by indigenous culture and fashion. However, indigenous people perceived both the name as well as the style of the clothing line as appropriation. Similarly, the ReMatriate Collective also explicitly discusses their initial aim of protection of indigenous cultures from appropriation in a more direct manner:

"And I mean, I think that the images being stolen, the patterns, the design and, basically our culture being stolen and turned into something that it's not, it's been going on for generations, starting with the land and then our Regalia and our artifacts stolen and it's just been happening over time. And this [cultural appropriation] is just another level of it."

With their campaign the collective wants to work against this appropriation of indigenous cultures, by displaying the diversity within indigenous cultures in their online campaign and by encouraging non-indigenous peoples to draw from their own ancestral culture:

"So, you know, [the ReMatriate Collective is] just letting people know that what they're doing is appropriating, is appropriating indigenous culture and that they're appropriating from a specific indigenous culture and it's not something that's homogenous and just encouraged them to draw from their own ancestral lineage, their own backgrounds and cultures."

2. Reclaiming and presentation of indigenous womxn identities to indigenous and non-indigenous communities

The ReMatriate Collective not only sees cultural appropriation as one of the major problems for indigenous communities. The Collective also highlights the harmful consequences of negative stereotypes of indigenous womxn for their communities. Therefore, the Collective wants to empower indigenous womxn to take back their agency in how they are represented by giving them the platform to present themselves:

"And if we want to kind of really step back from that, you know, misrepresentation, where people are continually, designers are continually appropriating our imagery, I think that the best form for us to kind of take back that identity is to actually come out and represent ourselves and our own cultures."

Additionally, the Collective emphasizes in the interview that the project is not only intended to present indigenous womxn towards the Canadian mainstream but that one major audience they hope to reach are indigenous communities. The Collective emphasize that they see a need to strengthen indigenous communities for the future. One of the major problems the Collective emphasizes is the struggle of indigenous communities with patriarchy:

> "[…] the way things are today in terms of like, yeah, just what's been happening with like indigenous woman, because patriarchy when it came over here like that was, that was the way to destroy our communities, was to take women from their place of power and like disempower them […] with patriarchy."

The Collective emphasizes that the internalization of patriarchy is especially harmful to indigenous communities, because indigenous womxn historically played an important part in their communities. Consequently, one goal of the ReMatriate Collective is to restore this balance:

> "So, ReMatriate is all about depicting our whims, the original, like the historical state that we were and where we were on par with the men. We were the strength behind our chiefs, [we] were the backbone of the family system. Our societies worked so well because of the women and we were the strength […] behind our men."

To restore this balance in indigenous communities, indigenous womxn have to be a part of the solutions and processes aiming for this restoration:

> "It's about finding that balance in how we carry our communities' forwards and make sure that, you know, we ensure for generations that we're able to survive in our landscape and that we're creating a healthy environment to be able to do so. So we look specifically at this process and then creating that space for women to have the voice in that as well."

3. The potential of social media for indigenous activism

The ReMatriate Collective also expresses how the technological development in recent years, in particular the internet, has given indigenous peoples tools to represent themselves and to reach a wide audience with it.

> "[…] we want to take control over how we're represented. And I think one of the reasons why we first gravitated towards using social media platforms is that that's often how our images are now circulating."

Therefore, they believe Social Media to be the best tool at the moment to reach a wide audience with their images:

"And you know, we've never had as much access as we do right now to kind of, to those realms of communication. And I think that, you know, when we look at indigenous communities and kind of contemporary communications, it's a lot faster than, you know, Canadian government or kind of, you know, written textbook or any of those can catch up to us. And that we're creating, you know, quite actively our present state, and representing it through digital mediums and to, you know, a lot of, a lot of present work that is happening in community to represent who we are and our true history and our identities that, you know, for generations have been covered up and misrepresented. And, you know, we are kind of at that point and saying, enough is enough."

So, in summary, the ReMatriate Collective originally focused on the cultural appropriation in the fashion industry. The goal of the Collective was to take back the agency of indigenous womxn in how their identities are represented, in their own communities as well as in the wider Canadian public. In the original idea, land and spirituality played only minor roles. The Collective perceived Social Media as the most effective tool to reach that change, because it is widely available and because they experience it to be influential on the opinions about indigenous identities.

Data set: Twitter
The aim of this second data set is to establish the most important themes of the concept of rematriation and how the concept relates to reconciliation and spirituality in its development over time. To do so I will look (1) at the centrality of codes within the data set, and (2) how the codes developed over time. There will be a more detailed discussion of the role of spirituality and the relationship with reconciliation in the subsequent section.

1. Central themes of the concept of rematriation
The analysis in this section is concerned with determining which topics and attributes are central to the concept of rematriation. To do so, I look at the codes of the tweets in more detail. I calculate multiple ways to gauge their centrality in terms of frequency and connectedness and then illustrate the centrality meanings by presenting representative tweets.

There are a couple of ways how centrality of codes to a research topic can be measured and visualized. The 'frequency' of a code shows how often a code has been coded and, consequently, offers an indication of relevance in comparison to other codes. The 'number of co-occurrences' of a code summarizes with how often a code is coded together with another code (i.e., a co-occurrence of two codes is defined as both codes being coded in a single tweet, the number of co-occurrences counts the number of times

this happens for any given code). This shows how connected this code is to other codes and aims to gauge how influential a code is on other themes within the data set. The 'density of co-occurrences' also refers to code combinations but takes the amount of different connections into account (e.g., if a code has sixty co-occurrences these co-occurrences can be with sixty different other concepts: [60 co-occurrences] / [60 connection codes] = 1; or these sixty co-occurrences can always be with the same other concept: [60 co-occurrences] / [1 connection code] = 60). The density not only shows that codes are connected but also how strong these connections are on average. If a code has a high density of co-occurrences it highlights that this code in combination with another code appear multiple times. As a result, the density of co-occurrences visualizes the centrality of code combinations in the data set. The weighted average connection density combines the two connectedness measures (i.e., 'number of co-occurrences' x 'density of co-occurrences'). This accounts for the difficulty of taking an average in the connection density (e.g., [60 co-occurrences] / [60 connection codes] = 1 but also [3 co-occurrences] / [3 connection codes] = 1) it effectively weights the average strength connections (density) by the number of co-occurrences. Thereby it gives a more generalized overview of the connection centrality of a code within a data set.

Table 1 displays the most used codes, their number of co-occurrences with other codes, the density of these co-occurrences (meaning how often they are coded together), and their average weighted connection density. The latter consists of the density of co-occurrences and the frequency of co-occurrences for each code.

Code	Frequency (n)	Number of Co-occurrences (σ)	Average Connection Density (ρ)	Weighted Average Connection Density (ρ_w)
ReMatriate Collective	449	70	13.9	973
indigenous womxn	257	72	9	648
calls to action	186	67	5.96	399
chat	185	61	3.82	233
News	175	33	12.42	410
culture	166	59	9.08	536
appropriation	128	33	12.67	418
fashion	113	26	12.58	327
tradition	106	53	5.79	307
critical	101	62	3.85	239
Empowerment	81	46	3.87	178
celebrate	66	24	7.38	177
land	61	50	3.08	154
event	53	28	2.82	79
identity	50	29	5.17	150
motherhood	50	38	3.13	119
decolonization	49	51	2.35	120
reclaim	49	38	3.55	135
stories	47	36	2.39	86
podcast	46	16	6.56	105

Table 1: Code info table

For this analysis, all 1258 tweets were coded and analyzed. I excluded the codes *news*, *chats*, *events*, and *further information* from the analysis, as they do not explicitly pertain to the content of the concept but qualify the type of twitter message.

Table 1 shows the influence of the ReMatriate Collective and, consequently, the centrality of the Collectives focus (as established in the section above) on cultural appropriation of indigenous womxn in the fashion industry as well as its aim to empower and celebrate diverse identities of indigenous womxn.

Table 1 shows, that in an overall comparison, the codes *ReMatriate Collective* ($n = 449$) and *indigenous womxn* ($n = 257$) are coded most often. The fifth-most used code is *appropriation* ($n = 128$), which is in line with the original conceptualization of the term rematriation. The code *appropriation* also has the highest density of connections ($\rho = 12.67$). This highlights that indigenous peoples in Canada perceive the appropriation of their cultures and traditions as very problematic, as shown in this tweet:

"Willow Thickson @misswilllow · 8 Dec 2015

We need 2 change the stereotype of our Identity we are more than appropriation and more than #MMIW #rematriate"

In the same direction is the seventh code, *fashion* ($n = 113$), which has also taken a central position in the original definition of the concept by the ReMatriate Collective. Moreover, the code *fashion* has a high density of connections ($\rho = 12.58$) with the codes *ReMatriate Collective*, *appropriation*, *culture*, and *indigenous womxn*. This shows how connection density can showcase clusters of related issues and qualifying notions, as the topic of fashion is mostly associated with negative experiences in the context of cultural appropriation and the misrepresentation of indigenous womxn:

"Heidi Belleau @HeidiBelleau · 1 Jun 2015

Do you guys follow @ReMatriate yet bc you need to. The true beauty & complexity of Native women puts whitegirl hipster headdresses to shame"

Additionally, table 1 shows that many tweets reference *indigenous womxn* ($n = 257$). Concerning the number of co-occurrences per code, table 1 shows that the code *indigenous womxn* has the highest number of co-occurrences ($\sigma = 72$). For example, these two tweets with different topics are both referring to indigenous womxn:

"Transracial Eyes @TransracialEyes · 24 May 2017

Comment on Rematriation and adoption. by I 'How disempowering to women is adoption? ...' @transracialeyes"

"Future History @futurehistorytv · 13 May 2017

'I think women are the keepers of the language. The majority of cases, they're the ones who care.' #rematriation"

The first tweet by Transracial Eyes refers to the high numbers of indigenous children in the Canadian Welfare System and its consequences for indigenous womxn. The second tweet by Future History puts indigenous womxn in the context of language preservation and revitalization practices. This shows that indigenous womxn are central to a majority of aspects the concept of rematriation is concerned with. Therefore, I argue, that the main concern of the concept of rematriation is on indigenous womxn and that the ReMatriate Collective is very influential to the concept.

Also very frequent codes are *culture* ($n = 166$), *tradition* ($n = 106$), *empowerment* ($n = 81$), and *celebrate* ($n = 66$). This highlights that the concept of rematriation is not only concerned with indigenous womxn but also with indigenous culture and tradition. The data also shows that the empowerment and celebration of

indigenous peoples and cultures are central to the concept of rematriation. These are also, as shown in the interview, important goals of the ReMatriate Collective.

Additionally, table 1 shows that a majority of tweets also indicates a *call to action* (n = 186) and are *critical* (n = 101). Here the data shows that the majority of tweets referencing rematriation are critical about the contemporary situation and demand from the reader to change the existing situation. The high frequency of the codes *calls to action* (n = 186) and *critical* (n = 101) highlight the activist character of the concept. The codes *calls to action* (σ =67) and *critical* (σ =62) co-occur mostly with the codes *tradition, indigenous womxn, institution*, and *land*. The code *institution* includes all tweets that refer to any kind of institution, including governmental or educational bodies. These co-occurrances could be the case because the concepts are the most pressing or are perceived as malleable and possible to be changed through collective action, such as in these tweets:

> "Shelbi Nahwilet @qaxaawut · 1 Dec 2017
>
> Universities, 'intellectual agencies,' rogue linguists: REMATRIATE INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES [capitals in the original]."

> "apihtawikosisan • @apihtawikosisan · 5 Dec 2017
>
> The takeaway from the last couple of days needs to be: whatever your ideology, if you do not centre Indigenous ppls and the rematriation of our lands in your struggle, you are not decolonizing anything."

> "ONWA @_ONWA_ · 5 Jun 2017
>
> #Rematriation Reclaiming of ancestral knowledge, culture & strength. End discrimination against Indigenous women"

All three tweets are critical of the described situations and call on their audience to change them. Shelbi Nahwilet in the first tweet is critical of how knowledge production centers, which are coded here as *institution*, deal with indigenous languages and calls for them to protect or vitalize indigenous languages. Apihtawikosisan is critical on decolonization practices and calls for the inclusion of the rematriation of indigenous territories into the practices of the audience. And ONWA calls for their readers help to end discrimination against indigenous womxn by reclaiming ancestral knowledges, cultures, and strength. All three tweets are critical of the current situation and call upon their reader to act towards change but do so in the context of three different issues. This leads to the conclusion that the concept of rematriation, overall, includes a strong focus on changing the contemporary situation for indigenous peoples.

In summary, the ReMatriate Collective is very central to the concept of rematriation in the collected Twitter data set. Rematriation is very much concerned

with indigenous womxn, indigenous culture, and appropriation of indigenous culture, especially in the fashion industry. This is particularly interesting because, as shown in the interview with the ReMatriate Collective with Red Men Laughing, the main focus of the ReMatriate Collective is on indigenous womxn and cultural appropriation in the fashion industry. Given the centrality of the Collective is central to the concept of rematriation, it is not surprising that the focus of the Collective is also very central. Moreover, the concept of rematriation calls to its recipients to create change in the system.

In addition to the ReMatriate Collective and its focus, the codes *land* ($n = 61$) and *indigenous solutions* ($n = 42$) are also central to the concept of rematriation. The high number of co-occurrences for the code *indigenous solution* ($\sigma = 43$) highlights that the concept of rematriation not only criticizes the current situation but offers solutions rooted in indigenous ontologies:

> "Rauna Kuokkanen @RaunaKuokkanen· 6 Dec 2016
>
> One of the three key aspects of Indigenous gender justice, as I see it, is to #rematriate Indigenous governance"
>
> "Future History @futurehistorytv · 13 Jun 2017
>
> Reviving a Lost Language of Canada Through Film #rematriation   #indigenous #haida"

The first tweet by Rauna Kuokkanen proposes that indigenous forms of governance are the indigenous solution to gender justice. Similarly, Future History covers how the movie 'edge of knife' produced by a filmmaker from the Haida Nation helps preserving and revitalizing Haida language, because the film is entirely in Haida language. Therein, the movie is offered as an indigenous solution to the endangerment of the Haida language. Moreover, *indigenous solutions* are, in particular, concerned with issues surrounding *land*, as these tweets show:

> "Macho Philipovich @macho_ph · 21 Aug 2017
>
> Restitution, repatriation, reconciliation, reparations, rematriation … 'give the land back' seems simplest."
>
> "BearPaw Legal @ Bear Pawlegal · 16 Jun 2017
>
> 'We are strengthening our relation with each other and the land' Celebrating #Indigenous identities today and everyday! #rematriate"
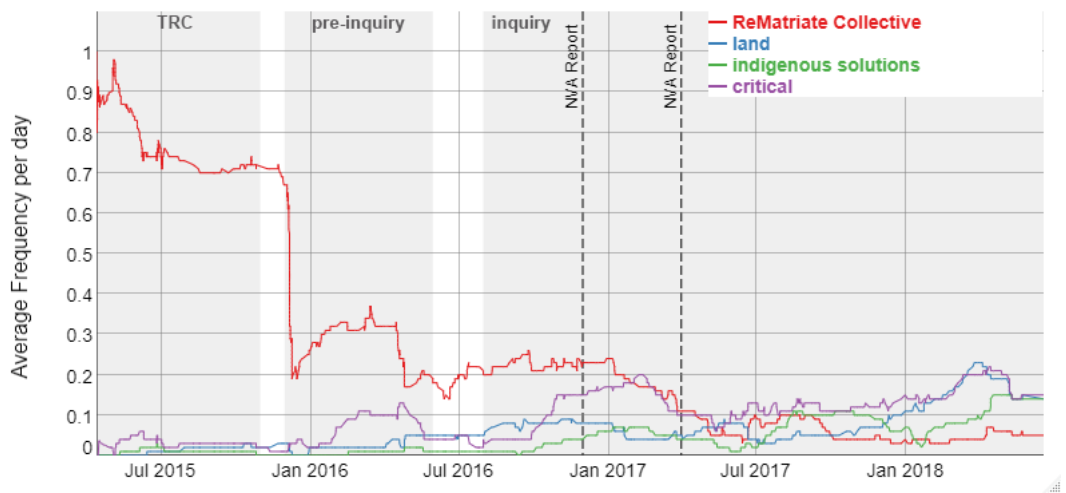
The tweet by Macho Philipovich shows how the return of indigenous territories has a number of names. Bear Paw Legal on the other hand connects indigenous identities with their connections to land. Additionally, the high number of connections

for the code *land* (σ =50) emphasis how the context of land within the concept of rematriation is related to a variety of issues This highlights that land for indigenous peoples is not only important in the context of repatriation but is an indigenous solution to a variety of issues within the life of indigenous peoples in Canada.

In summary, the concept of rematriation has four interconnected focal points: (1) The ReMatriate Collective and its focus on cultural appropriation of indigenous womxn in the fashion industry, (2) the empowerment and celebration of indigenous diversity, (3) a critical activist approach, and (4) land as indigenous solutions to contemporary issues. In the following section, I will analyses in more detail how these focal points developed over time.

2. Development of the focus of the concept of rematriation over time

The following time series graphs 1-5 show the development of the codes between 2015 and 2018 in response to the TRC, the pre-inquiry, and the inquiry into MMIW. These three events are highlighted as well as the two MMIW inquiry reports by the NWA in 2016 and 2017. As visualized in graph 1, the centrality of the ReMatriate Collective and its focus in the concept of rematriation decreased over time. During the Inquiry into MMIW, the concept of rematriation started to become more and more independent from the ReMatriate Collective and the focus shifted more towards critique on the contemporary situation, indigenous solutions to these problems, and a clear focus on land related issues (critical and as solution).

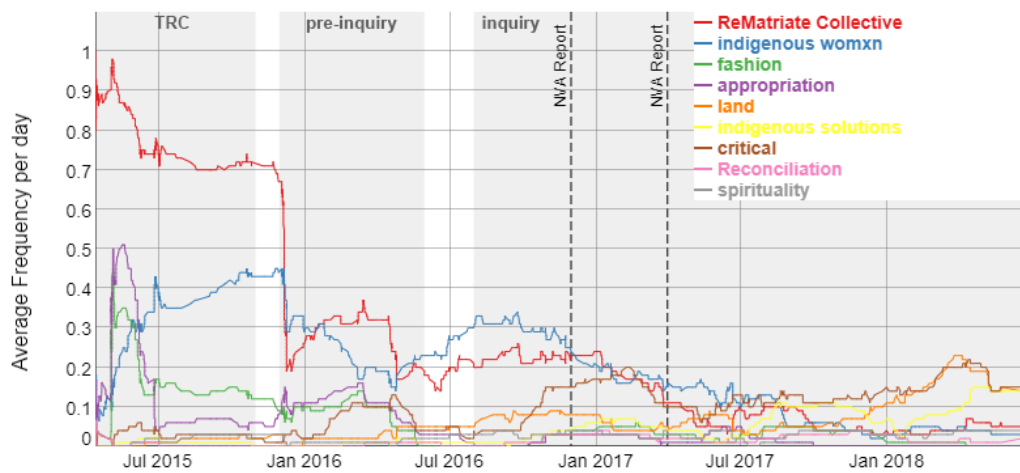*Graph 1: Development of the code* ReMatriate Collective *and co-occurring codes*

Despite it being the most used code in general, graph 1 visualizing the development of the use over time shows that references to the ReMatriate Collective and its focus on appropriation and fashion decrease over time. This development can partly be explained by the posts of the ReMatriate Collective itself. In 2015, after their launch, the Collective posted pictures of indigenous womxn on a regular basis. But after

New Year 2016, the Collective started to focus more on activism offline, in particular in the form of events and gatherings. As a consequence, they reduced their online activism.

Graph 1 shows how the code *indigenous womxn* reacts to the pre-inquiry and inquiry into MMIW. The references to indigenous womxn are building up until the start of the pre-inquiry but start to drop during the process with their lowest in March 2016. After that, the references to indigenous womxn start to increase again until October 2016, after the inquiry into MMIW started. From there on, the references to indigenous womxn decreased further.
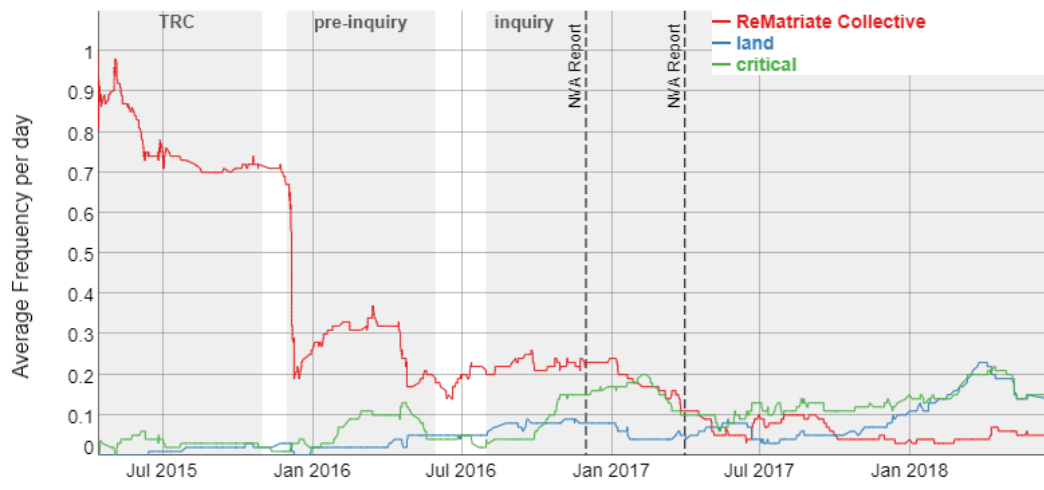
I argue that the concept of rematriation becomes more and more independent from the ReMatriate Collective and that, as a result, the Collective is less referenced in the tweets. This is also supported by the observation that at the same time that the code *ReMatriate Collective* decreases, in particular from July 2017 onwards, other aspects become more prominent in the concept.

This is especially the case for the code *land*. Graph 2 shows how the references of *indigenous womxn*, *fashion*, *appropriation*, and the *ReMatriate Collective* go down, while at the same time the references to *land*, *indigenous solutions*, and *critical* tweets increase.

Graph 2: General development of the concept of rematriation

The number of *critical* tweets in particular increase as a response to the pre-inquiry into MMIW and again, to the inquiry. They had a drop shortly before the NWA published its second report about the inquiry. This leads me to the conclusion that the number of critical tweets increased as a response to negative experiences with the inquiry into MMIW and dropped as result of the improvements in this process. Nonetheless, from May 2017 onwards, the number of critical tweets is constantly increasing. The majority of critical tweets refer to *institutions*, *land*, *patriarchy*, *violence against women*, and *reconciliation*.
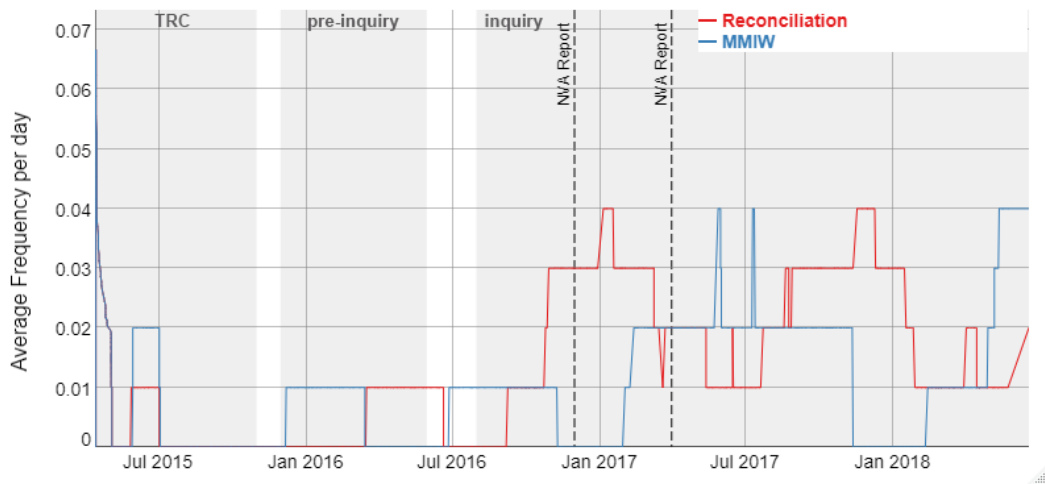
Graph 3: Development of the codes ReMatriate Collective*,* land*, and* critical

In particular, tweets concerned with *land* are interesting, because they are increasing similarly to critical tweets when the tweets concerning the ReMatriate Collective are decreasing (graph 3). Tweets are concerned with issues surrounding land from 2015 onwards, but they significantly increase with the beginning of the inquiry into MMIW. Especially beginning with the summer of 2017, the issues of land become significantly more central to the concept of rematriation.

At the same time as *land* and critical tweets are increasing and ReMatriate Collective references are decreasing, tweets describing indigenous solutions to existing problems are also increasing. Tweets describing indigenous solutions first start to increase at the beginning of the inquiry into MMIW and, despite a few drops, are constantly increasing from then onwards, at a similar rate to critical tweets and tweets concerned with land.
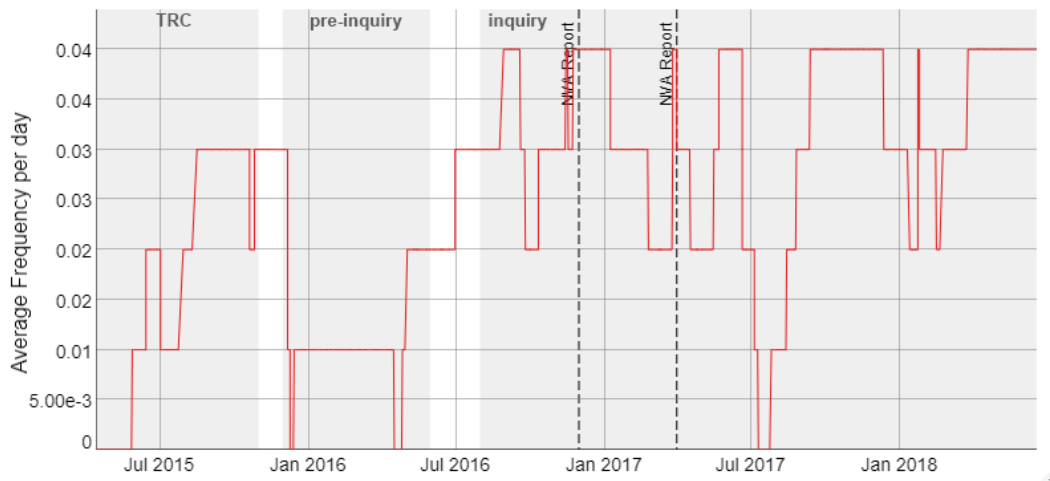
This again indicates that the concept of rematriation became more independent from the Collective while at the same time the focus shifted more from indigenous womxn to land as critical issues but also as a source for indigenous solutions. I also argue that the inquiry into MMIW is very influential for the development of the concept of rematriation. With the start of the inquiry in the summer 2016, the concept starts to become more and more independent from the ReMatriate Collective and takes on other critical issues and relates to solutions inspired by indigenous ontologies.

Graph 4: Development of the codes reconciliation *and* MMIW

Moreover, as the concept of rematriation starts to form more during the inquiry into MMIW, the concept starts to engage critically with reconciliation practices in Canada. Graph 4 shows that reconciliation start to be mentioned on a relatively regular basis during the inquiry from September 2016 onwards. Reconciliation is, particularly, referenced at the beginning of the inquiry until the second NWA report. This suggests that the inquiry sparked a discussion about reconciliation practices in indigenous communities in Canada and within the concept of rematriation. Afterwards, from September 2017 on, graph 4 shows again an increase of tweets referencing reconciliation. This development suggests, that the concept of rematriation became more and more concerned with issues surrounding reconciliation.

Similarly, graph 4 shows that the concept of rematriation became more concerned with MMIW with the begin of the inquiry into MMIW in the second half of 2016. This development also suggests that the concept of rematriation starts to be concerned with more structural issues as it becomes more independent from the ReMatriate Collective and its original focus on cultural appropriation and representation of indigenous womxn in the fashion industry.

Graph 5: Development of the code spirituality

Despite all these changes over time, spiritual topics seemed to have stayed present for all three years with only a slight increase beginning in May 2017. The average frequency per day in graph 5 show that spirituality is not one of the major points of discussion within the concept of rematriation. Nonetheless, spirituality is one of the few aspects that are constant from the start, also independent of the changing centrality of the ReMatriate Collective. Additionally, spirituality co-occurs equally with the codes *indigenous womxn* and *land*. From this, I argue that within the concept of rematriation, spirituality is equally important to issues surrounding indigenous womxn and land.

In summary, the ReMatriate Collective and its focus on indigenous womxn and cultural appropriation in the fashion industry are very influential within the concept of rematriation. However, as response to the inquiry into MMIW, the concept of rematriation started to become independent from the Collective and its focus. Instead, the concept of rematriation started to become more concerned with structural injustice and indigenous solutions in relation to land. However, spirituality has been a constant influence within the concept. Spirituality has been related to the focus of the ReMatriate Collective as well as to the recent focus of the concept of rematriation.

5. Discussion

a. How does First Peoples spirituality and place interconnectedness influence the concept of rematriation?

In the previous section I have established the centrality of land and spirituality to the concept of rematriation. In this section I am discussing this relationship in more detail with a particular focus on place interconnectedness and the spiritual connection of indigenous peoples with the land to understand whether the concept of rematriation offers solutions for the prevention of violence against indigenous womxn.

Firstly, I want to reflect on usefulness of Schlehofer, Omoto, and Adelman's (2008) categorization of spirituality for the coding and analysis in this thesis. The classification model was very useful for identifying which tweets are to be coded spiritual. For example, even though these tweets did not mention spirituality or sacredness, I coded tweets that referred to Mother Earth as spiritual, because I defined Mother Earth as theistic concept. However, the classification did not clearly add to and improve the analysis. Initially, I clustered spiritual tweets in line with Schlehofer, Omoto, and Adelman's (2008) classification, for example as concept of the sacred or spiritual practices, because I expected them to have different connections to the other codes. Unfortunately, there was no significant differences or development of these clusters within the code spirituality. Thus, I did not base my analysis further on the classification of Schlehofer, Omoto, and Adelman (2008). Nonetheless, the categorization proved very helpful for the coding process.

Concerning the importance of land and spirituality in challenging violence against indigenous womxn, native feminists such as Bowers (2017) and de Finney (2017) argue that to change structural inequalities that create violence towards indigenous womxn, it is necessary to revitalize indigenous cultures by strengthening the spiritual link between indigenous peoples and their ancestral territories. Additionally, they emphasise that indigenous grassroots solutions to structural inequalities can be found in indigenous spiritualities and cultures. Therefore, in this section, I look in more detail at how spirituality influences the concept of rematriation.

As shown in the section above, spirituality is not referenced as often as other codes. However, spirituality is the only code that did not change over time or in response to events and stayed at a constant level, which indicates that spirituality is central to the concept of rematriation at a very basal level.

In detail, spirituality is connected mostly to the codes *indigenous womxn*, *land*, *healing*, *tradition*, the *ReMatriate Collective*, *ancestral*, *critical*, and *culture*. The spiritual aspect in rematriation is seen as a response to the ban on indigenous spiritualties and practices by the Canadian government from 1885 in the Indian Act (Miller, 2002), as this tweet emphasises:

"FNBC @FirstNationsBC · 27 Mar 2017

The ban on our spiritualities has had deep and lasting effect, now we must reclaim #rematriate"

As such, rematriation is understood as a means to revitalizing spiritual values and practices, in particular concerning indigenous womxn and the role they played in transmission of these practices (Bowers, 2017; Buddle, 2008; de Finney, 2017). The concept of rematriation pays particular tribute to how indigenous womxn today

practices spiritual traditions to revitalize their cultures and spiritualities for healing purposes, such as in this tweet:

"RZo"J Z'U"b Resistance NDN Bae @LaylaBombshell · 17 Aug 2015

Photo: danggad: #repost @rematriate_

'We Dance to Honor and Heal Our People' #NativePride #WeAreStrongWomen"

Additionally, the concept of rematriation is conscious and responsive to different forms of indigenous spiritualities. For example, the spiritual concept of rematriation is applied to the restoration of local plants by the campaign of seed rematriation:

"Vanessa Mardones @DocRhodiola · 27 Mar 2018

Seed Rematriation @rowenwhite_seed

'These sacred and precious seeds carry our story, sprouting alive into new form to nourish us in many ways ... These foods and seeds are our mirror, our reflection; their life is our life' #Indigenous #seed #sovereignty"

Seed rematriation is closely linked to the recentralization of indigenous womxn in indigenous communities, as this tweet emphasises:

"Farm Aid @FarmAid · 25 Apr 2017

Because Native American women were traditionally the keepers of seeds, this reclamation is called rematriation"

The spirituality in the concept of rematriation is also applied to the sacredness of water, as highlighted in this tweet through the hashtags #WaterIslife and #protectthesacred:

"Nyle Miigizi Johnston @miigizi · 13 Sep 2017

'Rematriation' #miigizi #rematriation #Waterlslife #protectthesacred #miigizicreations"

Moreover, the ReMatriate Collective also highlights the role of indigenous womxn in the efforts for water protection and, consequently, the need to honour those efforts:

"[···] a lot of our protests coming forward, it's through women and grandmothers and it's those women and grandmothers that are coming forward and trying to protect our land rights or water rights, kind of gives rights for our future generations."

In particular, within the concept of rematriation, spirituality is linked to land through the entity of Mother Earth. The concept draws a close connection between the recentralization of Mother Earth and the indigenous womxn:

"Carol Kerrigan @SeaKerr 8 · 24 Jan 2018

@Alyssa_Milano @sarahkendzior @Amy_Siskind @ECMclaughlin

'Rematriation is a process of recognition that matriarchy begins first with the acknowledgement of the earth as mother to all life.'"

"Future History @futurehistorytv · 18 Apr 2017

#rematriation 'To restore a living culture to its rightful place on Mother Earth' #futurehistory from S. Newcomb"

The concept argues that a restoration of these connections with the land in form of Mother Earth can only happen by recentralizing indigenous womxn in these efforts:

"erica mauter @ericamauter · 24 Jan 2018

'In several other marches across the nation, indigenous women and their allies rematriated the space, recalling a time when women and the earth were honored. Yet rematriation only can happen with indigenous women at the helm.' #rematriate"

This spiritual link indigenous peoples have with the land in form of Mother Earth is defined by de Finney (2017) as 'place interconnectedness'. As a result of the centrality of place in the worldviews of indigenous peoples, de Finney (2017) argues that for holistic, successful, and sustainable reconciliation, the issues surrounding land and indigenous peoples need to be solved. I argue that the concept of rematriation also highlights the place interconnectedness of indigenous peoples and the land, particularly when it comes to healing and successful reconciliation.

In the concept of rematriation *land* is connected to 50 other aspects, including the ReMatriate Collective and its aims, activist approaches, indigenous solutions and decolonialization, spirituality, and ancestors. Thereby, *land* occupies a fundamental place in the concept of rematriation.

Similar to native feminists such as Bowers (2017), de Finney (2017), Knobblock and Kuokkanen (2015), and Suzack (2015), the concept of rematriation tweets emphasise that to reach gender equality and restore the role of indigenous womxn in indigenous and non-indigenous communities, the rematriation, meaning the revitalization, of the connection with the land is needed. Moreover, these two tweets highlight the interconnectedness of indigenous womxn with the land in the concept of rematriation. In particular, decolonization efforts have to be rooted in the rematriation of indigenous land, according to the concept of rematriation:

"Celeste Pedri-Spade @cvpedri · 18 Nov 2016

@tuckeve on #decolonization: 'it cannot just be an add-on. It is the rematriation of indigenous land&life' #debwe #Maamwizing2016 @Maamwizing"

Moreover, for sustainable decolonialization it is necessary for institutions, such as governmental bodies, education centres, or knowledge production centres, to rematriate indigenous land, as this tweet by Lex Scully exemplifies:

"Lex Scully @lexascully · 8 Apr 2017

Replying to @MichifMan

Tuck & Yang 2012: process CJ profound oppression & inequity … in gov[ernment], soc[ial] sci[ences], & ed[ucation], & must address rematriation of Ind[igneous] Land & resources."

This also applies for the inquiry into MMIW, as this tweet from Ashley Courchene in 2017 shows:

"Ashley Courchene @AshCourchene · 11 Jul 2017

If the inquiry needs to be restructured, start w/ dismantling everything colonial then the rematriation of our lands"

So, to answer the question whether the concept of rematriation incorporates native feminist solutions to violence against indigenous womxn, Native feminists argue that for structural change, cultural and spiritual ontologies have to be revitalized, enabling the imagination of futures not based in colonial heteropatriarchal ontologies (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). To do so, the spiritual and cultural link between indigenous womxn and the land has to be strengthened (Bowers, 2017; de Finney, 2017), a process based on de Finney's (2017) concept of place interconnectedness. Similarly to these native feminist scholars, the concept of rematriation aims to reclaim and revitalize indigenous cultures and in particular indigenous spiritualities. It also does so by emphasizing the need for re-centring and honouring the connection between Mother Earth and indigenous womxn in indigenous communities; as well as by calling for the return of the land to indigenous peoples.

In general, it is argued that indigenous spiritualities and cultures on the grassroots level can offer sustainable solutions to critique on Canadas reconciliation practices (Arvin et al., 2013; de Finney, 2017; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013; Tuck et al., 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012). The concept of rematriation also highlights this approach. However, it is argued within the concept of rematriation that these indigenous solutions can only be accessed through the re-centralization of indigenous

womxn in indigenous communities, because indigenous womxn are vital to the transmission of spiritual and cultural ontologies. Therefore, indigenous womxn must also be included in indigenous activism.

In summary, place interconnectedness - the spiritual link with the land – and indigenous ontologies are central to the concept of rematriation. Therefore, the concept of rematriation is well suited to look into indigenous solutions for MMIW that are criticized in contemporary reconciliation practices in Canada.

b. What can Reconciliation learn from Rematriation?

As shown in the discussion above, the concept of rematriation is, in part, aiming at changing structural inequalities in Canada by focusing on the spiritual link between the land, indigenous womxn, and indigenous ontologies. The following section will explore how the concept of rematriation proposes to help improve reconciliation practices in Canada concerned with MMIW. These argumentations will particularly focus on indigenous solutions concerned with (1) the representation of indigenous womxn, (2) indigenous cultural and spiritual ontologies, (3) legal measures and political participation of indigenous womxn, and (4) land rematriation.

There are a couple of reasons, why indigenous peoples prefer the concept of rematriation over reconciliation. Firstly, reconciliation practices in Canada have been perceived as another form of assimilation of indigenous peoples rather than transformative efforts (Bowers, 2017; Eisenberg, 2018; Jung, 2018). These critiques are mirrored in these tweets by Future History and daanis:

"Future History @futurehistorytv · 24 Jul 2017

@rjjago on why symbolic #reconciliation needs to be replaced by real-world #rematriation"

"daanis @gindaanis · 24 Mar 2017

Replying to @christibelcourt

Reconciliation was never anything but an attempt to [bring] us into Canada. Without rematriation of land it's empty words."

Because of the perception of reconciliation as a partisan tool of the contemporary Canadian state (Jung, 2018), Future History argues for a grassroots "real-world" approach in the form of rematriation. Additionally, in line with native feminists, daanis argues that for sustainable reconciliation it is necessary to rematriate indigenous land. Despite this critique, daanis, as well as the following three tweets by D"aly de Gagne, Aaron Paquette, and Mike Hogeterp, show that rematriation can be incorporated into reconciliation practices:

D"aly de Gagne @DalydeGagne · 30 Oct 2016

RT @aaronpaquette

Reconciliation is Rematriation #Indigenous #cdnpoli"

"Aaron Paquette @aaronpaquette · 26 Oct 2016

Reconciliation is Rematriation"

"Mike Hogeterp @mikehogeterp · 15 Apr 2015

appreciate the #CBC work on #MMIW. #ReMatriate is the right narrative for Justice and #2reconcile"

Native feminists such as de Finney (2017) and Bowers (2017) argue that reconciliation in Canada, especially concerned with MMIW, has to include and honour indigenous cultures as well as the situation of indigenous womxn in the Canadian society. A similar understanding of how to improve reconciliation in Canada can be found at the grassroots level, exemplified by the tweets by AMR ENT and the ReMatriate Collective:

"AMR ENT @Joleen Mitton · 8 Jun 2015

#MyReconciliationlncludes promote the strong, positive connecting force of Indigenous culture #Rematriate #Rematriation"

"ReMatriate @ReMatriate · 29 May 2015

#MyReconciliationlncludes honouring our women, our sacred life givers, our mothers, daughters, granny's and aunties. #ReMatriate"

From this, it can be argued that the concept of rematriation is not understood as a simple replacement of reconciliation, but rather as an indigenous solution to the short-comings of reconciliation practices in Canada.

However, the data also suggests that the concept of rematriation offers very specific and practical suggestions to healing and reconciliation in Canada. As shown in section 1.a, native feminist scholars argue that violence against indigenous womxn is a structural problem. They argue that for assimilation purposes, patriarchal values were forced into indigenous communities because indigenous womxn were identified as the main source for transmitting indigenous cultures. Therefore, through the implementation of patriarchal values and structures, the position of indigenous womxn in their own as well as the wider Canadian society was weakened. This happened especially through the representation of indigenous womxn stereotypes as submissive, quiet, and passive caretakers. Through the enforcement of patriarchal values and structures, the position of indigenous womxn even within their own communities was

transformed from an active role to the image of a passive role (Arvin et al., 2013; de Finney, 2017; Knobblock & Kuokkanen, 2015; Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018; Smith, 2008; Suzack, 2015). Dawn Martin-Hill (2003) calls this stereotype of the traditional, quiet, and submissive indigenous womxn 'She No Speaks'. As a result of the stereotype of She No Speaks, according to Suzack (2015), indigenous womxn are expected to be actively silent in indigenous activist spaces (She Not Heard). Suzack (2015) argues that as a result the problems of indigenous womxn, such as violence against them, are excluded from political activism. Additionally, as a result of the stereotypes of She No Speaks and She Not Heard (active silence), indigenous womxn are not 'seen' (read represented) in their diversity and strength within their own communities as well as in the Canadian public (She Not Seen). Consequently, for Canadian reconciliation practices, to end violence against indigenous womxn, it is necessary to transform the existing stereotypes of indigenous womxn of She No Speaks, She Not Heard, and She Not Seen.

Because the concept of rematriation aims to work against misrepresentation of indigenous womxn, it is the perfect grassroots approach to look for solutions for Canada's reconciliation practices.

There are a couple of ways in which rematriation aims to implement the image of She Speaks, She Is Seen, and She Is Heard. On a general level, rematriation identifies that violence against indigenous womxn is a structural issues and advocates for transformative practices and activism (She Speaks and She Is Heard):

"ReMatriate @ReMatriate · 28 Feb 2017

When the system continuously fails us, we need to change the system."

To do so, rematriation advocates for institutions to include indigenous womxn into their institutional bodies, as these tweets by Celeste Pedri-Spade and erica mauter show (She Speaks, She Is Heard, and She Is Seen):

"Celeste Pedri-Spade @cvpedri · 20 Dec 2016

Why is the AFN/ndn brotherhood trust invited to Trudeau's table when NWAC is excluded? oh right cuz it is almost 2017 #rematriate"

"erica mauter @ericamauter · 24 Jan 2018

'In several other marches across the nation, indigenous women and their allies rematriated the space, recalling a time when women and the earth were honored. Yet rematriation only can happen with indigenous women at the helm.' #rematriate"

Additionally, institutions should listen to the stories of indigenous womxn about their realities and act accordingly (She Is Heard and She Is Seen):

"recoveringhope @_recoveringhope · 25 Jul 2017

@heatherdane Women should tell their stories!! #Rematriation: Women Reclaiming Their Voices - Heather Dane"

In particular, as this tweet by Claire Anderson emphasises, indigenous womxn should be consulted and included into decisions concerning them. They should be in the position to formulate their realties and experiences and be able to advocate for themselves and be heard (She Is Heard and She Is Seen):

„Claire Anderson @taku_iskwesis · 16 Feb 2016

Thanks for re-posting tweet @CBC, but true reclamation would be having us write these stories. @ReMatriate #cdnpoli"

Within the concept of rematriation, bringing indigenous womxn into an equal power position as indigenous and non-indigenous men, can be achieved in two ways. Firstly, the concept argues, it is necessary to fight harmful stereotypes about indigenous womxn in indigenous and non-indigenous societies, as this tweet by Willow Thickson shows (She Speaks and She Is Seen):

"Willow Thickson @misswilllow · 8 Dec 2015

We need 2 change the stereotype of our ldentity we are more than appropriation and more than #MMIW #rematriate"

Within the concept, this happens through the empowerment of indigenous womxn to represent themselves in the media (She Is Seen):

"SkelepReconciliation @5kelepBonnie · 18 Nov 2017

'Empowering women through positive representation ....' listening to powerful matriarchs @ReMatriate @VPL"

Additionally, in the concept of rematriation it is important to also create safe spaces for indigenous womxn to support each other and each other's representations:

"ReMatriate @ReMatriate · 11 Jul 2016

Creating safe spaces for women to support each other is so important for the #ReMatriation of our communities."

But stereotypes about indigenous womxn should not only be challenged by indigenous womxn alone. The concept of rematriation also calls for indigenous men to become active and support indigenous womxn (She Is Seen):

"Justin Wiebe @justinwiebe · 10 Jun 2015

Healthy Indigenous masculinities must centre Indigenous feminisms & actively resist heteropatriarchy to be relevant & decolonial #rematriate"

Secondly, the concept of rematriation calls for changes in the legal system to end structural disadvantages that create inequalities and violence for indigenous womxn. One major legal change that is needed, according to rematriation, is changing the Bill S-3 in the Indian Act.

Bill S-3 refers to the section in the Indian Act that defines who is granted Indian Status. Despite the often-matrilineal indigenous societies, the Indian Act from 1951 originally granted status through the patrilineal line. This meant that indigenous womxn would be granted status either through their father or their husband. In practices, indigenous womxn who married a non-Status man and all their descendants would lose their Indian Status. As a result, non-status womxn could not live on the reservations and be buried there without their ancestors or access to other rights given to 'Status Indians'. After protests and a number of legal processes, the Canadian government introduced Bill-31, which allowed indigenous womxn to keep their Status despite marrying a non-Status man. Nonetheless, it did not enable them to bequest or hand their Status down to their children or grandchildren, thereby, effectively maintaining the gender discrimination. In 2010, after further protests and legal action, the government introduced Bill S-3, which grants the children of Status Indian womxn married to non-Status man Status if they have children. This decision is still heavily criticized as a way of maintaining gender discrimination against indigenous womxn (Day, n.d.; Hurley & Simeone, 2014), as also shown in these tweets:

"Kaylia Little @kforchange · 1 Jun 2017

#Rematriation it's time to end gender discrimination in the Indian Act!"

"ONWA @_ONWA_ · 1 Jun 2017

Let's end sex-based discrimination in the Indian Act #Bill-S-3 #rematriation"

Additionally, to challenging structural violence towards indigenous womxn, the concept of rematriation argues for the inclusion of indigenous ontologies into solutions. As shown in the section above, this particularly includes land rematriation and spiritual worldviews and practices. However, it also refers to other aspects of indigenous knowledges and teachings:

"ONWA @_ONWA_ · 5 Jun 2017

#Rematriation Reclaiming of ancestral knowledge, culture & strength. End discrimination against Indigenous women"

"ONWA @_ONWA_ · 19 Jun 2017

Indigenous-lead Blackfoot-based teachings help women flee abusive relationships #Rematriation"

It also refers to the inclusion of indigenous governance and knowledge transmission into institutional bodies, as these two tweets by Rauna Kuokkanen and 2Future History show:

"Rauna Kuokkanen @RaunaKuokkanen · 6 Dec 2016

One of the three key aspects of Indigenous gender justice, as I see it, is to #rematriate Indigenous governance."

"2Future History @futurehistorytv · 12 Sep 2017

Why Ontario universities are hiring Indigenous elders #rematriation"

In summary, the concept of rematriation contributes to reconciliation practices in Canada solutions rooted in indigenous ontologies and place interconnectedness by centring (1) the representation of indigenous womxn, (2) indigenous cultural and spiritual ontologies, (3) legal measures and political participation of indigenous womxn, and (4) land rematriation. The concept of rematriation argues for transformative action by centralizing the voices and stories of indigenous womxn in reconciliation practices and coordinated action based on these. Additionally, the concept calls for the active action in challenging widely accepted stereotypes which harm indigenous womxn. Moreover, the concept calls for a respectful inclusion of indigenous spiritual worldviews into transformative practices. Lastly, the concept highlights the importance of engaging a discussion about land issues in the Canadian society. Therefore, the concept of rematriation offers reconciliation practices concerning MMIW in Canada a lot of improvement.

First and foremost, rematriation urges actors practicing reconciliation to be courageous and engage in transformation of existing structures in the Canadian nation-state. Additionally, indigenous peoples and especially indigenous womxn should be included in all reconciliation decisions regarding them and in the body that makes the decision which practices concern indigenous peoples.

Moreover, the concept emphasises that reconciliation practices should not look back to restore a nostalgic past but should look forward to building a future together with indigenous peoples that, among other things, excludes violence against indigenous womxn.

Moreover, reconciliation practices concerning MMIW are urged to support a respectful coexistence of indigenous and non-indigenous ontologies. This includes

dismantling patriarchal structures and their imprint on indigenous communities. This can, for example, be in the form of acceptance of different forms of governance or family structures rooted in indigenous ontologies.

Similarly, the Canadian nation-state needs to account for their colonial past as well as the enforcement of patriarchal values and structures onto indigenous communities and the ongoing harm these have created. But this has to include active and ongoing practices to inform the wider Canadian public and transform historic images and their ongoing consequences.

Concerning critique on the Christian origins and structures in Canadian reconciliation practices, the concept of rematriation highlights the need for including indigenous approaches to justice which are rooted in indigenous ontologies and spiritualities. For holistic and sustainable reconciliation, practices by institutions such as the Canadian government need to include indigenous ways of doing justice. This includes in particular justice for MMIW, as western approaches of justice do not always correspond with indigenous approaches (de Finney, 2017; Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018; The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2018). These differences in the justice system based in each other's ontologies have to be taken into account.

On a very practical note, institutions concerned with reconciliation practices are urged by the concept of rematriation to actively challenge stereotypes of indigenous peoples and especially womxn in the mainstream. This could take, for example, the form of financial or institutional support for campaigns actively challenging stereotypes, such as the ReMatriate Collective. But it should definitely include the sensitization of the wider Canadian public about misrepresentation and their harmful consequences. Additionally, the Canadian government is urged by the concept of rematriation to end gender discrimination in the Indian Act that result in power inequalities for indigenous womxn.

Moreover, the concept of rematriation argues for a return of indigenous territories to the indigenous populations. Native feminist scholars such de Finney (2017) and Bowers (2017) similarly explain how land rematriation is necessary to prevent violence against indigenous womxn. Land rematriation, however, is a difficult issue, because the descendants of European settlers lived for generations on the same land and created strong connections as well. Thus, land rematriation might not entirely be possible. Nonetheless, the centrality of place interconnectedness in the concept of rematriation shows the importance of this issue to indigenous peoples in Canada. Therefore, I propose the establishment of an institutional body consisting to equal parts of settler descendants and indigenous peoples to work towards sustainable solutions.

Additionally, I strongly argue for the compliance with all existing legislations and treaties concerning the governance and management of indigenous lands, including resource extraction, by the Canadian government and corporations.

In summary, reconciliation practices in Canada are heavily criticized and by looking at indigenous grassroots efforts, reconciliation practices in Canada can become more inclusive and holistic, having long-lasting and sustainable effects.

6. Conclusion

In this master thesis, I investigated indigenous critique on reconciliation practices in Canada, especially when concerned with MMIW and indigenous solutions to these short-comings. I did so through the case study of the ReMatriate collective and the concept of Rematriation. I applied the native feminist concepts of She No Speaks, She Not Seen, and She Not Heard to the issues surrounding MMIW in Canada to understand its roots and possible grassroots solutions rooted in indigenous ontologies, including place interconnectedness. I then analysed whether and how present these indigenous solutions are in the grassroots concept of rematriation. To do so, I studied two data sets consisting of a transcript of an Interview with the ReMatriate Collective on the Red Man Laughing podcast from 2015 and tweets on Twitter from 2015 to 2018, which were coded in Atlas.ti and visualized in R.

I established that one of the main roots for violence against indigenous womxn identified by the concept of rematriation lies in structural inequality concerned with (1) the representation of indigenous womxn (She No Speaks, She Not Seen), (2) the role of indigenous womxn in the transmission of indigenous cultural and spiritual ontologies (She Not Seen), (3) legal measures and political participation of indigenous womxn (She Not Heard), and (4) place interconnectedness in (spiritual) indigenous solutions. The concept of rematriation suggests reconciliation practices in Canada to embrace structural transformation, an extensive discussion of land issues, the participation of indigenous womxn in all processes and decisions, and the inclusion of indigenous cultural and spiritual ontologies in the creation of solutions.

The results of this study are limited by the scope and resources of this master thesis. For a thorough analysis of the concept of rematriation, its relation to indigenous spiritual ontologies, and its contributions to reconciliation practices not only related to MMIW, I recommend additional case studies, for example including interviews or surveys in Canada. But these would go beyond the scope and resources for this master thesis.

7. Reflection on decolonial and indigenous methodology

In this section, I am reflecting on my methodology in this thesis. I will firstly explore the consequences of my person as well as the requirements of this master thesis. Secondly, I will discuss the practical aspects of my decolonial and indigenous methodology.

As I disclosed in the introduction, I am a white, middle-class scholar who was educated entirely in Europe and East Asia. My analysis and all my assumptions in this thesis are influenced by my background and education. To avoid pre-determined assumptions in this thesis and to make my thesis as relevant as possible to my research participants, I applied decolonial and indigenous methodology and looked for a way to study the voices at the grassroots level rather than my own questionnaires, institutional representatives, or policy papers.

I looked for ways in which I can listen to and respect the voices of my research participants. I, firstly, contacted the ReMatriate Collective to learn whether this research project was interesting to them. The Collective was very positive and encouraged me to do the project but also made clear that they are currently not in the position to actively participate in the thesis.

Additionally, I chose to analyse Twitter tweets, for practical as well as theoretical reasons. Practically, conducting in-person interviews in Canada would have been beyond the scope of this thesis project (especially in terms of ethical contact and recruiting while also ensuring sufficient data density). Theoretically, I chose Twitter because of its recent rise as an empowering activism tool of choice (as compared to other media self-representations). Moreover, on Twitter everybody is free to publish their opinions without a gatekeeper to select them, and data is publicly available for ethical research. So ultimately, I decided that Twitter tweets are the closest and most ethical way I can get to grassroots opinions from the Netherlands in the context of this thesis.

Nonetheless, I am aware of the limitations of my analysis and the questions I can ask because of my background. This research would have greatly benefitted from a second collaborator engaged in the coding and analysis process, who is embedded in the context of the rematriation concept. Unfortunately, this was beyond the scope and concept of a master's thesis (in terms of workload and regulatory guidelines of the teaching and examination regulations).

To make my work and analysis as transparent and accessible as possible, I created a website where I present the raw data (in form to the Podcast transcript and the tweets) as well as interactive visualizations of my codings. I created the website loosely based on a pre-existing template at the University of Groningen and readers can access the online tool through the following link: https://rematriate.shinyapps.io/ReMatriate/

Lastly, I want to reflect on the practical aspects of my decolonial and indigenous methodology. Because it is important to me to be as responsive as possible to the context of my research topic and research participants, I paid particular attention to indigenous scholars and their theories to understand the complexity of reconciliation in Canada. This does in no way mean that I purposefully excluded parts of the academic knowledge. This meant for me that I first looked for theories by indigenous scholars instead of first considering the well-known theories from my western, well-known environment. I did so to challenge myself to look beyond the theories and approaches I am used to and not to settle for what is known to me. This approach resulted in a more complex literature search, because I paid additional attention to the person behind the scholar. Nonetheless, I believe that challenging myself, enriched this thesis and its academic outcome. Consequently, in my academic career, I will continue to challenge myself through decolonial and indigenous methodologies.

8. Bibliography

@ReMatriate. (2015). ReMatriate Collective. Retrieved August 12, 2018, from
https://twitter.com/ReMatriate

Alia, V. (2010). *The New Media Nation* (Anthropolo). Oxford, United Kingdom: Berghahn Books.
Retrieved from https://berghahnbooks.com/title/AliaNew

Amnesty International. (2004). *Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and
Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada.* Retrieved from
https://www.amnesty.ca/sites/amnesty/files/amr200032004enstolensisters.pdf

Arvin, M., Tuck, E., & Morrill, A. (2013). Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections
between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy. *Feminist Formations*, *25*(1), 8–34.
https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2013.0006

Bazinet, T. (2016). *White Settler-Colonialism, International Development Education, and the
Question of Futurity: A Content Analysis of the University of Ottawa Master's Program
Mandatory Syllabi in Globalization and International Development.* University of Ottawa.
Retrieved from
https://ruor.uottawa.ca/bitstream/10393/35156/1/Bazinet_Trycia_2016_thesis.pdf

Blaser, M. (2009a). Political Ontology. *Cultural Studies*, *23*(5–6), 873–896.
https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380903208023

Blaser, M. (2009b). The Threat of the Yrmo: The Political Ontology of a Sustainable Hunting
Program. *American Anthropologist*, *111*(1), 10–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-
1433.2009.01073.x

Blaser, M. (2012). Ontology and indigeneity: on the political ontology of heterogeneous
assemblages. *Cultural Geographies*, *21*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474012462534

Blaser, M. (2013). Ontological Conflicts and the Stories of Peoples in Spite of Europe. *Current
Anthropology*, *54*(5), 547–568. https://doi.org/10.1086/672270

Bowers, M. A. (2017). Literary Activism and Violence against Native North American Women.
Wasafiri, *32*(2), 48–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/02690055.2017.1294364

Buddle, K. (2008). Transistor Resistors: Native Women's Radio in Canada and the Social
Organization of Political Space from Below. In P. Wilson & M. Stewart (Eds.), *Global
Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics* (pp. 128–144). Durham, NC: Duke
University Press.

Cameron, E., de Leeuw, S., & Desbiens, C. (2014). Indigeneity and ontology. *Cultural Geographies*,
21(1), 19–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474013500229

Cheer, J. M., Belhassen, Y., & Kujawa, J. (2017). The search for spirituality in tourism: Toward a
conceptual framework for spiritual tourism. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *24*, 252–256.
https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2017.07.018

Crook, T. (2014). Onto-Methodology. Retrieved January 28, 2019, from
https://culanth.org/fieldsights/onto-methodology

Day, S. (n.d.). Equal Status for Indigenous Women — Sometime , Not Now. *Canadian Woman Studies, Beil. Special Issue: Women's Human Rights*, *33*(1,2), 174–185. Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/openview/1d1199678ce44c97f048413be752fd9a/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=44042

de Finney, S. (2017). Indigenous girls' resilience in settler states: Honouring body and land sovereignty. *Agenda*, *31*(2), 10–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2017.1366179

Dhillon, J. K. (2015). Indigenous girls and the violence of settler colonial policing. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *4*(2), 1–31. Retrieved from https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22826

Doxtater, E. (2016). *Art of Peace*. Ohsweken, Turtle Island [Canada]: Everything Corn Husk.

Edzerza-Bapty, K. (Ta'une), & Lynxleg, D. (2016). WE ARE: The ReMatriate Collective. Retrieved November 19, 2018, from https://newjourneys.ca/en/articles/we-are-the-rematriate-collective

Eisenberg, A. (2018). The challenges of structural injustice to reconciliation: truth and reconciliation in Canada. *Ethics & Global Politics*, *11*(1), 22–30. https://doi.org/10.1080/16544951.2018.1507387

First Nations Child & Family Caring Society of Canada. (2019). *Budget 2019: How does it measure up for First Second line here Nations children, youth and families?* Retrieved from https://fncaringsociety.com/sites/default/files/budget_2019_for_first_nations_children_youth_and_families_0.pdf

Frei-Njootli, J. (2017). Jeneen Frei Njootli. Retrieved July 19, 2019, from https://www.jeneenfreinjootli.com/

Ginsburg, F. (2008). Rethinking the Digital Age. In P. Wilson & M. Stewart (Eds.), *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics* (pp. 287–306). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Goriunova, O. (2016). Digital Ontologies as Productive Process. Retrieved March 20, 2019, from https://culanth.org/fieldsights/digital-ontologies-as-productive-process

Government of Canada. (2019a). Delivering on Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action. Retrieved April 28, 2019, from https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1524494530110/1557511412801

Government of Canada. (2019b). Justice. Retrieved July 13, 2019, from https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1524502695174/1557513515931

Government of Canada. (2019c). Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Retrieved June 8, 2019, from https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1450124405592/1529106060525

Grosfoguel, R. (2011). Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality. *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, *1*(1), 1–38. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/21k6t3fq

Gruzd, A., Wellman, B., & Takhteyev, Y. (2011). Imagining Twitter as an Imagined Community. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *55*(10), 1294–1318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211409378

Henderson, J., & Wakeham, P. (2009). Colonial Reckoning, National Reconciliation?: Aboriginal Peoples and the Culture of Redress in Canada. *ESC: English Studies in Canada*, *35*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1353/esc.0.0168

Hill, P. C., Pargament, K. I., Hood, R. W., McCullough, Jr., M. E., Swyers, J. P., Larson, D. B., & Zinnbauer, B. J. (2000). Conceptualizing Religion and Spirituality: Points of Commonality, Points of Departure. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, *30*(1), 51–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-5914.00119

Hodges, H. E., & Stocking, G. (2016). A pipeline of tweets: environmental movements' use of Twitter in response to the Keystone XL pipeline. *Environmental Politics*, *25*(2), 223–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2015.1105177

Hurley, M. C., & Simeone, T. (2014). Legislative Summary of Bill C-3: Gender Equity in Indian Registration Act. *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, *3*(3), 153–172. https://doi.org/10.5663/aps.v3i3.22232

Jensen, C. B. (2014). Practical Ontologies. Retrieved September 1, 2018, from https://culanth.org/fieldsights/practical-ontologies

Jung, C. (2018). Reconciliation: six reasons to worry. *Journal of Global Ethics*, *14*(2), 252–265. https://doi.org/10.1080/17449626.2018.1507000

Knobblock, I., & Kuokkanen, R. (2015). Decolonizing Feminism in the North: A Conversation with Rauna Kuokkanen. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, *23*(4), 275–281. https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2015.1090480

Kovach, M. E. (2009). *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Martin-Hill, D. (2003). She No Speaks and Other Colonial constructs of "The Traditional Woman." In K. Anderson & B. Lawrence (Eds.), *Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival* (pp. 106–120). Toronto, Canada: Sumach Press.

McMahon, R. (n.d.). Red Man Laughing Podcast. Retrieved July 25, 2019, from https://www.redmanlaughing.com/

McMahon, R. (2015). The ReMatriate Interview. Canada: Red Men Laughing. Retrieved from https://www.redmanlaughing.com/listen/rematriate

Mignolo, W. D. (2009). Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *26*(7–8), 159–181. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276409349275

Miller, J. R. (2002). Introduction. In P. R. Magocsi (Ed.), *Aboriginal Peoples of Canada: A Short Introduction* (pp. 3–37). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Moeke-Pickering, T., Cote-Meek, S., & Pegoraro, A. (2018). Understanding the ways missing and murdered Indigenous women are framed and handled by social media users. *Media*

International Australia, *169*(1), 54–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X18803730

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2015). *Fact Sheet: Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women and Girls*. Akwesasne, Canada. Retrieved from https://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Fact_Sheet_Missing_and_Murdered_Aboriginal_Women_and_Girls.pdf

Native Women's Association of Canada. (2018). *NWAC Report Card - The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*. Akwesasne, Canada. Retrieved from https://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/NWAC-MMIWG-Report-Card-3-May17-Mar18.pdf

Newcomb, S. (1995). Healing, Restoration, and Rematriation. *News & Notes, Spring/Sum*, 3–4.

Nicholls, R. (2009). Research and Indigenous participation: critical reflexive methods. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *12*(2), 117–126. https://doi.org/10.1080/13645570902727698

NTRC. (2010). National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Twitter account. Retrieved May 17, 2019, from https://twitter.com/nctr_um

R Core Team. (2014). R: A language and environment for statistical computing. *R Foundation for Statistical Computing*. Vienna, Austria.

Ramirez, R. K. (2007). Race , Tribal Nation , and Gender : A Native Feminist Approach to Belonging. *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, *7*(2), 22–40. Retrieved from https://muse.jhu.edu/article/217600

ReMatriateCampaign. (n.d.-a). ReMatriateCampaign. Retrieved August 10, 2018, from https://www.facebook.com/ReMatriate/?ref=br_rs

ReMatriateCampaign. (n.d.-b). ReMatriateCampaign Gallery. Retrieved August 10, 2018, from http://rematriate-campaign-blog.tumblr.com/

Rematriation. (2018). Rematriation - Returning to the Sacred Mother. Retrieved August 10, 2018, from http://rematriation.com/

Robertson, K. (2016). The "Law and Order" of Violence Against Native Women: A Native Feminist Analysis of the Tribal Law and Order Act. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *5*(1), 1–23. Retrieved from https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/22551

Schlehofer, M. M., Omoto, A. M., & Adelman, J. R. (2008). How Do "Religion" and "Spirituality" Differ? Lay Definitions Among Older Adults. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *47*(3), 411–425. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5906.2008.00418.x

Sium, A., Desai, C., & Ritskes, E. (2012). Towards the 'tangible unknown': Decolonization and the Indigenous future. *Decolonization. Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *1*(1), I–XIII. https://doi.org/https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/des/article/view/18638

Smith, A. (2003). Not an Indian Tradition: The Sexual Colonization of Native Peoples. *Hypatia*, *18*(2), 70–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2003.tb00802.x

Smith, A. (2008). American Studies without America: Native Feminisms and the Nation-State.

American Quarterly, *60*(2), 309–315. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/40068540

Stanton, K. (2013). Intransigent Injustice : Truth , Reconciliation and the Missing Women Inquiry in Canada. *Transitional Justice Review*, *1*(2), 59–96. https://doi.org/10.5206/tjr.2013.1.2.4

Suzack, C. (2015). Indigenous Feminisms in Canada. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, *23*(4), 261–274. https://doi.org/10.1080/08038740.2015.1104595

Tarusarira, J. (2018). Beyond Epistemicide: Toward Multiple Forms of Knowledge. Retrieved January 18, 2019, from https://www.counterpointknowledge.org/beyond-epistemicide-toward-multiple-forms-of-knowledge/

Tarusarira, J., & Manyena, B. (2016). Journal of Conflict Transformation & Security. *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Security*, *5*(1), 53–74.

The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. (2018). *National Inquiry reaches milestone as Truth Gathering Process*. Retrieved from http://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/MMIWG_News-Release-Final-Submissions-Ottawa-20181212.pdf

The National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. (2019). Timeline of Key Milestones. Retrieved July 6, 2019, from https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/timeline/

The Representative for Children and Youth. (2016). *Too Many Victims: Sexualized Violence in the Lives of Children and Youth in Care*. Retrieved from https://www.rcybc.ca/sites/default/files/documents/pdf/reports_publications/rcy_toomanyvictimsfinal.pdf

Tuck, E. (2009). Re-visioning Action: Participatory Action Research and Indigenous Theories of Change. *The Urban Review*, *41*(1), 47–65. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-008-0094-x

Tuck, E., & Gaztambide-Fernandez, R. A. (2013). Curriculum, replacement, and settler futurity. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, *29*(1), 72–90. Retrieved from http://journal.jctonline.org/index.php/jct/article/view/411

Tuck, E., McKenzie, M., & McCoy, K. (2014). Land education: Indigenous, post-colonial, and decolonizing perspectives on place and environmental education research. *Environmental Education Research*, *20*(1), 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2013.877708

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

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2018). *Toward What Justice?* (E. Tuck & K. W. Yang, Eds.), *Toward What Justice? Describing Diverse Dreams of Justice in Education*. New York, NY : Routledge, 2018.: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351240932

White, R. (2018). Seed Rematriation. Retrieved August 10, 2018, from http://sierraseeds.org/seed-rematriation/

Wilson, E. K. (2017). 'Power Differences' and 'the Power of Difference': The Dominance of Secularism as Ontological Injustice. *Globalizations*, *14*(7), 1076–1093.

https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2017.1308062

Wilson, P., & Stewart, M. (2008). Indigeneity and Indigenous Media on the Global Stage. In P. Wilson & M. Stewart (Eds.), *Global Indigenous Media: Cultures, Poetics, and Politics* (pp. 1–38). Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Retrieved from https://www.dukeupress.edu/global-indigenous-media

9. Appendix

Id#	Code
1	metoo
2	culture
3	indigenous solutions
4	media
5	community
6	Reconciliation
7	resilience
8	resistance/revolution
9	tradition
10	healing
11	land
12	seed rematration
13	family
14	motherhood
15	critical
16	institution
17	calls to action
18	chat
19	Empowerment
20	feminism
21	Womans March
22	ally
23	repatriation
24	sovereignity
25	return of indigenous assets
26	decolonization
27	racism
28	white supremacy
29	matriarchs
30	representation
31	colonialism
32	residential schools
33	history
34	spirituality
35	indigenous language
36	language
37	ancestral
38	indigenous womxn
39	reclaim
40	voice
41	celebrate
42	ReMatriate Collective
43	appropriation
44	fashion

45 News

46 youth

47 violence against women

48 art

49 indigenous scholars and theories

50 music

51 NoDAPL

52 medicine

53 mother earth

54 practices

55 appreciation

56 change

57 compassion

58 identity

59 MMIW

60 stories

61 activism

62 education

63 breaking stereotypes

64 rediscover

65 settler

66 over sexualization

67 environment

68 water protection

69 elders

70 creator

71 ceremony

72 justice

73 sisterhood

74 further information

75 patriarchy

76 human rights

77 african application

78 truth

79 self-determination

80 sapmi

81 event

82 body positivity

83 white feminism

84 7th generation

85 men

86 food

87 balance

88 standing rock

89 future

90 Inquiry into MMIW

91	gender discrimination
92	revitalization
93	podcast
94	restoring
95	indigenous pride
96	US
97	Jamaican application
98	health
99	indigenous gender justice
100	scottish application
101	LGBTQI
102	obama
103	spanish application
104	maori application
105	arabic application
106	trade
107	treaty
108	beauty standards
109	grassroots
110	enterpreneur
111	Right of Indigenous Peoples
112	neoliberalism
113	caregiving
114	society
115	indigenous masculinity
116	question
117	role model
118	consent
119	tokenism
120	idlenomore
121	heritage
122	adaption
123	development
124	assimilation
125	privilege
126	preservation
127	support
128	mainstream
129	internet