<u>Ma Thesis Religion, Conflict and Globalization</u>

Intersecting Indigenous Identities: Recognition of Two-Spirit Identity in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Process

Master of Arts Thesis Religion, Conflict & Globalization – University of Groningen

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Abstract

Recognition of identity is a necessary and growing project within conflict resolution theory. Identity politics has become a topic of interest due to an increased focus on the individual and a loss of the sense of self in a (post-)secular era. Intersecting factors such as religion, gender, sexual orientation and ethnicity complicate this search for recognition of identity. This thesis explores the harms of misrecognition and merits of recognition of the intersectionality of identity in a peace process. Charles Taylor's theory of recognition provides the *why* and theory of intersectionality provides the *how* of approaching intersectional identity in a reconciliation process. The particular case of the Two-Spirit minority of the indigenous peoples in Canada in the Truth and Reconciliation process on residential schools is highlighted.

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Introduction

The world we live in today has long entered the era of globalization. This is visible through increasing interconnectedness, international cooperation through multilateral organizations and concepts such as shared human rights under the premise of multiculturalism. This has also resulted in internationalized intra-state conflict as the most prevalent form of conflict today (Kaldor, 2006:161) and the need to resolve this in a modern manner. Peacebuilding efforts that were initiated in the 1990s do match contemporary conflict, and in fact did not always work back then. Conflict is never going away, but is evolving and changing, and so must peacebuilding. How to resolve conflict in a holistic and sustainable way is a question with diverging answers coming in from various disciplines. This thesis proposes an identity-based model of recognition and intersectionality in peacebuilding and conflict transformation to hopefully build more sustainable peace.

The dominant frame of post-Cold War peacebuilding efforts is dominated by liberal institutionalism (Paris, 1997). Peacebuilding has fallen victim to standardized components that do not take local situations and international developments into account. Criticizing liberal peacebuilding has been gaining popularity amongst scholars of international relations, political science and other relevant disciplines for several years now. However, introducing and researching the role of identity in this respect has remained relatively unexplored. There is a need to respond to the changing role of identities in contemporary conflict and consequent peacebuilding efforts. Even though identity plays an important role in conflict, "insights into constructed and contextual nature of identification have yet to make their way into conflict resolution theory" (Orjuela, 2004: 31). Identity is seen fixed and a given which this thesis seeks to problematize and challenge. In addition, when it is employed, there is usually a focus on one aspect of one's identity. There have been former instances of gendered peacebuilding or religious peacebuilding, which do help build a more sustainable peace by including more actors into a peacebuilding process. However, these instances do not recognize overlapping identities and the intersectionality of this.

Moreover, this thesis plays into the modern developments of conflict in the post-Cold War era. Today, conflict is largely fought out in (civil) society, no longer on the traditional battlefield. More and more civil, and thus diverse, actors are involved and victimized in conflict and need to be recognized in peacebuilding processes. The subsequent liberal peace that has dominated the post-

Cold War era needs to be understood and criticized (Heathershaw, 2013). Current theories of peacebuilding are outdated in this respect and are statist approaches that do not consider the identities of the persons involved in the conflict. Hence this thesis employs as the main research question: *to what extent can the recognition of (intersectionality of) identities play a role in peacebuilding efforts?*

Structure

Firstly, in the theoretical framework this thesis will undertake to set out a history of (liberal) peacebuilding, its critics and alternative approaches to peacebuilding that have been growing the past decades. This section will also set out the background of the case study of the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation process. This literature review is important in order to understand why this thesis focuses on identity in peacebuilding. Consequently, the theories guiding this thesis will be explained. The dominant theories are intersectionality theory and Charles Taylor's theory of recognition (1992). Intersectionality is a concept often used in critical theories to describe the ways in which oppressive institutions are interconnected and cannot be examined separately from one another. This thesis will examine how to employ intersectionality theory in peacebuilding theory. Next to that, the work of Taylor emphasizes the need for recognition of identity and the detrimental effects of misidentifying people or groups. With the knowledge we have now of intersectionality and the growing movement of identity politics, it is interesting to see the applicability of the theory of recognition on peacebuilding and conflict transformation in 2019.

Secondly, a detailed case study will be undertaken to further substantiate the claim that identity needs to be recognized. The case study selected for this thesis is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada which ran between 2008 and 2015. This particular case is relevant to this thesis because of its sensitive history of the complexities of identity. The Canadian schooling system systematically aimed at erasing indigenous identities by forcing children of the aboriginal peoples into so-called residential schools. These schools were in action for decades and successfully undertook to erase vital parts of identity such as spirituality, sexuality and language in order to assimilate into dominant Canadian culture. There is a complex intersectionality of identity at play here, calling for a need to properly address identity in the TRC final rapport. This thesis will examine in what way identity was approached in the TRC process and to what extent the indigenous peoples felt recognized and justly identified. In particular, the focus lies on the

treatment and recognition of aboriginal two-spirit people, whose sexual and/or gender identity is spiritually underpinned and was systemically erased in the residential schools. Hence the sub question *To what extent did the identity of two-spirit people play a role in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Canadian Residential Schools?*

Finally, this thesis will assess what it means to incorporate identity and intersectionality into peacebuilding efforts led by the sub question; *What does recognition of the intersectionality of identity in peacebuilding look like in a sustainable peace process?* By looking at the situation in Canada's truth and reconciliation commission, a discussion will be held on the possibility and applicability of this new approach on peace theory. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to the debate on critical peacebuilding theories and fill the gap that is open for identity politics to come into play.

Research Design

An important analytical part of this is the executive summary of the TRC Canada report (2015). This document will be critically analyzed. Both parts that explicitly and implicitly discuss identity will be looked at. By employing the larger lens of discourse analysis, this thesis aims to uncover how identity was discussed in this peace process. This will be done by identifying markers of identification and recognition in the theoretical framework part of this thesis.

This thesis is framed by interpretivist thought. This means that ontologically this thesis holds that the world and our knowledge of it is framed by social and contextual understanding. Epistemologically, this leads the researcher to try to discover the underlying meaning of actions, texts and events. This thesis is also epistemologically influenced by *Etuaptmumk*, or two-eyed seeing approach developed by Mi'kmaw Elder Albert Marshall, survivor of the residential school system. (Hatcher, Bartlett, Marshall and Marshall, 2009). In this approach Western and Indigenous science are recognized as supportive of each other, instead of overwriting. It is a way of bridge building between the perceptions, beliefs and understandings of indigenous communities and the Western system of knowledge and science. "Inherent in the Two-Eyed Seeing approach is a respect for different worldviews and a quest to outline a common ground while remaining cognizant and respectful of the differences." (Ibid., p. 152). A clash of knowledge is bypassed and mutual understanding is a more possible reality. This thesis aims to respect that by using Western traditions of critical textual hermeneutics coming from queer, feminist, and other critical theories,

and Indigenous customs of cultural ceremonies, narratives (Robinson, 2017: 10). This mainly is reflected in the deliberate effort to try to use the scientific work of two-spirit and Indigenous scholars when discussing the experiences of the indigenous peoples in the residential school system and consequent peace process. However, what must be recognized here is the limitations of Western social science from which this thesis is written. This thesis is written by someone who does not identify as Two-Spirit or indigenous and as such is limited by certain worldviews and values. There is a room for improvement in supporting and promoting research participation by Indigenous scholars, as this is relatively lacking at the moment (Dion, Díaz Ríos, Leonard and Gabel, 2020: 141). Deliberately including the voice of Two-Spirit people lines up with the interpretivist viewpoint of this thesis. Hassner (2009: 154) explains this viewpoint in the light of conflict on sacred sites, by recommending that religious leaders, and not merely religious experts, are involved in consultations about these conflicts. Whereas experts can offer explanations for conflicts by supplying data about the purpose of these sites, religious leaders are able to impart an understanding which provides invaluable insight into the meaning and significance of sacred sites to believers. This explaining versus understanding is the core of materialist versus interpretivist research (Ibid, p. 158). To understand is to focus on meaning and belief and to specifically locate the sense of importance attached.

Methodologically in order to answer the research questions, this thesis will be conducted through qualitative research. The aim of this research is not simply to gain knowledge that can be generalized, but to gain an insight into the complexity of identity in peacebuilding processes. In line with interpretivist thought, this thesis employs discourse analysis. Discourse here refers to the practices that organize knowledge in a set community or group, discourses may for example be statements, sentiments or judgements. Discourses create, maintain and legitimize systems of meaning (von Stuckrad, 2013). Discourse analysis also focuses on praxis, praxis is the name given to the engagement embedded in communally shared understandings and values and depends on their everyday linguistic usage (Dent, Wong and Ishmail, 2013). Discourse analysis is not strictly viewed as interpretivist and can be seen as a post-positivist or 'constitutive' theory because it focuses on the meaning of, and the 'reasons for', the actions of actors (Urrestarazu, 2015).

This thesis is guided by several theories that will be employed and built upon. Firstly, the theory of recognition by Charles Taylor (1992) is used as he puts forward a helpful understanding of how

to recognize identity. This theory is particularly useful as Taylor delivers a critique on the Canadian politics that were involved in the construction and maintenance of the residential schools. This thesis will examine this theory now that the TRC has come out with final reports and publications in 2015. Taylor puts forward a theory holding that not all cultures should be assumed equally worthy in order to combat making unjustified judgments about other cultures and avoiding arrogance. This theory is not undisputed and that is also true for this thesis. Critics of Taylor and other theories of culture and identity are also be explored. Next to that, this thesis also delves deeper into intersectionality theory. Intersectionality is a concept often used in critical theories to describe the ways in which oppressive institutions are interconnected and cannot be examined separately from one another. These theories will be combined into a workable theory that enables critical document analysis of the TRC process.

Objectives

This thesis fills a definite gap in academic literature. Peacebuilding appears to be largely in the International Relations (IR) domain of social science and processes of identity and intersectionality in other domains such as Religious Studies, Sociology and Anthropology. This thesis has the ambition to combine various perspectives into a multidisciplinary approach to peacebuilding. Identity-based politics have only recently come into academics and are in particular very recent in peacebuilding theories (Funk, 2015). Additionally, the TRC report was only published in 2015, so not much research has been done into the workings of this process, especially not in relation to two-spirit people.

The aim of this thesis is to uncover the workings of identity in peacebuilding and to aid in developing an approach to peacebuilding that is capable of building a sustainable peace. Generally, this thesis aims to fill the gap there is in academic research on critical approaches to peacebuilding. Specifically, this thesis wants to critically examine what happened in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission process in Canada. Through this detailed case study this thesis wants to discover how identity relates to processes of peacebuilding. Moreover, this thesis wants to link intersectionality and identity to peacebuilding in a clear and coherent way.

Chapter 1: Peace, Identity and what we make of it

War and conflict is of all ages, but so is peace. Mosaics from the world's first civilization, the Sumer, from around 2600 BC depict heavy war scenes, but also peace scenes illustrated by banquets between rival cities spelling out mutual obligations to peace (Stearns, 2014: 22). This eternal desire for sustainable, perpetual peace is to many perhaps most famously described in the works of Immanuel Kant (1795). But undoubtedly also found in much earlier sacred texts such as the Bible or the Quran that lay out divine duties to peace and compassion. Peace is of all times and a typical characteristic of humankind and society. To make sense of conflict and peace, scholars have been studying the subjects for centuries. In order to understand why this thesis promotes an identity-based form of peacebuilding which focuses on recognition and intersectionality, one must first understand these origins of the policies and academics of peace(building). Consequently, the prevailing liberal model of peace and its critics will be discussed. And lastly, the role that identity plays or should play in peacebuilding is explained.

The Origins of Peace Studies & Peacebuilding

Before the Cold War, wars would be classified as absolute, statist and culminating in decisive battle as explained in the influential works of von Clausewitz (1832). When the Cold War ended in 1989, this meant a change in warfare. Instead of the more prevalent interstate conflict caused by ideological clashes, intrastate conflicts have increased enormously (Kaldor, 2006:161). Recently, conflicts are more often described as ethnic or religious (Lederach, 1997: 8). However, scholars have found that defining a conflict as ethnic for example is often incorrect and a more accurate definition would be "identity conflict" (Friberg, 1992: 62). When a government is unable to adequately address basic needs and distribution of scarce resources, this leads people to identify with a certain group in that particular situation. Thus not creating an ethnic conflict, but an identity conflict. Around two-third of armed conflict is thought to be identity-based (Lederach, 1997: 8). 'New Wars/Conflicts', those taking place post-Cold War, are largely about identity or the struggle over power on the basis of particular identity (Kaldor, 2006). Alongside the development of conflict, is the post-Cold War era also the era of globalization. Globalization has had a large impact on the organization of identity and the self; there is a larger number of positions to choose from and the repertoire is heterogeneous and filled with difference, opposition and contradiction. People are met with a plethora of changes in the environment and larger "position/identity leaps" meaning

moving from one position to another (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010: 76). Globalization has caused a spillover effect of intrastate (identity) conflict, but also a growing recognition to build peace by international organizations mainly through UN peacebuilding initiatives. Various UN peacekeeping missions from the 1990s are infamous failures, the 1995 Srebrenica Massacre being the worst massacre in post-Second World War European history, the 1994 Rwandan genocide that left around a million people dead or the 1995 conflict in Somalia described by UN officials as the greatest failure of the UN. These signaled the need for a concrete approach to conflict and peace, capable of dealing with the post-Cold War global system.

In order to study phenomena of conflict and peace, scholars initiated the disciplines of peace studies and conflict studies in the beginning of the twentieth century. This was further sparked by the two world wars taking place and the need to study these (Lederach, 1997: 3). Peace studies as a discipline really grounded in the 1950s and 1960s with influential scholars such as John Galtung, Kenneth and Elise Boulding and Adam Curle. These researchers assisted in making more data and mechanisms available in order to assess and analyze peace and conflict. Galtung (1981) was the first to conceptualize peacebuilding by delivering the suggestion for systemic structures to create sustainable peace. These peacebuilding structures needed to address the root causes of conflict and support local capacity for peace management and conflict resolution. Consequently, the 1970s and 1980s saw a rise in the establishment of specific organizations such as the Stockholm Institute of Peace Research (SIPRI) and the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO). Peace studies as a discipline developed alongside that of conflict transformation. The two first fused at the global conference of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) in Valetta, Malta in 1994. Combining approaches to peace and conflict were found to be productive in uncovering the bigger picture of peacebuilding and the interconnectedness of the various stages of peace and conflict (Reychler, 2010).

The amount of peer reviewed journals covering aspects of peacebuilding has doubled since 1992 (Reychler, 2010). Researchers are increasingly interested in both widening and deepening peacebuilding. This development is a response to the changing post-Cold War world and the responsibility felt for building a more peaceful world. There is a growing group of researchers adhering to the intellectual solidarity approach, holding that peace research would benefit from improved cooperation between policy-makers and academics (Reychler and Carmans, 2006). An

even larger group of researchers are critical of dominant peacebuilding approaches and ask questions into the aspects that make up peacebuilding today and throughout time.

Peacebuilding became part of official policy discourse when UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced his Agenda for Peace (1992). It became an overarching umbrella term that includes components such as preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping and reconciliation. Within the peacebuilding framework the interactions between these various activities and approaches are studied. Taking the areas of action Boutros Boutros-Ghali describes in the Agenda for Peace we can distinguish four groups of areas of interest for scholars of peace and conflict studies. Firstly, *preventive diplomacy* which includes the actions undertaken to prevent conflicts arising and to prevent escalation of contemporary conflict. Important work in this respect is the development of early warning systems such as that of Gurr and Harff (1994). Secondly, there is the concept of *peacemaking*. Much research is done into the efforts that bring parties to the peace table in order to sign the peace agreement, Boutros-Ghali (1992) describes this as the action to bring hostile parties to agreement. Influential scholars in this respect are for example, Lederach (1997) who was the first to introduce a more holistic type of peacemaking. Next to that, MacGinty (2011) who offers a big picture approach for the many activities done in the name of peacemaking. Furthermore, Zartman (1995) with his theory of ripeness of conflict and hurting stalemate. Thirdly, *peacekeeping* is the deployment of troops to both prevent escalation of conflict and make peace. Research focuses both on official UNSC operations and other peace support operations. Topics of research include peacekeeping tasks, missions, successes/failures, contributing actors and so on (Reychler, 2010). Influential works in this respect are that of Chopra (1999) and MacQueen (2006) who investigate past experiences. Lastly, the Agenda for Peace described *peacebuilding* as a separate category in this respect. However, since the publication this term has begun taking the meaning of more of an umbrella term describing all the aspects mentioned above and more.

Building Liberal Peace in the post-Cold War Era

The end of the Cold War brought about a world that was willing to cooperate. Peacebuilding missions started increasing due to such events as the Balkan wars or the Rwandan civil war. In this era, liberal peacebuilding manifested itself as the dominant form and this remains largely so until this day.

The term 'liberal peace' is rightfully contested and refers to a broad phenomenon. MacGinty (2011: 21) defines it as 'the dominant form of peacemaking as promoted by leading states, international organizations, and international financial institutions through their peace-support interventions'. Essentially this means that when the term liberal peace or liberal peacebuilding is employed we look at the ideology behind this, the structure of the system, involved actors and forms that it takes. This does not mean that a liberal peace is liberal in the sense of the word, but it is more likely that actors subscribing to liberal ideology employ this. Liberalism, as primarily guided by the works of Immanuel Kant, assumes a human dignity that has autonomy and can decide what a good life looks like. Liberalists often assume that there are universal, difference-blind principles leading to the principle of equal dignity (Taylor, 1973: 32). Thus there is a strong commitment to treat people with equal respect. Doyle (1997) is often seen as the leading theorist of the liberal peace. He has identified certain important elements of liberalism. The individual is seen as the primary unit in society. A liberal country supports and promotes tolerance, diversity, equality of opportunity and individual freedom. The liberal ideology is optimistic, for modernization and beliefs in rationality. Important markers are the defense of property, the law, free markets and state-based societal organization.

These conditions of Liberalism translate into the visible liberal recipe for international intervention we see at work in post-Cold War peacebuilding. The major force in peacebuilding is the United Nations with its peace-missions. These often manifest themselves in one of two ways; imposing liberal peace on unchallenged assumptions like it is in the West or road-testing certain policies in these interventions. When peace has been enforced through either direct or indirect (sanctions or financial pressure) violence, the liberal system of governance is imposed on the post-conflict state. The state is seen as the most important institution, free markets are created and democratic elections are held. This is further referred to as 'liberal internationalism' (Paris, 1997). The idea behind implementing a liberal peace and hereby liberal peace makes sense if one considers the popular theory behind this, namely democratic peace theory. Building a strong state with a functional democratic system is thought to mean that this state is less likely to go to war, democratic states are even theorized to not go to war with each other. MacGinty dubs this the IKEA-approach to building peace, where standardized components are repeatedly implemented in the same manner (MacGinty, 2011: 40).

Critiquing liberal peacebuilding has been popular in recent scholarly work (Heathershaw. 2013). This critique focuses largely on the binary that is constructed between local-indigenous and international-liberal peacebuilding efforts. Liberal peacebuilding is criticized to be ethnocentric, preferring the big players of the Global North or the West. This leads to an elitist impression of peace wherein essential power relations remain unchanged and local expectations are not fulfilled and connected with (MacGinty, 2011: 42). Liberalist actors feel superior and alternative approaches are considered deviant. Another criticism is the limited time frame that is allowed for building peace, peace is considered an event rather than a process. This rigid enforcement of peace leads to short-term, unsustainable and superficial peace (MacGinty, 2011: 43).

Boutros Boutros-Ghali's Agenda for Peace (1992) advised a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding which is in large contrast to the liberal dominant state-centric top-down tradition. Dealing with the dynamics and root causes of conflicts is extremely difficult from the top-down. This is largely due to the complexities of long-standing animosities in a region and the multiplying, overlapping identity groups that are involved in a conflict (Lederach, 1997: 18). Order and security are prioritized over emancipation and diversity. Moreover, Lederach (1996: 38) criticizes the Western bias in liberal peacebuilding that is not sensitive enough to local cultures and identities. Therefore he proposes taking a closer look at this North American (or Western) 'self' and at what presupposed universal assumptions models of dispute resolution are founded on.

The Quest for Identity in the 21st Century

A major critical response to liberal peacebuilding is the lack of identity and recognition which has been picked up by influential scholars. In the West, one might say that identity was born during the Protestant Reformation through Luther's conception of the inner self (Fukuyama, 2018: 26). Luther's conception was new in the understanding of the inner self as deep and in need of personal exploration. His definition of identity and the inner self had one dimension: faith and personal relationship with God. The modern conception of identity evolved further during the 18th century, mainly at the hands of philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and took on a more secular form. Fukuyama explains how in traditional human societies for the largest part of human history, identity was never questioned. Social roles were based on gender & age, occupations were predetermined, everyone in the community shared beliefs and culture and moving away from that village was not a consideration. There was no sense in asking questions about who you are

(Fukuyama, 2018: 35). Thus when modernization took over and opportunities for social and economic change were introduced, identity became a question of debate. For example, in particular the growth of the European Union called into question European national identities (Urrestarazu, 2015: 130). The loss of nationality as identifying features means a search for alternative sources of the self. In 1993, Samuel Huntington published the influential work *Clash of Civilizations.* Huntington (1993) argues that people have started separating from local identities since the end of the Cold War. Religion primarily, but also other methods of identification, has filled this gap by providing the grounds for identity and commitment that ignore national boundaries. In other words, globalization has led to the loss of the nation-state as the primary source of identification and increased the available and diverse sources of the self (Pieterse, 1995). This means that identities have different and larger bases such as religions and localities that do not adhere to the state. This is particularly visible in times of conflict when the construction of (opposite) identities is vital. Competing forces both employ inclusionist and exclusionist strategies in order to build friend and enemy (Orjuela, 2004: 29). The paradox in this however is that often the subordinate groups must group together in order to show the gender, race and ethnic hierarchies present which reinforces their position as subordinate. This 'strategic essentialism' is necessary because aiming to eliminate these identity categories would open up room for a universalism where the dominant force would be the norm (Spivak, 1988).

Identities shape human beings and their communities. Recognizing the importance of embodied experiences of gender, race, sexuality and ethnicity are what we see as identity politics today (Diamond, 2012). This concept was introduced in the 1970s and gained more traction in the 1980s due to social injustice and discrimination being widespread vocalized as societal issues. Groups such as the LGBTQ community or ethnic minorities like the First Nations in Canada began employing identity politics for legal recognition and social participation. Belonging to a minority group often means serious repercussions and threats to existence, hence why identity politics is linked to survival and resistance (Diamond, 2012). The conception of identity within identity politics means that it does not sum up the complexity of an individual, group or conjuncture. Nor is identity a birthright, but it should be seen as a combination of meanings and dispositions that are achieved and change over time (Diamond, 2012). Humans desire recognition, thus the modern conception of identity has evolved into identity politics in which people call for public recognition of their worth (Fukuyama, 2018: 10).

Canadian political theorist Charles Taylor has written a comprehensive account of this evolution of the politics of identity and recognition. Taylor, not to be confused with the Liberian warlord of the same name, published his now famous essay *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* in 1992. The thesis he holds in this essay is, shortly put, that identity is shaped by recognition or absence thereof. Firstly, Taylor points to the importance of identity in human life. We derive and define identity through language, this is a key characteristic of the dialogical feature of human life (Taylor, 1992: 32). From this starting point, Taylor acknowledges the importance of recognition in dialogue because of identity-making. Taylor holds that misrecognizing people or groups of people can entail real negative consequences and a distortion in the understanding of the self. This misrecognition, or nonrecognition, may inflict harm, is a way of oppressing people and imprisons people into a wrong, distorted and reduced way of being. The most important consequence of misrecognition is the internalization of inferiority. The inferior judgement that is projected onto people is seen as one's true identity and is largely for example what happens in colonial times, when the colonizer projects inferiority on the colonized (p. 30). This inferiority internalization stands at the basis of many ethnic/identity conflicts and wars.

Feelings of unequal worth and misunderstanding of identity are increasingly motives for conflict, instead of traditional views of seeing political struggles as reflections of economic conflict. Humans are rationally motivated by economic incentive and maximization of their utility, but this thesis goes beyond this liberal economic model of explaining behavior and suggests adding identity politics to this. There lies a danger in misrecognition of worth in the possibilities of conflict. Current examples of this are the Black Lives Matter movement, women standing up for their rights and also the rise of politicians such as Donald Trump and Viktor Orbán whose supporters feel that their traditional position in society is fading. These groups have in common that their identities are not given adequate recognition. These identities may be national, religious, sexual, ethnic or gender-related but are all manifestations of the phenomenon of identity politics (Fukuyama, 2018: 9)

Identity in Theory and Practice

Identity used to be consequently glossed over in both peace theory and practice (Orjuela, 2004: 29) and was considered irrelevant and/or a given. This was for example visible in the way (liberal) peacemakers approached ethnic conflict resolution. Harsh lines were drawn between opposing

communities and emotional and other 'irrationalities' that make up identity were ignored. Identity is in this sense seen as an obstacle that needs to be overcome in order for the process to advance. These approaches do not want or do not observe in-group complexities and the circumstantial and established nature of identity (Kaufman, 1997). Today, there is a rise in scholarly articles concerning foreign policy, conflict transformation and other various paradigms in social science that refer to the phenomenon of 'identity politics' (Urrestarazu, 2015: 127). This rise is ascribed to the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 attacks. Both events caused a shock, leaving the academic community the need to revisit theories concerning conflict and peace because they were not equipped to deal with this.

Identity in relation to conflict resolution is often found in the work of religious scholars. Gopin (2000: 18) argues that in moments of crisis what is needed are methods of dealing with religious actors *as they currently define themselves.* This is a deviation from the liberal peace method that is top-down and where identities are imposed from above. Instead of seeing an afflicted group as a particular identity that can be conferred upon, identity is conceived from the ground up to prevent misrecognition. Frustrations and grievances over (misrecognition of) identities are often a source of conflict, but can also function to form identities (Rothman and Olson, 2001). Times of peace and conflict draw sharp lines on sense of belonging and instead of seeing this as an obstacle, peacemakers should benefit from this. Identities, whether group of personal, are sources of strength, places to speak from, crucial to organization and for making sense of peace and conflict. In the peace process of consolidating these identities it is difficult not to simplify and suppress the difference and heterogeneity within groups. Other conflict resolution scholars and peacemakers have hardly explicitly recognized this intricate dynamic (Orjuela, 2004: 33-34). An influential scholar that does engage in this dynamic is Mary Kaldor (2006). Kaldor argues that in post-Cold War conflicts, which she dubs post-modern conflicts, identity politics play a prominent role in the reproduction of power. In order to engage in conflict transformation an understanding of the local spirituality is required. Kaldor hereby keeps the option of ambivalent identities open. According to her, this represents a potential solution for conflicts. Identity is however not supposed to be seen as clashing with theories on conflict and peace; identity is involved in all these but to what extent varies (Horowitz, 2002: 1).

Instances of representing identity in peacebuilding are increasingly found in attempts to include for example religion or gender. For instance, the importance of incorporating gender into peacebuilding which was formally set by UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000). The aforementioned agenda for peace led to the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) which emphasized a gendered perspective and women's contributions in order to build sustainable peace. Resolution 1325 contains various significant components inter alia the call for a gendered perspective, the recognition of women's efforts, the urgency to include women in all phases of peacebuilding and the protection of women from gender-based violence. A gender-just peace derives from a place for women at peace negotiations and thereafter in the arena of politics. This entails recognizing the importance of women and their position in society and translating this into a peace that provides social justice and equity. It should transform gender relations, constitute a significant shift in the provision of women's rights and redefine societal (gendered) hierarchies (Björkdahl, 2012).

Religion is also playing an increasingly important role in the world of conflict resolution. Scholarly attention has increased due to such realizations as the central role religion plays in the life and behavior of millions of people around the world. Generally, other motives than religion instigate conflict, but consequent emotions are often expressed in religious terms (Gopin, 2000). Religion is not instrumental in violence and wars and conflicts have non-religious components. However, in popular literature religious violence is seen as a separate threat than secular violence (Cavanaugh, 2009). According to Cavanaugh this distinction scholars make is unhelpful, misleading and mystifying. Religious ideologies cannot be empirically separated from their secular counterparts. The main idea of these theories is that religion is absolutist, divisive and irrational. However, there is no empirically proven link between religion and violence. Thus, religion does not definitively cause conflict. Nonetheless, it can help transform conflict and build peace. This is largely due to the fact that religion is instrumental in shaping one's identity. This leads on the one hand to people committing the grossest acts of violence and terrorism in the name of god due to seeing this as cosmic war that transcends human experience (Juergensmeyer, 2003: 160). But on the other hand, employing religious identity in peace talks will also awaken divine duties and commitments to peace and cooperation. A groundbreaking work in the world of religion, peace and conflict is Scott Appleby's *Ambivalence of the Sacred* (2000). This ambivalence is the role that religion plays in promoting both tolerance and intolerance. Appleby

recognizes the importance of studying the role of the religious, both actors and institutions, in conflict transformation. Next to this, it is also important to study the sacred texts that often underpin religion. In sacred texts and religion we find important values for conflict resolution and peacebuilding, Gopin (2000: p. 20) has found several of these. Shared values include empathy which generates a common bond, sanctity of life, strands of nonviolence and pacifism and the importance of the inner life of the individual. Gopin also emphasizes values that might be particular to one religious tradition, but could be applicable in the field of conflict resolution altogether. For example, he mentions the Buddhist Compassion which is a disposition of peacefulness and compassion that cater to inner emotions. Additionally, Gandhi left a particular legacy in thinking on peace and nonviolence (Stearns, 2014: 183). But we might also turn to for example the biblical Ten Commandments or the Islamic Five Pillars of Faith. Religious peacebuilding is most accurately defined as the range of actions undertaken by religious actors and institutions with the goal of settling and transforming conflict, hereby building societal relations and political organizations that symbolize a mentality of tolerance and nonviolence. (Little and Appleby, 2004: 5). This also includes efforts outside of the strains of formal liberal peacebuilding efforts. Current peace endeavors build on the past, in particular there is a rise visible of religious movements developing new vitality.

Identification and identity are essentially contested terms in academia and not unproblematic or without their critics. One problem recognized is overidentification, which is primarily discussed in the domain of religious studies. Overidentification with one's ethnic/religious group means deriving meaning of a singular identity from a religious worldview. Gopin (2000: 32) argues that a sense of self should be inclusive but not exhausted by religious affiliation. Faith should be shared with one group and humanity with all. A multiplicity of healthy identities will prevent a level of overidentification (Gopin, 2000: 32). Another problem within identity politics is the constant struggle with identity recognition in dispute resolution, where a select few always get/need to speak for a larger group (Orjuela, 2004: 32). It will never be possible to let every victim speak in a peacebuilding phase. Hence, there is the difficult task of selecting the few that do represent identities that resonate with the afflicted peoples.

All in all, identity is a contested topic in the world of peace and conflict studies. Stepping away from dominant understandings of peace and conflict is necessary and also visibly growing trend

in research. This ranges from research on the loss of the sense of self to the way identities shape humans and their communities today. Attempts are also already made in practice, with the inclusion of e.g. religious and gender identities in peacebuilding initiatives. The next chapter of will set the scene for the identity conflict and resolution this thesis focuses on, the Truth and Reconciliation process in Canada.

Chapter 2: Canada's Residential School System and Truth and Reconciliation Commission

This chapter aims to explain the case study focus of this thesis; Canada's residential school system, the subsequent Truth and Reconciliation Commission and overarching context that surround this conflict. Because Canada's residential school system has been largely covered in academia, this section will be relatively brief in comparison to the analysis of two-spirit identity in the TRC process.

Historical Context to the Residential School System: Eliminate and Assimilate

The relationship between Canada's aboriginal peoples and its government is long and complex. When settlers first colonized Canada, the aboriginal people were deemed worthy trade partners and helpful in colonizing large parts of North America. Once fur trading and colonization slowed down, the aboriginal peoples were seen as standing in the way of (economic) prosperity (Fournier & Grey, 2014). A large scale of injustices derive from the early 1800s when the government introduced the "Indian residential school system". The goal of the residential school system was to separate children from their families, culture and identity (Fontaine, Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada and Craft, 2016). The system was put in place as part of the larger Canadian Aboriginal policy to forcibly assimilate the Aboriginal peoples and eliminate them as distinct peoples. As Canada's prime minister Macdonald explained in 1883 "Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in industrial training schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men" (Ibid., p.5). The residential school system evolved from day schools at the reserves until residential schools in the 1920s. Estimated is that around 150.000 First Nations[1], Métis and Inuit children passed through the schools, which were operated by most denominations of Canadian churches. The government's cooperation with the churches and consequent support of the residential schools formally ended in 1969, most schools closed by the 1980s, but some remained operational until the late 1990s (Ibid., p.7).

Conditions at the schools were harsh and emotional, physical and sexual abuse was widespread. The mechanism set in place by the government to deal with claims for injuries related to sexual and physical abuse has received 37,951 claims (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015a:

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[1] For explanation of the aboriginal peoples of Canada, see glossary

106). The schools were often overcrowded, the children underfed and disease spread easily leading to high rates of injury and death (Milloy, 2017: 77-128). Children often tried running away, but if a child ran from the school their parents were at risk of six months in prison for sheltering them. Large numbers of children died at the schools and the information was not always communicated to their families. Students were often buried in unmarked graves leading to the unknown number today of how many children exactly lost their lives at the residential schools (Ibid., p.142-146).

Deconstruction of Indigenous Identity

As stated, the goal of the system was to systemically erase indigenous identity which was done and achieved in several ways. For many schools the most important part of the education was religious training, this was thought be essential in building a character that countered the "evil Indian nature". Traditional and spiritual practices such as the Potlatch and Sun Dance were banned (Galley, 2009). Next to that, lessons were taught primarily in English, a new language to many indigenous children which left a hard time adjusting at the schools. Aboriginal languages were only allowed to be spoken at set times by the school board and punishments were strict including food deprivation, cutting of hair and physical abuse. Discipline was thought to bring civilization to the children that were considered savages in the eyes of the Canadian school boards. The suppression of the language has led to the majority of indigenous languages under threat of extinction. Overall, the curriculum taught history that demeaned indigenous cultures, ignored related societal issues and constantly perpetuated racist stereotypes, e.g. in the books Aboriginal people were described as *redskins* (Fontaine, Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada and Craft, 2016: 50-52). Both boys and girls were educated at the schools, but in many cases the goal was only to educate girls until they were married. A goal of the system was to produce 'civilized families' and the woman was essential in this respect. A mother educated at a residential school would hopefully marry someone equally educated and set a good example at home (Milloy, 2017: 40-42). The system hereby enforced gender stereotypes.

This systemic stripping of identity left its marks on the indigenous children. Growing up in a system that mocks and suppresses the cultures of your community attacks your self-worth and the bond you have with your family. Over time, having a distorting image projected constantly onto you as a person or your group leads to the *internalization of inferiority* (Taylor, 1992: 52). The lies told lead to feelings of self-hatred and the oppression of one's identity. Bonds with families and

communities were gravely damaged due to language barriers, religious clashes and other misunderstandings.

The End of the Residential School System and Apology

From the 1950s and 1960s onwards calls to end the residential school system grew louder and louder. Indigenous groups in Canada not only campaigned in Canada but joined a global movement asserting their rights. They were central in the creation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples in 1975, hereby creating the foundation for the 2007 *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (*Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a: 129). In 1972 the paper *Indian Control of Indian Education* was published, pushed by indigenous groups, which responded to the White Paper calling for the abolishment of the land treaties and the Indian Act. The publication underscored the right of Indigenous groups to locally decide on education and was seen as the integral reference for education policy moving forward. Slowly but surely this led to schools being closed and apologies being issued.

Alongside that, many churches began investigating and questioning their role in the system. Church organizations began supporting indigenous rights' campaigns and started issuing apologies. Sentiments that were reflected on in the apologies related to the abuse and the forceful denying of culture, such as in archbishop Peers' statement "I am sorry, more than I can say, that we tried to remake you in our image, taking from you your language and the signs of your identity" (Anglican Church of Canada, 1993).

Next to that, students began filing lawsuits against the schools, estimated is that in total around 18.000 lawsuits were filed (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a: 129-131). In 2004, the Ontario Court of Appeal accepted a large class-action lawsuit in response to which the federal government agreed to reach a settlement with the indigenous peoples of Canada. The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) was reached in 2006 and amongst other agreements on payments and support, it led to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. The settlement was famously followed by Canada's apology made by PM Steven Harper to former students of Indian Residential Schools (Government of Canada, 2008). In this apology Harper recognized that Canada tried assimilating Aboriginal children into Canadian culture and attempted to 'kill the Indian in the child'.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Following the IRSSA the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was installed on June 1st 2008. In general, a truth commission or truth and reconciliation commission[2] (TRC) is made up of several relatively constant elements. It is a *temporary body,* this means that permanent human rights committees or investigations do not qualify as TRCs. A TRC publishes a *final report*, which is sent to the issuing political body or immediately communicated to the people. This component is important because probably the most essential part of a TRC is shedding light or giving information on past human rights violations. If this report does not make an impact, the commission has failed for the content matters for further recommendations and actions. The TRC operates with a *politically autonomous procedure*. Political actors are not allowed to intervene directly in the TRC, even if they are the ones that establish it. They are established with an *official mandate* to investigate past human rights violations and identify the patterns and causes of violence. Bodies that are non-governmental are not TRCs, this is largely due to the fact that the findings of an independent commission cannot hold the promise of official action. If a similar truth-finding commission is instigated by civil society this can be referred to as an "unofficial truth project" (Bickford, 2007). This does not mean that these are less important, but perhaps the government is not responsive in setting up a TRC. TRC investigations are held over a *fixed period* of time building a coherent historical record of the injustices done, this is stated in the mandate. (Bakiner, 2015; Hayner, 2001).

As of mid-2020, thirty-five commissions have completed their work and published a final report, one is ongoing (AfricaNews, 2018) and five commissions have disbanded resulting in an incomplete, abandoned final product. Truth and Reconciliation commissions find their origin somewhere in the 1980s and have come into fashion more and more. The first effective TRC is Argentina's National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons which ran between 1983 and 1984[3]. However, during the 1990s was when TRCs began gaining international exposure and interest. An important turning point was the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was established to aid the country's transition from forty years of apartheid into a democracy. This TRC became a prototype for advocating alternative approaches to conflict

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[2] The two terms are interchangeable therefore seeing as the case study of this thesis concerns the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, this thesis will employ TRC as its main terminology
[3] For a list up until 2014, see Bakiner, 2015: 27-29

resolution and peace studies (Shore, 2012). This TRC also introduced reconciliation into the title, a subject that has led to criticisms in Canada. The term reconciliation implies a once harmonious relationship between the colonizers and the indigenous peoples that can be reconciled, which according to some is a myth that assumes earlier Indigenous sovereignty (Garneau, 2012).

A TRC is a means of practical reconciliation. The basis of practical reconciliation as a means of peacebuilding is to find innovative measures in order to build a situation wherein multiple groups can address and share the difficult past and joint future to resolve the current situation (Lederach, 1997: 35). Earlier in this thesis, the dominant system of liberal peacebuilding which is neglectful of identity was elaborated. A TRC is a mechanism designed to address the particular needs of groups and being respectful of them. Hayner (2011: 89) finds that TRCs have for example significantly improved their efforts of including gendered perspectives in hearings and reports. Many important facets are still lacking, but the intention is more and more prevalent (Nesiah, 2006: 41).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada had a twofold mandate; to uncover the truth and history of the residential school system and guide and inspire a process of truth and healing. When the commission began work in 2008 it was hampered by continuous arguments on the independence from government, delays in administration and an overall lack of agreement on the mandate (Petoukhov, 2011: 88). The original commission stepped down in 2009 after this false start leading to a new commission consisting of the Honorable Justice Murray Sinclair as Chair, and Chief Wilton Littlechild and Dr. Marie Wilson as commissioners. This commission was met with bureaucratic hurdles and criticism from aboriginal organizations, such as the complaint that a non-aboriginal person was the chair (Ibid., p.92). Eventually, the TRC began their six-year work throughout Canada, gathering evidence and stimulating discussions. The main source of information was voiced by survivors and members of their families from which the commission received over 6.750 statements. Next to that, federal and church documents, sometimes with the help of the court, were uncovered and used. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a: 23-37). To collect these statements national and community events were organized, aimed at bringing survivors, the government and church officials together. In the events, survivors were encouraged to share their truths, experiences, and memories of the residential school system (Petoukhov, 2011: 98). An obstacle worth mentioning, was the lack of knowledge amongst the

aboriginal peoples. Only an estimated 20% of the aboriginal population was aware of the TRC process, leading to limited participation in these events (Environics Research Group, 2008). Additional complaints were the lack of funding for survivors' participation, reluctance by the commission to include non-recognized schools and not including perpetrators in the events ((Petoukhov, 2011: 120).

TRC Findings: Cultural Genocide

In June 2015, the TRC published an executive summary of its findings which famously included 94 Calls to Action to "redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation". The first set of 42 calls relates to legacy and deals with five topics; child welfare, education, language and culture, health and justice. The second set focuses on reconciliation and the aim is creating better relations between the federal and provincial governments of Canada and the Indigenous peoples and nations (Ibid., p.319-338). According to the TRC around 150,000 children attended residential schools during its 120-year run and an estimated 3200 of those children lost their lives in the schools. From the 70,000 former students still living, 31,970 sexual assault cases were resolved by the Independent Assessment Process, and 5,995 claims were still in progress as of the report's release (Ibid., p.106).

One of the most impactful conclusions of the TRC was that the system was found to be cultural genocide. The report eloquently sets this out on the first page of the TRC report. "*Cultural genocide* is the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group. States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social institutions of the targeted group. Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed. And, most significantly to the issue at hand, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next. In its dealing with Aboriginal people, Canada did all these things (Ibid., p.1)".

This section has set out the residential school system in Canada, the impact on the lives of the indigenous peoples and the consequent TRC process and report. In the next section, the theoretical framework for the Two-Spirit case study will be set out.

Chapter 3: Application of Identity in Peacebuilding

So far, peacebuilding & its workings in contemporary society, questions surrounding identity and the background to the residential school system and TRC have been explained. The following chapter aims to set out the two theories that set the framework for critically analyzing the recognition of the intersectionality of Two-Spirit identity in the TRC process.

Charles Taylor's Theory of Recognition

After critiquing the way identity is approached in peacebuilding attempts, we are left with the question what "proper" recognition of identity should entail. Taylor (1992: 38) explains this through the difference between the *politics of dignity* and the *politics of recognition*. The origins of dignity in the West lie in the story of Adam and Eve in the bible book of Genesis. Adam and Eve were presented with the apple and this started the Christian concept of dignity; the capacity for moral choice. All humans are equal in this sense, for they are all equipped with the capacity of choice (Fukuyama, 2018: 38). Politics of dignity are now the standard in most Western countries, largely influenced by the works of Rousseau and Kant. Building on Luther's conception of the inner self that depended on the grace of God, Rousseau found the exploration of the inner self in the (secular) ability to experience individual identity free from societal conventions. Rousseau in particular started the discourse on equal respect which is necessary for freedom and with this the age of dignity was born (Taylor, 1992: 49). The politics of equal dignity uphold the universalist assumption that everyone should be recognized for their unique identity. This is part of a liberal-inspired difference blind society, based on the idea of *universal human potential*. In the politics of recognition however, unique identity is also recognized but this is emphasized as distinctness from everyone else. This particular distinctness has been ignored so far (p. 39). In policy decisions this translates to defining nondiscrimination as requiring these distinctions as the basis of different treatment. This justifies why for example the aboriginal peoples of Canada deserve certain rights that other (white) Canadians do not. The politics of recognition are also based on the idea of a potential, the potential to form and define one's particular identity. Taylor argues that we should not want to maintain a difference-blind social space, but "maintain and cherish distinctness"(p. 40). It is clear that the politics derive from one another and are similar in that they are in one way or another both based on the premise of equal respect, but there is a serious shift visible. The

difference between the two is perhaps most easily explained through their modes of politics in practice. For the politics of equal dignity difference blindness is demanded, for the politics of equal recognition difference is recognized and even fostered. The former would respond to the latter that this fostering is violating nondiscrimination. And in turn, the latter finds that the former mode forces people into a homogenous mold which is supposedly neutral (p. 43). In the equal dignity society there is little room for recognizing difference. This claim holds that there is no such neutral society, as it will always favor the dominant group. Only minorities need to adapt to this mold and therefore the politics of dignity are essentially discriminatory.

The idea of a neutral society or system that is discriminatory in practice, is repeated by various authors over time. For example, this argument is dominant in the academic discussion surrounding the concept of secularism. Secularism as a model of state is conceived as neutral towards all people, whether religious or not. Religion is kept out of the public sphere and a separate neutral entity from the state. However, secularism requires constant administrative and legal interference into religious life in order to control (Fernando, 2014: Asad, 2003). Modern secularism was initiated in order to eliminate certain types of religion with its ideas and goals (Sullivan: 153). Secularism loses its neutrality when trying to keep religion out of the public sphere, for one has to define religion first to do that. Here we can see that secularism is a Western concept with a Western protestant-dominant idea of religion. Religion is conceived of in protestant terms of belief. Religion is considered to be something not entirely defining of one's identity and can be set aside when active in politics. This is problematic for beliefs where religion is so central to one's identity that there is no way that this will not define one's day-to-day actions. This example of secularism illustrates why politics of dignity are discriminatory, as (religious) people have to fit the mold. There are no special laws or provisions made, except they are treated as equals. Hence Taylor speaks of difference blindness, whereas politics of recognition would foster and support religious difference.

The politics of dignity play out in the liberal political systems we see today. This difference-blind liberalism is not neutral. As pointed out above, being difference-blind means making distinctions in the arenas of politics/religion and public/private. Liberalism is not the base ground for mixing all cultures, but rather the political expression of this one stance (Taylor, p. 62). Multiculturalism confronts this presupposed cultural neutrality. Taylor advocates for going beyond just letting

cultures and groups survive. Instead worth and difference need to be recognized and acknowledged, or getting rid of the "neutral" system. As argued above, liberalism has largely influenced the way peacebuilding is today. Hence, the reason why this thesis points to Taylor's theory in relation to peacebuilding. The difference-blind, "ikea-type", peacebuilding that liberalism installed is not capable of fostering difference and leads to harmful identity conceptions.

Lastly, Taylor points to the possible harms of misrecognition. If the worth and difference of cultures are misrecognized and considered unworthy, demeaning or inferior to the other this leads to real damage. A distorting image that is projected onto a person or group can lead to the *internalization of inferiority* (Taylor, p. 52). This argument is popular amongst feminist authors who argue that women in patriarchal societies have been taught to embrace an inferior perception of themselves. The internalization of inferiority appears to be challenged by two developments. Firstly, the rise of multiculturalism as mentioned above which challenges dominant cultures and oppressive systems. Secondly, our understanding of *individualized identity* (Taylor, p. 28). In earlier eras our moral salvations stemmed from religion and the idea of God giving a final judgement on our character. With the decline of religion in many Western countries in the 20th century, and perhaps even earlier during the era of enlightenment, people have sought for other ways of identification. These days individualized identity means something along the lines of a particular identity that is me and discovered in myself. There is an accompanying ideal of staying true to the authentic self and today moral salvation comes from moral contact with ourselves (Taylor, p 29).

Taylor's theory is not without its criticisms. Culture and identity politics have entered an arena of discussion that scholars have dubbed "recognition versus redistribution" (Henderson & Wakeham, 2013: 16). Struggles for group and identity recognition and the politics of equality and dignity are part of this conflict. Taylor is the leading theorist on the recognition whereas redistribution is largely accredited with American critical theorist Nancy Fraser. Fraser critiques identity politics by arguing that group identity has come to overtake class interest as the main medium of mobilization. This criticism is directed at policy initiatives that offer symbolic support for cultural recognition of for example aboriginal peoples, without realizing necessary socio-economic change (Fraser, 1995)

Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality is an essentially contested term. The term was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw, scholar of critical race theory, in 1989. Crenshaw started developing intersectionality because she noticed that women of color were facing structural obstacles that were not adequately addressed in both feminism and anti-racism discourses. Gender and race needed to be studied in interaction to effectively illustrate the experiences of women of color (Crenshaw, 1989: 166). This meant for both approaches to step away from the idea that research on black female experiences is relevant only when they are connected to clearly identifiable causes, thus no longer solely focus on the oppression of women in feminism. Since then, intersectionality has gained much traction and is even seen by some as the most significant contribution that women's studies and feminism has made (Davis, 2008: 68). Intersectionality today is perhaps best described as "the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis, 2008: 68). Be that as it may, questions have arisen on whether intersectionality is a theory, a concept, a dynamic process or a strategy for doing analysis. This vagueness stems from the broad idea that comprises intersectionality theory, however perhaps this vagueness aids this thesis. Employing intersectionality in research appears to be an open project, as there is no one definition for it. This leads to this thesis borrowing useful aspects of intersectional works in feminist studies and applying these into a workable method alongside the theory of recognition to test Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission treatment of Two-Spirit indigenous people.

An example of intersectional analysis is how Cole & Sabik (2009) explore intersectional approaches to perceptions of beauty and beauty standards for women. Social categories define identity, difference and disadvantage through normalizing assumptions of beauty that include inter alia race, sexuality, able-bodiedness and age. These standards create a "broken mirror" for large numbers of people, in particular for women in today's society (Cole & Sabik, 2009: 173). This metaphor explains that perceptions of diverse women may appear unfathomable through conventional lenses. We can pose three questions, introduced by Cole & Sabik (2009: 177) that are based on the concept of intersectionality to deepen our understanding of (gendered) experiences; "Whose perspective is represented and whose is left out? What role does power play?

and Where are there similarities?". These questions, if slightly altered, are also applicable in other conflicts of identity.

1. *Whose perspective is represented?* This question prevents the representation of a singular identity and prevents from looking at groups of people in essentialist terms (Haslam, Rothschild, and Ernst, 2000). By considering race and ethnicity, e.g. a woman is diverse with respect to race. Or by considering social class e.g. "black" is diverse with respect to social class.

2. *What role does power play?* This question enables us to "consider the ways that multiple-category memberships position individuals and groups in asymmetrical relation to one another, affecting their perceptions, experiences, and outcomes" (Cole & Sabik, 2009: 180). Power plays a particularly interesting role for example in the perception of a body, which in turn affects the representation of its identity. Bodies that closely resemble that of the dominant (cultural) group are linked with high levels of power. Working to look more like this dominant ideal, through means such as dieting or surgery, are seen as aspiring to gain more power (Valian, 1999). However, the ideal is not always attainable, for example in the accompanying case study of the indigenous people who cannot change their race/ethnicity in order to comply. If we then ask what is the role of power, we are able to uncover impossible standards that are set in a cultural framework. Moreover, this has throughout history played a part in justifications of equality. From the position of the Jews during WW2 to indigenous peoples in Canada today, all marginalized groups have heard the claim that it is logical or natural to find them off-putting. Beauty or physical standards set clear markers for the legitimization of inequality. Cole & Sabik (2009: 183) explain this through the beauty standards that are imposed on aging women in today's society. Visible signs of aging are seen as "letting yourself go" and consequently associated with a loss of control and power.

3. *Where are there similarities?* The two questions above explored social categories and their heterogeneity within. For example, women are not a fixed group identity in society but diverse in terms of race, ethnicity and social class and so on. In order to reinforce this understanding, similarities that cut across seemingly homogenous groups must be sought. This will help explain that there is no particular social category that ultimately defines a group. Cole & Sabik (2009: 185) offer the example of seemingly different social groups;

heterosexual women and gay men. These share a similarity of a beauty standard that is partially set through a relationship to the male gaze. This would have remained unnoticed if social categories would still be seen as defining boundaries.

Experience of beauty depends not only on gender but also on other group memberships including race, class, age, sexuality, and disability. This beauty example can also be extended further to for example peacebuilding experiences, as this thesis proposes. Because people belong to several groups simultaneously, everyone lives at the intersection of different societal power relations in which multiple groups are embedded. Intersectionality theory helps us understand the ways in which such crosscutting identities co-constitute each other and how people use their agency to construct identities in the context of power structures.

These three questions posed above, combined with the two modes of politics Taylor introduces, will assist in adopting an analytic strategy and research framework. In this way, social science holds up a mirror that represents people in an accurate, grounded, and nuanced way. Little work has been done so far to help researchers conceptualize such considerations empirically within the social sciences. In the next chapters, the theories of recognition and intersectionality will be combined into a critical framework for doing peace analysis.

Chapter 4: Two-Spirit Indigeneity: Intersecting Identities in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The residential school system and its legacy has gained more recognition in academia, especially since the TRC and the publishing of its report. Particular topics within this system have gotten attention by scholars. Most often the attack on indigenous culture is examined, likely related to the label of cultural genocide the TRC gave to the system. But there is also growing attention to women and girls and gender disadvantages, mainly thanks to the TRC's call for action for the national inquiry into missing women and girls. Next to that, religious studies scholars have been focusing on religion and are describing the system as a religious assault and the marginalization of Aboriginal religion and spirituality (Reid, 2015). There is a group that lacks this attention, one that belongs to religious, gendered and sexual identities like the ones above but complicated to grasp within a singular identity, two-spirit people. Two-spirit indigenous people have intersecting identities that do not fit Western understandings of research subjects and only recently have Two-Spirit people become the subject of study (Davis, 2014: 63). This thesis aims to set out the overlapping sexual, gendered and spiritual identity of two-spirit people, the way this identity did not fit within the residential school system and consequently impossible to be addressed within Canada's Truth and Reconciliation process.

Two-Spirit Identity

Defining two-spirit identity is difficult, since meanings are contested among (indigenous) scholars and terms are limited in Western vocabulary. Additionally, two-spirit people themselves admit to finding it difficult to communicate their identity to others (Davis, 2014). Two-spirit, a translation of the *Ojibwe* term *niizh manidoowag*, is a term that emerged in 1990 to describe third or fourth gender, outside the standard two gender binaries, people in Indigenous cultures. In pre-contact indigenous culture, gender was fluid, there were multiple genders and gender was not assigned at birth but rather through the role one played in society (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls 2019, p.171). Two-spirit people were seen as special because they maintained balance between these genders and encouraged harmony by containing both the male and the female spirits (Warner, 2002: 32). People who are two-spirit traditionally performed distinctive roles in Indigenous communities often as the visionaries, the healers and the medicine people. Ceremonies were performed with children in order to determine whether they were Two-

Spirit. Two-Spirit people were seen as gifted and from a young age were encouraged and accepted, and often trained by the healers in the community. Because of their gifts they were often presumed to be people of power and took on those roles in the community (Laframboise and Anhorn, 2008).

In contemporary practice, two-spirit mainly refers to Indigenous people whose sexual and/or gender identity is different from "the mainstream" (Robinson, 2017: 7-9). While not all Indigenous sexual or gender minority people identify as two-spirit, the label connects people across Indigenous nations and is used as a common name for what were distinct identities or even distinct systems of sexuality. Doe O'Brien Teengs (2008: 8-14), a Two-Spirit scholar, defines two-spirit as "*an Aboriginal person who is attracted to the same sex, or both sexes, and/or is transgendered or intersexual, and/or someone who possesses sacred gifts of the female/male spirit which exists in harmony in the one person*". The range of persons that fall within the two-spirit identity makes it wrong to use it as if it is synonymous with a single identity, such as bisexual, or trans. However, it is also not synonymous with queer, because two-spirit is not defined against traditional Indigenous gender or sexual roles (i.e., it is not "the Other"). An important component of Two-Spirit identity which sets it apart from other sexual or gendered identities is the important role spirituality or the Sacred plays. Spirituality in this case does not equate with religiosity, but relates to a place in a web of connectivity and relations (Robinson, 2017: 17). When a young woman dreamt of becoming a hunter or a boy preferred cooking and spending time at home instead of hunting this was seen as given by the Creator. Being two-spirited was considered a sacred or spiritual gift (Deschamps, 1998).

The Canadian government acknowledges the existence of Two-Spirit as a gender and sexual minority and commonly uses the abbreviation LGBTQIA2 or 2SLGBTQQIA, with the 2 representing Two-Spirit, in official communication (House of Commons Canada, 2019:10). On behalf of the Canadian government prime minister Trudeau issued a formal apology in 2017 for the treatment of LGBTQIA2 people in Canada. In his speech he acknowledged two-spirit people and their experience explicitly, "Since arriving on these shores, settlers (…) brought rigid gender norms—norms that manifested in homophobia and transphobia. Norms that saw the near-destruction of Indigenous LGBTQ and two-spirit identities. (…) For suppressing two-spirit Indigenous values and beliefs, we are sorry." (Trudeau, 2017). Statistics on the prevalence of Two-Spirit people is lacking as the official statistics of the Canadian government are yet to gather data

on gender identity (Ibid., p.12). Of the data that is available, it is known that Two-Spirit people are often targeted for violence and sexual assault; are at higher risk for depression, mental distress, substance dependence, self-harm, risky sexual practices, and suicidal activities; and are disproportionately affected by STDs and HIV/AIDS in Canada today (OFIFC, 2019: 2).

What stands out about Two-Spirit identity, for the purpose of this thesis, is the intersecting identities at stake. Davis (2014) explains the overlapping states of identity for Two-Spirit people, it is not solely a sexual orientation, gender identity or indigeneity, it is all of these at the same time. She also notes a recent trend amongst Two-Spirit communities of "embracing the complex, multilayered, and, at times, contradictory nature of their identities" (Ibid., p.62-64). There is a sense of pride and belonging resurfacing after a long period of oppression, denial and misunderstanding at the hands of the colonizers. To be Two-Spirit, is to be intersectional. Figure 1 illustrates the intersecting identities of Two-Spirit people versus that of the dominant Western perspective. To be indigenous means to be non-white, to be gender fluid means to fall out of the male/female binary and so on. It was not just their identity as indigenous in the residential school system but rather the overlapping categories that all positioned them against the colonizers, and later the Canadian government. An example of this intersectionality is the "triple oppression" one faces as a Two-Spirit identifying woman. (Deschamps, 1998: 18). To be indigenous, a woman and a sexual minority at the same time means that discrimination one faces is based on one's varying identities and the intersection thereof. Statistics show that rates of violence against indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people are much higher than for non-Indigenous women in Canada, even when all over differentiating factors are accounted for (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019: 3).

Indigenous	versus	**White**
Multiple Gender Identities	versus	**Gender Binary**
Spirituality	versus	**Religiosity**
Fluid Sexuality	versus	**Heteronormativity**

Figure 1

The Impact and Legacy of the Residential Schools on Two-Spirit People

Two-spirit children suffered greatly in the residential school system. When the European colonizers came to Canada they brought their Christian religion with them (Ibid., p.10). Along with that came traditional views of sex, gender and relationships. Anything that strayed from the male/female binary was considered "barbaric" and against Christian teaching. Two-Spirit people did not fit the Christian image and their identity could not be encapsulated within Western understanding overall. Many two-spirit people face harsh discrimination from both inside and outside the Indigenous communities still today. Much of this discrimination is a direct result of the residential school system, and more generally, Christianization of Indigenous peoples (Ott, 2016).

It is difficult to find reference to or data on the experience of Two-Spirit people in the residential school system, the evidence is mainly anecdotal. Laurie McDonald, a Two-Spirit residential school survivor and elder from the Enoch Cree Nation, describes his experience in the system as constantly being preyed upon. Coming from a background where being Two-Spirit was considered normal, before going to the school he knew his role within society and saw this as given by the Creator. He explains the significance of the two-spirit experience of the residential school system: "Our story is different, our story is more profound, our story is more intense. The abuse and the effects of it are more intense, now they have to listen to that. They can't just blanket it as one little basket" (McDonald, 2014). As explained above, the Two-Spirit experience is a new subject of research and extremely marginalized.

When looking at the system of teaching and curriculum it becomes apparent that there was no place for Two-Spirit children in the system. Next to the overall dominant suppression of Indigenous culture, the schools imposed a hierarchical gender binary and trained their students in patriarchal dichotomies useful to state institutions. An example of this is the domestication of girls by ingraining 'stay-at-home' values and the militarization of boys through soldier like regimentation (Lomawaima, 1992). The enforced gender binary had a poignant effect on two-spirit children. Homosexuality was considered a sin and was punished, as explained by two-spirit activist and organizer Albert McLeod. These levels of silencing and shame instated by the residential school system has affected decades of two-spirit people (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019: 264).

A topic that is more well documented is the treatment of women and girls, most prominently in the report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019). This inquiry was instated by the Canadian government but operates independently of it. The commission heard the truths of 2,380 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people on the violence and discrimination they experience. The report finds that the Indian residential school system enforced a patriarchal Christian dogma that devalued women and enforced homophobia and transphobia (Ibid., p.18). Next to that, it links the discrimination and violence that 2SLGBTQQIA people experience in Canada directly to the attacks that were made on their culture during the residential school system (Ibid., p.23). The gender diversity that was held in such high regard in indigenous society was systemically eradicated.

Sexual violence is intimately linked with the Two-Spirit experience of the system. A study was done by Evans-Campbell, Walters, Pearson, and Campbell in 2012 on Two-Spirit people who attended boarding schools in the US, similar to the Canadian residential schools. They found that 29.3% of their Two-Spirit participants who had attended boarding school reported being sexually harmed there, 34.2% reported physical abuse (2012: 232). This experience has led to substantial risks such as high amounts of substance abuse and mental health issues among the survivors. A survey was done between 2014 and 2018 on the health of indigenous peoples in Toronto. There are between 45.000 and 60.000 indigenous people in Toronto and 23% of those identify as Two-Spirit. The mental health of Two-Spirit identifying people is worse than non-Two-Spirit indigenous people (Our Health Counts Toronto, 2018). 63% of Two-Spirit Indigenous adults have harmed themselves on purpose, this is 1.5 times higher than those not identifying as Two-Spirit Indigenous adults (42%). Additionally, close to 6 in 10 Two-Spirit Indigenous adults have attempted to die by suicide which is two times higher than those not identifying as Two-Spirit (3 in 10). The survey also included questions about racism and discrimination. The findings indicate that 42% of Two-Spirit Indigenous adults have been treated unfairly because of their gender compared to 22% of adults who do not identify as Two-Spirit. Next to that, 34% Two-Spirit Indigenous adults have been treated unfairly because of their sexual orientation compared to 2% of non-Two-Spirit adults. The (mental) health of Two-Spirit people living in Canada today is a significant issue, the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC) emphasizes this in their report to the Canada House of Commons (2019). The OFIFC explains that Two-Spirit people are dealing with complex challenges, shaping their worsened health outcomes and access,

due to the intersecting marginalization of their race, culture, gender, and sexuality. The legacy of colonization and the residential schools within Indigenous communities makes it difficult for Two-Spirit people to access healing ceremonies and medicines that contribute to health and holistic well-being. Next to that, knowledge and recognition of Two-Spirit special needs is lacking. Two-Spirit people, especially youngsters, have limited to no access to sexual and reproductive health education which applies to their bodies, identities or cultures. And when health care providers have little to no knowledge of Two-Spirit identity or Indigenous culture, they provide poorer quality health care as a result (Ibid., p.4).

The systemic oppression in the residential school system has led to a suppression of identity and erasure of two-spiritedness. Two-spirit people face an intersectional oppression that alienates them from both Indigenous and 2SLGBTQQIA, they do not fit in anymore. A system of persecution, killing, abuse and assimilation has truly led to the genocide of two-spirit people in Canada today (Laframboise and Anhorn, 2008). When the term two-spirit was adopted in 1990 at a national conference this marked the beginning of a modern movement of reclaiming identity as spiritual beings and honoring the past. Coming together from various tribes and traditions of gender diversity, two-spirit people reclaimed this title and fight for recognition of their identities today.

Two-Spirit and the TRC

The technical aspects and some of the substance of the TRC process and publications in Canada have been explained above. This leaves the question of the extent of recognition of the intersecting identities of Two-Spirit people in the TRC process and how this is reflected in the report and consequent calls to action.

Two-Spirit people are in many ways used to marginalization and misrecognition and the TRC report is no exception to that. There are but two mentions of Two-Spirit people in all the publications of the TRC. Firstly, volume 5 of the TRC report called *Canada's Residential Schools: The Legacy*, Chapter 4 ("An Attack on Aboriginal Health: The Marks and the Memories") has a short section entitled "Two-Spirit People," which states: "*Aboriginal people traditionally celebrated people who were gay or transgender as gifted, as being 'two-spirits'. The residential schools had particular impacts upon two-spirited people, who faced numerous attacks on their identities*" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, 2015b: 148). In this volume, some of

Two-Spirit survivors' statements are also shared. These are in the report to debunk the stereotype that residential schools "created homosexuals" (due to the widespread 2SLGBTQQIA sexual abuse) and for a recognition that Two-Spirit people have always existed. A survivor here explains the particular vulnerability of Two-Spirit people in the system as "*You might as well put a woman into a man's prison. You're left as a target*". Secondly, the executive summary of the TRC's Final Report, states that in the last year of its mandate, the Commission (with help from Eagle Canada Human Rights Trust) organized a forum with members of the Two-Spirit community to discuss impacts of the residential schools (TRC 2015a: 33). This forum appears not to have inspired any sustained attention in TRC publications and gives no further reasoning for this.

The most important lack of mentioning is found in the 94 Calls to Action that the report produced. These calls are most often cited in relation to the TRC and are still being followed up by the Canadian government. None of the calls mention Two-Spirit, 2SLGBTQQIA Indigenous people, discrimination based on gender identity, or sexuality. The only call that bears any relation is call 41 which reads "*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*" (Ibid., p. 325). This call has led to the aforementioned National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls which has besides women and girls, taken on the special interest of Two-Spirit and 2SLGBTQQIA people in general. Grandmother Blu (or Istchii Nikamoon) is a Two-Spirit Cree, Mi'kmaw and Métis community Elder and explains the importance of inclusion of two-spirit people in the TRC process. "As a Two-Spirited person, I encompass both that male masculinity side and that female side. It's a delicate balance. Some days I feel more feminine, some days I feel more masculine. But, for me, it's a blessing. She emphasizes that they have always been part of Indigenous circles: "Our Two-Spirited people, our trans people, they've always been in community. They were ostracized through colonization. They were told that their lifestyles were not appropriate, that they couldn't carry on the way they were. But, we're still here. And, that we need to teach each other the valuable skills that we pick up along the way. We need to support each other in doing our cultural work to reclaim who we are." (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, p.37).

The two-spirit experience of the residential school system is the same as their experience in the Truth and Reconciliation process; their identity is denied to them. Why the commission chose to exclude their experience and special needs in reconciliation is unknown. Perhaps because of the complexity of the overlapping identities, unwillingness to discuss "sensitive" topics surrounding 2SLGBTQQIA people or misunderstanding two-spirit people. What is known, is that these people feel unheard and marginalized, meaning the TRCs goal of truth-seeking and reconciling people is not met and likely will never. The next section will apply the aforementioned theories of recognition and intersectionality to the treatment of two-spirit identity in the TRC outcomes and link this to peace processes in general.

Chapter 5: Discussion: the Intersectionality of Identities in Peace Processes

Including and respecting identity in a reconciliation process that aims to heal a very attack on this identity is a delicate undertaking. Taylor's (1992) concepts of *equal dignity* and *equal recognition* explain the weight of this further. At initial reading, the TRC document is an example of the politics of equal recognition. The particular distinctness of indigenous peoples in Canada is fostered and cherished. Particular rights and needs are attributed to this group and their identity is reinforced. However, the publications also uphold the politics of equal dignity in their treatment of Two-Spirit indigenous people. Their identity is recognized in the TRC, but is not emphasized as distinct from everyone else resulting in specialized treatment. Two-Spirit people need to adapt to the mold of other indigenous peoples and the TRC documents in this sense turn out to be discriminatory. To be blind to this difference, is not neutral but in fact harmful. The misrecognition of Two-Spirit people in the TRC process likely leads to an internalization of inferiority (Ibid., p.52), harming past and future generations' wellbeing. As mentioned earlier, the position and wellbeing of Two-Spirit people in Canadian society today is alarming.

The Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission failed to include and heal the Two-Spirit experience of the residential school system. The "why" can only be guessed but a contributing factor is likely the complexity of their intersecting identity. When applying an intersectional lens to the report, there are instances of the TRC employing intersectionality to be found. A special interest for example is placed on women and girls' experience, by understanding that their gender in combination with their indigeneity made them even more of a target. For example, "Racism remains an issue. Aboriginal girls face the extra barrier of gender discrimination." (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, 2015a: 298). Religion and spirituality also receive this attention and recognition, "All religious denominations in Canada must respect this right, but the United, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches, as parties to the Settlement Agreement, bear a particular responsibility to formally recognize Indigenous spirituality as a valid form of worship that is equal to their own. (…) Rather, the churches, as religious institutions, must affirm Indigenous spirituality in its own right." (Ibid., p. 226-227). Finally, the racial experience of the residential school system is also continuously remarked upon. For example, "to resemble the white man, then in the meantime, they are trying by all means to strip you of who you are as an Inn"

(Ibid., p.83) and "one of the things that residential school did for me, I really regret, is that it made me ashamed of who I was.... And I wanted to be white so bad" (Ibid., p. 154).

Thus, overlapping identities and how these are combined into different modes of discrimination and privilege have been considered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. However the 2SLGBTQQIA experience, and in particular the two-spirit, was not recognized. The theories of recognition and intersectionality provide us with the tools why and how to do that and the following section sets out what this exercise could look like.

Applying Recognition of Intersectional Identity to the Calls to Action

Taylor's theory of recognition provides the *why* and theory of intersectionality provides the *how* of approaching the intersectional identity of two-spirit people in a reconciliation process. Additionally, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls has already paved some of the way for the inclusion of Two-Spirit people.

Taylor (1992) already applies his recognition theory to Canadian society in his essay. Canada is found to be a liberal society which assumes that there are things such as universal, difference-blind principles that apply to all. The Canadian charter sets out individual rights to guarantee equal treatment and non-discrimination. Canada aims to be neutral in its policies and has a secular or post-religious outlook on politics (Ibid., p.63). This leaves the question of how Canada deals with claims of distinctness, if their outlook is that all are equal and deserving of equal treatment. Especially in a country that also boasts a large indigenous population that may not always adhere to the Canadian nationality. If not every citizen adheres to the same nationality achieving collective goals can be seen as discriminatory (Ibid., p.60). If we examine closer, Canada does entertain claims of distinctness. For example, the French language policies set in place aimed at survival of the language. These policies seek to create members of a community and are more than just facilitating. But also, the truth and reconciliation process is a way of cherishing and fostering distinctness. It is clear from this process and outcome that Canada recognizes indigenous peoples as distinct and deserving of specialized treatment. For example, the aforementioned calls to action in the report aim to acknowledge indigenous languages (call 13) , investigate the position of aboriginal women and girls (call 41) and improve health outcomes for indigenous peoples (calls 18 to 24). These calls also make clear that not only are indigenous peoples seen as worthy of recognition and special treatment, but also identity groups within such as indigenous women and

girls are specifically acknowledged. Thus, the importance or the *why* of including two-spirit people in the TRC process and report is apparent. Canada does want to recognize distinct identities, but it has chosen not to and it leaves the question of *how* to recognize and include two-spirit people in the TRC process.

Intersectionality theory provides three questions, introduced by Cole & Sabik (2009: 177) to deepen our understanding of experiences; "Whose perspective is represented and whose is left out? What role does power play? and Where are there similarities?". These questions, if slightly altered, are also applicable in other conflicts of identity such as this case.

1. *Whose perspective is represented?* This question prevents the representation of a singular identity and prevents from looking at groups of people in essentialist terms (Haslam, Rothschild, and Ernst, 2000). To recognize two-spirit experience of the residential school system multiple factors have to be considered. Firstly, their ethnicity as indigenous people. Secondly, gender that falls outside the male/female binary. Thirdly, sexuality that does not fit heteronormative standards. And fourthly, indigenous spirituality which gives significant weight to two-spirit identity and is difficult to understand in Western Christian understandings of religion.

2. *What role does power play?* This question enables us to "consider the ways that multiple-category memberships position individuals and groups in asymmetrical relation to one another, affecting their perceptions, experiences, and outcomes" (Cole & Sabik, 2009: 180). If we ask what the role of power is, we are able to uncover impossible standards that are set in a cultural framework. The TRC commission was in charge of representation in the reports and consequent calls to action. As of right now, there is no two-spirit representation in this body. Two-spirit people have little to no power in the TRC process. Their numbers have been wiped out by the residential school system and the discrimination stemming from this system leaves them as second-rate citizens. Because of their overlapping identities they do not fit the topics of the report such as the position of women and girls, because they are more a marginalized gender identity. Consequently, they are left powerless in this process.

3. *Where are there similarities?* There is no particular social category that ultimately defines a group, but there are always overlapping boundaries. For example, there is an overlap in

the experience of two-spirit people and that of women and girls in the residential school system. Both groups were marginalized and subject to widespread (sexual) abuse. Or for example, the suppression of spirituality and spiritual practices described in the report is shared by all indigenous people who see their identity as spiritually given by the Creator. Spiritual practices such as the Potlatch and Sun Dance were banned in the residential school system and so were two-spirit ceremonies. If social categories are seen as defining boundaries that do not overlap, this would remain unnoticed.

This is a short exercise into what the Truth and Reconciliation Commission could have done in their report to recognize the intersectional identities of two-spirit people. Without the full truths, stories shared by two-spirit people and official data it is difficult to interpret how this process would have gone. These stories were not included in the gathering of evidence and data during the TRC process. A better insight into intersectional recognition is given in the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019).

Comparing the TRC report to the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls

As mentioned before, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2019) has additionally taken on 2SLGBTQQIA people in their mandate. How their approach to identity differs from the TRC report is apparent from the onset and throughout: "Understanding the many shapes violence against Inuit, Métis, and First Nations women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people can take requires an intersectional approach. Intersectionality recognizes that a person's experience will be different than another's based on their particular interplay of race, ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender, class, sexuality, geography, age, and ability, as well as how these intersections encourage systems of oppression and, ultimately, target Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people. For Indigenous Peoples in particular, using an intersectional approach requires understanding how a history of colonization has shaped their experiences today" (Ibid. , p.19). This approach has led to a radically different way of truth collecting and report writing. For instance, the National Inquiry report explicitly mentions "two-spirit" 118 times, a stark contrast to the two mentions in the TRC report. Additionally, multiple two-spirit witnesses share their stories and experiences and are invited to explain their intersectional identities as two-spirit people. The report takes a "deeper dive" of eleven pages dedicated to 2SLGBTQQIA experience and trauma

in which multiple two-spirit people explain the systems and the effects on their identity and position in indigenous and Canadian society today. To illustrate this, a few calls to action from the TRC report are compared to the calls from the National Inquiry. The calls share a thematic nature, but the phrasing and inclusion leads to a different way of recognition.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada – Executive Summary (2015) Calls to Action	National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls – Executive Summary (2019) Calls to Action
13 - We call upon the federal government to acknowledge that Aboriginal rights include Aboriginal language rights.	**2.3** - We call upon all governments to ensure that all Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people are provided with safe, no-barrier, permanent, and meaningful access to their cultures and languages in order to restore, reclaim, and revitalize their cultures and identities. These are rights held by all segments of Indigenous communities, from young children to Elders. The programs and services that provide such access should not be tied exclusively to government-run cultural or educational institutions. All governments must further ensure that the rights of Indigenous children to retain and be educated in their Indigenous language are upheld and protected.
5 - We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to develop culturally appropriate parenting programs for Aboriginal families.	**2.5 -** We call upon all governments, in partnership with Indigenous Peoples, to create a permanent empowerment fund devoted to supporting Indigenous-led initiatives for Indigenous individuals, families, and communities to access cultural knowledge, as an important and strength-based way to support cultural rights and to uphold selfdetermined services. This empowerment fund should include the support of land-based educational programs that can assist in foundational cultural learning and awareness. This empowerment fund will also assist in the revitalization of distinct cultural practices as expressed by Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people, with eligibility criteria and decision making directly in their hands.
18 - We call upon the federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal governments to acknowledge that the current state of Aboriginal health in Canada is a direct result of previous Canadian government policies, including residential schools, and to recognize and implement the health-care rights of Aboriginal people as identified in international law, constitutional law, and under the Treaties.	**3.1 -** We call upon all governments to ensure that the rights to health and wellness of Indigenous Peoples, and specifically of Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people, are recognized and protected on an equitable basis. **3.2** We call upon all governments to provide adequate, stable, equitable, and ongoing funding for Indigenous-centred and community-based health and wellness services that are accessible and culturally appropriate, and meet the health and wellness needs of Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people. The lack of health and wellness services within Indigenous communities continues to force Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA

20 - In order to address the jurisdictional disputes concerning Aboriginal people who do not reside on reserves, we call upon the federal government to recognize, respect, and address the distinct health needs of the Métis, Inuit, and off-reserve Aboriginal peoples.	people to relocate in order to access care. Governments must ensure that health and wellness services are available and accessible within Indigenous communities and wherever Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people reside.
24 - We call upon medical and nursing schools in Canada to require all students to take a course dealing with Aboriginal health issues, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, and Indigenous teachings and practices. This will require skills-based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism.	**7.1** - We call upon all governments and health service providers to recognize that Indigenous Peoples – First Nations, Inuit, and Métis, including 2SLGBTQQIA people – are the experts in caring for and healing themselves, and that health and wellness services are most effective when they are designed and delivered by the Indigenous Peoples they are supposed to serve, in a manner consistent with and grounded in the practices, world views, cultures, languages, and values of the diverse Inuit, Métis, and First Nations communities they serve.
32 - We call upon the federal government to amend the Criminal Code to allow trial judges, upon giving reasons, to depart from mandatory minimum sentences and restrictions on the use of conditional sentences.	**5.2 -** We call upon the federal government to review and amend the Criminal Code to eliminate definitions of offences that minimize the culpability of the offender. **5.3** - We call upon the federal government to review and reform the law about sexualized violence and intimate partner violence, utilizing the perspectives of feminist and Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people.

To scrutinize the differences between these calls to action, we ask again the questions of intersectional recognition; Whose perspective is represented? What role does power play? Where are the similarities? Firstly, in the National Inquiry the perspectives of overlapping groups are represented, there is a continuous focus on initiatives to be indigenous-centered and indigenous-led. In all these calls the specific focus is laid on women, girls and 2SLGBTQQIA people because their experience in the system was generally worse than their peers who did not suffer these multiple oppressions due to intersecting identities. Groups and identities are explicitly mentioned. Moreover, there is a continuous focus in transferring the perspective and agency to indigenous peoples themselves, their perspective is leading for decision and policymaking. Secondly, the National Inquiry returns power to the indigenous peoples by including all those who benefit and those who need to provide the rights and services. Power is given to indigenous people to decide

on their own health needs and services for example. In the TRC calls to action, power is focused on the federal government and what they must undertake in this respect. For example, the way cultural knowledge and programs are structured in the two is very different. The TRC encourages aboriginal governments to develop these, but the National Inquiry calls for a cooperation between governments as a way of sharing power. Thirdly, similarities are constantly sought between the social categories. This starts with the inclusion of 2SLGBTQQIA people in this report as the commission recognized the overlapping and intersecting identities that led to shared experiences and shared oppressions of the residential school system. The National Inquiry recognizes that not just indigenous women and girls suffer disproportionally from sexual abuse, but that this is also the case for indigenous 2SLGBTQQIA people.

The National Inquiry appears to have the spirit of Taylor's theory of recognition and intersectionality theory combined. The position of these groups is respectfully highlighted, while maintaining understanding that the system was traumatic for all involved, "While the Canadian genocide targets all Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQQIA people are particularly targeted" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019: 3). The politics of recognition are visible in the report, through the constant cherishing and fostering of the unique identity of, amongst others, two-spirit indigenous people. Moreover, the report counters the systemic *internalization of inferiority* (Taylor, p. 52) that two-spirit people have suffered by also focusing on empowerment and the value of two-spirit people in society. The report for instance mentions the importance of the balance between masculinity and femininity two-spirited people bring in life and how they are more than just their gender/sexuality (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019: 38).

Identity is forged by recognition and the TRC report refused this recognition to Two-Spirit people leading to a damaging internalization of inferiority. The inclusion of Two-Spirit people in the National Inquiry is to be applauded and appears to be a legitimate attempt of recognizing the systems of oppression connected to intersectional identity. However difficult Two-Spirit identity may seem, the National Inquiry report has shown that it is possible to include, respect and recognize their experience of the residential school system.

Conclusion

Having your identity recognized, fostered and cherished is a privilege not enjoyed by all. Identity is complex and usually does not fit a mold but is intersectional. Discussions surrounding these identity politics are difficult, yet they boil down to one important human desire: recognition.

This thesis has shown that the dominance of Liberalism in the arena of (international) politics has led to a demand of difference-blindness under the guise of equality. This has led to an approach to conflict resolution and peace building unable of supporting distinct identities it cannot grasp. The liberal system has already been criticized by many scholars and policymakers and has also led to other or additional theories and practices, such as the addition of religious, gendered and ethnic perspectives. Liberal peacebuilding is outdated due to its top-down, statist and non-inclusive nature. Conflict resolution and reconciliation today deserve approaches that are conflict specific, bottom-up and understanding of the importance of identity and the intersection thereof.

Identity is often glossed over in both peace theory and practice and considered irrelevant and/or a given. At the same time, feelings of unequal worth and misunderstanding of identity are increasingly motives for conflict. Taylor's theory of recognition explains the harms of a distorting image that is projected onto a person or group leading trough the internalization of inferiority. Moreover, he finds that identity is formed by recognition. This recognition becomes more complicated when there is not a singular identity to speak of, but overlapping and intersecting identities. Intersectionality theory helps understand the ways in which such crosscutting identities co-constitute each other and how people use their agency to construct identities in the context of power structures. Combined these two theories form the basis of intersectional recognition, bringing a much-needed approach into peace and conflict resolution theory.

To explain this shift in thinking, this thesis has examined the position and treatment of Two-Spirit people in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation report on the residential school system. Being a Two-Spirit child in the residential schools meant that you were not just discriminated because you were indigenous, but also because of your gender, sexuality and spirituality. The position and identity of Two-Spirit people in indigenous societies, once held in high regard, was eradicated by the system. Two-Spirit people are in many ways used to marginalization and misrecognition in Canada today and the TRC report is no exception to that. The denial of recognizing their identity is an

oversight by this commission and this report will not help Two-Spirit people living in Canada today to reclaim their identities. Countering the narrow report of the TRC commission is the report by the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls which has additionally taken on 2SLGBTQQIA people in their mandate. This report has taken recognition of intersectional identity to its heart. The commission behind this report acknowledged how difficult it is to speak out when your identity is constantly denied to you because of overlapping systems of oppression. "*The fact that this National Inquiry is happening now doesn't mean that Indigenous Peoples waited this long to speak up; it means it took this long for Canada to listen.*" (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019: 1). By constantly giving the power to indigenous peoples themselves, to Two-Spirit people themselves, this report lives and breathes truth and reconciliation in a way the TRC report never can.

The trend in criticizing liberal peacebuilding and seeking alternative forms is not likely to end soon. Nor is it likely that conflicts surrounding identity and identification will end soon. The parallel between the cultural genocide the indigenous peoples of Canada suffered with the treatment of the Uighur people in China or the Rohingya in Myanmar is easily drawn. This trend in identity conflicts highlights the need for sustainable peace and reconciliation approaches. It is to be hoped that we can learn from the harms of misrecognition and work towards approaches that value and understand recognition of intersectional identity in peace and reconciliation processes.

Glossary

2SLGBTQQIA: acronym used for sexual and gendered minorities that includes Two-Spirit.

Aboriginal/Indigenous Peoples of Canada: Various indigenous groups live in Canada, they are constitutionally divided into three groups; First Nations, Métis and Inuit (together FNMI). The terms aboriginal and indigenous are used interchangeably.

- **First Nations**: the term First Nations came into use in the 1970s to replace "Indian" which many found offensive. There is no legal definition for this group but they predominantly reside South of the Arctic circle. The First Nations consist of various groups with their own cultures, language and customs.
- **Inuit:** The Inuit are the second group of indigenous people and mainly reside in Northern Canada, in Nunavut, Northwest Territories, Northern Quebec and Northern Labrador. The word means "people" in the Inuit language — Inuktitut.
- **Métis**: The Métis are the third distinct indigenous group. They are people of mixed First Nation and European ancestry and their culture draws on a combination of these backgrounds.

Cultural Genocide: the destruction of those structures and practices that allow a group to continue as a group. States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social institutions of the targeted group. Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed. And, most significantly to the issue at hand, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next (Truth and Reconciliation Commission Canada, 2015a: 1).

Intersectionality: "the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis, 2008: 68).

Two-Spirit: "an Aboriginal person who is attracted to the same sex, or both sexes, and/or is transgendered or intersexual, and/or someone who possesses sacred gifts of the female/male spirit which exists in harmony in the one person" (Doe O'Brien Teengs, 2008: 8-14).

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