

POPE JOHN PAUL II'S LEGACY OF DECOLONIZATION: TOWARDS AN IGWEBUIKE TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGY

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Abstract

Pope John Paul II was a Roman Pontiff of several memorable and remarkable parts. George Bush described him as “a champion of human freedom, and a good and faithful servant of God”. Lech Walensa, related that he was a leader “...without whom there would be no end of communism.” Kofi Annan, chronicled him as a “tireless advocate of peace”. Gerhard Schroeder described him thus: “Pope John Paul II wrote history...[and] changed our world”, and for Moshe Katsav, he, “bravely put an end to historic injustice”. The present paper distinguishes itself from other works on Pope John Paul II by its focus on a specific dimension of his many accomplishments, which is, his legacy of decolonization. He stood against all forms of political, economic and cultural colonialism, and called for an attitude of exchange, comprehension and sympathy towards cultural identities and ethnic groups. This study began with a specificity of decolonization and the backgrounds that animated his position. It also discussed his promotion of decolonization, manifest in his addresses, encyclicals and post-synodal exhortations. The basic principles of his philosophy of decolonization were interpreted from an Igwebuike hermeneutic perspective, and formed a basis for the generation of an Igwebuike pedagogy for decolonization. While relying on the Igwebuike theoretical framework for structure, the historical, hermeneutic and thematic methods of inquiry were employed for the articulation of ideas. This piece discovered the major dimensions of Pope John Paul II's legacy on decolonization. This served as a basis for the development of a unique African decolonization pedagogy.

Keywords: Pope John Paul II, Decolonization, Colonization, Igwebuike, Hermeneutic

Introduction

During the pontificate of Pope John Paul II, he visited more than 100 countries of the world. Each time he arrived a country and got out of the aircraft, he made it customary to kiss the ground. In so doing, he was not only showing respect for the land of the people he visited or love for mother earth, he was showing respect for the culture and identity of people. A people's culture and tradition are connected to their land.

This was a sense of relationship that the colonial era did not understand about indigenous people. Rather than respect the land of the people the colonizers denied, destroyed, denigrated, belittled and exploited the land of the colonized to their own economic and political advantage. They were so occupied with themselves that they had no space for the people whose land they invaded.

This gesture on the part of Pope John Paul II was a manifestation of his anti-colonial philosophy. Beyond gestures, he condemned "all forms of political, economic, and cultural colonialism"¹, and esteemed alliances based on mutual respect and cooperation. He holds that, "there is no way to understand the human person other than in that community which is his nation."² It is, therefore, not surprising that when he founded the Pontifical Council For Culture in 1983³, he called for an attitude of exchange, comprehension and sympathy towards cultural identities and ethnic groups.⁴

This paper will focus on the decolonization philosophy of Pope John Paul II. Having established the specificity of decolonization, it will study the background of his thoughts on decolonization. It would also discuss how the Roman Pontiff promoted decolonization through his addresses, encyclicals and post-synodal exhortations. The basic principles of his philosophy of decolonization will be presented from which an *Igwebuike* pedagogy of decolonization will be generated.

Decolonization in Context

In a territorial sense, decolonization means the process by which colonies become independent of the colonizing country. This process was sometimes gradual and peaceful, and at other times violent, especially where native rebellions were energized by nationalism⁵. Going beyond territorial conception, Haverford University specifies the concerns of decolonization as:

Cultural, psychological and economic freedom for Indigenous people with the goal of achieving Indigenous sovereignty — the right and ability of Indigenous people to practice self-determination over their land, cultures, political and economic systems⁶.

Within the parameters of philosophy, the concepts colonization and decolonization are employed in relation to the influence of foreign thoughts and patterns on the development of the philosophy of a particular people. On the one hand, colonization is used to refer to the marginalization and neglect of the philosophical traditions of colonized peoples, while the philosophical traditions of the colonizers are deemed as the only valid form of philosophy. On the other hand, decolonization is used in opposition to the pattern of hegemony and exclusion and seeks to enrich the understanding of philosophy by displacing the European canon as the normative center of the discipline of philosophy⁷.

Decolonization within philosophy, therefore, involves expanding the discipline of philosophy beyond the colonial paradigm and replacing it with universality. This does not necessitate the rejection of canonical figures in philosophy but rather entails a philosophical practice that transcends the colonial paradigm. Mladjo describes how the colonial model repressed the forms of knowledge indigenous to colonized peoples:

Europe's hegemony over the new model of global power concentrated all forms of control of subjectivity, culture,

and especially knowledge and the production of knowledge under its hegemony... They repressed as much as possible the colonized forms of knowledge production, the models of the production of meaning, their symbolic universe, the model of expression and objectification and subjectivity⁸.

The consequence of this is that the conception of philosophy that has been widely accepted, along with the criteria that determine its validity, have historically been disproportionately influenced by Western thought and ways of existing in the world⁹. Based on the colonial mindset, knowledge produced by the Western system was regarded as superior to that generated by other systems due to its supposed universality. This consequently led to the exclusion, marginalization, and dehumanization of non-European philosophies.

This understanding of decolonization would be employed to articulate Pope John Paul II's perspective on the importance of respecting the culture of particular peoples rather than imposing the culture and mentality of foreign peoples.

Backgrounds to Pope John Paul II's Philosophy of Decolonization

Three fundamental factors formed the background for the position of Pope John Paul II on decolonization. These factors are the Slavic view of history, his personal theological framework about culture and the outcome of the Second Vatican Council.

a. The Slavic View of History

Pope John Paul II is of the Slavic background, and this played a fundamental role in the formation of his thoughts on decolonization. The Slavic view of history is one that is centered on the role of culture in human society. It is a worldview that holds

that culture is at the pivot of world motions and thus provides the true understanding of the operative condition for the understanding of what moves peoples and societies at all levels. Describing the Slavic concept of history, George Weigel avers that:

History is not simply the by-product of the context for power in the world... rather, history is driven over the long haul, by culture- by what men and women honour, cherish and worship; by what societies deem to be true, good and noble; by the expressions they give to those convictions in language, literature and the arts; by what individuals are ready to stake their lives on¹⁰.

Taking from the above perspective from George Weigel, Jared Stault contents that it is this Slavic concept of history that formed the base of the cultural formation of Pope John Paul II. He writes:

This is the view of history in which Karol Wojtyla, the future Pope John Paul II, was formed. It was the power of culture that enabled Poland to survive over a hundred years of political non-existence, its partitions, and then two brutal invasions and occupations in the twentieth century¹¹.

He was well formed in his own culture, made him aware of the power of culture. It is, therefore, not surprising that, through poems, dramas and plays, he sought to preserve the national culture and faith traditions which were brutalized by the Nazi occupation and the Soviet Union¹².

b. Personal Cultural Theological Framework

His historical background shaped his personal theological framework on culture, especially on the relationship between culture and evangelization. He holds that:

- a. the Christian faith is incomplete outside of the parameters of culture;
- b. culture opposed to the faith would create an obstacle to the spread and living out of the faith;
- c. culture provides a medium for dialogue between believers and non-believers;
- d. a ground needs to be created for the interaction of culture and holiness so that the human person can live freely in truth¹³.

He believed that the future of the human person and society depends on culture, and makes a connection between the spiritual void that threatens the existence of the human person with culture as he describes it as the consequence of a cultural void¹⁴.

c. The Second Vatican Council

In many respects, Pope John Paul II continued the vision of the Second Vatican Council. He teaches that “The Second Vatican Council has given a new dynamism in the domain of culture”¹⁵. Rahner describes the Second Vatican Council as “the beginning of a tentative approach by the church to the discovery and official recognition of itself as world-church”¹⁶ and as “the coming-to-be of a world church, with its particular churches each existing... in its cultural group.”¹⁷

At this Council, the Church treated the need for building a bridge between Christian perspectives and indigenous knowledge systems. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* favoured the revision and adaptation of the liturgy into particular circumstances and cultures, given that the Christian faith implanted in mission territories could no longer be confined to Euro-centric cultural manifestations¹⁸. *Gaudium et Spes* notes that “the human person can achieve true and full humanity only by means of culture.”¹⁹ *Ad Gentes* uses the analogy of incarnation to justify the need for adaption among other

cultures²⁰. *Evangelii Nuntiandi* holds that the gospel message could be integrated within any given culture by bringing the Good News of Christ into all the strata of humanity²¹.

Pope John Paul II and the Promotion of Decolonization

The perspectives of Pope John Paul II on decolonization is expressed in his encyclicals, post-synodal apostolic exhortations and addresses. Some of these will be studied for the purpose of presenting his thoughts on decolonization.

a. Catechesi Trandendae 1979

Catechesi Trandendae is a Post-Apostolic Exhortation of Pope John Paul II. It generally focuses on Catechesis in our contemporary time, but also expresses the need to respect the culture and particularity of people:

We can say of catechesis, as well as of evangelization in general, that it is called to bring the power of the Gospel into the very heart of culture and cultures. For this purpose, catechesis will seek to know these cultures and their essential components; it will learn their most significant expressions; it will respect their particular values and riches²².

He strongly believes that it is only through taking, with wise discernment, certain elements that form part of the cultural heritage of a people that the Church will offer to peoples the knowledge of the hidden mystery and help them bring forth from their own living tradition original expressions of Christian life, celebration and thought. He adds that: “Genuine catechists know that catechesis takes flesh in the various cultures and milieux.”²³

b. Address to UNESCO- “Man’s Entire Humanity is Expressed in Culture” 1980

During his address to UNESCO in 1980, the Pope emphasized the importance of culture and described it as a basic characteristic of the human life: “The essential meaning of culture consists, according to the words of St. Thomas Aquinas, in the fact that it is a characteristic of human life as such. *Man lives a really human life thanks to culture*”²⁴. Culture, therefore, is what makes people human. Thus, taking a people away from their culture is to take them away from themselves. He adds:

Culture is that through which man as man, becomes more man, “is” more, has more access to “being”. Culture is always in an essential and necessary relationship to what man is, whereas its relationship to what he has, to his “having”, is not secondary, but entirely relative²⁵.

Given his concept of culture in this address, decolonization becomes a path towards the search, not just for our identity but for our full humanity.

c. *Slavorum Apostoli* 1985

In this encyclical letter, Pope John Paul II remembered the Apostles of the Slavs, Saints Cyril and Methodius, for their spirit of evangelization. He paid respect to them for respecting the cultures of the people that they evangelized:

... the two holy Brothers-as their biographies indicate-undertook the difficult task of translating the texts of the Sacred Scriptures, which they knew in Greek, into the language of the Slav population which had settled along the borders of their own region and native city.. They set themselves to understanding and penetrating the language, customs and traditions of the Slav peoples,

faithfully interpreting the aspirations and human values which were present and expressed therein²⁶.

They did not impose themselves on the Slavs, but presented the Christian gospel within the categories that the Slavic people could understand²⁷.

d. Redemptoris Missio 1990

The Roman Pontiff, in this document, recognized the reality of the differences of people, their experiences and cultures as the work of the Holy Spirit, about which he said: "it encourages us to pay heed to the variety or missionary charisms and to the diversity of circumstances and peoples"²⁸. Referring to the First Council, he notes that a decision was taken that it is not necessary for a Gentile to submit to the Jewish Law in order to become a Christian (cf. Acts 15:5-11, 28)²⁹.

This he holds has great lessons for the present Church in her mission, and in this too, the Pope presents the Church as a home whose doors are open that all in their diversities may enter. A home in which all peoples can feel at home, while keeping their own culture and traditions, provided that these are not contrary to the Gospel.

e. Centicimus Anus 1991

Focusing on the independence of nations who were formerly under colonial governments, Pope John Paul II in this encyclical letter teaches that:

During the same period a widespread process of "decolonization" occurred, by which many countries gained or regained their independence and the right freely to determine their own destiny. With the formal re-acquisition of State sovereignty, however, these countries often find themselves merely at the beginning of the

journey towards the construction of genuine independence. Decisive sectors of the economy still remain *de facto* in the hands of large foreign companies which are unwilling to commit themselves to the long-term development of the host country. Political life itself is controlled by foreign powers³⁰.

This situation as observed by the Roman Pontiff who calls for a genuine effort towards the decolonization of the political, economic and social dimensions of the lives of former colonies.

f. Ecclesia in Africa 1995

Pope John Paul II in this Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation, focused on the importance of inculturation in evangelization in Africa.

The Synod considers inculturation an urgent priority in the life of the particular Churches, for a firm rooting of the Gospel in Africa. It is "a requirement for evangelization", "a path towards full evangelization", and one of the greatest challenges for the Church on the Continent on the eve of the Third Millennium³¹.

To pursue the inculturation of the Christian faith in Africa, the concept of Church as family was introduced from the categories of the Africa people.

Not only did the Synod speak of inculturation, but it also made use of it, taking the *Church as God's Family* as its guiding idea for the evangelization of Africa. The Synod Fathers acknowledged it as an expression of the Church's nature particularly appropriate for Africa. For this image emphasizes care for others, solidarity, warmth in human relationships, acceptance, dialogue and trust.³²

The idea of the concept of church as family in this document speaks of the importance of relating with particular people within the categories that they can understand.

g. Evangelium Vitae 1995

In this encyclical letter of Pope John Paul II, he emphasizes the need for dialogue with people of different cultural backgrounds.

In celebrating the Gospel of life we also need to appreciate and make good use of the wealth of gestures and symbols present in the traditions and customs of different cultures and peoples. There are special times and ways in which the peoples of different nations and cultures express joy for a newborn life, respect for and protection of individual human lives, care for the suffering or needy, closeness to the elderly and the dying, participation in the sorrow of those who mourn, and hope and desire for immortality³³.

Through several other documents³⁴, the voice of Pope John Paul II continues to echo the importance of decolonization.

Interpreting Pope John Paul II's Decolonization Legacy

An interpretation of Pope John Paul II's legacy on decolonization from an *Igwebuike* perspective reveals several features, which include:

- a. **Historical:** His legacy on decolonization is the product of a historical experience as decolonization must be a response to a colonial experience. Both colonization and decolonization are historical processes and not a one-time event. This, therefore, requires patience during the process of decolonization.

- b. **Humanistic:** His decolonization legacy promotes the human person. He places a huge value on the human person who must be at the centre of any true human venture.
- c. **Equality:** His decolonization legacy is based on the understanding that human beings of all races are equal to each other in dignity. This becomes a foundation for decolonization, given that every people have a right to an identity and survival.
- d. **Wholistic:** His decolonization legacy is based on an integrated concept of life, which does not understand faith outside of the realm of culture. He establishes a complementary connection between faith and culture.
- e. **Reconciliation:** His concept of decolonization is also a process of reconciliation which must be based on truth. Reconciliation is fundamental as the colonized struggle with memories of pain or hurt. It is through reconciliation that balance is restored to the universe.
- f. **Place-Based:** His thoughts on decolonization places emphasis on place-based knowledge and the preservation of the cultural heritage of a people. In this way, people can form their own identity rather than have an identity forced on them.

These features of Pope John Paul II's legacy do not only serve as characteristics of his decolonization perspective, but serve as basic principles that should underlie perspectives on decolonization. This will, therefore, form the basis for the development of an *Igwebuike* pedagogy of decolonization.

Towards an *Igwebuike* Decolonization Pedagogy

The concepts colonization and decolonization from an *Igwebuike* perspective are understood as processes, and by this I mean series of actions or steps taken in order to achieve a particular end. In this sense, colonization becomes a series of actions by the colonizer to achieve the subjugation of the colonized; and decolonization, the series of actions on the part of the colonized to achieve freedom from the subjugation of the colonizer.

The aim of an *Igwebuike* perspective is to generate a transformative pedagogy of decolonization particular to the African experience. The objectives for the *Igwebuike* pedagogy for decolonization is to:

1. ensure the respect of the identity of particular peoples in our world of globalization;
2. remove from indigenous cultures those aspects of their historical experiences with foreign cultures that undermine their humanity and identity;
3. provide people the opportunity to freely share, exchange and interact with other peoples and cultures without being undermined.

This perspective of colonization and decolonization as processes is borne from the *Igwebuike* concept of history, which understands history as connecting the past with the present and the future. In the sense that the past gives birth to the present and the present gives birth to the future. The past becomes the *Ibe* of the present and the present the *Ibe* (a part of) of the future. Therefore, the way I mould the past will determine what the present will become and what I do with the present will shape what the future would be. It is also a concept of history that shows that one cannot talk about the present without reference to the past, neither can one plan towards the future without building a base for such a future in the past.

This presents colonization and decolonization as two aspects of history. Colonization, therefore, becomes a basis for understanding

decolonization. Colonization, therefore, complements decolonization in terms of understanding.

Therefore, the *Igwebuike* perspective requires that I understand the process of colonization before I can initiate a process of decolonization. Why many decolonization efforts have failed is because it was preceded by a poor understanding of colonization. There is an African proverb that says: “If you do not know where you are coming from, you will not know where you are going to”. Another says: “If you do not know where the rain started beating you from, you will not know when it will stop”; this is not just an African proverb but the source of the *Igwebuike* philosophy of history. There is, therefore, the need to understand the process of colonization, which is the first stage in the *Igwebuike* pedagogy for decolonization. Without understanding the process of colonization, one cannot generate a process for decolonization.

The Process of Colonization

There are several phases in the process of colonization. In the *Igwebuike* spirit of inter-connectivity, interrelationships and complementarity, the phases are not always distinct phases but can be experienced at the same time. The process of colonization begins with denial and withdrawal³⁵:

a. Denial and Withdrawal

When the colonizers came among the African people, the first thing they did was to deny that the African people have any culture, religion, morals, social or political system, this provided a basis for colonization and thus presents colonization as a charity to the colonized who cannot govern themselves. Also, many of the indigenous people who form alliance with the colonizers began to ridicule their cultural heritage.

Within the parameters of philosophy, this stage of denial and withdrawal was when African philosophy was denied existence and even African thinkers, especially those trained in the west to ridicule their own philosophical heritage as non-existing.

b. Destruction and Eradication

This is the stage in the colonial process when the colonizer gains more courage and begins to destroy or eradicate the heritage of the colonized. This courage is partly fueled by the fact that the colonized are weak to respond, and that some of the members of the colonized have endorsed the position of the colonizer. There are times when the indigenous people, having been indoctrinated, lead in the fight against their cultural heritage. This includes the burning of artifacts, symbols and sacred places.

This stage in the history of African philosophy was when African thinkers joined the colonizers to argue that there is no such a thing as African philosophy.

c. Denigration and Belittlement

As the colonizer becomes more established, with social and religious structures emerging, these structures will now contribute further in the denigration or belittlement of the African heritage. Such structures include the hospitals or clinics, law courts, political offices and sometimes churches. These structures begin to belittle the African previous standards or patterns as inferior and worthy of nothing but being faced out. And so the hospitals look at the traditional healthcare system as fetish; the courts relegates the decisions arrived at traditional courts as inconsequential; the colonial political officers consider the traditional heads as irrelevant; the new religion considers the traditional as superstition; capitalism better than African economic institution; democracy better than African political institution.

Western philosophy and its standard of philosophizing was considered absolute; and because African philosophy follows a distinct pattern or logic, it was considered non-philosophy.

d. *Surface Accommodation/Tokenism*

After several years of efforts to destroy the indigenous heritage, whatever remains is given a surface accommodation. Some of the thoughts that survived are called folkloric, and in philosophy, ethno-philosophy.

e. *Transformation and Exploitation*

Knowing fully well that the remnant of the cultural heritage is weakened after several years of denial, destruction, belittlement, etc., the remnant is now celebrated as the heritage of the people. Given that it is the popular thing to do, it is promoted by the colonizer, even though its only a relic.

With the emphasis on interculturality, African philosophy is accepted and exploited as the achievement of the colonizer and not the colonized.

The Process of Decolonization

The process of colonization is a basis for generating and understanding the process of decolonization, and thus, this introduces the next phase of this research. The first stage in the decolonization process is.

a. *Discovery and Recovery*

This is stage where the colonized lives in a colonial or neo-colonial world. He thinks he is free, but speaks not his language, is educated outside of the parameters of his culture, eats not his own food, reminding the colonized of the overwhelming superiority of the colonizer. As in the case of the allegory of the cave of Plato he

wakes up to the reality that he has been in a deceptive and unreal world, and then decides to wake up.

This stage is at the base of the emergence of African philosophy; some make this discover and recovery early enough, while others make theirs in the evening of their lives. This notwithstanding, an African proverb says: “When a person wakes up, that is his morning”.

b. Mourning

This is a stage when people lament their victimization, which is an important process in achieving healing. While some spend a greater time mourning, others mourn just for a short period of time. The length of time spent mourning is dependent on the presence or absence of the next phase of action. When there is no step ahead people mourn longer, but when there is a next phase in sight, people move on.

During this period, the colonized lashes out on the colonizer in words and action, a deep expression of anger, hate, pain and sometimes violence. This is a stage where some persons can get stuck, and, therefore, spend the whole of their time glorifying their victim-hood. Many have also made profit out of this stage.

c. Dreaming

This is a very crucial stage in the decolonization process. It is the stage of possibilities, where the colonized dreams of a better future which becomes a basis for the creation of a new social order. He explores his own culture, political system, economic institutions, etc., which encompasses and expresses the hopes of the indigenous people.

This process must be allowed to run its course. If it is rushed, it could become disastrous and only translate into the colonizer and the colonized switching positions rather than ideologies. This has

happened in places where the missionaries were simply replaced by the indigenous clergy; the change from a western colonizer to an African colonized without a change in constitution; a change from white teachers to African teachers without any change in the curriculum. The result is a disaster.

This can also happen in philosophy, that is, when African philosophy simply becomes the recopying of western thoughts and patterns by African thinkers.

d. Commitment

This requires the articulation of the voices of the people into one voice; a voice that becomes a clear statement of the direction of the people.

Within the parameters of African philosophy, there is yet to be one voice, even though there is sufficient voice to drive a dream to reality.

e. Action

This stage can only be achieved when the voice of the people has been articulated into one or sufficient voice as basis for action. If this voice is not well articulated as the voice of the people, then the stage of action might end up not being the will of the people.

Action must go beyond the choices made during the quest for independence; this is now a moment for survival and organization of society.

Even here, sufficient effort has been made within the parameters of African philosophy.

Conclusion

Pope John Paul II would be remembered for several reasons. George Bush described him as “a champion of human freedom, and a good and faithful servant of God”. Lech Walensa, related that he was a leader without whom: “...there would be no end of communism.” Kofi Annan, chronicled him as a “tireless advocate of peace”. Gerhard Schroeder said that, “Pope John Paul II wrote history...[and] changed our world”, and for Moshe Katsav, he, “bravely put an end to historic injustice”. His efforts to end communism, build bridges with peoples of other faiths and cultures, among others are carved on the stones of history.

However, the present paper has studied his thoughts on decolonization expressed in his various condemnations of all forms of political, economic, and cultural colonialism. Having established the specificity of decolonization, this piece studied the background of his thoughts on decolonization. It also discussed how the Roman Pontiff promoted decolonization through his addresses, encyclicals and post-synodal exhortations. The basic principles of his philosophy of decolonization was articulated and employed as a basis for the generation of a uniquely African pedagogy for decolonization.

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Endnotes

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²⁶ Pope John Paul II, *Slavorum Apostoli*, Encyclical Letter. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1985, no. 10

²⁷ Pope John Paul II, *Slavorum Apostoli*, Encyclical Letter. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1985, no. 11

²⁸ Pope John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1990, No. 23.

²⁹ Pope John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1990, No. 24.

³⁰ John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Centesimus Annus* (1 May 1991). Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, No. 20

³¹ John Paul II, *Ecclesia in Africa*. Post Synodal Apostolic Exhortation. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995, No. 63

³² Pope John Paul II, *Ecclesia in Africa*. Post Synodal Apostolic Exhortation. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995, No. 63; Const. dogm. *Lumen Gentium*, n. 6

³³ Pope John Paul II, *Evangelium Vitae*, *Encyclical Letter*. Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, No. 85.

³⁴ *Letter of the foundation of the Pontifical Council for Culture 20 May 1982; Address to the participants in the National Congress of the Ecclesial Movement for Cultural Commitment 16 January 1982 and Discourse to the Pontifical Council of Culture 18th January 1983.*

³⁵ Laenui, Poka (Burgess, Hayden F.) "Processes of Decolonization." *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Ed. Marie Battiste. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2000, pp. 150-160.

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