

## ETUAPTMUMK: CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF TWO-EYED SEEING FOR CONDUCTING L'NU RESEARCH IN MI'KMA'KI

**John R. Sylliboy**

Ph.D. Student

Department of Integrated Studies in Education

McGill University

john.sylliboy@gmail.mcgill.ca

### Abstract

*Etuaptmumk* is the *L'nuwey* (Mi'kmaw) term for Two-Eyed Seeing, often described as integrating the strengths of Indigenous knowledge and Western perspectives for co-learning or inquiry. This paper frames *Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing* (E/TES) as the L'nuwey (Mi'kmaw) eye and its knowledge foundation's sources of strength, rather than conceptualizing our cultural knowledge within Western frameworks. It explores the sources of L'nuwey knowledge and how it is acquired within a L'nuwey worldview. It enables L'nuwey knowledge systems to collaborate by converging our knowledge with Western perspectives through empirical inquiry, while maintaining the integrity of all knowledge strengths. Literature, mainly non-Indigenous, most often describes E/TES within Western-based categories as a theory, methodology, or concept, drawing on both Indigenous and Western perspectives. According to our worldview, *Etuaptmumk* cohesively integrates all of them when applying our L'nuwey knowledge and furthering knowledge development in L'nuwey research. In this study, E/TES serves as the basis for Two-Spirit research, integrating our L'nuwey worldview as fully as possible while balancing Western-based methods. Ultimately, *Etuaptmumk* is actively applied in an ungendered, fluid, and non-linear manner, contributing to the decolonization of sexuality and gender, and supporting the preservation, revitalization, or regeneration of *L'nui'suti* (Mi'kmaw language) and our knowledge development for L'nuwey research in Mi'kma'ki.

### Résumé

*Etuaptmumk* est le terme l'nuwey (mi'kmaq) pour désigner la « vision à deux yeux » (two-eyed seeing) souvent décrite comme l'intégration des forces des savoirs autochtones et des perspectives occidentales dans une démarche de coapprentissage ou d'enquête. Cet article présente *Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing* (E/TES) comme l'œil l'nuwey (mi'kmaq) et comme l'expression des sources de force, ainsi que comme son fondement épistémique, plutôt que de conceptualiser notre savoir culturel à partir des cadres occidentaux. Il examine les sources du savoir l'nuwey et les modes par lesquels celui-ci est acquis au sein d'une vision du monde l'nuwey. Il permet aux systèmes de savoir l'nuwey de collaborer en faisant converger nos connaissances avec les perspectives occidentales par l'enquête empirique, tout en préservant l'intégrité de chacune des formes épistémiques mobilisées. La littérature, principalement non autochtone, décrit le plus souvent E/TES à partir de catégories occidentales – théorie, méthodologie ou concept – en mobilisant à la fois les perspectives autochtones et occidentales. Selon notre vision du monde, *Etuaptmumk* les intègre de manière cohérente lorsqu'il s'agit d'appliquer notre savoir l'nuwey et de faire progresser le développement des connaissances

dans la recherche l'nuwey. Dans cette étude, E/TES constitue la base de la recherche bispirituelle (*two-spirit*), intégrant notre vision du monde l'nuwey aussi pleinement que possible, tout en équilibrant les méthodes issues des traditions occidentales. En définitive, Etuaptmumk, est appliqué de manière dégenrée, fluide et non linéaire, contribuant à la décolonisation de la sexualité et du genre, tout en soutenant la préservation, la revitalisation et la régénération de L'nui'suti (la langue mi'kmaq) et le développement de nos savoirs pour la recherche l'nuwey en Mi'kma'ki.

## Introduction

The study employs Etuaptmumk to explore knowledge about developing support for Two-Spirit (2S) and Indigenous LGBTQIA+ people in Atlantic Canada, including cultural activities, ceremonies, and language development. Etuaptmumk, or Two-Eyed Seeing, has been the core of Two-Spirit research in the Atlantic region. Etuaptmumk is steeped in cultural teachings as its strengths, and one of the two eyes. However, there is a limited understanding of what constitutes the strength of the eye that reflects L'nu'k, encompassing our knowledge, philosophy, and worldview to understand 2S gender, sexuality, and sex.

The overall objective is to understand how cultural activities are linked to wellness for Two-Spirit people who may face challenges of homophobia, transphobia, and racism. This research responds to the call from the Wabanaki Two-Spirit Alliance to expand its community engagement, exploring how to address mental health, gender-based violence (W2SA, 2021; Sylliboy et al., 2022), and, most importantly, how to make life experiences more positive for 2S youth during cultural celebrations, ceremonies, and events.

The study expands on my previous research about Two-Spirit identity during my master's research and consequent publications about the conceptualization of Two-Spirit identity from a L'nuwey worldview (Sylliboy, 2017a; 2017b; 2019; 2021) It is a culmination of 15 years of research, education, and collaboration with the 2SLGBTQIA+ community. Elders who attended my master's thesis defence in Membertou First Nation in 2018 recommended that I continue my research on Two-Spirit to include perspectives in sexual health education.

## Situating Myself

I am *L'nu*, or I am *Mi'kmaw*, and I incorporate *L'nuwey* perspectives as broadly and deeply as possible. The term *L'nuwey* comes from *L'nu*, meaning someone who speaks the same language. I use the terms *L'nu* and *Mi'kmaq/w* interchangeably in this paper. Thus, *L'nuwey* derives from *L'nu*, a noun used as an adjective. I am a source and bearer of *L'nuwey* knowledge, inherent to my personhood, or as a *skuijinu*, which means human in *Mi'kmaq*. *Skuijinu* refers to the human spirit form that identifies me distinctly from non-human spirits. At the same time, *L'nu* sets me apart from other *skuijinu'k*, the plural of *skuijinu*. *L'nuk* is the plural of *L'nu*, representing the collective or people who speak the same language. *L'nui'suti* is our *Mi'kmaw* language. *L'nuisi* or I speak *Mi'kmaq*; therefore, I possess a deep cultural understanding of the source of our knowledge. I express profound gratitude to Sukwis<sup>1</sup> Murdena Marshall and Klamuksis Albert Marshall, who

---

<sup>1</sup> Sukwis is translated as 'aunt' in English. However, Sukwis is used as a term to show great respect for a female Elder in the *Mi'kmaw* community. The male equivalent is Klamuksis, or 'uncle'. Both Sukwis and Klamuksis serve as caretakers and are often regarded in the same category as immediate relatives. They do not need to be blood relatives, yet they are highly respected.

have significantly influenced my love and respect for Etuaptmumk and our broader cultural knowledge. Sukwis Murdena guided me as an Elder during my master's thesis, while Klamuksis Albert guides me in this current research. I aspire to be an Elder like them one day. It is the highest status of the Seven Sacred Mi'kmaw teachings, where wisdom is the final stage, typically attained by Elders (AAEDIRP, 2013).

As a community member of Mi'kma'ki and the 2SLGBTQIA+ community, I apply the actions of researching, learning, and teaching with Etuaptmumk; therefore, I am its practitioner. I will share this learning process as part of the knowledge development for this paper. I explore the various dimensions of knowledge development and inquiry through the lens of Etuaptmumk in researching Two-Spirit identity, gender, sexuality, and sex, utilising our cultural knowledge strengths.

### **Describing Two-Eyed Seeing, but not Etuaptmumk in Research**

Interestingly, there has been no formal research into how our people use Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing (E/TES) as common day-to-day language, at least based on my current research on Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing. However, comprehensive reviews of E/TES publications have been conducted in recent years (Forbes et al., 2020; Roher et al., 2021; Wright et al., 2019; Martin et al., 2012; Martin et al., 2017), analyzing how E/TES is applied in research, particularly in Indigenous health (Martin, 2012; Latimer et al., 2018; 2020; Sylliboy et al., 2021; Sylliboy, 2021), healthcare (Sylliboy & Hovey, 2020), science (Bartlett & Marshall, 2009; Bartlett et al., 2012), healing (Iwama et al., 2009; Hall et al., 2015; Rowan et al., 2015), environment and fishing (Denny & Fanning, 2016; Reid et al., 2020), education (Iwana et al., 2009; Hatcher et al., 2009; Mitchie & Rioux., 2023; Gloade & Sylliboy, 2024), gender and sexuality (Sylliboy, 2017a, 2017b, 2021; 2025), and policy (Black & McBean, 2016). The increase in Two-Eyed Seeing research would have been expected to rise since its endorsement by the Canadian Institutes of Health Research in its strategic plan (CIHR, 2016).

There are three most common descriptions about Two-Eyed Seeing. The first states that its implementation leverages the strengths of Indigenous and Western knowledge as a co-learning process to address inquiries primarily related to Indigenous issues. The following text is from the Institute for the Integrative Science and Health web page under Two-Eyed Seeing:

“We often explain *Etuaptmumk* - Two-Eyed Seeing by saying it refers to learning to see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, and from the other eye with the strengths of Western knowledges and ways of knowing ... and learning to use both these eyes together, for the benefit of all” (CBU, 2024).

The second standard description in publications refers to Two-Eyed Seeing as either a framework, methodology, or concept. However, it omits descriptions of the sources of Indigenous perspectives, the actual strengths of Indigenous knowledge, or its foundations. Finally, the third most common description is that TES was "coined" by Elder Albert Marshall. Nevertheless, publications fail to mention that Albert Marshall represents a foundation of ancestral knowledge among the Mi'kmaq, or the source of our L'nu strengths of knowledge. The current literature on E/TES overlooks the origins of Indigenous perspectives, which serve as the source of knowledge about the eye, encompassing Indigenous knowledge in epistemology and ontology, as well as the philosophical foundations that underpin E/TES as a concept and methodology within Western-based descriptions.

The impetus for framing this work on L'nuwey knowledge, based on personal and academic experiences with Etuaptmumk, is simply recognizing our knowledge as the primary source, rather than always relying on academic approaches like a literature review. A crucial consideration is that literature reviews do not encompass the entire Indigenous knowledge spectrum, as they primarily focus on published data. Dr. Marie Battiste highlights the limitations of literature reviews in capturing Indigenous knowledge:

"...a literature review is an oxymoron because Indigenous knowledge is typically embedded in the cumulative experiences and teaching of Indigenous people rather than a library. The second point is that conducting a literature review on Indigenous knowledge implies that Eurocentric research can reveal an understanding of Indigenous knowledge. The problem with this approach is that Indigenous knowledge does not mirror the classic Eurocentric order of life" (Battiste, 2002, p. 2).

Therefore, I share my narratives as part of the review of that knowledge development about Etuaptmumk, stemming from my relationship and the teachings I received from the Marshalls, and how I applied them in practice.

### **The Marshalls**

The founding authors of E/TES are the Marshalls (Murdena and Albert), alongside Dr. Cheryl Bartlett. She is a distinguished scholar and collaborator of Two-Eyed Seeing at Cape Breton University (CBU), as well as a longstanding friend of the Marshalls. Sukwis Murdena and Klamuksis Albert are from the Eskasoni First Nation and lived directly across from our family home in Crane Cove, a neighbourhood in Eskasoni. The Marshalls worked as Elders and advocates for language preservation, incorporating our cultural knowledge into all their endeavours. Most of their publications resulted from collaborations with Dr. Bartlett during the early years of the Integrative Science programme at CBU in the early 2000s (Marshall, 2010; 2012).

In the early years, the Marshalls' mantra was integrative science, or *toqatukl kejitaqn*, which means bringing 'knowledges' together (CBU, 2024). However, authors writing about Etuaptmumk or Two-Eyed Seeing often position Western perspectives at the forefront of their work and then include Indigenous perspectives as an afterthought. I deliberately wrote this paper from a L'nuwey perspective because it is critical to position this authorship from a positionality of resistance to colonial standards of research, while implementing reconciliation through research. As Shawn Wilson states, "If unsettling the truth and fostering more respectful relations between one another isn't also unsettling and shifting power, then what are we really doing?" (Wilson, 2019, p. 88). Therefore, I share our truth to challenge and unsettle the power dynamics, shifting power around our knowledge.

I can confirm that the Marshalls are among the most influential thinkers of our modern era, responsible for establishing Etuaptmumk, a cultural foundation for knowledge development widely recognized in academia. Consequently, the English term Two-Eyed Seeing bridges the strengths of our L'nu (Indigenous) worldview with those of Western-based knowledge on equal terms. In doing so, their work has influenced an entire generation of researchers, educators, scientists, clinicians, and practitioners, including myself. The impact of Two-Eyed Seeing is too extensive to be fully captured in a literature review. I am contributing to this scholarship by expanding the culturally specific knowledge that underpins Etuaptmumk.

### **L'nu knowledge is actions, research, and Learning.**

An integral part of this paper is cultural introspection, which explores the source of our knowledge related to inquiry or research. It is not necessarily a "literature review" within a traditional academic framework. However, it is a knowledge-ing journey within our L'nuwey perspectives to explain how research, methodology, inquiry and knowledge-building occur within a L'nuwey framework of L'nui'ta'simk.

My lived experience conducting research in various academic settings since 2010, as both L'nu and *Etuijijamijuinu* (Two-Spirit in Mi'kmaw, singular), is a primary source of knowledge. In the same token, I recognize that much of that knowledge comes from my lived experience in post-secondary education as a graduate student, where I implemented E/TES while collaborating with Elders, Two-Spirit Knowledge-Carriers, and 2S youth to address our community's needs for health and education.

In 2010, I began exploring the connection between my academic and cultural knowledge while working with Elders in Atlantic Canada. Although I knew Sukwis Murdena and Klamuksis Albert through family and community events, I started collaborating with them on an Elders project from 2010 to 2013 (AIEDIRP, 2012; 2013). I worked directly with Sukwis to develop protocols for engaging Elders in economic development activities, including research, which resulted in a video documentary (Ibid) and a chapter publication (Taylor et al., 2013). One of the most important recommendations from the Elders was:

“2. It is imperative that Elders be involved in all aspects of the territorial, cultural, linguistic, ecological, economic development and social affairs of Atlantic Aboriginal communities. Elders are in a position to help prioritize what is most important because of their collective cultural knowledge” (Ibid., p. 184).

Murdena guided me through various community-led projects, including my master's thesis from 2015 to 2017. The most memorable teaching that I got from Sukwis Murdena was when she told me, “The more Traditional Knowledge that you apply to your work, the more spiritually its outcomes will be. Eventually, you will see Spirits in everything. That will be the sign that you are entering into Eldership” (Marshall, 2017). Our Sukwis guided me until her passing in 2018.

Klamuksis Albert Marshall also collaborated on the Elders project from 2010 to 2013. He was the driving force behind the Atlantic Chiefs' approval of a resolution recognizing Elders' guiding principles in research on economic development (Taylor et al., 2013). Subsequently, Klamuksis began guiding me and our community through research projects in Indigenous health <https://achh.ca/>, from 2015 to the present (ACHH, 2025). Outcomes from this collaboration are ongoing in pediatric pain research (ACHH, 2025) and the guiding principles of conducting research through kinship with Etuaptmumk / Two-Eyed Seeing (Sylliboy et al., 2021). While I share tangible outcomes from an academic perspective, the knowledge I have gained through my involvement with Sukwis Murdena and Klamuksis Albert is immeasurable.

Engaging with Elders is part of connecting with collective knowledge, and more recently, engaging within the Two-Spirit community has become an essential source of understanding Two-Spirit priorities in health and wellness. Elders, Knowledge-Carriers, and L'nu academics form a "sophisticated network" (Sylliboy et al., 2020) with distinct areas of knowledge representing micro-dimensions of our L'nuwey worldview. Sukwis Murdena presented on traditional knowledge at an Elders conference in Millbrook in 2010 (AIEDIRP, 2013), where she described the complex system of codes that shape our beliefs, values, science, and validation of our ancestral ecosystem, Mi'kma'ki. These knowledge groups are passed on as oral traditions (Prosper et al., 2011) and practices, such as *A'tukwemk* (storytelling), *kiwto'qi akuntmamk* (talking in a circle),

*pipanikesimk* (asking or inquiring), and *iknuwatikemk* (telling or informing) (Ibid). Therefore, I intentionally integrate these practices while engaging Elders, Knowledge-Carriers, linguists, Two-Spirit individuals, and youth (18 years and older) to learn about Two-Spirit content in this study.

### **Etuaptmumk na Etuaptmumk**

Teachings about Etuaptmumk come directly from Sukwis Murdena and Klamuksis Albert. I refer to them as teachings because they are rooted in the foundations of our knowledge. I am learning about Etuaptmumk and Two-Eyed Seeing through publications on the subject that I am simultaneously reviewing during this research – it is the action of that Two-Eyed Seeing process. Ultimately, I am learning as I progress as an Etuaptmumk practitioner through my interactions with the Marshalls and by applying these skills to research and education. I share about this learning process as part of the knowledge development for this paper. Celebrating our cultural knowledge, as a primary source from a Two-Spirit L'nu perspective — living, being, and knowing as a Two-Spirit researcher, is essential for the decolonization and Indigenization of our 2S identity through a 2S methodology to recentre our voices, narratives, and experiences for gender self-determination (Hunt et al., 2023).

Active learning is an ongoing process of acquiring knowledge that cannot be easily categorized or quantified within the Western academic framework (Battiste, 2002; Marshall, 2025). Therefore, describing Etuaptmumk from our cultural perspective recognizes the cultural foundations of our knowledge creation firsthand. I cannot pinpoint the origins of our knowledge or the exact moment in time or space when Etuaptmumk emerged as a knowledge development process, such as when Klamuksis Albert Marshall coined "Two-Eyed Seeing" in 2004 (CBU, 2020). I acknowledge that Etuaptmumk would have emerged and influenced our worldview after the arrival of early settlers in Mi'kma'ki in the same way it would have influenced other Indigenous people across Turtle Island or globally.

Etuaptmumk is one of the principles of the L'nuwey way of thinking or L'nuwitasimk, according to Klamuksis Albert. Suppose one were to explore its conceptual or philosophical foundations, it relates to epistemology (the theory of knowledge and validation), ontology (the nature of being), axiology (the nature of values), and phenomenology (the study of the structure or phenomena) concurrently, but not necessarily in just one area. Cajete describes Indigenous philosophy as Native science or "perceptual phenomenology" (Cajete, 2004, p. 45), which aligns with the foundations of L'nuwitasimk because it recognizes the interconnectedness between humans and other entities in ecological spaces in Mi'kma'ki (the ancestral place of the Mi'kmaq or Atlantic Canada). L'nuwey worldviews directly derive from the phenomena of interrelatedness among all spirits in our ecosystems and territory. That interrelatedness is also a form of relationality, a similar system of social accountability among Two-Spirit people and with other Indigenous people when we share spaces in kinship (Wildcat & Voth, 2023).

Klamuksis Albert explores the deep philosophical roots of our knowledge. He states, "What is knowledge? Knowledge now means to me, it is not static but rather it's alive. It not only transforms us, but we also have a responsibility with that knowledge to share it with everyone" (Taylor et al., 2013, p. 123). He views our understanding as a strong body with intricate veins of resources connected within micro and macro bodies of spirits, both human and non-human, governed by a natural order of life in flux within our ecosystem, as Mi'kma'ki. This natural order is upheld by these powerful forces that maintain kinships among all spirits, including Elders, in equal dimensions with plants, animals, trees, forests, and the natural elements. No single person

or spirit holds all the knowledge; instead, it is their collective that forms a mighty body across various spheres, which Klamuksis Albert shares encompasses cognitive, spiritual, metaphysical, and cosmological dimensions of our knowledge that reside within us. It is through collective action and interaction that our knowledge is passed down from ancient trails of science, philosophy, language, values, beliefs, and ceremonies, living within person-to-person, family-to-family, and community-to-community relationships, shaping the collective consciousness of Nationhood. However, Albert is concerned that students or academics who do not speak our language, or only the dominant language, may be at a disadvantage in this process of knowledge transfer (Marshall, 2024).

Klamuksis Albert's concern is that young people need validation of their identity as L'nu'k or First Nations so they can navigate between the two worldviews. He firmly acknowledges that our knowledge can weave back and forth between two worlds using Etuaptmumk. In a sense of urgency, Klamuksis states, "We have to be very, very adamant in helping them to see that the knowledge that their ancestors have left with them is just as much applicable today as it was in the past..." (Taylor et al., 2013, p. 124). That urgency, to me, is a recipe for hope, as our knowledge is the very source of our solutions in the complex world that our Two-Spirit youth may constantly find themselves adjusting to.

In the context of data gathering and research, Indigenous languages are of immense significance. Knowledge development is not simply a measurable outcome because being and living as L'nu is an ongoing spiritual journey within a continuum of collective consciousness (Marshall, 2005), which Western perspectives attempt to understand within their own philosophical frameworks. L'nu scholar Dr. Marie Battiste warns that Western philosophy's limited ability to incorporate Indigenous knowledge into its existing paradigm is a concern (Battiste, 2002). Therefore, I intentionally focus on the L'nuwey perspective, or the view of Etuaptmumk, to share its origins in research rather than reducing it to a Western-based theoretical framework, which would be redundant, as Etuaptmumk encompasses more than a mere theoretical framework, according to Klamuksis Albert (Marshall, 2024).

The process of harvesting knowledge (data gathering) is a spiritual journey that is both an individual learning process and inherently collective within our cultural consciousness, rooted in our nationhood as L'nu'k (Marshall, 2005). I pay close attention to Sukwis Murdena's advice: "We can never use standards introduced by other cultures" (Ibid., p. 4). Therefore, I aim to share how that process transcends the expectation of being described within a Western paradigm. However, I will focus on its merit from the L'nuwey perspective of a knowledge paradigm. My contribution is a tiny atom or *mntu* (spirit) of that continuum of a tribal consciousness, of which I am a spirit.

## Collective Consciousness and Knowledge Development

According to Murdena and Albert Marshall, anyone who has learned in their first language, Mi'kmaq, and attended any on-reserve school in Una'ma'ki (Cape Breton) would have a working knowledge or lived experience of using E/TES during their lifetime (Marshall, 2010). It may not be called E/TES, but Sukwis Murdena notes that L'nu'k (Mi'kmaq) would have acquired this inherent ability to varying degrees through collective or tribal consciousness at home and through constant interaction within the community, via cultural, social, and land-based activities such as berry-picking, smelting, or ceremonies.

Sukwis Murdena consistently emphasized her deep cultural roots. She revealed that she was the granddaughter of Kji Saqmaw (Grand Chief) Gabriel Sylliboy (1874–1964), who held the

position of Kji Saqmaw from 1919 to 1964. Sukwis Murdena (1942-2018) spent her early years living with her grandparents, the late Grand Chief. She explained how she learned about governance, Treaties, and the significance of collective consciousness as vital sources of inter-generational knowledge (Marshall, 2010; 2012; 2016).

William C. Wicken explored the concept of “inter-generational remembering” (Wicken, 2012, p. 14) and its relation to collective consciousness. Wicken studied the court case between the King v. Gabriel Sylliboy in 1929, in which Sylliboy (my great-grandfather) was charged with trapping out of season. Gabriel Sylliboy fought and lost the case at that time in the provincial court. Nevertheless, Wicken provides a well-documented analysis of the case, in which he explores the role of collective consciousness and its sources.

According to Wicken, Kji Saqmaw Sylliboy’s witnesses were fellow L’nu’k from the same community. They shared that they had an inherent right to hunt, and fish based on their acquired and inherent rights from the 1752 Peace and Friendship Treaties between the Mi’kmaq and the British Crown (Canada, 2025). During the proceedings, they shared that their knowledge of their rights was passed down through family and community, which they assumed was part of their collective memory of the Treaties. Wicken shared that the witnesses’ memories consisted of two types. One was time-specific memories, which the witnesses used to share specific knowledge of events about the Treaties. The second type was memories that span over various years. In both cases, the memories contribute to knowledge about events, which eventually turn into collective memory and collective consciousness over time.

The importance of sharing this from my experience lies in the fact that I understand what I know through similar experiential learning about Etuaptmumk. I cannot recall all the conversations, discussions, or the dates of the teachings I have gained as knowledge through my interactions with the Marshalls or with all the Elders I have engaged with, due to my interest in learning about our cultural teachings through language and ceremony. I cannot, nor will I, specify the time and place of that knowledge development process because most of that knowledge is rooted in collective memory that has evolved into a tribal consciousness. I am like my great-grandfather’s witnesses; I can recall knowledge about my culture with absolute trust in what I say, based on the knowledge I have acquired through intergenerational learning and my own experience as an Etuaptmumk practitioner. In true knowledge sovereignty, the most guaranteed place to store our living knowledge, which is what I use in the place of the term “data” is in our memory where it cannot be hindered, breached, or attacked by other non-Mi’kmaq-speaking entities or spirits.

### **Etuaptmumk as an Action Verb**

One must understand the term *Etuaptmumk* to understand its linguistic usage and ontological and epistemological origins. First, I provide a breakdown of the word as the verb *etuaptm*, which means I see, view, observe, or watch a vision or something from two perspectives or sources of knowledge. By adding the suffix *mumk*, the word converts the verb into a noun as Etuaptmumk. I will not delve into the grammatical rules of this process<sup>2</sup>, but it would be similar to nominalization in English grammar.

Etuaptmumk can occur between two individuals speaking Mi’kmaq who may hold different perspectives on a topic. The way it is used within language can vary depending on the context. For example, if two people are speaking Mi’kmaq and sharing their personal views on

---

<sup>2</sup> The book, *The Mi’kmaq Grammar of Father Pacifique*, by Bernie Francis and John Hewson further grammatical insight (Pacifique, 2016).

caring for children, they might have different perspectives from their own families. However, their combined perspective would provide a more comprehensive reflection on how they see, view, or analyse childcare in the community. This demonstrates how etuaptmumk is used in everyday language, which may be unrelated to a Western perspective altogether.

Meanwhile, the use of Marshall's Two-Eyed Seeing intentionally incorporates Indigenous and Western perspectives to promote shared learning and integration, providing a more comprehensive view. We can use the example of childcare to inform policy. By combining Mi'kmaw traditions (L'nu strength) about childcare with provincial standards (Western-based perspective), we can offer a wider range of knowledge for childcare policy.

The verb *etuaptm* would conjugate in the following way:

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Ni'n etuaptm</i>          | I see/observe/watch/view from two perspectives/knowledges/sources        |
| <i>Ki'l etuaptmn</i>         | You see/observe/watch/view from two perspectives                         |
| <i>Nekm etuapt+k</i>         | S/he (nekm is neutral) sees/observes/watches/views from two perspectives |
| <i>Nekmowk etuaptmti'tij</i> | They see/observe/watch/view from two perspectives                        |
| <i>Kinuk etuaptmu'k</i>      | We see/observe/watch/view from two perspectives/knowledges/sources       |
| <i>Kilow etuaptmoq</i>       | You (plural)   |

### Inquiring using Etuaptmumk for Two-Spirit Research

When using Etuaptmumk within a cultural (L'nuwey) speaking context, I would employ it either independently or alongside other verbs in speech or as part of a thought process. As a standalone verb, I would use it to express the merging of two thoughts or perspectives to explore an individual or social issue. Concerning an inquiry about being Two-Spirit, I would utilise the term as a verb in the following way: how I speak in my language. There may be numerous variations of the exact phrase by others.

The way Two-Spirit people share their stories, perspectives, and knowledge based on their experiences is crucial for including L'nuwey viewpoints in understanding Two-Spirit gender, sexuality, and sex. Etuaptmumk influences Two-Spirit research practices, such as how kinship within the Two-Spirit community and the inclusion of stories and narratives are fundamental to L'nu perspectives in understanding Two-Spirit realities. The following phrase acts as a starting point for the focus groups with the Two-Spirit participants in the study.

#### *Ketu etuapt'm ula klusuaqn Two-Spirit tan teli'te'tasik aqq tan t'eli l'nu'aptmumk*

(I would like to observe the term Two-Spirit from how people think or describe its concept and how a l'nu term can be developed for it.)

Implementing two perspectives involves integrating different views or understandings about Two-Spirits. It is important to note that these perspectives may come from two different people, two distinct ideologies (worldviews), or two different (Indigenous) cultural viewpoints.

The first perspective examines how people currently describe the term 'Two-Spirit' and what they believe it signifies, based on existing interpretations. It includes insights from various 2S scholars, who have shared their understanding of the concept, which I analysed in my previous research (2017b, 2019, 2021). The second perspective involves a cultural analysis that incorporates L'nuwey knowledge to explain the term through deeper reflection and collective consultation; this

paper is an example. The aim is for these two perspectives to provide a holistic understanding of the term for Two-Spirit.

The action process may include other related action terms, such as observe, analyze, resolve, improve, or discuss the process, which involves implementing two aspects of power or sources of strength to act for knowledge development. When used together, these increase the likelihood of finding a more robust solution or making an observation that can be done individually or collectively, depending on the scope of inquiry. The convergence of perspectives expressed through dialogue—as strengths, thoughts, opinions, or counsel—enhances the ability to resolve issues and broadens the resources of knowledge, as well as the capacity to look beyond an individual's understanding. The process requires one perspective or knowledge source to have faith, trust, and respect for each other's sources of knowledge, a principle that Klamuksis Albert reminds us of (Marshall, 2018; 2020). When working with that other perspective, you establish a spiritual connection because of an existing relationship or kinship with that other strength (Sylliboy, 2021).

To understand how Etuaptmumk is applied in research, it is important to recognize that Etuaptmumk, or Two-Eyed Seeing, represents a spiritual continuum of knowledge development that includes both a conceptual framework and a methodology, which I share in this study. Its purpose arises from the inquiry, objectives, and intended outcome. It was previously shared that Etuaptmumk is part of a L'nuwey way of knowing and being, which is not easily categorized within a structured Western framework. Indigenous knowledge is described as circular, reflecting the cycle of life worldview that best resonates with our land, language, and L'nuwey worldview (Sylliboy, 2021).

Dr. Alex Wilson teaches about queering our praxis when developing land-based education that challenges norms (Wilson, 2021), which is what I intend to do while implementing Etuaptmumk in research. Dr. Wilson's recommendation to queer our praxis is my version of queering Two-Eyed Seeing in research, as applied to this study. In applying Etuaptmumk in Two-Spirit research, its foundations support fluid, nonlinear, and circular approaches to data collection, analysis, and knowledge sharing, which I consider queer or Two-Spirited. I describe Two-Spirit identity as circular, non-linear, and fluid (Sylliboy, 2019, 2021), reflecting both the theoretical and methodological aspects simultaneously, as seen in this research through the lens of Etuaptmumk. The act of Two-Eyed Seeing, as a conceptual framework and methodology, involves actively integrating two sources of knowledge or perspectives, in this case, Two-Spirited within the Indigenous, or L'nuwey worldview, and Western. The L'nu (Mi'kmaw) perspective continues to move within a cyclical continuum between its theory and methodology in unison.

### **Oral Traditions, Elders and Knowledge-Carriers**

The primary source of knowledge for much of my work has come from a community knowledge system comprising Elders, Knowledge-Carriers, and the L'nuwey worldview, all interconnected. Rowett cites Elder Albert Marshall, through personal communication, to discuss Etuaptmumk usage and relationality in research (Rowett, 2018). In the citation, Rowett describes what L'nu'k already demonstrate in everyday practice: "Etuaptmumk is not limited to a specific subject area or discipline. Rather, it is a way of being, seeing, and living life" (Ibid., p. 55). Rowett describes how she interprets E/TES through her positionality, which she describes as an Indigenist approach. The approach allows a non-Indigenous researcher to view the Indigenous worldview through the eyes of peers. I believe this is a way for researchers to gain insight into how E/TES is

applied in research more broadly, much as a non-Greek professor can teach Greek philosophy or history.

Oral traditions are an essential source of knowledge development in L'nuwey culture (Marshall, 2005). Historically, oral traditions have been a means of passing on knowledge about our territory, cultural history, historical events, people, creation stories, and life skills that have guided and sustained the L'nu'k through time (Battiste, 1998). Oral traditions play a crucial role in preserving and safeguarding valuable cultural knowledge through prayers, ceremonies, and cultural practices, including medicinal remedies, chants, dances, and storytelling, according to Sukwis Murdena Marshall. Individuals within our community would have developed general cultural knowledge about Mi'kmaw social structures, cultural beliefs, and standard daily practices based on mutual kinship or established relations to fulfil individual and social roles, ensuring the community's well-being (Marshall, 1997; Iwama et al., 2009). One can see a direct relationship between oral tradition and collective memory, which are essential components of the collective consciousness discussed earlier in this paper.

Dr. Marie Battiste presents a compelling case for Indigenous ways of knowing within the literature review and its limitations (Battiste, 2002). While Indigenous knowledge sources seem to need integration into Western academia, they are simultaneously rich and fragile. They are rich because L'nu scholars, such as Battiste, publish their work. Conversely, the knowledge is fragile because the number of speakers and Elders is declining. Sukwis Murdena Marshall mentioned that “We only have a small bit of 25% (of speakers) to work with” (Taylor et al., 2013, p. 161), which is far from language continuity or survival. The points raised by Dr. Battiste and the Marshalls offer suggestions and opportunities to advance scholarship through our L'nuwey worldview and to use storytelling as a primary source of knowledge. Emphasising culture, especially our language and cultural practices, as vital sources of knowledge addresses Elder Marshall's concerns about language revitalisation and preservation.

I return to Klamuksis Albert's concern about the challenge faced by students who may not speak Mi'kmaq. According to Klamuksis Albert, the notion of fully comprehending Etuaptmumk empirically and culturally is challenging for people who do not speak our language, as they may not grasp the deep cultural significance of the origins of L'nuwey knowledge. That non-speakers may not have the same cognitive interconnectedness or the level of collective consciousness to fully appreciate all the cultural foundations of Etuaptmumk within the four dimensions of that knowledge — mentally, emotionally, physically, or spiritually. I interpret that as a missed opportunity for our people, as they do not experience a direct connection to the source of knowledge embedded in language and cultural practices. However, it is also a call to action for L'nu'k to capture Klamuksis Albert's message about enhancing our efforts to support our young people in learning the language, in order to preserve the integrity of our knowledge foundations and to increase our opportunities to build that collective consciousness and cultural identity as L'nu'k. Ensuring our language is ensuring our knowledge sovereignty and cultural continuity.

### **Knowledge Translation of L'nu Knowledge Development for Two-Spirit Research is more implicit than explicit.**

As a speaker, I understand the breadth of our knowledge and the nuances of coding, including its delivery, non-verbal aspects, and intentional use of language in the word Etuaptmumk. I also know that our language is verb-based with intricate variations in sentence structure (Inglis, 2004). Our knowledge, translated through our language, is more implicit than

explicit. I did not need to break down Etuaptmumk into a conceptual classification; instead, I applied it in its verb form—an action of inquiry, knowledge development, and even writing this paper. That knowledge development was instantaneous, especially during conversations with another Mi'kmaw speaker; therefore, I did not need to translate the word as “two-eyed seeing.” This is a privilege I shared with my PhD supervisor, Dr. Janine Metallic. During our supervisor meetings, we spoke in Mi'kmaw, avoiding the need to translate our knowledge and its sources.

I was consciously aware that Etuaptmumk was happening as an action during the data-gathering session, especially when the Elders, Knowledge-Carriers, and participants shared their thoughts in Mi'kmaw. In our methods of communication, speaking or talking occurs in a fluid, automatic, transparent, and natural way, enabling the practice of Two-Eyed Seeing as an action that co-occurs among two or more people, allowing them to share their perspectives. It is through the process of Etuaptmumk, the discussions between participants, especially in Mi'kmaw, that collective consciousness is engaged, particularly when Elders share stories and experiences about Two-Spirit people living in Eskasoni, which is later explored in the following section of this dissertation. The collective consciousness of our knowledge is invisible to the naked eye, but the action of our knowledge becomes visible during data-gathering sessions when our people share their stories.

The English language does not fully capture the cultural nuances of Etuaptmumk's extensive capacity for the inquiry process in knowledge development, even as I try to explain Etuaptmumk in its natural state within *L'nui'suti* (speaking our language) – *L'nui'tasimk* (thinking through our consciousness) – *L'nuii* (being L'nu). In reviewing the literature, some authors fail to share what is Two-Eyed Seeing beyond their descriptions in publications. This only confirms that our knowledge is that much richer and wonderful because it holds keys to our higher dimensions of knowledge, layered with cultural beliefs, values, and other interconnected sources of our knowledge, which we can still access and protect from literary piracy and extraction. Through years of interaction with our Elders and Knowledge-Carriers, such as the Marshalls, Tuma Young, Kenny Prosper, Barbara Sylliboy, Shirley Denny (my aunt) and my father, Peter Paul (Chaps), I have come to understand that the strengths and sources of our knowledge maintain a balance and interconnectedness that contribute to its wholeness as a collective consciousness, that is best learned through our language.

### **Etuaptmumk is Circular; Western Knowledge is Linear**

Non-L'nu academics find it hard to adopt L'nuwey perspectives – I will clarify. According to Sákéj (James) Youngblood Henderson, non-L'nu scholars struggle to set aside their assumed Eurocentric diffusionism because it is deeply embedded in the “fabric of Canadian scholarship” (Youngblood Henderson, 1997, p. 23). Youngblood Henderson notes that achieving this would require a shift in consciousness, which involves lived experience as a L'nu or time spent gaining a genuine understanding of that worldview. Even then, it would require a researcher to reject their dominant Eurocentric perspective and rebuild a decolonial cognitive outlook. I believe this shift should be grounded in treaty-based, strength-based, anti-racist, anti-homophobic, and resilience-based approaches, serving as the foundation for Etuaptmumk research.

L'nuwey knowledge is often seen as merely traditional, rather than scientific (Battiste, 2000; 2002). Etuaptmumk originates from thousands of years of knowledge development through complex cultural and experiential learning, knowledge gathering, research, and science (ibid). Sukwis Murdena shared that the process continuously shapes oral traditions, language, cultural

beliefs, and wisdom (AAEDIRP, 2013; Marshall, 1997). Therefore, our knowledge continues to develop within a contemporary space and time. Becoming more aware of the wealth of our knowledge, I use it as a primary source for addressing complex social questions related to the health, education, and current challenges of L'nu'k, as well as conducting Two-Spirit research (Sylliboy et al., 2021). This is community-based evidence that our knowledge is scientific and relevant.

### Actioning Etuaptmumk

Etuaptmumk represents the multidimensionality of concepts that can be compared to epistemology and ontology. It is not as clear-cut within our language, culture, or worldview as precise terms would suggest. Nevertheless, through tribal consciousness, Etuaptmumk is understood by Elders, Knowledge-Carriers, and Mi'kmaw speakers as a mode of inquiry. I reiterate that Etuaptmumk is the action of the inquiry. The word for Two-Eyed Seeing is not a direct translation but an interpretation of the concept to signify seeing "it" from both perspectives. Klamuksis Albert Marshall clarifies that Etuaptmumk encompasses a L'nu perspective – an Indigenous perspective, as well as another perspective, such as a Western-based one (Marshall, 2020). It can be any two different sources of knowledge if the process utilizes one source of Indigenous ways of knowing to enhance each "eye's" capacity to broaden its vision, resulting in the convergence of learning for both eyes. One outcome is an immediate duality of perspectives, while the longer-term outcome begins a continuous co-learning journey that may lead to further inquiry.

In this theoretical analysis of E/TES, I explored relatable terms that make up the concept of *L'nuwita'simk* and are foundations of knowledge development and knowledge as being, such as *L'nu* (Being of the Same Tongue, or as Mi'kmaq), *L'nuwey* (Of the Mi'kmaq), *L'nui* (Of being Mi'kmaq), and *L'nuisuti* (Mi'kmaw language). The words are the essential core or the source of consciousness and our knowledge DNA - the Indigenous context of *Etuaptmumk*. Klamuksis Albert founded the principle that our knowledge must maintain its inherent value as sacred, legitimate and spiritual (Marshall, 2023).

After collaborating with the Marshalls in the application of traditional knowledge for economic development and research in 2013 (AAEDIRP, 2013), I have come to view Etuaptmumk as a cultural teaching rather than a concept, framework, or methodology for research. I have always regarded it as a foundation for how we think and learn within the concept of *L'nuwita'simk*, which is thinking in Mi'kmaw (Young, 2016). Sukwis Murdena reminds us that when Elders share their knowledge with the next generation, they are intended to be part of knowledge translation or teachings (Marshall, 2017; Marshall, 2021; Marshall, 2023).

### Sources of Our Knowledge as Strengths for Etuaptmumk

Knowledge travels through time following its life cycle in a nonlinear way. It moves as a collective of words, phrases, and coordinated thoughts, emotions, and mental states that develop into learning processes. Etuaptmumk originates from interconnected terms of *L'nuwey* knowledge. While we can explore the Creation Story (Augustine, 2011) as a starting point for our narrative, our understanding of who we are as L'nu'k is a journey that spans thousands of years. Mi'kmaw knowledge is multidimensional across time and space, having evolved from the ecological region of L'nu'k, known as Mi'kma'ki, since time immemorial.

I used a circular image in other publications to illustrate how the cycle of life functions as a foundational source of knowledge development across time and space (Sylliboy et al., 2021; Sylliboy, 2021). I referenced Sukwis Murdena Marshall's Seven Sacred Teachings (AAEDIRP, 2013, p. 135) to explain the coming-out process for Two-Spirit people as a circular, nonlinear, and constantly evolving process in shaping a Two-Spirit identity. Then, I incorporated the circular image of the Kloqowej (star in Mi'kmaq) within a circle symbolizing the interconnectedness of the ecological spaces that comprise Mi'kma'ki. The idea is that life progresses through a continuous cycle, and knowledge exists as part of a developmental continuum. Therefore, I embed the teachings of the circular perspective in developing the model for the L'nu eye – our strength. Ultimately, integrating these teachings helped conceptualize Two-Spirit identity within a L'nuwey worldview, leading to the realization that being L'nu is the core identity for Two-Spirit people.

The diagram (Figure 1) illustrates the interconnected concepts or foundations that support our understanding of our knowledge sources, including Etuaptmumk. It is recognized that knowledge sources are non-linear and multidimensional. These embody the unity and matrix of knowledge, as well as the collective consciousness of all spirits from which our understanding arises. I learned from Sukwis Murdena that L'nu'k view the world this way when she stated, “We're not linear. Everything goes around in a circle – everything: time, cycles, life, everything” (Taylor et al., 2013, p. 137). Therefore, the direction of learning is in constant motion, circular, like the cycle of life, as depicted below.

There is an understanding that our knowledge is interconnected within the life cycle teachings and that love is the first teaching of the Seven Sacred Teachings (AAEDIRP, 2013). However, Sukwis Murdena reminds us that everyone has a unique starting point after the base is established (love), based on their current stage in life, needs, interests, and level of knowledge development. The teachings are continuously evolving and in flux, adapting to individual circumstances within the collective setting.



## **Etuaptmumk as a Foundation for Studying Gender, Sexuality, and Sex**

How we generate new knowledge is based on how we apply E/TES in current contexts, such as learning about Two-Spirit gender, sexuality, and sex. It can help in understanding, exploring, and developing terms for Two-Spirit and related concepts, including lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer, as well as terms signified by the plus sign (+), which indicate existing and emerging labels for self-identification concerning gender and sexuality. Etuaptmumk originates from L'nu knowledge, or "kejitaqn," which includes various related concepts of knowledge (epistemology), such as klusuaqn (word/term) and L'nui'suti (language), embodying the nature of our existence as both beings and doers of L'nu.

Inquiry into self-identity related to gender and sexuality remains an ongoing discourse within our Indigenous communities. I have learned about the significant contributions of Indigenous authors, scholars, and artists' perspectives on Two-Spirits (Sylliboy, 2017b), which relate to gender and sexuality. For example, many Indigenous groups have terms that serve as an umbrella for Two-Spirit, often used as an alternative to the English term "queer." Evolving terms in English include hybrid expressions like Indigiqueer (Lezard et al., 2021); however, no specific terms existed in L'nui'suti (Mi'kmaw language) until 2024. At the outset of this research, there was no precise word to describe being gay in our language; however, I consulted and engaged with Elders to study how our language may have been impacted by colonization in Mi'kma'ki (Sylliboy, 2025). The Elders have supported this research by guiding the process and helping us understand how our knowledge evolves.

In 2024, Tanas Sylliboy and I introduced *Etuijjaqamijuinu* (singular) *Etuijjaqamijuinu'k* (plural) as the term for Two-Spirit in L'nuisuti at the Juno Awards Ceremony (CBC Music, 2024) in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Elders Barbara Sylliboy and Kenny Prosper from Eskasoni First Nation collaborated to provide the best interpretation of the term. *Etuijjaqamijuinu* combines the word *Etui* for dual/multi or varied with *jjaqamij* (spirit) and *uinu* (refers to the individual), while *uinu'k* (plural form for people) would be the collective form.

A comprehensive understanding of gender, sexuality, and sex shows the level of interest within our Two-Spirit community and our L'nu community in learning and sharing knowledge about these topics. Two-Spirit youth are interested in understanding the goals outlined in my research regarding terms, phrases, and language related to gender and sexuality. They are also eager to learn about their potential roles as Two-Spirit youth.

L'nu scholar Dr Margaret Robinson from Epekwitk, who researches bisexuality and health, also highlights that part of our role as Two-Spirit people is to restore balance to our beliefs about gender and decolonise the ongoing imbalances caused by the historical impacts of widespread heteronormativity (Robinson, 2017; 2022). I would add that our key role is to reverse the cultural erosion that has altered our ancestral beliefs about sexuality, which were distorted by gender binary beliefs. These ancestral beliefs evolved into heteronormative roles that only recognized Christian values concerning sexuality, effectively suppressing any expressions of sexuality that did not conform to Christianity and Eurocentric cultural dominance in our stolen L'nu lands.

## **Conclusion**

The understanding of Etuaptmumk /Two-Eyed Seeing and its fluid and influential conceptualization into research is just the tip of the iceberg in learning the immense wealth of

associated knowledge from its L'nuwey philosophical foundations. There is an insurmountable quantity of L'nuwey knowledge to be explored and resurfaced in addressing the evolving needs of L'nu'k implementing E/TES in sexual health and education. I purposely delved into my cultural knowledge to analyze how Etuaptmumk is interconnected to various dimensions of our worldview emotionally, mentally, physically and spiritually to explore what is Two-Spirit, gender identity, sexuality and sex.

Sukwis Murdena's words resonate with the concept of tribal consciousness: "We need to recover from cultural starvation before we can again become conduits of this traditional knowledge for our children, using the Mi'kmaw language and spirituality to recover" (Marshall, 2005, p. 4). I believe that Etuaptmumk transcends Western-based or academic classifications, which presents challenges for academics and researchers trying to fit it within a conceptual framework or methodology. It is circular, non-linear, spiritual, and fluid, so it should be recognised as L'nuwey knowledge – not just a strength or perspective, potentially overly influenced by Western thinking. It encompasses a millennium of science, laws, codes, systems, and processes within a matrix of thoughts, beliefs, traditions, ceremonies, teachings, chants, dances, language, and culture that are inherently part of all L'nu'k, especially those who speak our language.

Etuaptmumk or Two-Eyed Seeing aligns with conducting Two-Spirit research because Western tools for knowledge development, such as a demographic questionnaire, an online survey, data analysis methods, and writing this paper, were used in this study, providing a comprehensive understanding of the research and balancing the inquiry process between the L'nu strengths discussed in great detail with Western approaches to knowledge development. Etuaptmumk has all the characteristics to serve as a queer praxis for Two-Spirit research about gender, sexuality, and sex.

## References

Aboriginal Children's Hurt and Healing Initiative (ACHH). 2025. Retrieved on July 13, 2025  
[ACHH | Aboriginal Children's Hurt & Healing Initiative](#)

Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Development Integrated Research Program (AAEDIRP), (2013). Chapter 6: Elders' Mawio'mi in Millbrook First Nation, Day One Proceedings. Fernwood Publishing. ISBN: 978-1-55266-588-6. Pp120-142.

Atlantic Indigenous Economic Development Integrated Research Program (AIEDIRP), (2012). Honouring Traditional Knowledge. [Honouring Traditional Knowledge - YouTube](#)

Augustine, S. J. (2011). Mi'gmaq Creation Story. Part One of Two. Retrieved from:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rQvup95nhvk>

Bartlett, C. & Marshall, A. (2009). Integrative science and Two-Eyed Seeing. Life Long Learning – from Youth to Elder; conference on Aboriginal education, organized by the Atlantic Aboriginal Economic Development Integrated Research Program (August) of the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs Secretariat. Fredericton, NB, 23–25, March 2009.

Bartlett, C., Marshall, M. & Marshall, A. (2012). Two-Eyed Seeing and Other Lessons Learned within a Co-learning journey of bringing together Indigenous and mainstream knowledges and ways of knowing. *J Environ Stud Sci* 2, 331–340 (2012).

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s13412-012-0086-8>

Battiste, M. S. (1998). *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing Ltd.

Battiste M (2002). *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education: a Literature Review with Recommendations*.

[https://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/education/24\\_2002\\_oct\\_marie\\_battiste\\_indigenousknowledgeandpedagogy\\_lit\\_review\\_for\\_min\\_working\\_group.pdf](https://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/education/24_2002_oct_marie_battiste_indigenousknowledgeandpedagogy_lit_review_for_min_working_group.pdf) [Google Scholar]

Battiste M. Maintaining Aboriginal Identity, Language, and Culture in Modern Society. In: Battiste M (Ed.) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Vancouver: UBC Press; 2000. p. 192-208. [Google Scholar]

Black, K., & McBean, E. (2016). Increased Indigenous participation in environmental decision-making: A policy analysis for the improvement of Indigenous health. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 7(4). doi: <https://doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2016.7.4.5>

Cajete, G. (2004). Philosophy of Native Science. In *American Indian thought: philosophical essays*. Blackwell Pub.

Canada, Government of (2025). Treaty Texts - 1752 Peace and Friendship Treaty. Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada. Retrieved on July 3, 2025.

[Treaty Texts - 1752 Peace and Friendship Treaty](#)

Cape Breton University. (2024). Two-Eyed Seeing. Institute of Integrative Science. Cape Breton University. Website:

<http://www.integrativescience.ca/Principles/TwoEyedSeeing/>

CBC Music (2024). *Jeremy Dutcher, Elisapie, Morgan Toney and Sarah Prosper perform | Juno Awards 2024*. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qhs-c\\_Ish0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9qhs-c_Ish0)

Denny, S. K., Fanning, L. M. (2016). A Mi'kmaw Perspective on Advancing Salmon Governance in Nova Scotia, Canada: Setting the Stage for Collaborative Co-Existence. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*,7(3). DOI:10.18584/iipj.2016.7.3.4

Forbes, A., Ritchie, S., Walker, J., & Young, N. (2020). Applications of Two-Eyed seeing in Primary research focused on Indigenous health: a scoping review—*International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19, 1609406920929110.

Gloade, K., Sylliboy, J. (2024). The Importance of Considering the Cultural Context when Evaluating 2015L'nu Children's Early Years Development Outcomes. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. Vol. 41, No. 2. ISBN 0715-3244

Government of Canada. (2023). Map of the Districts of Mi'kma'ki (Kjipuktuk aq Mi'kma'ki). <https://parks.canada.ca/lhn-nhs/ns/fortanne/culture/autochtone-indigenous/carte-mikmaki-map>

Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR). (2016). IIPH Strategic Plan 2014-18: Wellness, strength and resilience of First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples: Moving beyond health equity. Government of Canada. 2016. Retrieved on July 13, 2025, from [IAPH Strategic Plan 2014-18 - CIHR](#)

Hatcher, A., Bartlett, C., Marshall, A., Marshall, M. (2009) Two-Eyed Seeing in the Classroom Environment: Concepts, Approaches, and Challenges, *Canadian Journal of Science, Mathematics and Technology Education*, 9:3, 141-153, DOI:10.1080/14926150903118342

Hall, L., Dell, C.A., Fornssler, B., Hopkins, C., Mushquash, C. (2015). Research as Cultural Renewal: Applying Two-Eyed Seeing in a Research Project about Cultural Interventions in First Nations Addictions Treatment. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*. Vol. 6, Issue 2.

Hunt, S., Lambert, S., Wilson, A. (2023). Body Sovereignty: A Collaborative Reflection on Two-Methodologies. *Honouring our ancestors: Takatāpui, Two-Spirit and Indigenous LGBTQI+ well-being*. Te Herenga Waka University Press.

Inglis, S. (2004). 400 Years of Linguistic contact between the Mi'kmaq and the English and the interchange of two worldviews. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 24(2), 389-402.

Iwama, M., Marshall, M., Marshall, A., & Bartlett, C. (2009). Two-eyed seeing and the language Of healing in community-based research. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 32(2), 3-23. Retrieved from <https://search.proquest.com/openview/3a5489d04bdc935a971d94d6654ef640/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=30037>

Latimer, M., Sylliboy, J., Francis, J., Amey, S., Rudderham, S., Finley, G.A., MacLeod, E. & Paul, K. (2020). Co-creating better health care experiences for First Nation Children & Youth: The FIRST approaches emerges from Two-Eyed Seeing. *Pediatric & Neonatal Pain*, 2(4). 104-112. [Co-creating better healthcare experiences for First Nations children and youth: The FIRST approach emerges from Two-Eyed seeing](#)

Latimer, M., Sylliboy, J. R., MacLeod, E., Rudderham, S., Francis, J., Hutt-Macleod, D., & Finley, G. A. (2018). Creating a safe space for First Nations youth to share their pain. *PAIN Reports*, 3(Suppl 1), e682. <https://doi.org/10.1097/pr9.0000000000000682>.

Lezard, P., Prefontaine, Z., Cedarwall, D. M., Sparrow, C., Maracle, S., Beck, A., & McLeod, A. (2021). *MMIW2SLGBTQQIA+ National Action Plan: Final Report*. <https://mmiw2splus-nationalactionplan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/2SLGBTQQIA-Report-Final.pdf>. [Google Scholar]

Marshall, M. (1997). Values, customs and traditions of the Mi'kmaq Nation. In R. Joe & L. Choyce (Eds.), *The Mi'kmaq anthology* (pp. 51–63). Pottersfield Press.

Marshall, M. (2005). *On tribal consciousness: The trees that hold hands*. Institute for Integrative Science & Health.  
<http://www.integrativescience.ca/uploads/articles/2005November-Marshall-WIPCE-text-On-Tribal-Consciousness-Integrative-Science.pdf>. [Google Scholar]

Marshall, M., Marshall, A. (2010). Personal communication. Eskasoni First Nation. August 2010.

Marshall, M., Marshall, A. (2012). Personal communication. Millbrook First Nation. July 2012.

Marshall, M., Marshall, A. (2016). Personal communication. Eskasoni First Nation. September 2012.

Marshall, M. (2017). Personal communication. Eskasoni First Nation. August 2017.

Marshall, A. (2018). Personal communication. Eskasoni First Nation. November 2018.

Marshall, A. (2020). Personal communication. Eskasoni First Nation. June 2020.

Marshall, A. (2021). Personal communication. Eskasoni First Nation. September 2021.

Marshall, A. (2023). Personal communication. Truro Glengarry Hotel. February 2023.

Marshall, A. (2024). Personal communication. Membertou Trade and Convention Centre. June 2024.

Marshall, A. (2025). Personal communication.

Martin, D. H. (2012). Two-eyed seeing: A framework for understanding Indigenous and non-Indigenous approaches to Indigenous health research. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 44(2), 20-42. Retrieved from <http://cjr.archieve.mcgill.ca/article/view/2348>

Martin, D. E., Thompson, S., Ballard, M., & Linton, J. (2017). Two-eyed seeing in research and its absence in policy: Little Saskatchewan First Nation elders' experiences of the 2011 flood and forced displacement. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 8(4) doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2017.8.4.6>

Michie, M., Hogue, M., & Rioux, J. (2023). Two-Ways thinking and Two-Eyed Seeing as ways of implementing Indigenous perspectives in the science education curriculum. *Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Science Education Research*, 5(1).  
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s43031-023-00084-3>

Prosper, K., McMillan, L. J., Davis, A. A., & Moffitt, M. (2011). Returning to Netukulimk: Mi'kmaq cultural and spiritual connections with resource stewardship and self-governance. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 2(4), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2011.2.4.7>

Reid, A. J., Eckert, L. E., Lane, J. F., Young, N., Hinch, S. G., Darimont, C. T., Marshall, A. (2020). "Two-Eyed Seeing": An Indigenous framework to transform fisheries research and management. *Fish and Fisheries*, 22(2), 243–261. <https://doi.org/10.1111/FAF.12516>

Robinson, M. (2017). Two-Spirit and Bisexual People: Different Umbrella, Same Rain. *Journal of Bisexuality* 17:1, pages 7-29.

Robinson, M. (2022). Recent insights into the mental health needs of two-spirit people. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 48. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101494>

Roher, S., Yu, Z., Martin, D. H., & Benoit, A. C. (2021). How is Etuaptmumk/Two-Eyed Seeing characterized in Indigenous health research? A scoping review. *PloS one*, 16(7), e0254612. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0254612>

Rowan, M., Poole, N., Shea, B., Mykota, D., Farag, M., Hopkins, C., Hall, L., Musquash, C., Fornssler, B., & Dell, C. A. (2015). A scoping study of cultural interventions to treat addictions in Indigenous populations: Methods, strategies and insights from a Two-Eyed Seeing Approach. *Substance Abuse Treatment, Prevention, and Policy*, 1-9.

Rowett, J. (2018). Two-Eyed Seeing: A research approach and a way of living. *Antistasis*, 8(1)

Sylliboy, J. R. (2017a). Coming Out Stories: Two Spirit Narratives in Atlantic Canada. Fredericton: Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network. Retrieved from Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network: <http://uakn.org/research-project/coming-out-stories-Two-Spirit-narratives-in-atlantic-canada/>

Sylliboy, J. R. (2017b). Two-spirits: Conceptualization in a L'nuwey Worldview. [Master's Thesis, Mount Saint Vincent University]. MSVU Theses. <http://dc.msvu.ca:8080/xmlui/handle/10587/1857>

Sylliboy, J. R. (2019). Using L'nuwey worldview to conceptualize two-spirit. *Antistasis*, 9(1):96-116. Retrieved from: <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/antistasis/article/view/29323>

Sylliboy JR, Hovey RB. (2020). Humanizing Indigenous Peoples' Engagement in Healthcare. *CMAJ*. 2020;192: E70–E72. pmid:31959659

Sylliboy, J., Latimer, M., Marshall, Elder A., MacLeod, E. (2021). Communities take the lead: Exploring Indigenous health research practices through Two-Eyed Seeing & kinship, *International Journal of Circumpolar Health*, 80:1, DOI: [10.1080/22423982.2021.1929755](https://doi.org/10.1080/22423982.2021.1929755)

Sylliboy, J. (2021). Coming Out is Part of the Life Cycle: A Qualitative Study using Two-Eyed Seeing to Understand A Two-Spirits Coming Out Process, Global Public Health, DOI: [10.1080/17441692.2021.1993953](https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2021.1993953)

Sylliboy, J. R., Bird, N., Butler, E., Wilmot, K., & Perley, G. (2022). Two-Spirits' response to COVID-19: survey findings in Atlantic Canada identify priorities and developing practices. *International Journal of Indigenous Health*, 17(1). <https://doi.org/10.32799/ijih.v17i1.36724>

Sylliboy, John R., (2025). What is Two-Spirit: Centring Knowledge about Two-Spirit Gender and Sexuality in Sexuality Education. *The Canadian Journal of Indigenous Studies*. (Accepted Manuscript).

Taylor, S., Austin, G., Sylliboy, J., Castleden, H. (2013). Introduction to the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs Elders Project: Honouring Traditional Knowledge (2009 – 2011). *Aboriginal Knowledge for Economic Development*. Editors: David Newhouse and Jeff Orr. Aboriginal Knowledge for Economic Development. Fernwood Publishing, Halifax and Winnipeg, Canada. P. 108-185

Wabanaki Two-Spirit Alliance (W2SA), 2021. Final Report: Survey on Covid-19 Impacts with the Two-Spirit Community of Wabanaki, 2021.

Wicken, W. C. (2012). *The Colonization of Mi'kmaw Memory and History, 1794-1928: The King v. Gabriel Sylliboy*. University of Toronto Press. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442694880>

Wildcat, M., & Voth, D. (2023). Indigenous relationality: definitions and methods. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 19(2), 475-483. <https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.1177/11771801231168380>

Wilson, S. (2019). No Fucking Thanks-Giving. *Research & reconciliation: Unsettling ways of knowing through Indigenous relationships*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars. (87-89)

Wilson, A. (2021). Queering Land-Based Education During COVID-19. *Journal of Global Indigeneity*, 5(1), 1–10. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48717701>

Wright, A. L., Gabel, C., Bomberry, R., & Wahoush, O. (2019). An Application of Two-Eyed Seeing to Community-Engaged Research With Indigenous Mothers. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406919866565>

Young T. (2016). L'nuwita'simk: a Foundational Worldview for a L'nuwey Justice System. *Indigenous Law Journal*;13(1) [[Google Scholar](#)]

Youngblood Henderson, J. (2009). Ayukpachi: Empowering Aboriginal Thought. In M. Battiste, *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* (pp. 248-278). Vancouver - Toronto: UBC Press.