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Post-secondary Education (PSE) Indigenous Students' Perspectives: Sharing Our Voices on How We Fit into Residential School (RS) History of Canada and the United States Using Photovoice

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree
in Sociology

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Abstract

A substantial body of literature about Indigenous experiences regarding the boarding school and residential school systems in the US and Canada, respectively, does exist. Both federal governments' intentions were to Christianize, assimilate, and "civilize" students who attended these schools. Most Indigenous educational research is centered in either an American or Canadian context, and the colonial education of Indigenous peoples is rarely discussed as a collective experience. This colonial education occurred in tandem, in both countries, and its legacy severely impacted Indigenous students by separating them from their families and communities and stripping them of their Indigenous identities and lifeways. Furthermore, there have been few researchers who have examined the longtime and generational impacts of these institutions on the lives of students' descendants. This study is two-fold. First, it examines and compares Indigenous education in Canada and the United States. Second, it focuses on Indigenous university students' (RS Survivors' descendants) perspectives of this legacy, and the ongoing effects which weaves together the American and Canadian RS history.

Indigenous university students' personal stories were analyzed using interviews, group discussions, and individual photovoice projects. The generational impacts of colonial education have sometimes been described as soul wounds that have led to persistent scars often referred to as historical unresolved grief and/or intergenerational trauma. This study examined historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma that Indigenous university students experienced during their academic journeys. The history of colonial education on Indigenous peoples is a lived experience and comes to life when Indigenous students learn or re-learn more historical details during their academic studies. I developed colliding heartwork, a research framework, that is based upon interviews and other findings that helps to facilitate the emotional and mental work needed to learn, discuss, heal, and support Indigenous students regarding the continuing

aftermath of boarding and residential schools.

Keywords: boarding school; residential school; Indigenous education; historical unresolved grief; intergenerational trauma; photovoice; resiliency

Summary for Lay Audience

This dissertation examined Indigenous university students' perspectives of the ongoing impacts from the residential school system on their lives. The terms boarding school and residential school refers to a colonial school system set up by both the American and Canadian governments, respectively, to educate Indigenous children and indoctrinate them into Euro-American, Euro-Canadian, and Christian ways of living so they could be assimilated into the mainstream society. Indigenous families were disrupted for generations because of this colonial education system, which contributed to the loss of culture, language, and Indigenous lifeways. Indigenous university students reflected upon these disruptions using photography, interviews, and group discussions. I analyzed Indigenous students' photographs, interviews, and discussions regarding their perspectives of the lingering impacts from this education system. The ability to share one's perspective can be emotional because residential schools are a felt and living history for many Indigenous peoples. Based on this study's findings, I developed a research framework called colliding heartwork. Colliding heartwork helps to examine the emotions and feelings associated with the residential school system to support Indigenous students who are processing the lingering effects. I found that when Indigenous university students are examining or re-learning about residential schools it is crucial to understand the emotional work needed to heal and process this history that altered Indigenous communities. Colliding heartwork provides a framework to support Indigenous students to discuss residential schools.

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Towaoc

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Dedication

This dissertation study is dedicated to my son, you are the future of our people and will be a groundbreaker. To my grandma for always encouraging me to “just go for it” and for showing me perseverance. Grandma and Son, you represent the past and future of the changes of educational policies and practices that Indigenous peoples have and will endure. Education for Indigenous peoples will improve.

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Preface

Stories, songs, and ceremonies have been a part of Indigenous lifeways since time immemorial. Across Turtle Island (North America), families have always been tied together through the sharing of those sacred traditions; we are all interconnected. However, history also has us bound together by the handcuffs of colonization and colonialism. The border between Canada and the United States did not exist until settlers and colonizers came to claim title to the land, as if it were something to own, excavate, and exploit. Indigenous peoples had established their own traditional territories, but with the arrival of outsiders to Turtle Island, Indigenous lifeways changed, and, in some cases, communities were divided by the colonial border.

Our Indigenous history has been divided by the same manmade border. In most post-secondary educational institutions, students are taught about Indigenous experiences through the lens of American or Canadian history. Few, if any, educational institutions weave both countries' Indigenous experiences as a combined narrative, showing both groups connected in history, particularly regarding the residential school system. When the American and Canadian context of Indigenous experiences is taught, it is often through case studies concerning occurrences on the opposite side of the border. When the Indigenous experience is as solely American or solely Canadian, it unintentionally perpetuates the colonial border and divides Indigenous peoples. Instead, Indigenous experiences should be taught collectively to foster nation-building (relationships) and to honor and strengthen Indigenous communities. For instance, the colonial education experience (boarding and/or residential schools) unleashed upon Indigenous peoples occurred tandemly in both countries with similar experiences and consequences. A collective sharing of the Indigenous experience across Turtle Island could create a stronger, unified voice that could uplift Indigenous peoples in both countries to challenge and speak against the ongoing impacts of colonialism.

The collective Indigenous experience needs to be voiced and discussed to fully understand the totality of the impacts of settler colonialism and Indigenous-Settler relations. This dissertation study is one example of bringing together those experiences concerning colonial education. I chose to research, the impacts of the RS system on RS Survivors' descendants because, as Indigenous peoples, we are still healing. And, non-Indigenous peoples are learning the history or becoming allies to support us in this journey. Indigenous students from universities in both the US and Canada consented to participate in this study, and they shared their felt-emotions and experiences with the lingering impacts these institutions left on their lives. I am honored that they granted me permission to share their unique stories to help shed light on this history in hope of bringing us all closer to healing from these institutions.

Chapter One introduces the dissertation study, the background of the two study sites, and situates me as an Indigenous warrior scholar. Chapter Two is a sociological comparison of the RS history in both countries. Chapter Three explains the study's methodologies: Indigenous research methods, qualitative research methods, and the use of photovoice. Chapter Four highlights the major themes from the research based on the study participants' interviews, group discussions, and photovoice projects. Chapter Five discusses my development of colliding heartwork, a research framework, for having conversations and building rapport with Indigenous students about RS and the impacts that it has had on their lives. I illustrate how colliding heartwork is an appropriate research method and how to implement it when examining an emotional and felt experience of RS. Chapter Six provides recommendations on how to support Indigenous university students who are being introduced to the RS legacy and those who are learning more details about it in their studies.

The RS legacy is a painful and dark history teeming with complexity, rawness, emotional triggers, empathy, and resiliency. As Indigenous peoples, we will not allow American and Canadian societies to forget what happened to our ancestors, families, and community mem-

bers. We will not let them forget about the painful events our people have endured in hopes that nothing like this ever happens again. This history of colonized education will not be repeated. When Indigenous RS experiences are shared collectively through personal testimony using an individual's emotional heart, the result is powerful. These shared experiences are to be treated with the utmost respect. This study's central message is that while the impacts of RS remain and still linger, we can, will, and do find healing within our community. By discussing a collective Indigenous experience and sharing those words with others, we open ourselves and our hearts to healing. Thus, the colliding of emotional hearts will allow us to move from this legacy into a future that will remain Indigenous.

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Study

Though Residential Schools (RS) in Canada and the United States no longer exist as governmental mandated educational systems, the history surrounding these boarding schools has transmitted a powerful and negative legacy on Indigenous peoples, their families, their communities, and their ancestors. Historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma exist amongst Indigenous groups in today's society because of the extensive reach of the RS system¹.

This study aims to create an understanding of the historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma that Indigenous² descendants, particularly Indigenous university students (study

¹The terms “residential school system,” “residential school(s),” “boarding school system,” and “boarding school(s)” will be used interchangeably to refer to the system of “education” the Canadian and American governments mandated to assimilate and “re-program” Indigenous peoples into lower class workers so they would be absorbed into their mainstream societies.

²The term Indigenous is used to cover those participants in this study who identified as First Nations, Inuit, and/or Métis in the study. Specifically in the US it covers those who identify as American Indian, or Alaska Native and in Canada it covers both status (or federally recognized) and non-status Indians.

participants³ with a direct relation to a Residential School Survivor), experience in life, and predominantly, through their education. Learning about and researching RS history can be overwhelming for many Indigenous peoples given the negative effects of these so-called “educational” programs had on their nations’ members. The grief and trauma both continue to radiate amongst these students, triggering a complex set of feelings and emotions that many are unprepared to handle while processing this history and these facts. In groups and in one-on-one interviews, the study participants discussed the influence of historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma in an attempt to become empowered and overcome the impact that this history has left upon them. As a result, this study was necessary to support and offer insight to the many Indigenous students who deserve to know and understand their history and have the proper tools to process these challenging facts.

This project represents a collective representation of Indigenous students’ voices, sharing their diverse life stories and felt experiences. Many of their insights centered on persistent impressions of the pain they sensed while discussing the RS system. This study highlights how they and their peoples were affected by the colonial and racialized system of education that developed within these two neighboring countries. The research process was a collaborative effort aimed at working towards exploring healthy spaces for students to decompress the legacy of these institutions throughout their educational pursuits. This study created a space to access a great wealth of knowledge about the contemporary impacts of the RS legacy, and Indigenous students were given an opportunity to discuss how universities should approach teaching RS history. In addition, they provided suggestions, advocating for certain support mechanisms that need to be developed to help other students process the complex set of emotions and feelings that this disturbing history can catalyze.

³“Indigenous university students” and “study participants” will be used interchangeably to refer the students that were involved in the study.

Only a limited body of research exists that compares the RS history of Canada and that of the United States (US). Hopefully this study fills some of that void and contributes to our understanding of the legacy of residential schools and their impact, which continues to be felt across generations of Indigenous peoples. Through numerous RS Survivors' experiences, a sad pattern emerges. The RS policies created by the respective federal governments had an overwhelmingly negative impact upon Indigenous children and their families. The mandatory attendance of Indigenous children forced them from their homes, breaking natural ties to their families, their communities, and their cultural lifeways, resulting in strong intergenerational trauma and/or historical unresolved grief. These various stories of Indigenous students collide and create expressions of resilience that captures the felt experience, the empathy, and the communal bond they share. Their lives also provide insight into both the strengths and the challenges that society needs to reflect upon in order to help Indigenous peoples to grow and prosper as well as overcome this RS legacy.

1.1 Personal Introduction and My Relationship to this Research Process

Pehnahó, Maik'w, Mique, Yá'át'èèh (Greeting in Shoshone, Paiute, Ute, and Navajo). My name is Natahnee, "Naat'áanii," Nuay Winder. I am a citizen of the community known as the Tsaidüka (Duckwater Shoshone) Nation. I am also: Kooyoee Ticutta (Pyramid Lake Paiute) or Cui Ui Ticutta (Cui-ui eaters), Nuucic (Southern Ute), Diné (Navajo), and African American. Acknowledging where I am from is an expression of gratitude and giving respect as well as homage to my Ancestors. I grew up on the Southern Ute reservation located in southern Colorado and received my education there from kindergarten through high school. I also lived

on the Pyramid Lake Paiute reservation in Nevada during the formative years of my childhood and continued to spend numerous summers there since my birth.

I consider both Nuucic and Cui Ui Ticutta my home communities and continue to maintain my roots in both places through participation in seasonal ceremonies and visits with relatives⁴. Some Indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from their traditional territories, and while my community was moved, we are blessed to still be within the boundaries of our traditional territory. I am privileged to have grown up in a close-knit community within my Ancestors' traditional territory, where I have been taught the ceremonies, culture, and traditions of my people. My Shoshone, Paiute, and Ute traditions helped to shape my identity⁵. I also acknowledge my Navajo⁶ and Black (African American) roots and wish to acknowledge all of these grandmothers on my paternal side. Acknowledging all my grandmothers is necessary; failing to mention them is to deny their existence.

An acknowledgement of my Ancestors and their existence is also a recognition of my own existence as a human being and the histories of resistance that led to our survival. Most importantly, my introduction "is an act of resistance" (Minthorn, 2019, p. 25) because most academics acknowledge their educational training, title, and affiliation to establish prestige prior to sharing their backgrounds. Thus, my act of resiliency within the academy is to follow Indigenous protocol by bringing in and celebrating⁷ my Ancestors and community within an academic space before I acknowledge my personal achievements.

⁴To me relatives include my Ancestors, family, friends, community, and the living beings in the environments of my home.

⁵I grew up more with these cultural traditions and influences from family and community. I am proud of my mixed-raced and intertribal identity.

⁶My Naakidi Shináí Asdzáá (paternal great-grandmother) was both Paiute and Navajo. Family knowledge confirms that I am born from Tódich'ii'nii (Bitter Water) clan.

⁷The verb celebrating does not give justice to the deep respect I have for my Ancestors, family, and community. I feel that Indigenous peoples are miracle human beings because we have suffered and survived many atrocities. We are still here. We are the answers to our Ancestors prayers. I acknowledge them with my introduction. I celebrate their lives. I am here because of them.

The Matriarchs in my family gifted me with my name from birth. My Naakidi Shináí Asdzáá, paternal great-grandmother, gifted me my Diné (Navajo) name — Natahnee, “Naat’ánii,” which means an individual who is a leader or has leadership qualities⁸. My middle name, Nuay means rain in Paiute, and it was given to me by maternal great-grandmother. Based on my familial research, my last name of Winder is likely a slave name given to my Ancestors involuntarily by English settlers. My name and upbringing grounds my academic scholarship as a community researcher who does work in the academy. For this reason, I accept my responsibility by allowing my Indigenous spirit’s light to shine, and I embrace my love for my Ancestors and family, who saw qualities in my being, therefore, gifting me with my names. I am also a daughter, granddaughter, sister, partner, and auntie. My parents both work for the Southern Ute Tribe and I am the oldest of six siblings. I introduce myself before delving into this study to begin in a positive manner by acknowledging my intertribal connections and tribal community. This is both an Indigenous community practice and, in some communities, cultural protocol.

As an Indigenous community scholar, I need to recognize who I am and where I come from. This allows me to establish relationships while and when working with Indigenous communities because I view this relationship as an honor, a gift, and an enormous responsibility. As such, we must be mindful of the energy we facilitate and must take initiative to build and maintain trust while doing this work. Whenever interpersonal connections are developed there is relational accountability that is valuable to community building around the commonalities of history, remembrance, and trauma; this can bring people into the sharing circle. The core of this study is the felt experience of the RS system; it is a navigation between the hearts of this researcher and the Indigenous students who consented to voluntarily participate. The In-

⁸I apologize to my Diné relatives and readers if I disclosed any inappropriate information regarding publishing the meaning of my first name. My Diné background is what stands out since my great-grandmother blessed with my name. I believe there is a reason why my Ancestors keep pulling me to my Diné side as sources of strength and protection. I am currently residing on the territory of our Ancestors who were once together both the Dene and Diné. I want to acknowledge that my knowledge of Diné is limited.

digenous students and I built a collective community around this research. Our community prospered out of the difficult and heart-felt conversations we shared. In these discussions, we allowed ourselves to be vulnerable, empowered, and safe to share our emotions, and feelings about personal and familial RS histories. Through this experience with each other, we created and allowed for what I have come to call “Colliding Heartwork⁹” (developed further in Chapter 5). By choosing to open ourselves up, we were able to partake in developing an understanding through listening to each other’s life stories. We entrusted the idea of collectively healing in one another, from the ongoing after-effects of the RS system.

As Indigenous scholars and students, it is impossible to unlink ourselves from the emotions associated with the RS legacy. The RS system has not been erased or ignored in our communities. Rather, the aftermath of the RS system is present and alive in our communities, families, and within us. This connection using heart-felt discussions is meant to acknowledge our standpoint (to be a resistance) as Indigenous critical thinkers as well as scrutinize the complexities of the RS system and its repercussions. Furthermore, the act of using one’s identity is “a vital analytical foundation for a distinctive standpoint on self, community, and society, and, in doing so, create[s] an [Indigenous] intellectual tradition” (Collins, 2002, p. 2-3). Our lived experiences are sources of knowledge, and if this knowledge is suppressed, it continues a process of silence and erasure.

Fully participating in and facilitating this study meant that I needed to share my personal connection to RS history, so this is my story too. I have family members¹⁰ on both my maternal

⁹Colliding Heartwork is a process for understanding the contemporary effects of the RS history and the consequences on Indigenous students. This dissertation is written as a guide to understand ‘colliding heartwork’. I hope it allows readers to enter into a journey with Indigenous students and the researcher to visualize how their hearts collided. The process of working towards Colliding Heartwork is discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 to show how the participants’ hearts, emotions, and feelings came together to find a common experience of understanding. Chapter 5 describes how Colliding Heartwork operates. This working framework was presented at the 2018 Diné Studies Conference and the 2019 American Educational Research Association Conference.

¹⁰I decided to focus on my family’s Matriarchs’ residential school experiences.

and paternal sides who attended residential schools. My Naakidi Shiná'í Asdzáá was a matron at the RS in my community and a tri-lingual speaker of Navajo, Paiute, and Spanish. Unfortunately, she did not teach her children Navajo or Paiute; therefore, my grandmother and father could not teach us these languages. My maternal great-grandmother (who I called Granny) attended RS for a couple of years and she recounted stories of pupils' deaths within the school. She did not trust these institutions, and they did impact her. While she was a fluent speaker of Paiute, she did not teach the language to her children. Luckily, I remember hearing her and the other Elders in the community speaking Paiute, and I was fortunate that Granny taught me a few Paiute songs and bestowed upon me my middle name. My maternal grandmother, who I refer to as Gagu' (Grandma), attended RS for much of her life. Gagu' said her experience was good, and at least she had a place to stay, food to eat, clothes (even though they were not very nice), and shoes. Gagu' was raised speaking fluent Shoshone. When Gagu' went to RS, she did not retain her fluency and thus she was incapable of teaching her children, and so, my mother was unable to teach us.

Being a part of my family meant inheriting their history, but also their losses, particularly regarding language. I am not a fluent speaker of any of the Indigenous languages of my heritage: Shoshone, Paiute, or Ute. I only understand and speak a few words, phrases, and sing some of our traditional songs and lullabies. At the age of twelve, I remember asking my grandparents to teach me our traditional language. I remember vividly being told, "Why do you want to learn? English will be better." Indigenous students and RS Survivors were indoctrinated with the view that their traditional languages would not lead them to be successful, and that learning English would provide more opportunities.

Some families, such as mine, knew the importance of retaining and teaching ceremonial songs in their Indigenous languages. As an adult, I am trying to learn some Shoshone from my Gagu', but there is a sadness, shame, and guilt in her voice. Gagu' says, "I wish I would have

taught you girls to speak Shoshone. It is so long since I spoke Shoshone. I have forgotten the words, Tahnee.” The lack of fluency and first language speakers in Indigenous communities is only one of the damaging outcomes from the RS legacy. Indigenous languages are also often spoken during seasonal and sacred ceremonies because this is the time we rejuvenate the connection with our Ancestors and loved ones. Growing up, I was told: when a person’s time comes, to travel to the spirit world (die), if they do not know their traditional language, their Ancestors and family members will of course be happy to see them, but they may not fully understand one another due to mistranslations and misunderstandings. For example, when a Ute woman has the ability to speak Ute fluently throughout her life, and then she passes away, her ability to speak Ute with her Ancestors helps her to make the spiritual journey to the Good Place (Spirit World) easier. This inability to connect through a common language in the Spirit World saddens me, so learning and speaking Indigenous languages is a critical step for us, in a traditional sense, for when we are reunited with our Ancestors and deceased family members.

I continuously ground myself as an Indigenous human being by paying homage to my community, family, and Ancestors. As I walk through life, I know my Ancestors are always with me, watching and protecting. We carry our Ancestors’ love and their resiliency to overcome adversities wherever we go. We are what they sacrificed nearly everything for. We are the answers to their prayers, and it is our responsibility to remember them by giving a voice to their prayers, their hearts, and ensuring the future of Indigenous communities. This study fosters healing and empowerment for future Indigenous students and people because we must always continue to think about the future of the next generation from these connections. The RS legacy created a division in the minds of some Indigenous students. Some, if not many, thought it wise to leave their traditional languages in order to survive and progress as contributing members and citizens in their settler states. Yet, today, there is a strong push for Indigenous revitalization, resurgence, and a need to strengthen Indigenous languages, traditions, and ceremonies.

During the study, I had to take on the role of an insider/outsider community researcher. The study participants asked if I had any personal/familial connections to the RS system. Sharing the stories of my grandmothers allowed our identities and histories to not only create our friendship/relationship, but also allowed us to actively accept our identities and to exist as Indigenous peoples. Because of RS history and the commonality we shared (all of us having relatives, living or dead, with RS experiences), we all became “situated construction[s]” which then “produced...and constituted within new occasion of talk but shaped by previously presented versions and also by understandings” of the RS system (Taylor & Littleton, 2006, p. 23). This reciprocal environment between the students and myself, helped to establish and build trust, respect, and a sense of community, which contributed to the success of the study. In addition, it is worth mentioning that prior to recruitment of potential participants, I participated in a sweat lodge ceremony in my home community. While I was in ceremony, I prayed that this study would be successful, would be conducted with positive energy and thoughts, and that students who were meant to be engaged would cross my path. This represents the entering and carrying through with Indigenous Research Methods¹¹. Throughout the study, I prayed for participants’ wellbeing, and I asked the Creator to take care of them and grant them safety. Along with prayer, I created relationships¹² with them: asking if they were in a good place emotionally, mentally, spiritually, and physically. This lasted throughout the study and even after. At the end of their participation, I gifted each student with a medicine bundle: sweet-grass, tobacco, and a scarf, to thank them for helping the study and for sharing their stories. I came to understand that in order for me or anyone to fully grasp the enduring impacts of the RS system, this scholarship must and should include the power of emotions and the felt experience of the study participants as descendants of RS Survivors. Only through this would society,

¹¹During Margaret Kovach’s lecture at the 2019 American Educational Research Association, she explained that Indigenous Research and Indigenous Methods are separate. Indigenous methods or methodology involves ceremony. It is an ontology or worldview, and the reason why I share about my participation in ceremony and gifting to Indigenous students. Indigenous research is done with or about Indigenous peoples.

¹²Some participants and I had a stronger relationship because I spent more time with them. Each student was given equal time, 10 hours, to spend with me over the term. Some students sought to cultivate a more personal relationship by asking me to join them for coffee, grabbing a meal together, and asking questions about courses in their Indigenous Studies program/department.

both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, continue to understand, support, and heal collectively from these horrific experiences.

1.2 Background of Study Sites

The thirty Indigenous participants who took time out of their lives to join the study were enrolled university students at either the University of New Mexico (UNM) or the University of Western Ontario (UWO). These two sites were chosen because of a strong, long-standing relationship with the participating departments' and centers' faculty and staff. They strongly supported my recruitment efforts (see Chapter 3: Methods for additional information). I was also familiar with the support services available for Indigenous students on both campuses. Since I was recognized and had an established reputation at both universities, Indigenous students had a unique opportunity to ask the faculty, staff, and other students about my character and integrity before they decided to voluntarily consent to engage in this study. My association with UNM is as an alumna of both the Department of Native American Studies and the Sociology Department. My connection to UWO was as an enrolled graduate student.

Whereas most researchers may be unknown to their participants, and their relationships may be non-existent or evolve over time, I was both a returning and current community member at both universities. My position created a unique circumstance where Indigenous students could assess my creditability as a researcher. This allowed for an informal system of checks and balances that Indigenous participants may have used to “[decide if I was] worthy or not to be trusted with local “insider” information” (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000, p. 163). Indigenous students provided me, the researcher, with an investment: a gift, the privilege to collect their personal testimonies and life stories by opening themselves to reflect upon the impacts of the

RS legacy.

UNM and UWO were selected because these two institutions shared necessary characteristics: an Indigenous Studies Department or program, Indigenous Support Services, and Indigenous student organizations (See Appendix for a list of resources). In fall of 2014, Indigenous students made up 5.09% of UNM's enrollment. During the time of this study, the population of American Indians students was 1,420 out of 27,889 students (The University of New Mexico, n.d.). The total enrollment of self-declared Indigenous students at UWO during the 2015 winter term was 419, making up a little less than 2% of the 24,648 enrolled undergraduate students (Indigenous Support Services, personal correspondence, 2015; Western Facts). A combination of these available services and Indigenous student population allowed for this comparative analysis to be possible.

1.3 Study Outline

The current chapter introduces the researcher, the sites, and briefly makes a case for why the study is needed. The contributions of the study will be reviewed in more detail in later chapters. Chapter Two is a review of the development and functioning of education systems in Canada and the US as they pertain to the education of Indigenous peoples and the boarding/residential school experience. The education of Indigenous children in both countries occurred during the same time period and a review of this education offers an opportunity to conduct a sociological analysis to determine if these systems were somewhat divergent or mainly convergent in aims and outcomes. The height of the RS systems is traced to the beginning of the 19th century with the schools starting to close in the later 20th century. This overview provides us a chance to open up the study to better understand the intergenerational impacts of settler colonialist efforts

such as the Residential Schools.

Chapter Three is a description of the methods and methodology employed in the research study. Indigenous Research Methods (IRM), Participatory Action Research (PAR), and Photovoice are explored to ground the study's approach. This study used Photovoice as the main method of data collections because it challenged the "power dynamics associated with remembering and forgetting" (Gray, 2011). In addition, basic questionnaires were combined with one-on-one interviews using the IRM and Photovoice. These qualitative assessment techniques were used to determine Indigenous students' perspectives on how historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma operate in their lives as they made connections to the overall history of the RS systems in Canada and the US. Furthermore, Chapter Three reveals why research with Indigenous peoples needs to be participatory particularly when examining the lingering impacts of the RS system. Photovoice (utilized with PAR and IRM) was chosen because the action of taking photographs would be empowering, therapeutic, and would allow the Indigenous students to locate the sources of resilience needed to discuss this difficult living history (George, 2012).

In Chapter Four, Indigenous students' group discussions, one-on-one interviews, and photographs from their photovoice projects are documented. These data demonstrate how Indigenous students processed the research questions, pieces of their life stories, and sources of empowerment when they reflected on the contemporary influences of the RS legacy.

The final chapter is a closing discussion of the heart-felt personal testimony of the ongoing effects of the RS systems on Indigenous students. "Colliding Heartwork" is introduced as a framework for understanding the intergenerational trauma and historical unresolved grief that Indigenous students felt through their experience.

1.4 Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine how Indigenous university students understand the continuing affects that the RS legacy had on themselves, their families, their communities, and other Indigenous peoples' lives. Even though the residential schools in Canada and the United States have closed, Indigenous peoples continue to feel the harms that were inflicted onto their families and community members by these institutions (Child & Klopotek, 2014; Miller, 1996; Adams, 1995).

Many Indigenous communities and individuals identify this colonial system of education as one aspect of how Indigenous peoples were systematically oppressed and suppressed. Stories of residential schools are still being told and retold to process feelings and understand family circumstances. For instance, Residential School Survivors' testimonies (i.e., through documentaries, films, and interviews such as *We Were Children*, *Unseen Tears*, *Our Spirits Don't Speak English: Indian Boarding Schools*, and *Honouring the Truth: Reconciling the Future*), are etched into the minds of many Indigenous communities and families as painful and harmful experiences. Our project is part of the process of telling and re-telling residential school stories and family truths. In addition, studies have been conducted to prove how the historical and collective trauma experienced by Indigenous peoples' Ancestors experience can still impact later generations (Evans-Campbell, 2004; Gone, 2009). RS Survivors' descendants are more likely to experience greater distress due to exposure to adverse childhood experiences and traumatic experiences, which makes them more susceptible to stressors (Bombay, Matheson & Anisman, 2014). Indigenous peoples are aware of the impacts of ongoing colonialism, oppression, and suppression. Some gaps in knowledge still exist, such as how RS descendants process their family stories and how and why RS personal stories and scholarship evoke emotions among Indigenous students. There is also a lack of comparative studies about the RS systems in

Canada and the US. This study acknowledges these lacunas, yet it focuses on addressing how Indigenous students at university process the RS history in Canada and the US. It also seeks to determine the effects that the act of processing RS history has on Indigenous students.

1.5 Research Questions and Ideas

There is a lack of studies that examine Indigenous university students' views of the RS system. In addition, there are limited studies about the aftershocks Indigenous students, who are RS Survivors' descendants, may experience as they learn and receive more details about this history during their studies. As a researcher, I had some ideas or assumptions of how students might react. While I did not approach the study as a classic "hypothesis testing" exercise, my assumptions helped me draft research questions and launch the study:

1. Second and third generation descendants of Residential School Survivors may feel historical unresolved grief,
2. Indigenous students, who are learning about the RS history, may exhibit forms of historical unresolved grief and outcomes of intergenerational trauma.

Six research questions would provide a pathway for students to respond to the two 'ideas' above. The students were provided with these ideas and also the research questions in their informed consent forms (in Appendix). This material was also reiterated during information sessions (see Chapter 3). Research questions were answered utilizing the group discussions, individual Photovoice projects (photographs), and one-on-one interviews:

1. How do you as an Indigenous student interpret the history of residential schools in your respective country, Canada and/or the United States?
2. When presented with information about the RS experience in another country (where students do not reside) how do Indigenous students interpret or make connections to the history?
3. Can Indigenous students provide an important insight into the intergenerational impacts of residential schools?
4. Are there discernable signs of impacts from previous family involvement with the RS system?
5. Are there indications that these impacts implicate how Indigenous students' express cultural empowerment and survival based upon their knowledges of the RS system?
6. Can we learn lessons from a comparative assessment of the residential schools in Canada and the United States?

1.6 Use of Terminology

Throughout this study, there are several key terms that require more explanation.

1.6.1 Indigenous peoples

I use Indigenous peoples to honor the unremitting work of The Working Group on Indigenous Peoples at the United Nations who have pushed and then established the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The United Nations defines Indigenous peoples as “inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures” that connect them to the environment and “are distinct from the dominant societies” where they live (Indigenous Peoples at the UN, n.d.). “Indigenous” refers to peoples who have been present in their traditional territories since time immemorial and are still there. Indigenous peoples’ perspectives embrace that they are part of the land, with different oral narratives to explain how they came to be in their territory as stewards. Indigenous peoples have also been portrayed as outsiders, and sometimes inferior, isolated, and marginalized by their current colonial nation-states. Indigenous peoples are “conscious of their separate identities” (Maybury-Lewis, 2005). The term Indigenous started to become widely used in the 1970s when Indigenous groups and organizations took their concerns to the United Nations, which created a precedent in the international arena by defining peoples in relation to their colonizers (Monchalin, 2016; UBC First Nations Studies, 2009). Indigenous is capitalized to give respect to all the Indigenous peoples and their Ancestors. Indigenous peoples are not monolithic; they represent diverse communities, cultures, languages, lifeways, traditions, and worldviews¹³. I use the term Indigenous peoples in this study to specifically refer to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples in Canada, as well as American Indian and Alaskan Natives in the United States.

¹³There are 574 federally recognized tribes in the United States (for more information, refer to <https://www.bia.gov>). In Canada, there are more than 630 First Nations communities (see <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100013785/1529102490303> for more information).

1.6.2 Boarding/Residential School

Boarding school and residential school are terms that I use interchangeably to reference the schools developed and maintained by Canada and the US specifically meant for Indigenous peoples so they would be assimilated and molded into working members of the settler society.

1.6.3 Historical Unresolved Grief

Brave Heart and DeBruyn define historical unresolved grief as a “social pathology, originating from the loss of lives, land, and vital aspects of [Indigenous] culture” (1998, p. 56). Historical unresolved grief is linked to a cumulative historical trauma (i.e., cultural genocide and traumatic loss) among Indigenous peoples where the bereavement is unsettled and profound (Brave Heart, 2003). This study uses this understanding and examines the historical unresolved grief Indigenous students experience with the RS legacy.

1.6.4 Intergenerational Trauma

The RS experience has been acknowledged as a key component of the cycle of trauma among Indigenous peoples that is felt beyond the generation of Indigenous children who attended these institutions (Gagne, 1998). Intergenerational trauma is an outcome that includes breakdowns in familial bonds, substance abuse, suicide, poverty, limited proficiency in traditional language, lack of cultural knowledge, and identity conflict that Residential School Survivors pass onto their descendants (Adams & Clarmont, 2016; Bombay et al., 2014). Intergenerational trauma

impacts Indigenous peoples in four areas: individual, family, community, and nation. When these domains are disrupted it makes them more vulnerable to social conditions and mental health problems (Menzies, 2010). Therefore, intergenerational trauma is a collective effect experienced by both parents and their children and is passed from generation to generation.

1.6.5 This Study and “My”

I am cautious about referring to this study as “my dissertation.” I do not want to claim the participants as being “my participants” or that they are taking part in “my study.” Exerting the usage of “my” is to claim that I have ownership of this study’s results and findings. This study would be not possible without Indigenous students’ participation and willingness to expose vulnerabilities as well as to share photographs, personal stories, and their knowledge with me. This study is a space for shared knowledges and for Colliding Heartwork. Colliding Heartwork is a process of tough love that forces people to confront histories (individually and collectively) and allows them to heal by uncovering the intergenerational trauma and historical unresolved grief brought on by residential schools. As an Indigenous researcher, I am a facilitator of this study’s research process by disseminating the results of this dissertation and also by learning from its participants. Throughout this dissertation I will avoid using ownership terminology such as “my” or “mine.” In order to honor the Indigenous students’ voices and life stories as well as methods and methodologies used, I will utilize “this study,” “this dissertation,” and “the participants” throughout.

1.7 Contribution to the Body of Knowledge

There is narrow academic literature examining the RS system of Canada and US comparatively (Reyhner & Singh, 2010; Smith, 2009; MacDonald, D, 2007). Instead, RS scholarship in university courses continues to analyze the educational policies of each country separately (Trafzer, Keller, & Sisquoc, 2006; Milloy, 1999; Miller, 1996; Szasz, 1977) within a Canadian or American context for Indigenous peoples. To be brief, the academic literature mentions that these institutions occurred during 1860s to 1978, and developed along the lines of General Pratt's infamous slogan of "Kill the Indian; Save the Man/Child." Both countries' residential schooling of Indigenous children yielded similar outcomes such as the emotional, physical and sexual abuse of children, lack of parenting skills on the part of their parents, and a loss of language and/or culture at home and within communities.

Scholarship on Indigenous university students' and how they process the RS history is lacking, especially when students learn more details and then connect the pieces to their own family and community history. Indigenous students who are learning or re-learning about residential schools may experience shock because their prior knowledge was limited. Most of the existing research involving Indigenous students at university is concerning resiliency, lack of resources, transition programs, support mechanisms, and the challenges Indigenous students encounter at post-secondary education with reference to the history of educational policies (Black & Hachkowski, 2018; Minthorn, & Marsh, 2016).

In this study, I contribute to the literature on residential schools in Canada and the US by drawing parallels between the two practices. The primary focus is on the Indigenous descendants of RS Survivors in order to assess the long-lasting impacts of residential schools. Moreover, this study addresses the need to provide additional support to Indigenous students who are pro-

cessing and/or learning about residential schools. Indigenous students are untapped sources of knowledge for understanding how the lingering effects of the RS system continues to impact Indigenous peoples and communities. Tapping into this broadens our understanding of intergenerational trauma and historical unresolved grief.

1.8 Summary

Building relationships with Indigenous students is core to this study. Indigenous students' life stories, emotions, and felt experiences/knowledges led to an understanding of how historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma has shaped their lives. At the same time, Indigenous students showed resiliency and felt empowered by sharing the hardships they endured. This study offers new knowledge as to how Indigenous descendants of RS Survivors interpret, heal, and empower themselves to move forward from these felt experiences. This introduction was designed to give the reader an overview of the major aspects of the dissertation. In the next chapter, we will review the historical context and development of the residential school systems in Canada and the US.

Chapter 2

Diverging and Parallel Indigenous Histories of Canada and the US

2.1 Overview

Chapter Two provides a comparative assessment of the Residential School (RS) system and its history in both the American and Canadian contexts, as well as testimony of some Indigenous participants from the University of Western Ontario (UWO) and the University of New Mexico (UNM) to highlight occurrences at RS institutions. Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States (US) have survived multiple forms of violence including the RS system, wars, genocide, and forced removal ¹ from their traditional homelands to areas that would not inter-

¹The State of New York removed the Oneidas under the 1785 Treaty of Fort Herkimer and 1788 Treaty of Fort Schuyler, which resulted in their loss of their ancestral homelands. (<https://oneida.on.ca/oneida-settlement/>). Another example is the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which removed Indigenous nations east of the Mississippi river to the west prairies to make room for rapid eastern settlements such as the Cherokee Nations from Georgia

rupt American and Canadian settlements. The legacy of the RS system continues today, and for some Indigenous peoples it continues to be at the forefront of their history, a continuing lived experience, in which many are still processing the pain, loss, and the ramifications of stolen and unreturned children, which tugs at the essence of being Indigenous. Many were forced to delete their identity, languages, culture, and social norms, which can be a constant reminder of the loss of fluent ² speakers and language. Yet, RS Survivors and their family members are actively trying to move past these historical experiences to carve a pathway through the initial healing process from this tragic history.

Narratives and statements from Indigenous students may be considered unorthodox to include in a standard literature review, however, they are significant in a discussion of Indigenous history and they emphasize why a sociological comparative approach to RS is necessary. Understanding the importance of sharing RS experiences to heal and to find justice contributes to Indigenous peoples' reconciliation journey. The RS history in Canada and the US is essential in this healing journey as is the continued awareness of these RS impacts by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The chapter is structured as follows:

1. Initiating the Reconciliation Process of Residential Schools
2. The Purpose of the Residential Schools: A Comparative Analysis
3. Key Connecting Histories, Hypotheses, and Methods

to Oklahoma, known as the Trail of Tears. In Canada there were also many forced relocations such as the clearing of the prairie areas near Assinaboine see James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (PCS), 123..and White et al *Aboriginal Conditions*, UBC Press pages 26-33 for more modern forced relocations.

²There are no fluent speakers in my family. My great-grandparents on both my maternal and paternal family were fluent speakers of Paiute and Southern Ute. Unfortunately, they did not pass on the language to their children, their grandchildren, or great-grandchildren. My grandma was raised and spoke the Shoshone language prior to attending Steward Boarding School. I have asked her how to pronounce words in our language and I often hear sadness in her voice. She tells me that she has forgotten how to say the word because it has been so long since she spoke Shoshone. The fluent speakers at Southern Ute is alarming with only a dozen speakers, Ich nuu'apag'apü uruskwa'èi, which means the Ute language is disappearing (<https://durangoherald.com/articles/29307>).

4. Temporal Phases of Residential School History in Canada and the United States
5. Indigenous Systems of Education before the Arrival of Settlers
6. My Ute Cultural Teachings
7. Continuation of Indigenous Systems of Education
8. Lessons: The Five Temporal Phases of Indigenous Education in the US and Canada
9. The Outcomes of Residential Schools
10. Discussion of Interwoven Experiences, Impacts, Differences, and Similarities of Residential School History
11. Educational Impacts of the Residential School System
12. Concluding Remarks

These sections weave together the histories of RS in Canada and the US since these institutions occurred nearly in tandem. Before trying to understand the reasons for the development of RS, it is important to acknowledge how Indigenous peoples continue to oppose colonial institutions, stand resilient with their heads held high, and maintain their enduring commitment to the revitalization of traditional languages and participation in ceremonies such as fasts, mid-winters, potlatches, sweat lodges and sun dances. Indigenous leaders throughout Canada and the US have called upon the settler states to acknowledge the harms and ill-conceived policies that forcibly altered their nations and community members. They have requested consultants willing to partake in the research and creation of documents to bring forward attention to Indigenous needs in order to recover from settler-state violence and flourish. Indigenous peoples have maintained their push to understand and right the past while engaging allies in this pursuit.

2.2 Initiating the Reconciliation Process

The creation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada represent two advancements in the broader framework for reconciliation. They both represent years of work Indigenous peoples have completed to hold settler states accountable for disrupting the lives of their ancestors and community members. UNDRIP and the TRC detail how education was developed as a weapon for use against Indigenous populations. UNDRIP³ was adopted in the United Nations General Assembly on September 13, 2007 (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs [IWGIA], 2007), by a vote of 143 in favor, 11 abstentions, and 4 oppositions from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the US (IWGIA, 2007; Pulitano, 2012). These four settler states are infamous for their opposing votes and their lack of support for Indigenous populations in their country; their votes against UNDRIP⁴ symbolized another form of historical violence. By taking this action, Canada⁵ and the US failed to acknowledge the human rights of Indigenous populations at the international level, yet another form of state abuse. This decision came after a long history of broken treaties and ill-conceived policies, such as the residential school program, which contributed to the segregation of Indigenous families and the dissolution of entire communities. Recent examples of the settler states' exertion of power and inequitable treatment of Indigenous peoples for financial gain (e.g., the approval of controversial oil pipelines such as the Dakota Access Pipeline through the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation and the LNG [liquefied natural gas] pipeline through Wet'suwet'en First Nations'

³UNDRIP is the result of more than two decades of drafting and negotiations by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1983. For more information, please see the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs at <http://www.iwgia.org/human-rights/international-human-rights-instruments/undeclaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples/a-brief-history>.

⁴Since the adoption of UNDRIP by most of the international community, the four opposing countries have changed their positions and have endorsed the declaration. Australia did so in 2009, while Canada, New Zealand, and the United States provided their endorsement in 2010 (Pulitano, 2012).

⁵The Province of British Columbia recognized UNDRIP in 2019 with the implementation of Bill 41, please see <https://www.leg.bc.ca/parliamentary-business/legislation-debates-proceedings/41st-parliament/4th-session/bills/first-reading/gov41-1> for more information.

traditional territory) provide striking evidence that these human rights violations continue. In refusing to sign this agreement, Canada and the US have voided their fiduciary role to support and work with Indigenous peoples.

Even though the declaration is not legally binding, it is a “key instrument and tool for raising awareness on and monitoring progress of [I]ndigenous peoples’ situations and the protection . . . [of their] rights” (Tauli-Corpus, 2007, para. 18). UNDRIP has affirmed the rights of Indigenous peoples and provided a platform to address human rights abuses. Thus, the declaration can help lay the groundwork for reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and their settler states. As expressed by Les Malezer,⁶ “[W]e now see a guarantee that our rights to self-determination, to our lands and territories, to our cultural identities, to our own representation and to our values and beliefs will be respected at the international level” (Malezer, 2007, para. 13). This Indigenous global movement recognized that Indigenous human rights are significant and necessary, and that Indigenous peoples should have the right to self-government. As mentioned previously, the past “education” of Indigenous children (e.g., residential schools) was not positive and fundamentally changed some children in negative ways. As a result, UNDRIP emphasizes the creation and control of Indigenous education. As stated in Article 14:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education by the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with [I]ndigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for [I]ndigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their

⁶Les Malezer was the Chairman of the Global Indigenous Caucus in 2007 when the UNDRIP was released.

communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language. (UNDRIP, 2008).

The July 2015 summary report from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada was another attempt to acknowledge the past wrongdoings of Indigenous education. Titled *Honoring the Truth: Reconciling for the Future*, it acknowledged that UNDRIP's principles provide a framework for the reconciliation process between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. As part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, the TRC was established in 2008 to investigate and record the RS experiences of Indigenous children (survivors), in order to raise awareness of their mistreatment and generate a public record of its legacy. The TRC had the specific responsibility to create a record about the RS system and its impacts through truth narratives by those affected by RS (Stanton, 2011; TRC, 2015b). These truth narratives revealed experiences of cultural and language loss, death and disease, and emotional, physical, and sexual abuse. Truth narratives also created another pathway for individuals to process their RS experiences and begin healing by sharing with their families, their communities, RS staff, and the general public. This dissertation, as part of the healing and reconciliation journey, continues a dialogue demanding that history be publicized; it also seeks to make further reflection on colonization and its legacies by creating an inclusive arena for the descendants of RS Survivors to speak about their unique healing journey and continue to learn and grow.

2.3 The Purpose of the Residential Schools: A Comparative Analysis

Using a historical timeline to comparatively analyze the parallel RS histories of Canada and the US has two aims. First, it provides an overview of Canadian and US state-sponsored educational efforts. Second, this approach helps to address several research questions. Are the residential school trajectories in the two countries similar? Did these two histories influence one another? Does a comprehensive analysis prompt international dialogue between Indigenous peoples and their governments in an attempt to establish a goal of initiating or enhancing the reconciliation due to RS impacts? Prior to doing so, it is fundamental to acknowledge that the RS systems in both countries were established differently and followed different historical trajectories. However, both countries had similar intentions to ‘assimilate’ and ‘civilize’ their Indigenous populations into the mainstream society. In both settler states, RS provided a systematic pathway toward the isolation of Indigenous children under the purview of education. Below are two examples of American and Canadian political reasoning for using residential schools to solve the so-called Indian problem.

2.3.1 Similar colonial attitudes

The United States’ political attitude was that Indigenous peoples were a problem and that they were unable to survive without governmental assistance. According to an 1886 report by John B. Riley, Indian School Superintendent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, education “affords the true solution to the Indian problem.” He believed that residential schools were “the very key to the situation,” and by isolating Indigenous children from their “savage antecedents

[they would] be satisfactorily educated” (Riley, 1886, p. LXI).

Canada held similar predominant attitudes about Indigenous peoples. In 1883, the first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, informed the House of Commons “[Indigenous] children should be withdrawn as much as possible from their “parental influence” and separated through the residential school system (Canada, T, 2015, p. 2). In a 1920 speech, this idea was enforced by Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to the Canadian parliamentary committee. He stated that the “Indian problem” needed to be resolved because Indigenous peoples as a class of people did not have the ability to “stand alone” and they had to be “continuously protect[ed]” (TRC, 2015a, p. 289). According to Scott, Indigenous peoples needed to be “absorbed into the [Canadian] body politic” so there would be no Indians with federal recognition, and therefore, “no Indian question and no Indian Department” were necessary (TRC, 2015a, p. 289).

Scott and Riley succinctly expressed the need to segregate Indigenous children from their family, cultural traditions, and communities. In Canada, the RS system existed for over 100 years; many consecutive generations of children from the same families and communities were forced to attend (TRC, 2015b). The American RS system ⁷ lasted half as long but also applied the overarching principles of isolation and the separation. Both countries utilized similar prevalent ethos regarding Indigenous peoples and similar reasoning as to why residential schools were the prime method to solving the Indian problem. Both RS systems represented an exertion of ‘humane,’ non-military, eradication. Resorting to military force was financially irrational ⁸, and education was seen as a viable mechanism to absorb Indigenous peoples into both settler societies through coercive laws, along with financial support made available through federal

⁷Cushman Indian School was a large Industrial boarding school was part of the Treaty of Medicine Creek in 1854 between nine Puget Sound Indigenous nations and the United States (Roberts, 1987; Hirsch, 2017). The school had over 350 students and was located close to the Puyallup Reservation in Washington; it operated until 1920. After 1920, the residential schools in the US were on the decline or were turned into Day Schools.

⁸This will be explained in more detail in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

acts and treaties.

Both settler states tried to reduce and terminate Indigenous culture and lifeways through a so-called humane eradication consummated by a hegemonic ideology of saving the Indian. RS education was aimed at transforming Indigenous peoples into compliant civilized citizens, focused on developing skills suited for domestic work and manual labor to benefit American and Canadian societies. Both settler states aimed to discredit and abolish well-established Indigenous lifestyles by comparing them to European standards of civilization.

Gaining an in-depth understanding of colonial ideologies and domination practices can help Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities recognize how the “past and present shape the contemporary [Indigenous] experience” in terms of intergenerational trauma or social problems that stem from the history of colonization (Blacksmith, 2011, p. 56). Recognizing the influence that American and Canadian educational policies had on Indigenous peoples, will allow society to work towards building a collective relationship that transcends borders to promote healing for Turtle Island⁹ as a whole, rather than fragmenting the healing process between Indigenous groups. Through this healing process, we can continue the reconciliation journey and awareness for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples currently residing in both settler states.

⁹Turtle Island is a reference used by some Indigenous peoples to signify North America is their Indigenous lands and territories. It also speaks to the creation stories of several Indigenous nations.

2.3.2 Surpass colonial borders

Turtle Island represents the continent of North America¹⁰ with distinctive Indigenous Nations. Thus, sequestering RS scholarship to either Canada or the US would result in reinforcing the political relationship and jurisdictions of the colonial nation state to exert their control over Indigenous peoples.¹¹ When scholarship separates RS history between Canada and the US, it limits our understanding of the way in which these institutions affected Indigenous peoples and it continues to perpetuate the use of a colonial lens. Scholars may unintentionally ignore how Indigenous communities who resided on both sides of the border are collectively affected; this is why residential schools must be discussed as an experience of colonial violence across Turtle Island. Future research for scholars exploring the RS legacy should conduct additional comparative studies of RS systems in Canada and US to discern the comprehensive impacts of these colonizing educational practices and policies on the entire Indigenous community. When RS histories are considered as distinct, as Canadian-Indigenous or American-Indigenous experiences, it upholds the imposed border separating Indigenous peoples. This geographic border is a divisive tool, which can create “obstacles to [the] delivery of social and health services to [Indigenous] members who live across national borders and the attenuation of social and kinship networks” (Singleton, 2008, p. 39). Avoiding this segregation is particularly relevant

¹⁰There were also residential schools or boarding schools in Mexico. These Indigenous boarding schools were initiated by Secretaría de Educación Pública (Ministry of Public Education) officials, who opened the Casa del Estudiante Indígena in 1926. The main aim of the school was to make Indigenous students Mexican citizens. Thus, they were taught carpentry, soap making, ironwork, and auto mechanics. In addition, the school operated similarly to Carlisle, where students’ indigeneity was targeted for elimination through military discipline and uniforms. For more information, please see Dawson, A. (2012), *Histories and Memories of the Indian Boarding Schools in Mexico, Canada, and the United States*. *Latin American Perspectives*, 39(5), 80-99. This dissertation’s prime focus is on the Indigenous Nations in Canada and the United States.

¹¹There are several Indigenous Nations and individuals who do not recognize borders because they acknowledge their traditional territories, such the Haudenosaunee, whose territory spans over the Canadian and US borders. The Utes whose traditional territory spans Colorado and the northern New Mexico acknowledge that their homelands existed before colonization and man-made borders. In addition, six study participants stated that the borders were part of colonization and expressed that they had families and territories in both countries. They felt that the Canadian and US governments used the borders to create physical divisions between their Indigenous communities.

for traditional Indigenous territories straddling both countries.¹² Indigenous peoples in both settler states are already marginalized and by utilizing the Canada-US border to segregate their shared experiences it can exacerbate their problems.

The Canada-US border can encourage segmentation of Indigenous histories, such as RS, which limits knowledge. This was apparent in the responses from Indigenous students¹³ that took part in this study. For instance, one study participant stated how important it is to understand Indigenous histories of both countries. “It happened to all of us. The borderlines don’t mean nothing. . . It affects us all” (UWO 8, personal communication Interview, February 12th, 2015). For some Indigenous communities the border is another colonial tool that divides their families and traditional territories. In addition to traditional territorial borders being broken down, many Indigenous peoples identify as marginalized. They have experienced being unfunded for health care and education, and have been subjected to analogous mistreatment in Canada and the US. For these reasons, RS experiences and histories of both settler states should be investigated collectively. The creation of colonial borders confined and separated Indigenous peoples, forcing them to operate under colonial jurisdiction, severely restricting their autonomy.

The impacts of international borders on Indigenous peoples are numerous, however, the aim of the present study and chapter is to illuminate, compare, and contrast how the border generated a disconnection between the RS histories of those who experienced it in Canada and those in the US. By looking at how American, British, and French (formation of the settler states) assimilation strategies were created to focus on “educating” Indigenous peoples, we can better understand the depth to this ongoing colonial project.

¹²For example, the Indigenous Nations of the Mohawk, in particular the Akwesasne community (New York, Ontario, and Quebec) and Blackfeet (Alberta and Montana). These nations and many others do not recognize the legitimacy of the border, as it divides their ancestral lands.

¹³Only five out of thirty student participants had knowledge about residential schools in Canada and the United States.

2.3.3 Weaving Canada-US residential school experiences and history

Education is beneficial to the growth of a community and its members, yet faulty or inappropriate educational processes can be highly destructive for those subjected to such practices like Indigenous students forced to attend RS in Canada and the US. A considerable body of scholarship has been dedicated to RS experiences in Canada and the U.S. as well as their impacts on Indigenous peoples (Evans-Campbell, 2008; Menzie, 2007; Smith, 2003; Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). In addition, museum exhibits such as *Away From Home: American-Indian Boarding School Stories* at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, AZ, provide a balanced perspective of what Indigenous children endured. Much scholarship has been dedicated to the research of intergenerational trauma and its outcomes, which include, but are not limited to, breakdown in familial bonds, substance abuse, suicide, poverty, limited proficiency in traditional languages, lack of cultural knowledge, and identity conflict. However, there is minimal research that synthesized Canadian and American RS history¹⁴ in terms of these experiences at the post-secondary education level. This dissertation seeks to fill in this research gap, by gathering and analyzing the shared stories of Indigenous university students in Canada and the US. The findings yielded by this research will contribute to the understanding of intergenerational impacts and historical unresolved grief felt and experienced resulting from RS history. Programmatic connections exist between the RS systems of both countries, despite having seemingly dissimilar approaches to Indigenous education. Both colonial “education” strategies aimed toward “assimilating” and “civilizing” Indigenous peoples. The main focus of the analysis presented in this chapter will be on the RS legacy after 1880 since these institutions were used for dealing with Indigenous peoples in both settler states; however, the first

¹⁴Indigenous children also attended residential school “on the other side of the border” from their home community and this history becomes complex when their traditional territories span both sides of the settler states borders. For instance, some Indigenous children had ties to communities on both sides of the border and as such may have attended a school in the US but lived in Canada and vice versa. For instance, the Mohawk community of Akwesasne details the complicated case of their children who attended schools in both the US and Canada. As we see, the RS legacy is complex, as many Indigenous communities had been affected at varying levels.

attempts at RS and re-education precede this date. It was decided to focus on the RS legacy after 1880 because this period is considered to be when these institutions were increasing off-reserve with the removal of Indigenous children. These educational outcomes and processes will be examined to determine whether they are to blame for contemporary Indigenous issues.

2.4 Key Connecting Histories, Hypotheses, and Methods

Indigenous histories in Canada and the US are intertwined because they all experienced colonization, settlement, oppression, and assimilation. In 1763, the Royal Proclamation by Great Britain became a significant point in this history when settlers began the development of various so-called civilization policies that were initiated by the colonies that eventually became Canada and the US. These included Indian rolls, residential schools, military aggression, and treaties that “dealt” with Indigenous peoples and the land they occupied. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was designed to protect Indigenous nations from land speculators or squatters; it was also the British Crown’s articulation on how to regulate its subjects. Eventually, the Royal Proclamation morphed into a tool ¹⁵ that would justify a hierarchical relationship between the dominant settler states and Indigenous populations during the formation of new countries. After the Royal Proclamation and the establishment of Canada and the US, various policies such as Indian acts and laws were ratified; Colonial Britain was the common origin for these policies. Many similarities and some noteworthy divergences exist between the laws in both settler states’ histories. In this present study and chapter, I propose the following arguments:

1. The US developed a substantially different system of residential schooling in response to

¹⁵Historians may disagree with me. However, I believe from a sociological stance and when President George Washington made a statement that the US also needed a proclamation to deal Indigenous peoples represents a shift to where policies of Britain and US may have started to influence each other.

the “Indian Wars,” differential settler development, and differential education systems as compared to Canada.

2. The educational system adopted in both countries focused on learning menial skills, along with religious and assimilationist learning (language destruction), accompanied by only a small portion of education dedicated to academic development, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. The focus on labor training also demonstrated an intended outcome of Indigenous people as vocational laborers.
3. Despite the differences in the two systems, their outcomes were similar in terms of weak educational attainment and intergenerational trauma resulting from abuses afflicted on the children in the schools.

Examining the history of interaction between Indigenous peoples and the colonial governments of Canada and the US will occur across the following phases to assess these propositions. The earlier periods 1600-1880 will be very briefly reviewed:

1. 1600–1776: Contact and settlement by Europeans on Turtle Island
2. 1776–1830: British and French assimilation through education and evaluation of the impact of America’s break from Britain.
3. 1830–1880s: Relationship between Indigenous peoples and settlers after reserves are created.
4. 1890s–1930s: Canadian and American governments’ dramatic policy shifts regarding assimilation and the use of residential schools.

These temporal phases were selected using Frideres’ (2011) analysis of contact between In-

Indigenous peoples and settlers because these phases reflect policy shifts that could apply to how education was used as a vessel of exploitation against Indigenous peoples. Finally, the aftermath of RS in Canada and the US will be examined, followed by a discussion of the proposition made in the present study that this shared history can and should be told as an interrelated story, which can assist us in understanding and reversing the impacts of these policies ¹⁶.

2.5 Temporal Phases of RS History in Canada and the US

In order to frame RS history in a coherent manner for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous readers, this exploration will synthesize colonial history's background as well as its repercussions upon Indigenous populations residing in Canada and the US. Before delving deeper into each phase, it is imperative to understand of Indigenous ways of life, prior to the first contact with European settlers.

2.6 Indigenous Systems of Education before the Arrival of Settlers

Prior to the establishment of Canada and the United States, Indigenous peoples had their own systems of education. Children were taught in their immediate community, by adults, elders, the Creator, and all living beings ¹⁷. Various Indigenous teachers taught history, geography,

¹⁶Both Canada and the US integrated state-church partnerships, this chapter is focused on the major differences between the two countries.

¹⁷Indigenous peoples believe that everything (humans, animals, birds, fish, insects, reptiles, celestial bodies, etc.) is connected and comprised the whole of universe/nature. In addition, as everything has spirit, it is alive as a

medicine, survival, traditions and customs, and daily life lessons long before the arrival of European settlers. Vibrant Indigenous societies had developed sophisticated and holistic systems for transferring knowledge. These focused on sharing codes of conduct, as well as social norms, and theoretical and practical knowledge with members of all ages. Indigenous Nations had their own holistic teachings aimed to equip community members with requisite skills and knowledge to be contributing members of their social groups (Cajete, 1994). Several Indigenous groups on Turtle Island used common elements such as storytelling and socialization methods (e.g., the teaching of children) that are similar to other Indigenous nations. In all these communities, education/knowledge transference was a collective responsibility woven into everyday life, reciprocal relationships, participation in interactions with family, community, and elders, rites, ceremonies, and engaging with the physical environment and forming relationships with spirits and the unseen (Cajete, 1994; Champagne & Abu-Saad, 2006; Fear-Segal, 2007; Miller, 1996). Indigenous peoples living on Turtle Island rejected the notion that adequate education must be separated from daily life. Passing traditional knowledge, finding one's place in society, and accepting responsibilities were not isolated processes that took place at a designated physical institution where individuals were invested with the power and responsibility for transferring knowledge. This "school-based" learning conflicted with traditional Indigenous understandings of education.

Indigenous educational practices allowed all members of the community to "actively acknowledge and engage the power that permeates the many persons of the earth in places recognized as sacred not by human proclamation or declaration, but by experience in those places" (Wildcat, 2001, p. 13). In fact, becoming aware of oneself in the physical environment is seen as the start of the learning process, as this allows one to discover interrelationships among all living beings and all aspects of life. Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) summarized five common tenets of Indigenous education and knowledge that led to the understanding of the world by

living being. Therefore, people can learn from the universe/nature in direct or indirect ways.

directing human beings to:

1. *observe* our surroundings, including environment, climate, celestial bodies, other living beings, and other human beings;
2. *organize* our knowledge of the past;
3. *explain* what we see and who we are;
4. *cope* with circumstances through adaptive strategies, both “tried and true” or new and innovative; and
5. *plan* for the future. (p. 23)

Education and knowledge is not readily available to all Indigenous community members, and this sometimes applies to outsiders. For example, individuals must be born into a clan or medicine society to have the ability to participate in and learn how to conduct a particular ceremony. Thus, in some cases, community status determines the type of education and knowledge one has access to. Indigenous education and knowledge is passed on to individuals depending on many factors, such as their life stage, the role they play in their community, and whether education is pursued due to a personal calling. In the following section are two examples¹⁸ of education and knowledge specific to the Utes, which are obtained through participation. These two examples provide only a brief synopsis, as specifics, cannot be shared publicly out of respect for the Ute people.

¹⁸The two examples I draw upon are family knowledge. As an Indigenous scholar, I am affirming the education and knowledge I have received. I do not cite any literature to these Ute teachings because I feel that part of the decolonizing process to equate my familial knowledge to the Western/Traditional academy.

2.6.1 Personal Ute Cultural Teachings

These two Ute cultural teachings pertain to the Tagu-wuni and welcoming a newborn baby into the world. First, the Tagu-wuni or “standing thirsty” (Sun Dance) is a midsummer spiritual ceremony. As a part of this ceremony, Ute men participate in a four-day fast. Tagu-wuni is a resilience test of one’s body, mind, and spirit. The knowledge the dancer receives from the Great Spirit or Creator is to be used in service of one’s family, community, people, the Earth, and nature as a whole. In my community, Tagu-wuni is reserved for men, while Ute women are assigned particular roles to support our dancers, such as singing, maintaining the shade houses, caring for relatives and guests, helping our dancers in the mornings and evenings, and preparing food for the camps. Both men and women undergo preparations before and after the Tagu-wuni, which they learn through interactions with family and the environment. Women use this knowledge to build shade houses, while men prepare for their dance. To uphold our ceremonies and traditions that are rooted in caring for our people and our land, each person has a purpose and accepts the roles given by Creator and taught by those who came before us. My roles have changed throughout the course of my life, as they do for all of our people. My mother was unable to help with Tagu-wuni during her pregnancy as fetuses in the womb and Sun dancers are spiritually close to the Creator at this time. According to our teachings, all unborn babies are dear to the Creator and the spiritual energy of the ceremonies could create a space that would allow an unborn baby to return to the spiritual world or go back to the Creator. In addition, as women are the givers of life, they are more spiritually powerful during menstruation and pregnancy. Women do not engage in the Sun dance ceremony because it is believed that their presence would disrupt the balance between the Sun dancers and their surroundings. During the ceremony, Sun dancers are fasting, which enhances their senses. As a result, they are able to feel the presence of pregnant and menstruating women, which can make them sick, weaken their spiritual energy, and make it more difficult to complete the ceremony. Cultural protocols are put in place for Sun dancers and women during the Sun Dance season to

ensure that balance is maintained and everyone involved is safe ¹⁹

As a child, I learned various life lessons in the little lodge (sweat lodge). For the Tagu-wuni, I was taught medicine songs, which we would sing for our Sun dancers as they sacrificed their bodies during the dance and prayer. As a young woman, I learned through participation and observation, continuing to learn songs and also how to make ceremonial regalia for my father. I learned to appreciate the roles women were responsible for. I gained skills required to prepare for the ceremony, and I learned the rituals performed once the Tagu-wuni season ends. This education and acquisition of knowledge is a lifelong process in which individuals assume diverse roles during different stages of life. Community members learn about the different roles associated with the ceremony and how all parts of Nature—plants, animals, and spirits—are interrelated.

As previously mentioned, pregnancy is a stage of life when a fetus is spiritually dear to the Creator. Because of this spiritual relationship, pregnant women do not go to the Tagu-wuni grounds. When a baby enters the world, Ute and other Indigenous women have traditional customs they must observe. Children are seen as gifts from the Creator, and during the initial thirty days of the newborn's life, the baby remains close to the Creator. As the health of the baby and the mother are vital at this time, parents must abstain from eating meat and drinking cold beverages. They must chew sage to maintain oral hygiene, clean their teeth, and they must not ingest any sweet food or cold/sweet/intoxicating drinks. Ute mothers do not cut their hair or touch their face with their hands during this period. In addition, the newborn and its parents stay home during this period and only close family members are allowed to visit.

¹⁹As mentioned previously, I am affirming the familial education and knowledge I have received throughout my life. I am hesitating to search for academic literature to back up on the familial and communal teachings I have received to justify or appease the academy because in my opinion doing so discredits my family and community.

The new parents' families cook, clean, and bring necessary items for them as they assume their new parental roles. Women relatives provide support for the new mother by wrapping her belly and combing her hair to maintain respect for her body and help her recover from childbirth. The newborn is kept wrapped and covered. Individuals unfamiliar with the importance of introducing the newborn into the world may view these thirty days as isolation. However, this is a vital time for the new parents to bond with their baby, as they focus solely on taking care of the baby's needs, while keeping the baby away from various pollutants imposed by the environment and others. Dietary limitations imposed on the parents ensure a healthy diet for the baby, while limiting the potential for ingesting harmful substances. Cleanliness is also vital, as it allows the baby to thrive, while keeping parents healthy. The first thirty days are highly significant because the mother and father must adjust to their parental responsibilities and learn restraint and patience. Bonding time with the entire family is also imperative. After thirty days have lapsed, the parents can move the baby from their home and introduce it to the community. Many lessons and ceremonies are specifically aimed at new mothers and their children, such as cultural protocols to follow during pregnancy, what to do when the umbilical cord stump falls out, the naming of a child, when a child reaches puberty, and others. These two examples of important Ute practices elucidate how acquiring knowledge and education are life-long processes that occur through participation, allowing elders and other community members to pass on norms, values, and codes of conduct, as well as theoretical and practical knowledge required to be a fully functioning member of the community.

2.6.2 Continuation of Indigenous Systems of Education

This section relates Ute cultural teachings to findings reported in extant literature on Indigenous education and knowledge. As noted earlier, Indigenous education or the acquisition of

Indigenous knowledge occurs when an individual is able to understand the world with the help of other human beings. As such, the process is guided by five principles—observation, organization, explanation, coping, and planning. Each of these principles were involved in both the Tagu-wuni and the thirty-day period following the birth of a child. Rather than providing a detailed description of these five principles and their meanings, I demonstrated their practical implementation in the Ute culture and society. All teachings and knowledge pertinent to Tagu-wuni and the thirty-day period occur outside an institution and can be viewed as a type of informal education. As articulated by Lomawaima and McCarty (2006), “this popular but artificial dichotomy fails to describe the complexity of [European] education inside and outside of schools. Its failure regarding [Indigenous] education systems is even more profound because it communicates they are ‘accidental’ or ‘unplanned’ ” (p. 27). The ideas behind the RS system fostered a belief that Indigenous educational systems were inferior because they were not organized within an institution. In the RS, education was provided by different authoritative figures: teachers, priests, and nuns. Within an Indigenous educational system the role of teacher is not precisely defined because everyone learns from each other; teachers can be considered children, adults, elders, the Creator, and all living beings. Therefore, residential schools and the Indigenous educational systems are divergent approaches to educating members of a society. The RS system conflicted with Indigenous educational approaches and the foreign pedagogical practices of RS led to destructive teaching methods where Indigenous children were subjected to separation from everything they knew.

In all societies both formal and informal processes are required to transfer knowledge to individuals so they can be socialized into a specific role within their society. However, when the notion of formal education becomes a hegemonic value, it can morph into a dangerous pedagogy. This is especially true when formal education is portrayed as the only acceptable approach, which means Indigenous education is viewed as “accidental” or “unplanned.” As a result, this framework creates a space where traditional Indigenous education is unsuitable

because it occurs outside of classrooms. Additionally, formal education prepares individuals to become citizens by means of individual and national empowerment, where the aim is to “obtain the common cultural ground and values that will support the technical, social, cultural, and political demands of the nation-state” (Champagne & Abu-Saad, 2006, p. 3). As a result, clear conflict exists between informal and formal education with respect to how individuals are socialized into their societies.

These divergent worldviews allow us to understand the impacts of education. Among the many valuable teachings, I learned as a child was to greet each new day by offering tobacco at sunrise. I learned that everything in nature is connected, and we coexist to support each other. Human beings, plants, and animals need water to survive, and each of these living beings gives homage to the Earth and to water because they provide for all of life’s substance. I was also taught to offer water to Mother Earth and the Grandfather Stones²⁰ before quenching my own thirst during sweat lodge ceremonies. Water serves as a medium for the Grandfather Stones to communicate with us. I gained this respect of all living beings through interaction, instruction, and observation of my family and the natural world. To explain the interconnected relationship that Indigenous peoples have with nature, I will share some learning from my upbringing and relate these experiences to the teachings of the sweat lodge.

As a child, I learned that the sweat lodge is considered the little brother to the Tagu-wuni medicine lodge; the little brother lodge teachings allow us to learn about the interconnectedness. I discovered that everything in nature is animate and has a spirit. I understood that specific cultural protocols must be followed, and certain offerings must be made when building a sweat lodge. They are only erected during a specific season, and there is a designated time for collecting willows and Grandfather Stones. One of my earliest childhood memories is my first experience in a sweat lodge ceremony. I still vividly recall the canvas flap of the lodge

²⁰Grandfather Stones are lava rocks used in the sweat lodge for delivering prayers. They are spiritual beings.

closing and the warm, bright-red glowing smile of the Grandfather Stones welcoming me. I sat cross-legged in front of my mother with a clear view of the radiating Grandfather Stones. They had just been removed from the fire and burned a lustrous red. When the canvas closed I sat in the dark lodge lit only by the Grandfather Stones whose bodies had grooves shaped like eyes staring back at me. Once water was poured over them, they began singing and steam filled the lodge. *They are alive*, I thought. My belief is that everything in nature is alive and has spirit, even if our senses do not allow us to identify it. Just because something is unseen does not mean that it is not alive.

These examples and personal experiences show how initial Indigenous learning approaches are developed. Apparent differences exist in the worldviews imposed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous systems and by Indigenous versus western epistemologies. Both aim to achieve a proper education, but a stark contrast exists between formal and informal schooling.

2.7 Lessons: The Four Temporal Phases of Indigenous Education in Canada and US

Residential schools were a means of providing Indigenous children access to a “proper” and formal education. This formal education will be discussed in the following four temporal phases to illustrate how learning can become detrimental to the well-being of children and people and the reader is asked to keep the traditional approaches discussed above in mind as we go through these Western thought driven phases.

2.7.1 Phase 1: 1600 – 1776: Contact and first settlement of British and French with the introduction of formal education

During this phase, education was primarily conducted by missionaries. Specifically, between 1568 and 1783, European settlers and Indigenous peoples in Turtle Island (North America) developed a relationship based on survival and co-existence. This relationship can be interpreted as beneficial relationship for both, as settlers were being educated by Indigenous peoples on how to survive off the land, while settlers shared their knowledge as well. Throughout Turtle Island, education was seen as a tool to build upon unity between Indigenous peoples and settlers, and this was primarily achieved through the introduction of Christianity (Dickason & Long, 2011; Milloy, 1999; Szasz, 1988). Although Indigenous peoples and Europeans had markedly different worldviews during this phase, the two populations established rapport with one another. This represented a growing phase of cohabitation and coexisting within the same territory, but one must keep in mind that tensions and challenges still existed between settlers and Indigenous peoples. As described in Section 2.5, Indigenous peoples believed in interconnectedness and animism without which they could not survive in the world. This natural balance has been maintained since the time immemorial. Europeans, Christians in particular, emphasized “humankind’s dominance of the created world” (Miller, 1999, p. viii), which imposes human dominance ²¹ over the world and ignores the interconnectedness of all elements in the nature and that the Earth provides for humanity.

Contemporary examples of humanities attempt to conquer nature include the tensions surrounding the Keystone pipeline and the destruction of the Amazon River. Both have resulted

²¹Contemporary examples of humanities attempt to conquer nature include the tensions surrounding the Keystone pipeline and the destruction of the Amazon River. Both have resulted in the eradication of many life forms and the destruction of the natural environment. Failure to understand the synergy between humans and the environment can have and has had detrimental consequences. While not all Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples have the same perspective toward the environment and nature, many share the view that humans do not have the right to exert their dominance over nature.

in the eradication of many lifeforms and the destruction of the environment. Failure to understand the synergy between humans and the environment can have and has had detrimental consequences. Oil extraction and usage can create environmental trauma like pollution and endangering the water supply of Indigenous communities in Canada, the US, and throughout the world. Similarly, the illegal logging of the Amazon will destroy the way of life that uncontacted Indigenous peoples have maintained in that region throughout their history. While not all, sadly some Indigenous, or non-Indigenous peoples have the same perspective toward the environment and nature, these examples exert humans' dominance over nature. They do not respect or understand that the Earth is a provider to all living things and that by intentionally inflicting harm upon it jeopardizes the sustainability of the interconnected relationship.

While many Indigenous and settler perspectives differed, both groups needed to find a way to coexist. They embraced a mutual relationship and accepted a compromise, despite ongoing conflict, as it allowed them to live on the shared continent. The principles of the Haudenosaunee's²² *Guswenta* wampum belt, also known as the Two Row wampum, is one example of this mutual relationship. The *Guswenta* is a belt comprised of two rows of purple beads separated by three rows of white beads. The *Guswenta* embodies the principles of living together in peace and friendship forever while respecting a difference in perspectives. The row of white row of beads and the two rows of purple beads represent a canoe and a sailboat traveling down the river together (Hill, 2016; Mt. Pleasant, 2014). The principles of the *Guswenta* signify a distinction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous lifestyles and perspectives, which are depicted by the two rows,

This is our canoe, the Indian people, their government, and their religions. This is our brother the white man's boat, his religions, his government and his people.

Together, side-by-side, we go down the river of life in peace and friendship and

²²The Haudenosaunee are also known as the Iroquois Confederacy or the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy.

mutual coexistence. As you note, we never come together. We are equal. (Lyons, 1992, p. 34)

The *Guswenta* is considered the Haudenosaunee's metaphor for life and reflects the importance of equality and respect for contrasting lifestyles between them and settlers. Alyssa Mt. Pleasant (2014) argued that the principles of the *Guswenta* could also be applied to Indigenous educational practices. Her example explained how the Buffalo Creek residents responded to missionaries' attempts to establish formal schooling in 1800. This specific example will be discussed further in the context of Phase 2. This example is useful in explaining co-habitation between Indigenous communities and settlers, while allowing us to appreciate two distinct approaches to education.

2.7.2 The central role of Christianity in Phase 1

Christianity was the mechanism/delivery system utilized by Europeans to educate Indigenous peoples (Hale, 2002; Miller, 1996; Trafzer, Keller, & Sisquoc, 2006). The interrelationship between Christianity and the education of Indigenous peoples gradually became more prominent throughout Turtle Island between first contact and 1776. In the latter 1500s, Jesuit missionaries introduced Indigenous schooling into the Americas. In 1568, by orders of King Louis XIV, Christianity and French culture were to be taught to Indigenous populations (Bowker, A., 1993; Bowker, K., 2007). It can be argued that the monarchy was at the forefront of the agenda to educate Indigenous peoples in the name of Christianity. Religion and culture were imposed in tandem as settlers brought their values and ways of life to North America. In this early period, settlers wanted to establish a permanent home in Turtle Island, and they wanted to impart their cultures upon Indigenous peoples without considering the consequences. Settlers'

acquired land through colonial occupation then used education as a means to dominate Indigenous populations. The combination of education and culture they intended to share created a platform that involved Indigenous peoples learning how the European world operated.

The French were not the only European settlers who utilized Christianity and education to inform Indigenous peoples. In addition to the efforts promoted by King Louis XIV, the establishment of the Virginia colonies by England also linked Indigenous education to Christianity. On April 10th, 1606, King James I signed the First Charter of Virginia urging the colony to start the “propagating of Christian Religion . . . to bring the Infidels and Savages living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government” (Szasz, 1988, p. 46). Spreading the word of the gospel to Indigenous peoples was believed to be a mechanism for elevating them from their savagery into the European context of human civility. Coleman (1993) also discussed how King James I instructed the colony to convert Indigenous peoples to a “true knowledge and worship of God” (p. 36), in order to bring them out of the darkness. Because both groups held opposing beliefs²³ in a higher power, hostility grew between them.

The plan executed by King James I to teach Christianity to Indigenous peoples in the Virginia colony was put into action. In 1609, financial difficulties arose, and Sir Thomas Gates was forced to request a relief expedition from England to aid the starving Virginia colony. In this request, Gates pointed out that the “colony was following the orders outlined in the Virginia Charter to educate Indian youth” (Szasz, 1988, p. 53). With the support of Anglican clergymen, Gates negotiated additional funding designated for educating Indigenous youth. As a result, the Indian College in Henrico, Virginia, was established between 1619 and 1622, and Algo-

²³For example, the sweat lodge is considered my church. Its structure is comprised of willows, the Grandfather Stones are the teachers, and the singing, the drums, and the tobacco offerings are my connections to God or the Creator. Indigenous and non-Indigenous worldviews differ on what constitutes being alive or having a spirit. When there is a lack or misguided understanding of God or the Creator and creation, disruptions between groups of peoples can arise, which is the case with Indigenous worldviews and Christianity. This negative connotation refers to the labeling of Indigenous peoples as “others” who are uncivilized and perceived as having savage-like qualities.

nquian children (such as Cheroenhaka, Chickahominy, Mattaponi, Nansemond, Pamunkey, and Rappahannock people, they are part of the Powhatan Confederacy) were educated in “English homes [as] an informal method of conversion and civility” (Szasz, 1988, p. 54). This particular Western education was considered informal because it lacked the formal institutionalized education. The acceptance of Christianity and the co-existence between Indigenous peoples and European settlers in the Virginia colony may have encouraged the idea that the “Indian” population would be receptive to adopting a “civilized” way of life.

It has been hypothesized that Pocahontas’ visit to England may have paved the way for Indigenous education because to a certain “degree she served as a symbol for the potential Christianization and civilization of all Indians in Virginia, and during the time Algonquian children were sent to England to be educated” (Szasz, 1988, p. 58). The scope of education in the eastern colonies of North America was increasing. Following Henrico, Harvard College was established in 1650 to educate the English and civilize Indigenous youth. However, the education of Indigenous youth was halted in the eastern colonies due the needs for European settlement. These developments led to England withholding missionary funds that were designated for educating Indigenous peoples (Wright & Tierney, 1991). Indigenous education was also halted due to increasing conflict between the British and authorities from the thirteen North American colonies; this conflict led to the American Revolution (Allison, 2011). As a result, the British sought military alliances with Indigenous peoples and this alliance will be further discussed in the section pertaining to phase 2.

The relationship between Indigenous peoples and the French colonies situated along the St. Lawrence River in the more northern part of the colonized land was a little different. North of the Virginia colony, the education of Indigenous boys began in 1620 near Quebec by the Récollet missionaries. According to LeClerq (1881), the Récollets had a twofold approach to education: (1) increase French settlement and (2) secure funding for a boarding school from

France to convert Indigenous peoples to Christianity (as cited in National Aboriginal History Organization ,NAHO, 2007). Indigenous boys were educated in a seminary or they were sent to France, to be fully immersed in French culture and language (Miller, 1996; White & Peters, 2009). The French found that “educating the [Indigenous] children away from their families would be easier and had advantages” (Miller, 1996, p. 47). The separation of Indigenous children from their families is a pattern that intensified in later phases, particularly Phase 4. Miller (1996) pointed out that educating Indigenous children had both advantages and challenges because “the missionaries [were aware of how] Indian society permitted a degree of individual freedom that would make schooling children in a European fashion difficult” (p. 45).

For many Indigenous peoples, “the goal of Indigenous education is to perpetuate a way of life through the generations and through time. The purpose of all education is to instruct the next generation about what is valued and important to a society” (Cajete, 2000, p. 84). This type of knowledge is acquired by experiencing the freedom of the world through observation of elders and community members, and supported by personal agency. The Récollets had an antagonistic understanding of Indigenous perspective toward education. Consequently, they found that educating Indigenous peoples was an expensive endeavor, which eventually resulted in the closure of their schools and their departure (Miller, 1996). After the Récollets left New France, the Jesuits started a similar process of forcing Indigenous peoples to attend residential schools. While in New France, around 1665, the Jesuits introduced Indigenous peoples to manual labor as a form of education (Lomawaima, 1999). Later, the Royal Crown, King Louis XIV accused the Jesuits of being unable to work “effectively toward teaching the Indians French customs and language” (White & Peters, 2009, p. 15). Both the Récollets and Jesuits had difficulty with reassigning French culture to Indigenous peoples, likely due to the manner in which the education was instilled. On the other hand, Miller (1996) concluded that the best model for Christianizing Indigenous peoples was to avoid “frenchifying” them (p. 55). According to Peters (2013), “it began to be clear that assimilation made little sense” (p. 9), given that the

Indigenous peoples were needed to ensure that the fur trade flourished, and were instrumental as military allies against the encroaching British colonial armies and settlers.

The French came to the understanding that “Frenchifying” the Indigenous peoples would make them less effective partners (White & Peters 2009, p. 15). Indigenous peoples had great environmental knowledge, and in order to survive the settlers needed help developing hunting and military strategies. Sadly, diseases the Europeans brought with them led to the death of two Indigenous students at the Récollets’ seminary in 1639. Miller (1996) stated “the grand experiment in New France of educating Indian children in residential establishments so as to assimilate them and prepare . . . their people for integration with French-Canadian society was effectively dead by the 1680s” (p. 55). As a result of these adverse developments, French missionary schools were on the decline.

However, the scope of missionary education continued to grow in the English colonies. Szasz (1988) stated that from the “1720s through the 1760s, there existed a flurry of experiments in schooling for Indian youth. Indian schools of one kind or another opened their doors in the colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, and offshore islands such as Martha’s vineyard” (p. 191). These schools focused on grammar, philosophy, divinity, and education and they were established by several religious societies and orders (Szasz, 1988). During this period, it seemed that Indigenous education was focused more on creating a relationship that would allow coexistence and cooperation with North American settlers. This view is affirmed by the fact that Indigenous peoples and European settlers were being educated together, allowing them to develop a growing appreciation of their different cultures (Hale, 2002; Miller, 1996; Szasz, 1988; Wright & Tierney, 1991). Hence, this period can be considered a familiarizing phase, where all involved are becoming acquainted with one another. In the context of this present study, this phase refers to European settlers and Indigenous peoples learning about each other and making sense of the shared territory.

The British, prior to the War of 1812, understood that it was “vital to have Indigenous military allies and economic partners” (White & Peters 2009, p. 15).

2.7.3 Major lessons from 1600–1776

Several major lessons can be learned by analyzing this early phase, from 1600 to 1766. In Phase 1, the early interactions between both British and French settlers and the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island were limited to the use of formal education as a vehicle to Christianize. The rationalization for Christianity stemmed from a belief that European Christianity was “superior” and “civilized.” Thus, the settlers adopted the hierarchical process of bringing Christian philosophy to Indigenous peoples from what European settlers considered “darkness.” To fully grasp the treatment of Indigenous peoples and their educational histories, it is necessary to outline the exigent policies generated by the imperial governments. The “education” of Indigenous peoples and the protectionist policies were the means of controlling them in order to alter their lifestyles and educate them to fit what was deemed suitable by European standards. Tobias (1991) attested that Canada’s goals for their Indian policy were protection, civilization, and assimilation, which occurred before Confederation²⁴ and date back to the Royal Proclamation. Miller (1991) confirmed that the Royal Proclamation served two purposes: (1) Indigenous peoples were expected to only use the interior lands west of the Appalachian Mountains, and (2) the British government could negotiate for ownership and control of Indigenous lands. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 outlined the protections of Indigenous peoples as:

. . . reasonable, and essential to Our Interest and the Security of Our Colonies, that

²⁴Confederation is the conformation of Canada, which resulted in the three colonies of British North American coming together in 1867. These colonies became the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Later other provinces and territories joined the confederation.

the several Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom We are connected, and who live under Our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories" (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013)

The introduction of residential schools (RS) is linked to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 because it served as the basis for colonial Indigenous policies. Further I believe that the Royal Proclamation of 1763 created an ideological basis for the re-education of Indigenous peoples to ensure that the interests, security, and protection of settlers were obtained. Since the goal of the British was to secure the North American territory, they needed the Indigenous peoples' assistance for knowledge and survival skills on newly established lands. Education, survival, and the securing this land were all contingent on establishing this relationship. Eventually, education and land ownership became one cohesive settler philosophy—any interest, security, and protection for Indigenous peoples transpired only for the ultimate benefit of the settler population. Indigenous peoples had to be protected yet also controlled through education and land agreements. Schooling was necessary because they were seen as uncivilized and this new education could lead to the release of Indigenous claims over the land. The Royal Proclamation had established the British government's special role in dealing with Indigenous peoples and instituted the laws on land-ownership rights. According to Slattery (2013), it served as "an Imperial instrument, framed in a colonial context and designed in part to further British imperial ambitions" (p. 2).

The Royal Proclamation's paternalistic nature in terms of protecting Indigenous peoples is also evident in the settlers' educational ambitions. Feelings of superiority and strong religious beliefs resulted in the settlers' low tolerance for informal education and disdain toward Indigenous manners of education and practicing of spirituality. The European settlers believed that

unless Indigenous peoples shared their same values and culture, this friction would jeopardize the building of their new nation state. Perhaps this is why Christian values were imposed in this early stage. Despite the stalling of various formal educational initiatives, this phase is still marked by the blending of Indigenous and non-Indigenous traditions, due to the need for cooperation and proper business attitudes among the French, or Catholics.

In fact, before engaging in trade, Indigenous peoples and European settlers would hold traditional ceremonies. As pointed out by Calloway (2013), “giving and receiving gifts was essential to lubricating and cementing alliances” (p. 5). These exchanges were indicative of a complex partnership, maintained for trading and military purposes; this practice was altered in a later period. The main difference between the British and the French approach to re-education was that the British did not engage in assimilation to the extent that the French did (White & Peters, 2009). The French aimed to absorb Indigenous peoples into French culture, language, and customs through expensive endeavors that were eventually abandoned. The British initiatives on the other hand, were primarily driven by the need for establishing economic and military alliances. Hence, their relationship needed to be consummated due to American colonists’ views that the British were “coddling up [to Indigenous peoples] to frustrate people like Washington who shed blood, who sacrificed in the great war” leading up to the American Revolution (Calloway, 2013, p. 7). The War of 1812 drastically changed the relationship between the British and Indigenous peoples.

Formal educational initiatives aimed at Indigenous peoples took place throughout North America. These proposed educational processes were carried out by the following: the English were responsible for education on the eastern coast; the Franciscans (who were mostly Spanish) were involved with southwestern Indigenous peoples in Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas; and the Protestants were under the orders of King James in the Virginia colonies (Bowker, A., 1993; Bowker, K., 2007; Szasz, 1988). The common thread among these educational endeav-

ors was the need to spread Christianity and smooth the transition for settlements across North America.

2.7.4 Phase 2: 1776–1830: American, British, and French education processes of Indigenous peoples

This era marks the end of the French and Indian Wars (1754 – 1763) and the start of the American Revolution (1776 – 1781). Despite Indigenous peoples' roles in the Revolutionary War and the Declaration of Independence in 1776 (they were described as being a menace), missionary schools were still being established and maintained, as the perceived need to educate them persisted. These schools focused on spreading the gospel, while providing either manual or academic-oriented education (Miller, 1996; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). This style of education, disseminating the gospel, was prevalent in this treaty-making period (Churchill, 2004; Lomawaima, 1995; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). It has been argued that education during this phase was relatively wide reaching; the main emphasis was to secure sufficient Indigenous labor allowing colonists to exploit local resources. Even though Indigenous peoples had their own successful methods of farming and collecting local resources, their abilities were portrayed as “uncivilized” or “inferior” to the colonists' standards. Hence, the colonists believed that Indigenous peoples had to be taught how to be “good” farmers. In addition to schooling, the fur trade was expanding as part of the conquest for control of the North America continent.

Indigenous peoples forged two types of alliances with the Americans and the British. As a result of land claims through treaties signed with the British “after the Revolutionary War in 1783, the United States government saw [Indigenous peoples] as a ‘problem’ requiring a solution” (Mashford-Pringle, 2011, p. 156). The Americans had difficulty acquiring land in

the pre-Revolutionary War Period because of the Royal Proclamation; Indigenous territories were under the British Crown's protection. In addition, the Royal Proclamation infantilized Indigenous peoples' ability to negotiate land transactions. Perhaps, this is why Americans, after the war of independence perceived Indigenous peoples to be problematic and an obstacle their territorial expansion. During the period between 1783 and 1812, the US government entered into consultations for more treaties, with policies aimed at western education and "civilization". The Indian Education Act of 1969 noted, "over the next eighty-two years, the Senate [as well as some states] approved almost four hundred treaties, one hundred twenty of which contained educational provisions" (as cited by Reyhner & Eder, 2004, p. 42). The US government acknowledged these educational outcomes as "a proper trade-off for land given up by the tribes" (Reyhner & Eder, 2004, p. 42). Unfortunately, in some cases, the federal government did not consult with tribes whose treaty funds supported missionary schools (Adams, 1995).

There was a lack of transparency regarding the allocation of treaty funds aimed at western education. Indigenous peoples were aware that their society was changing and they needed to coexist with the settlers, but they would also need to adapt for survival. Champagne and Abu-Saad (2006) reported that some Indigenous leaders in the early 1800s began to "encourage their youth to seek Western education . . . to gain knowledge and skills needed to help defend their communities" (p. 6). Indigenous communities embraced Western formal education as a means of survival, which necessitated the acquisition of new skills. Indigenous leaders who encouraged community members to adapt were forward thinkers who recognized that change would help preserve and strengthen their communities and the future generations. Thus, they supported the blending of educational systems to protect their communities.

Though the American federal government continued with western education, strong prejudices and views of Indigenous peoples being primitive, savage, and inferior persisted. Many Indian administrators believed that Indigenous peoples needed to be educated in line with Euro-

American standards of civilization. The 1819 Civilization Fund was an early strategy that resulted from the US government's attempt to use religious groups to re-educate Indigenous peoples. Because the federal government considered Indigenous peoples an obstacle to growth they believed that they needed to be assimilated (moralized) or crushed. In 1818, the House Committee on Indian Affairs articulated:

In the present state of our country, one of two things seems to be necessary: either that those sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated. Humanity would rejoice at the former, but shrink with horror at the latter. Put into the hands of children, the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time take hold of the plough; and as their minds become enlightened and expand, the Bible will be their book, and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry, leave the chase to those whose minds are less cultivated, and become useful members of society. (United States, 1888, p. 162)

In sum, Indigenous peoples had to be dealt with through civilized education or extermination. A formal Western education was deemed a humane approach to cultivating Indigenous peoples in American society. The 1819 Indian Civilization Act ²⁵ appropriated \$10,000 to Thomas J. McKenney, the first Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to provide financial support mainly for missionary schools. The missionary schools used these funds to teach Indigenous children agriculture, good moral character, reading, writing, and arithmetic as a means of assimilating and civilizing them (Adams, 1995; Bowker, K., 2007; Huckins, 1995; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Until 1873, 21 schools were built within five years using the Civilization Fund and 800 students attended them (Huckins, 1995; Reyhner & Eder, 2004).

²⁵The Indian Civilization act is also known as the Civilization Fund.

Lomawaima (1995) stated that the Civilization Fund provided \$214,000 to missionary organizations for education after the fund was implemented. Christianizing and civilizing Indigenous peoples in areas under US control were the primary goals of the federal government. Ample empirical evidence suggests that the missionary schools were one of the primary methods of Indigenous education in the United States. In addition, new political leadership began developing plans for Indian removal,²⁶ despite the “success of the missionary and government efforts to ‘civilize’” (Adams, 1995, p. 48). The priority of the American government was settlement in the east coast; Indigenous peoples obstructed this effort, so to mitigate this issue, federal policies were enforced, resulting in the removal of Indigenous peoples from their eastern homelands.

As the Americans began relying more heavily on force to deal with Indigenous peoples post-1763, the British took a friendlier approach. The relationship between Great Britain and Indigenous peoples had been based on military alliances during the War of 1812. Miller (1996) stated that the British utilized Indigenous assistance for transportation, diplomacy, and warfare, which was instrumental during this period as the Americans traded with the French and fought to control North America. When the war ended, the British no longer needed the alliance with Indigenous peoples so they became an obstacle to expanded settlement. The dissemination of Christianity emerged as a solution to solving the “Indian problem.”

According to one former (British Imperial) secretary of state, the Indian problem would be eliminated by “reclaiming [Indigenous peoples] from a state of barbarism and introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life” (White & Peters, 2009, as cited in Wilson, 1986, p. 66). After 1815, the policy for civilizing Indigenous peoples be-

²⁶President Andrew Jackson enacted this piece of legislation for the exchange of lands with Indians residing in states or territories, and for their removal west of the Mississippi river. The Cherokee Nation was forcibly relocated in 1838. Their journey to the Indian Territory (now the state of Oklahoma) is known as the “Trail of Tears” although some Cherokee people managed to hide out and remain in their homelands.

came more prominent and was an integral part of their relationship with the British. The British argued for “the need to develop the Indian . . . and stressing the need to Christianize” (Tobias, 1991, p. 128). This discourse advocated for a compelling need for Indigenous peoples to adopt British values and lifestyles; if they did not, they were portrayed as a problem.

For example, the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) Red River settlement transitioned from fur commerce to sedentary agriculture. Indigenous peoples living in the area were now a problem because they transformed into an obstacle to creating a successful agricultural base. The main interest of the HBC was the exchange of European foods for produce and fur and without Indigenous cooperation (Carney, 1995). The HBC and the North West Company merged in 1821, and in the regions where this new company dominated; Indigenous children were initiated into missionary-led instruction (Carney, 1995). Christianity continued to be the main means of educating Indigenous children. According to Miller (1996), the Red River missionary believed that “[Indigenous peoples] must be educated before they can be led to comprehend the benefits to be received from civilization . . . under the mild influence of the Christian religion” (p. 67). In addition, missionaries influenced Indigenous peoples under the premise that they would give up nomadic tendencies such as hunting and gathering, motivating them to practice agriculture:

. . . compel the adult Indian to take up the spade and submit to manual labor, but a child brought up in a love of cultivating a garden will be naturally led to the culture of the field as a means of subsistence: and educated in the principle of Christianity, he will become stationary to partake of the advantage and privileges of civilization. (as cited in Miller, 1996, p. 69)

Colonists stressed that sedentary agriculture would transition Indigenous peoples into a civilized life, utilizing manual labor and living Christian principles. It was believed that manual

labor training in the residential schools would help assimilate them. With the goal of creating civilized populations through residential schooling, manual labor, sedentary agriculture, and Christianity infused European ideology and values into Indigenous lifestyles, where Indigenous peoples “would be taught to farm and would receive religious instruction and an education” (Tobias, 1991, p. 129). The emphasis on manual labor and Christianity continued to surge with the utilization of off-reserve (reservation) RS as described in the next phase.

Lastly, the Doctrine of Discovery²⁷ further promoted that Indigenous peoples should be colonized for their own benefit. As described by the TRC’s final report (2015b), the Doctrine of Discovery’s two basic concepts were: “1) the Christian God had given the Christian nations the right to colonize the lands they ‘discovered’ as long as they converted the Indigenous populations, and 2) the Europeans were bringing the benefits of civilization (a concept that was intertwined with Christianity) to the *heathen*” (p. 17, emphasis added). European settlers endorsed the principles of the Doctrine of Discovery to pursue the colonization and Christianization of Indigenous peoples as their God given right.

2.7.5 Major lessons from 1776–1830

Indigenous people shifted from positions as allies of American or British settlers to burdens of the state/crown. When their alliance was no longer needed, they were seen as an impediment

²⁷The Doctrine of Discovery is still being implemented in the 21st Century. However, the Apache Ndé Nneé Working Group has issued an official statement for Pope Francis to repudiate the Doctrine of Discovery. For more information, please see Indian Country Today’s article, “Apaches to Pope Francis: Recognize the History of Genocide” and the Apache Ndé Nneé Working Group Shadow Report in the reference section. The Doctrine of Discovery continues to affect outcomes of legal cases for Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US. Johnson v. M’Intosh ruling refers to the Doctrine of Discovery to deny indigenous land rights in the US. The Canadian Supreme Court also referred to the Johnson v. M’Intosh ruling on two Indigenous rights cases, R. v. Sparrow in 1990 and R. v. Van de Peet in 1996 (TRC, 2015c). The Doctrine of Discovery legacy is still alive and affects Indigenous peoples.

to rapid colonization and land seizure. Education was deemed the most effective means of overcoming this obstacle, as it was a powerful vehicle for assimilation and becoming civilized. Military action and treaties reinforced these ideals and were utilized to remove Indigenous peoples from their land, forcing the abandonment of many traditional practices. Following the War of 1812, colonial warfare between the Americans and British declined and Indigenous peoples were no longer perceived as valuable partners²⁸. This historical development indicates that the idea of the “Indian problem” – Indigenous peoples were seen as barriers to the establishment of the society – happened simultaneously in both countries (Canada and the US). In sum, Americans and the British sought to further the use of education combined with Christianity and taught by missionaries as a means of “assimilating” and “civilizing” Indigenous peoples into mainstream societies. Christian education continued in the next phase of western education for Indigenous peoples, which emphasized hard labor and subordination to pursue the colonizers’ aims.

2.7.6 Phase 3: 1830–1880s: Indigenous peoples and settlers’ relationships in the US

After 1830, the re-education of Indigenous peoples in the US and British North America progressed and a greater emphasis was placed on assimilation and “civilizing” Indigenous peoples. In 1832, the US Congress appointed a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Early commissioners, who perceived Indigenous peoples as barbaric and/or primitive, were responsible for education (K. Bowker 2007). For example, Commissioner John H. Eaton’s 1831 letter to the President

²⁸The War of 1812 brought lingering effects for Indigenous peoples due to the United States’ desire for westward expansion and infringement on Indigenous territories and the need to protect their homelands from settlers. Indigenous peoples took sides either with the Americans or British. For instance, the Munsee-Delaware fought with the British during this conflict. There was a small group of Senecas, Red Jacket and Farmer’s Brother, that aided for the Americans (Fixico, n.d.)

emphasized the need for teaching agriculture: “to turn them to industry is of first importance . . . [with] the influence of culture and education . . . these subjects shall be changed [to] the character of an industrious agriculturist” (p. 34). In 1870, President Ulysses Grant’s second address to Congress entrusted education to religious dominations as a part of his Peace policy.²⁹ Grant stated “ . . . watch over them and aid them as missionaries, to Christianize and civilize the Indian . . . ” (Getches, Wilkinson, & Williams, 2005, p. 151). This joined the federal government and missionary groups to share in responsibility for Indigenous educational policy. However, the Peace Policy was short lived because hostile relationships between Indigenous peoples and American settlers persisted, erupting in the Red River War³⁰ and the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

By the late 1870s and early 1880s, the US government started to invest in off-reservation (reserve) boarding schools,³¹ also known as residential schools.³² As mentioned in Chapter One, boarding school and residential school are used interchangeably to refer to the re-education of Indigenous peoples through the RS systematic process; RS will be used to describe the colonial education system. The majority of off-reserve schools expanded after the establishment of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and the General Allotment (Dawes³³ Act in 1887. Captain Richard Henry Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879, with an initial enrolment of 136 students. According to Child (1998), Pratt took Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Kiowa prisoners from Fort Marion, Florida, and introduced them to reading and arithmetic, and provided them with part-time jobs. Pratt’s “civilization” experiment took prisoners from the Red River War of 1874 cut their hair and provided them with army uniforms

²⁹This was President Grant’s policy aiming to solve the “Indian problem.”

³⁰This is part of the Comanche War to remove the Comanche, Kiowa, Southern Cheyenne, and Arapaho and relocate them forcibly to reservations.

³¹Boarding school is the terminology used to refer to US off-reservation schools according to the literature.

³²In the literature, residential school is the term for off-reserve schools in Canada.

³³The Dawes Act stipulated that 160 acres be allocated to each family head, 80 acres to individuals over 18 years of age and 40 acres to individuals under 18. The act included a provision to double the allotment size if the land was suitable for grazing. After the land was divided among the tribe members, the excess was available to white settlers.

and taught them military drills and labor skills (Adams, 1995). After this pioneering experiment, Pratt extended this model to include Indigenous children (Adams, 1995; Child, 1998; Churchill, 2004; Lomawaima, 1995), which is considered the first attempt at an off-reservation RS where Indigenous children were taught away from their families. Pratt strongly believed that assimilating Indigenous children could “civilize” them, save them from their ‘savagery’, and allow them to become part of the American society. The Carlisle School, an example of a RS, is considered the original test-model for off-reserve RS in the US.

Szasz (1999) illustrated that the success of Carlisle was acknowledged by a large congressional appropriation in 1882. Other RS that were established in the subsequent period were modeled after Carlisle.³⁴ The Commission of Indian Affairs (1886) acknowledged that five schools—Carlisle, Haskell Institute, Chilocco, Genoa, and Selem—had created flourishing conditions for educating Indigenous children. In fact, Captain Richard Henry Pratt was praised for Carlisle’s ability to examine “the practicability of Indian civilization” (Annual Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs, 1886, p. LXIII). Carlisle’s official student capacity was 400, and attendance increased to 484 in 1886, resulting in overcrowding and poor living conditions. The American government emphasized the assimilation program’s success by providing “civilized” Indigenous children with jobs in areas like housekeeping, blacksmithing, and farming.

According to Adams (1995), by 1909, over 25 off-reservation RS and 307 day schools were operating across North America. The methods of assimilation were similar for both Indigenous prisoners of the Red River War of 1874 and the Indigenous children forced to attend. All underwent the same process of having their hair cut; their traditional regalia altered (trousers for boys and plain dresses for girls); they underwent military drills; and they took part in

³⁴After Carlisle opened its doors, the following RS were established: Forest Grove or Chemawa, Oregon (1880); Albuquerque (1884); Chilocco (1884); Santa Fe (1890—renamed the Institute of American Indian Arts in 1962); Haskell (1884—remained Haskell Indian Junior College in 1965); Carson or Stewart (1890); Phoenix (1890); Pierre (1891); and Flandreau (1893), which have the longest track record for operating (Adams, 1995; Szasz, 1999).

agricultural and industrial labor while learning domestic skills (Child, 1998; Miller, 1996; Paxton, 2006). Residential schools permanently altered Indigenous children's appearances as a means for segregating them from their families, communities, and cultural identities. Many scholars have quoted Zitaka-Sa's famous narrative of having her hair cut:

I remember being dragged out, though I resisted by kicking and scratching wildly. In spite of myself, I was carried downstairs and tied fast in a chair. I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while, until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit. (Coleman, 1993, p. 82)

Zitaka-Sa's narrative speaks to the spiritual significance of hair to Indigenous identity. The cutting of hair in the context of Ute/Paiute culture signifies the passing of a close relative, whereby the act of cutting an excessive amount of one's hair during mourning is a sign of respect for the deceased. American RS literature details practices of altering Indigenous boys and girls' hair radically, and removing all traditional regalia (Adams, 1995; Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Carlisle became notorious for supporting Pratt's slogan "Kill the Indian, Save the Man/Child," referring to the destruction of the Indigenous identity to create the superiorly-perceived American version. Pratt believed that an Indigenous child was a blank slate:

It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is a born blank, like the rest of us. . . . Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit. (Pratt, 1892, p. 56)

Pratt's aim was to save the child from their Indigenous "savagery." Reyhner and Eder (2004) stated that his "goal was first to break down the students' fear through love and second to get students to 'long' for civilization . . . [by] having the experience of joining the white community" (p. 143). Pratt's ultimate goal was to convince Indigenous peoples that a civilized life in American society was beneficial. This "outing system" was believed to be effective in enhancing the social and linguistic skills of Indigenous children, who received language instruction during the summer months, as well as training in various domestic and industrial skills and practices (Churchill, 2004, Huckins, 1995). Pratt proposed a policy mandating that all young Indigenous children be transported far from their homes in order to facilitate their assimilation (Smith, 2003). Indigenous children would spend their formative years at Carlisle from the fall to spring, and during the summer months, they would work for settlers' families to hone domestic and industrial skills. After high school graduation, they would be allowed to return to their respective homes, in hopes that they would pass along the learned knowledge and culture to their wider community. Carlisle has been portrayed as a key figure for educational policy due to his success in providing children with useful skills and knowledge (Huckins, 1995), and this idea was supported by the 1887 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

[I]n placing out for a series of months among the families of farmers in the part of Pennsylvania, boys and girls who have had a year or so of training at Carlisle . . . can make the most [of] advantages thus afforded them for learning practical farming, the use of tools, and housekeeping. (as cited in Reyhner & Eder, 2004, p. 139)

As mentioned previously, the approach was grounded in the need to teach sedentary agriculture, manual labor, and housekeeping skills, which were considered an effective way to promote an American colonial style civilization. Hiram Price, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, acknowl-

edged the reports on Carlisle and Hampton,³⁵ deeming this structured program a great success. He advocated for these systems to be continued and expanded (Huckins, 1995). Another example for the support this type of educational system came from the 1889 Superintendent of Indians schools, Daniel Dorchester: “The tailoring, harness-marking, carriage-making, farming, printing, etc., by the boys, and the making of garments, mending, cooking, laundry, work, etc. by the girls, showed that they are rapidly acquiring knowledge and facility in these useful industries” (p. 316). These European skills were foreign to most Indigenous peoples because their societies had not been exposed to European technologies or these types of daily tasks.

Indigenous peoples had traditional techniques for farming, cooking, and working, which were not only highly effective but also served to maintain their societies and cultures. As foreign as these European activities were their re-education became law in 1893 and pushed aside Indigenous peoples’ skills. The goal was for Indigenous peoples to become productive members of American society so congress enforced various federal laws and policies that would allow the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to control and monitor the attendance of larger Indigenous communities (Coleman, 1993). Marr (2004) affirmed that Indian agents on reservations enforced federal regulations to send children to RS by withholding rations and annuities or sending parents to jail (as cited in Bowker, K., 2007, p. 5).

In 1887, Henry L. Dawes, Massachusetts’ senator and chair of the Senate’s Committee on Indian Affairs, introduced the Dawes Act (General Allotment)³⁶, which forced Indigenous peoples to accept Euro-American life and culture (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). While Indigenous children were segregated to RS, the reserves were being divided, and the provisions of the act forced Indigenous peoples to use their land “productively” for farming and grazing (Adams,

³⁵The Hampton National and Industrial Institute was established to allow teaching African American freedmen trades, such as farming, carpentry, harness-making, printing, and blacksmithing.

³⁶The Dawes Act also established the Indian Rolls tied to blood quantum to establish who is a federally recognized “Indian” by these standards. Not every tribe in the US was subject to the Dawes Act and Dawes Rolls.

1995; Huckins, 1995). In addition, the Dawes Act opened the reserves to white settlers, allowing Congress to appropriate the sales of “surplus” reserve lands (Adams, 1995; Huckins, 1995; Szasz, 1999). These two institutional methods for “assimilating” and “civilizing” Indigenous peoples were effective from the settlers’ perspective, but for children who had been separated from their families and homelands, life would never be the same after their return upon graduation. Traditional educational systems were obliterated due to the stripping of Indigenous identity, forcing abandonment of practices and lifestyles, and severing relationships with others and their territories. Indigenous youth were being forced to change every aspect of their life as a prerequisite for acquiring a Euro-American education and new worldviews.

2.7.7 Life in post-1812 Canada

The relationship between Indigenous peoples and the British colonies changed drastically in the 1830s. Indigenous peoples were viewed as a nuisance and an obstacle to the advancement of the state. As the US no longer posed a military threat, a military alliance with Indigenous peoples was not needed, and their value diminished as the British colonies shifted focus on developing their settlements. As a result, these governments began assimilation processes as a necessary means of gaining access to lands and resources, as well as overcoming the “Indian problem” (Churchill, 2004; Dickason & Long, 2011). Indigenous policy during this time transitioned from an alliance to a unilateral initiative aimed at “civilizing” Indigenous peoples through education by formally establishing residential schools (White & Peters, 2009). The state and various religious denominations engaged in collaborative efforts to “civilize” Indigenous peoples through institutionalized education. In 1830, Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for War, said that it was a mistake to base policy on the need to cultivate friendship with Indians for military purposes, preferring a “settled purpose of gradually reclaiming them from

a state of barbarism, and of introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habit of civilized life” (as cited in Miller, 1996, p. 74). Formal educational partnerships were established with the Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, United and Presbyterian Church to assimilate Indigenous peoples in off-reserve RS (Hare, 2011). Members of these religious denominations oversaw the daily activities, while the federal governments provided necessary funding.

Several years later, the federal government released the Bagot Commission report in 1842 and the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857, which allowed the government to fund schools to teach English, European culture, and religion. The Gradual Civilization Act of 1857 formalized the process of creating reserves. Governor Sir Charles Bagot developed the Bagot Commission Report after a two-year review of reserve conditions. This report concluded that off-reserve schooling would provide boys training in husbandry, agriculture, and mechanical trades, while girls could be trained in domestic arts and science, dairying, needlework, and cooking (Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Paxton, 2006). As a result, the Bagot Commission Report established a framework for manual labor, along with Christian training; to help Indigenous peoples gain skills to survive in the White man’s world (White & Peters, 2009). This approach mirrors the one adopted in the US in the same period.

As Hudson-Rudd (1998) pointed out, the reserve system was established in 1857, prior to the Canadian Confederation in 1867, whereby reserves were to serve as a location where Indigenous peoples could be trained to live like Europeans. Through amendments to the Gradual Civilization Act, the reserve became the place to educate and Christianize Indigenous peoples, with the goal of transforming them into farmers ready to leave their “uncivilized” ways (Hudson-Rudd, 1998). The Bagot Commission Report and the Gradual Civilization Act provided evidence supporting the notion that Indigenous peoples were being “assimilated” and “civilized” into the dominant society as a means to emphasize their inferiority and make them subservient to the colonizers. The reserve creation policies worked in tandem with the RS

system and provided an auxiliary mechanism for the government to diminish the capacities of Indigenous populations to pursue their own sovereignty and cultural development. Their traditional beliefs, knowledge systems, and understandings were being replaced by Christian Eurocentric approaches to life.

Chrisjohn et al. (2006) emphasized that these pre-confederation initiatives led to the production of various institutions for “reducing” Indigenous populations. The establishment of these provisions is reflected in Prime Minister Mackenzie’s 1874 actions aimed at removing Indigenous children from their families and communities and placing them in RS for assimilation (Hare, 2011). As stated by the Law Commission of Canada, the schools sought:

to re-socialize people by instilling them with new roles, skills or values. Such institutions break down the barriers that ordinarily separate three spheres of life: work, play and sleep. Once a child enters, willingly or not, almost every aspect of his or her life is determined and controlled by the institutions. (as cited in Llewellyn, 2002, p. 257)

Indigenous children received religious instruction, as a part of which they had to recite daily prayers, memorize gospel scriptures, and attend church (TRC, 2015a). Alongside the expansion of RS, the Indian Act of 1876 was enacted, making Indigenous peoples of Canada “wards of the state.” This legislation governed almost every aspect of their lives. In addition, an Indian Act amendment in 1894 authorized the cabinet to “make regulations, which shall have the force of law, for the commitment by justices or Indian agents of children of Indian blood under age of 16 to an industrial or boarding school [residential schools]” (Churchill, 2004, p. 17). Prior to this amendment, Sir John A. MacDonald (who defeated Mackenzie) appointed Nicholas Flood Davin, a journalist and politician, to carry out an investigation of the RS sys-

tem in the US. The goal of this assessment was to ascertain whether the same model could be implemented in Canada (Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Woolford, Benvenuto & Hinton, 2014). Davin's (1879) *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-breeds* pushed for young Indigenous children to attend RS because they needed to "be kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions" in order these schools to be efficient and economic (p. 12). Davin regarded American RS as successful in their "aggressive civilization" approach; however, he found a mixture of church and government controlled institutions a rather odd way to provide education (Miller, 1996). Both church-managed and federally-funded and controlled institutions existed. Although Davin's recommendations were considered, the federal government preferred to entrust Indigenous education to churches (White & Peters, 2009). In line with the US model, Canadian residential schooling continued to incorporate the teaching of industrial and domestic skills. For example, in 1888, Edgar Dewdney, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, stated:

the most essential lever for the elevation of the race would be the adoption of a policy of imparting to the young a thorough practical knowledge of the mechanical arts and of agriculture, as well as of other employments, including a systematic method of ordering and managing their domestic affairs—in short, a complete training in industries and in domestic economy. (as cited in Enns, 2009, p. 108)

The emphasis on teaching skills considered useful to a Euro-Canadian society ensured that RS remained the primary mechanism for "assimilating" and "civilizing" Indigenous peoples. In addition, children were also required to change their outward appearance drastically through their dress and grooming; their hair was cut to "respectable" lengths for girls and boys and they were forbidden to speak their Indigenous language (Hale, 2002; Hare, 2011).

2.7.8 Similarities and Differences from 1830–1880s among the two settler states

Off-reserve residential schools in the US and Canada grew rapidly in the late 1880s. These institutions had missionary influence, which was believed to facilitate the “assimilation” and “civilization” of Indigenous peoples by separating children from their families and communities, and sending them to a RS where they were prepared for agricultural and industrial work or domestic duties. Their subordination to the “civilized” society was further reinforced by severely altering their physical appearance to fit the Eurocentric model while forbidding them to speak their Indigenous language. In addition, both countries enforced their Eurocentric hegemonic beliefs and values of what being “productive” members of society meant. Szasz (1999) stated that Pratt’s goal for Indigenous education was to convince the public that the “Indian” was educable. The analyses pertaining to this period also revealed that legislation was used to solidify “assimilating” and “civilizing” Indigenous children and adults into the dominant society. It is clear that while the US took a more militaristic approach, both colonial powers shifted from military and trade partnerships between Indigenous peoples and settlers, to aggressive assimilation and Indigenous land acquisition once their interests shifted.

2.7.9 Phase 4: 1890–1930: Assimilation and residential schools

During this phase, RS became one of the key means for subordination of Indigenous peoples because of the priority to establish the settler state. The need to acquire land from Indigenous territories grew and was further reinforced by various policies. For example, in 1891, the US implemented a policy to “make and enforce . . . such rules and regulations as will ensure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools . . .” (as cited in

Churchill, 2004, p. 16). This endorsement came 12 years after the opening of Carlisle. Coleman (1993) stated that the beginning of the 1900s was marked by the development of mega residential schools to educate the Indian. At the time, 25 off-reservation boarding schools were in operation, serving over 6,000 Indigenous students. In 1893, American Indian Education was established as law, which allowed Indian agents to force RS attendance by withholding rations and annuities, or imprisoning parents, and in some instances, the US Cavalry was used to enforce RS compliance (TRC, 2015a).

As the number and size of residential schools increased, disease and overcrowding became prevalent. In 1899, Carlisle was occupied at roughly 114% of its intended capacity. The overcrowded conditions contributed to high incidences of disease from poor hygiene and ineffective disposal of waste; in some cases this led to death among students (Adams, 1995; Cate, 1993). Yet, despite these appalling conditions, Congress continued building off-reserve RS, since they were the most effective and highly aggressive strategies for stripping away Indigenous children's heritage (Adams, 1995). Two years later, legislators authorized the Bureau of Indian Affairs to "withhold rations, clothing, and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refused or neglected to send and keep their children" in RS (as cited in Churchill, 2004, p. 16). These mandatory federal requirements aggressively fostered the ideology that Indigenous peoples needed to be civilized and assimilated to fit into the dominant Euro-American society.

However, this was a time of change. Carlisle closed its doors in 1918 due to claims that the industrial skills taught had limited utility for graduates returning to their reservation. Indeed, many started to see that Pratt's assimilation methods were outdated (Cate, 1993). Despite Carlisle's closing, various off-reservation RS remained operational and utilized similar outing programs. They continued to teach farming, manual labor and industrial, and domestic skills to Indigenous children.

In 1928, the Meriam Report, also known as *the Problem with Indian Administration* was released detailing the detrimental effects of residential schools on Indigenous children. The study on which the report was based was conducted by Dr. Louis Meriam of the University of Chicago and yielded two major findings: (1) Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs, and (2) the health and education services Indians were receiving were of poor quality. The report emphasized that RS had meager food budgets (11 cents per child, per day), the facilities were overcrowded, health care was inadequate, and children were malnourished and overworked, all of which contributed to the spread of diseases (Meriam et al., 1928). The *Brown Quarterly* (2001) found that “over 100 children were buried at Haskell Institute in Kansas between 1885 and 1913 and highlighted how Indigenous peoples had a higher death rate, six and one half times that of other racial and ethnic groups” (as cited in Bowker, 2004, p. 25). The study authors advocated for abolishing RS and utilizing public schools.

The Indigenous educational policy in Canada was created to provide support for the continuation of the RS system as a means of addressing the “Indian problem, which contradicted the Meriam Report.” Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs (1913-1932), stated in his 1920 speech:

I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that the country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politics and there is no Indian questions, and no Indian department, that is the whole object . . . (McGillivray, 1997, p. 143, as cited in Miller, 2004, p. 35)

The US government became increasingly critical of the RS system and its malpractices. At

the time of the Meriam Report was released in the US, the RS system was uncompromisingly endorsed in Canada. By 1920, RS attendance³⁷ became compulsory for Indigenous children aged 7 – 15, and by 1931, over 80 residential schools were operating across the country (Miller, 1996). Milloy (1999) stated that the curriculum for Indigenous children at this time consisted of a “good English education with the skills of agricultural life or other industries that were suitable to fit the children’s local requirements; in addition, they were provided training in the moral and civic codes of civilized life” (pp. 73-74). The emphasis placed on moral and civic codes, coupled with mandatory RS attendance, illustrated that the Canadian federal government was willing to exert its power to force Indigenous peoples to send their children to these schools. As Indian agents enforced attendance policies, Indigenous people had to comply. Miller (2000) pointed out “the Department of Indian Affairs in 1906 could withhold annuities if Indigenous children did not attend schools” (p. 169). In addition, the 1901 Census indicated that the number of Indigenous peoples in Canada was at the minimum, estimated at about 106,000, equivalent to 2 – 8% of the population that existed at first contact. While in most cases such punitive measures were effective, some parents resisted by hiding their children, with some evidence of children running away to avoid being forcibly sent to residential schools (TRC, 2015b).

The Canadian government was intent on fulfilling its goal that Indigenous peoples would become productive members of society. Milloy (1999) points out that in 1910, Duncan Campbell Scott stressed, “without education and with neglect, the Indians would produce an undesirable and often dangerous element in society” (p. 33). But how could Indigenous people be considered dangerous or a threat to the dominant society when their population was in decline? The Department of Indian Affairs promoted Indigenous education as a means to “to develop the great natural intelligence of the race and to fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment” (Miller, 2000, p. 140). The Department of Indian Affairs further emphasized that they

³⁷Some Indigenous children attended day schools in their community.

alone had the means to develop Indigenous intelligence, which prompts the question “Did the Indigenous person not have intelligence already?” This reasoning further demonstrates the opposing attitudes that Indigenous peoples and the colonial state had toward learning and socialization, which eventually led to the dismissal of Indigenous learning by the Euro-Canadians. Duncan Campbell Scott saw Western formal education as a focal point for policy, stating “the happiest future for the Indian race is absorption into the general populations The great forces of intermarriage and education will finally overcome the lingering traces of [Indigenous] custom and tradition” (Germain & Dyck, 2011, p. 6). It is clear that the federal government felt that forcing RS education would help absorb Indigenous children into the Canadian society through education and then intermarriage. Scott felt that these would erase Indigenous peoples customs and traditions, and gradually replaced them with Euro-Canadian values.

While the goal of RS was to breed out Indigenous values, students suffered major health issues along with this loss of cultural values. The health outcomes of RS students in both Canada and the US were very similar. For example, tuberculosis was one of the main killers of RS students at Kuper Island Indian Industrial School in Canada. In a departmental survey conducted in 1939 on the instructions from the government, Kelm (1998) “estimated that 5% of all residential students were suffering from active tuberculosis and the next year 70% of all children tested positive for the disease” (p. 66). The rapid rise of tuberculosis incidences at this RS was atrocious; yet, similar adverse health outcomes occurred throughout RS in the country. Indigenous children were more susceptible to diseases at RS because of inadequate nutrition and poor living accommodations. In fact, overcrowding was the major factor in the spread of disease. Each school had a maximum student capacity set by the Department of Indian Affairs based upon the calculated air space of the facilities. Kelm (1998) stated that each pupil was given “an estimation of 500 cubic feet of air” (p. 70). However, the per capita granting system encouraged school officials to accept as many students as possible to increase funding.

Assimilation and civilizing Indigenous children into the Canadian society was the priority of educational initiatives. As enrollment was closely linked to funding, this resulted in overcrowding, limiting the potential for providing sufficient food, adequate accommodations, and appropriate health care. While the provided funding was meant to ensure a safe and clean environment, it was impossible. The monetary means were utilized to carry out the mission of homogenizing as many Indigenous children as was feasible into a new lifestyle, and the pursuit to maintain RS on limited budgets led to horrendous health conditions for Indigenous children because their lives were bound by fiscal dollars. Treaties also laid the foundation for RS to be incorporated. For example, Treaties 1, 2, and 3 between the Dominion and Indigenous peoples contained provisions for education; however, they did not specify the assimilation policies that would be enforced in the education of Indigenous peoples (NAHO, 2007). Indigenous peoples viewed the signing of these treaties as entering into a mutual relationship with the government (see Phase 1). Yet, the educational provisions lacked transparency, which was both dishonest and disrespectful to Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples who signed the three treaties were unaware of the dire consequences that this would have for their future.

2.7.10 Major lessons from 1890–1930

The growing RS system in Canada and the US resulted in the establishment of new schools, becoming central to the development strategy of the settler regimes. Formal education remained the main instrument for acculturating Indigenous youth into mainstream societies. Residential schools were instruments used to promote the dominant society's non-transparent goals; their aims were not necessarily hidden but rather the implementation was through unobvious processes. Individuals directly involved with RS were impacted directly by these initiatives, and thus, so were their entire communities.

The federal mandates that enforced these educational strategies in both countries depict an aggressive approach to compel Indigenous attendance at RS. The underlying attitude was based on racism and this system was explicitly racist in character, treating Indigenous peoples as culturally and intellectually inferior. In both countries, Indigenous families were coerced into sending their children away; otherwise they would suffer consequences such as imprisonment or the cancellation of food rations. As reflected in the previous section, ample empirical evidence confirms that RS served as agents of social control. This emphasized how both federal governments took an active stance in forced assimilation. According to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, the number of residential schools increased in both Canada and the US during this period, and the underlying philosophy in both countries was very similar (Smith, 2009). The devastation created by forcibly sending Indigenous children to these facilities was similar in both countries, and included the cultural destruction and highly increased morbidity and mortality rates for Indigenous students. Duncan Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian affairs, “conceded that about half the children that attended boarding institutions did not live to benefit from their education” (White & Peters, 2009, p. 17, as cited in Miller, 1996, p. 133).

2.8 Examination of residential schools after 1934

This was a period of massive political and social change particularly for Indigenous education. After World War II, both the US and Canada began eliminating the RS system due to growing discontent among Indigenous peoples who started openly voicing their dissatisfaction with the schools’ conditions and the education that it provided. Federal reports, such as the Meriam Report, publicized these schools’ deficiencies.

2.8.1 United States

In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA)³⁸ was created, intending to put forth the following: economic rehabilitation, whereby Indigenous Nations would manage their own affairs; provision of civil and cultural freedom; and a return to the bilateralism of US-Indian associations in relation to the treaty-making period through economic and political reorganization, under the model of the dominant society's definition of democracy (Clemmer, 1986). The IRA individualized Indigenous Nations because they were seen as distinct entities that should be allowed to handle their own affairs; it also benefited Indigenous Nations because they were given the opportunity to hold positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Indigenous peoples were encouraged to attend vocational schools and colleges, while promoting a shift from off-reserve RS to on-reserve day schools. Bowker (1993) stated that, while Indigenous communities were encouraged to develop day schools, public school attendance for Indian children was also encouraged.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM)³⁹ was passed that same year to provide reimbursements to

³⁸Not all tribes in the United States were subject to the Indian Reorganization Act. Indigenous Nations had the opportunity to accept or reject the terms of becoming an IRA tribe, whereby they would develop their own constitution for their communities to describe their territory, citizenship eligibility, and government, bearing the approval of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. There are 562 federally recognized Indigenous Nations in the US, 60% of which are based on IRA constitutions according to the National Congress of American Indians. The IRA made Indigenous Nations successful, as it allowed them to exert self-determination; however, the IRA prevents Indigenous Nations from coming together to oppose federal provisions that can hinder the prosperity of their communities. Some federal provisions may affect some Indigenous Nations more than others; however, if Indigenous Nations are focused on their own needs, which is necessary because they should devote their efforts to their citizens, this can also lead to ignoring or creating situations where resisting federal provisions could have more drastic impacts for other Indigenous Nations due to the inability to collectively unite as a federal act, such as the Indian Act of Canada. The IRA severed Indigenous Nations. For example, the Idle No More movement brought together federally-recognized Indigenous Nations, Indigenous Peoples, and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada and around the world to protest Parliament's bills that would deteriorate Indigenous sovereignty and environmental protections. As an Indigenous woman whose family background can be traced back to the US territory, it was amazing to witness and be part of this movement because this type of movement would be difficult to initiate and maintain in the US. My opinion is that the IRA contributed to the division of the Indigenous Nations in the US, and while many protest to raise awareness for Indigenous concerns and issues, it is difficult to gain nationwide momentum.

³⁹The aim of the Johnson-O'Malley Act was to implement special programs for Indian students through the

states that educated Indigenous students in public schools. RS attendance was in decline as Indigenous integration into US public schools grew and tribal-controlled education started to emerge. Szasz (1999) stated that the period between “1930 and 1970 witnessed the greatest increase in public school enrollment in the history” (p. 89). The JOM legislation legalized state contracts authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with any state or territory granting education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare to Indigenous children (Szasz, 1999). These federal funds allowed Indigenous education across public schools, while also accrediting some on-reserves high schools. As a result, this “carved out spaces for Indian-ness,” whereby the schools were permitted to teach Indigenous arts, geography, history, and experiences as an integral part of coursework (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006, p. 73). Indigenous Nations could influence how their communities and children would be educated in Western systems, for the first time since settler contact.

Although Indigenous Nations in the US were successful in indigenizing their schools and producing Indigenous curriculum, an assimilative initiative still persisted in terms of US policies aimed at relinquishing their fiduciary responsibilities toward Indigenous Nations. Congress started using specific language for terminating the status of Indigenous peoples as governmental wards. For example, in 1953, Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108. As stated by Senator Arthur Watkins (Utah), spokesperson for Resolution “As rapidly as possible, we should end the status of Indians as wards of the government and grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship” to end the federal responsibility to Indigenous Nations (Torres, 1998, p. 39). In addition, the federal government implemented another policy, aimed at relocating Indigenous peoples to urban cities, such as San Francisco and Chicago, and away from the reservations (Fixico, 1986). Despite the high rates of public school enrollment, the US government was still failing Indigenous children. *The Indian Education: A National Tragedy*, also known as the Kennedy Report of 1969, conveyed:

public school system.

The dominant policy of the federal government toward [Indigenous peoples] has been one of coercive assimilation . . . resulting in . . . the destruction and disorganization of [Indigenous] communities and individuals. The coercive assimilation policy has had disastrous effects on the education of [Indigenous] children . . . a dismal record of absenteeism, dropouts, negative self-image, low achievement, and ultimately, academic failure for many [Indigenous] children; a perpetuation of the cycle of poverty which undermines the success of all federal programs. (Dominick et al., 1969, p. 28)

The Kennedy Report called for the improvement of Indigenous education. In 1972, Congress passed the Indian Education Act to establish a comprehensive approach recognizing the unique educational and cultural needs of Indigenous students, such as language and culture (Bowker, 2007; Szasz, 1999). According to Szasz (1999), the recommendations made in the earlier Meriam Report (1928), calling for incorporation of Indigenous languages and cultural programs into school curriculum, were finally fulfilled through changes arising from the Kennedy Report. This as an important watershed moment, as Indigenous peoples finally obtained the right to determine the education of their own children. Evidence of this change is seen in the dramatic growth of Indigenous-operated schools from the 1970s to 1990s (Tippeconnic, 1999).

2.8.2 Canada

After World War II, the Canadian government also began eliminating residential schools. The 1940s represented a shift toward state-church autonomy when the federal government started phasing out the partnerships between churches and Indigenous education. For example, The Joint Senate and House Committee (1946) review of Indian Affairs, in preparation for amend-

ing the Indian Act, found 400 briefs from Indian bands, organizations, other groups, and individuals calling for the reduction or elimination of RS. The Joint Committee recommended that “departmental efforts and resources [be] redirected from the residential system and devoted to a new policy – the creation of a day-school system and, more significantly, to integration by transferring Indian children to provincial schools, and federal schools to provincial administrative school units” (as cited in Milloy, 1999, pp. 189-190). The Canadian government felt that integration was the rational approach and slowly phased out the RS system. However, RS utilization peaked in 1931, when over 80 schools were operating in the country (Smith, 2009). As reported by the TRC (2015b), the churches were reluctant to give up their agency to educate Indigenous children. This issue took decades to resolve; and Indian Affairs stopped reporting on RS enrollment after 1965. The recommendations for change were enacted, albeit very slowly, and finally resulted in the closure of residential schools.

During the early 1950s, Indigenous children started attending public schools alongside non-Indigenous children (Dickason & Long, 2011; Germain & Dyck, 2011). Frieson and Friesen (2002) stated that the Canadian government’s articulated goal was to integrate Indigenous children into the provincial school system; however, this action was yet another assimilation strategy. Milloy (1996) pointed out that the government was of the view that integrated education would “prepare [Indigenous] children to take their place as citizens” (p. 195), and this was symbolically shown in 1950 when the Indian Affairs Branch became part of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. In the previous phases, RS trained Indigenous children for manual labor or domestic employment, allowing them to be absorbed into Canadian society. Again, the federal government implemented citizenship school curriculum that targeted Indigenous children in a subtle way to foster Canadian values.

There have been multiple attempts to integrate Indigenous peoples into the Canadian society and motivate them to embrace citizenship qualities of the nation state. The 1969 White Paper

formally known as the “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy” was published as the federal government’s attempt to advocate for a policy to strip Indigenous peoples’ legal status and promote the Canadian lifestyle. The White Paper sought to abolish previously established legal documents, such as the Indian Act and treaties pertaining to Indigenous peoples as a formal legislation to assimilate them into the Canadian nationhood. It also attempted to extinguish Indigenous peoples’ unique status and erase the legacy of colonization by simply stating, *although you are not equal, and we now make you equal*. Pierre Trudeau, who released the White Paper, argued for the termination of the Indian Act so Indigenous communities would achieve integration into provincial services by ending treaty obligations (Milloy, 1999). Indigenous leadership rejected the White Paper, as it, in their view, “ignored virtually everything that [Indigenous peoples] had been telling the government about Treaty and Aboriginal rights” (TRC, 2015c, p. 14). As described earlier, Indigenous peoples and the successive Euro-Canadian governments had entered into mutual relationships, as outlined in treaties and the Two Row Wampum.

Indigenous leaders objected to the content of the White Paper, as it merely stated that Indigenous Nations were not colonized, without providing any provisions for sovereignty or resources to sustain self-government. Indigenous leaders in Alberta responded with the Red Paper in 1969, in which they stated that the White Paper was a governmental threat aimed at abolishing treaty law (National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2009; Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal People, 2011). The Red Paper emphasized Indigenous peoples’ political and legal right to self-determination and control over their education. It further stipulated that funds should be provided to Indigenous Councils for school operations at locations of their choice, as well as for entering into contracts with public schools that would provide education for their children where no Indigenous schools were established (Dickason & Long, 2011; TRC, 2015c). As a result, the changes that took place in the 1970s and 1980s represent a gradual shift toward greater Indigenous control over their education and other aspects of their

lives. During this period, the federal government began transferring administrative responsibility for on-reserve schools to Indigenous communities, while Indigenous peoples organized to take control of RS and initiate their closures (Report of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, 2011; TRC, 2015c). The last RS closed in 1996, which ironically was the year the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) report was published.

2.8.3 Major developments and lessons after 1934

As Indigenous children in Canada and the US became integrated into public schools in increasing numbers, the status of residential schools gradually eroded. Both Indigenous leadership and federal policies addressed the inadequacy of the RS system and advocated for Indigenous-controlled education. Indigenous peoples reminded their federal governments of the need to respect and honor their socio-political relationship and treaty rights. The governments of the US and Canada attempted to terminate the federal status of Indigenous peoples as laid out in various federal policies, but Indigenous peoples fought against this. Both Canadian and American governments sought to renounce the federal status of Indigenous populations to assimilate and integrate them into their nations. Perhaps, this was an effort to cease their political and federal responsibilities to Indigenous populations and eliminate the “Indian problem.” On the other hand, the federal governments recognized that the conditions in RS resulted in poor health outcomes for Indigenous students. Various reports were issued, condemning the unhealthy conditions and calling for solutions that would help enhance Indigenous education and improve the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples. This period marks an important milestone on the road to self-determination for Indigenous education.

2.9 The Outcomes of Residential Schools

Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US endured and persevered through various assimilation policies targeting their cultural extinction. The RS system that has been responsible for most of the suffering that the Indigenous population endured was examined through distinct historical phases, along with a detailed list of policies and their implications. Numerous academic scholars and authors of reports on the RS conditions in both countries emphasized that their development failed Indigenous children and led to the breakdown of families and communities (Churchill, 2004; Meriam, 1928; Miller, 1996; RCAP, 1996; TRC, 2015b). The legacy of colonization and the RS system were the key elements responsible for the appalling conditions that Indigenous people had to undergo during this period and beyond. They created long lasting complications such as mental health issues, poor physical health, addiction, and trauma (Adelson, 2005; Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2009; Frohlich, Ross, & Richmond, 2007; Gone, 2013). The overarching mission of the RS system was to “civilize” Indigenous children by annihilating their culture, their traditional education and knowledge systems, and their languages. Nominally, this assimilationist plan was to create “productive citizens,” yet it was driven by the desire to remove any impediments to colonial expansion. Educating Indigenous peoples was a viable strategy, both financially and practically, because in 1870 both countries were spending millions on wars. For example, Canada spent \$19 million to maintain peace along the frontier, while the US spent more than \$20 million on the Indian Wars (TRC, 2015a). Residential schools thus became an effective means to solve to the “Indian problem” since military action and extermination would be too costly, given that both countries were in the process of establishing their nationhood.

Even though both settler states utilized two different funding and administrative avenues for their RS system, Indigenous children experienced similar patterns of cultural loss, cultural per-

sistence, brutal punishments, and varying degrees of physical care quality, ranging from fair to poor. Yet, the federal governments of Canada and the US were determined to eradicate the “Indian” from these children. Those attending RS in Canada and the US experienced direct and indirect physical, psychological, and sexual abuse while being forced to learn and live a Eurocentric culture. During the late 1980s, RS Survivors in Canada began sharing their experiences and the issues stemming from their forced RS attendance, creating national attention. RS Survivors also sought to educate Canadians about the history of these institutions. Unfortunately, the impact of the RS system in the US has not received the level of national attention necessary to educate the broader American population, as was done in Canada.

Phil Fontaine, former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, spoke publicly of his experiences of abuses at RS. His leadership was instrumental in successfully negotiating the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement in 1990 (The Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs [AMC], 2012). His actions prompted many RS Survivors to share their experiences, in order to educate the Canadian public and help others with the healing process. RS Survivors publicized the atrocities Indigenous children suffered leading to the creation of the Indian Residential School Settlement (IRSS) in 2006 (Frideres, 2011; Mahoney, 2014; Miller, 2000; Milloy, 1999). Indigenous peoples actively brought about awareness of the appalling conditions and mistreatment that children had to endure in RS. RS Survivors spoke about their experiences during the hearings at the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP).

RCAP was established in 1991 to investigate and help restore the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada, as well as to focus public attention on the RS history and legacy (AADNC, 2016; TRC, 2015a). As a part of the RCAP’s final report, the following three findings were shared: (1) the greatest damage was committed by residential schools, (2) the assimilation policy was a failure, (3) and there is a need for a new relationship to develop in order to facilitate a reconciliation process between Indigenous and non-Indigenous

peoples (AADNC, 2016; TRC, 2015b). The IRSS was the largest class-action lawsuit filed in Canadian history, even though it resulted in very few prosecutions (Moran & Roach, 2014). This led to former Prime Minister, Stephen Harper's formal apology in 2008.

As described in section 2.1, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada is a component of the IRSS Agreement and it was set up after the Harper apology. The TRC's mandate was to examine and document Indigenous peoples' RS experiences, in order to bring awareness of their suffering, and to create a public record of the RS legacy. The TRC's efforts helped initiate and build upon the reconciliation process between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Thousands of survivors and their relatives filed a class-action lawsuit against Canadian churches and the federal government due to the abuse (Frideres, 2011; Smith, 2009). Frideres (2011) stated that, by 1998, the number of legal claims against the Canadian federal government and the churches was increasing. The Canadian government allotted two billion dollars in 2007 under the IRSS Agreement as a resolution to the lawsuit for a single payment to all survivors. To date, approximately 38,000 survivors have claimed compensation for sexual and serious physical abuse (Hanson, 2016).

The Harper government decided to offer compensation payments only to the individuals who suffered sexual or physical abuse. Survivors were only eligible for the settlement if they attended a federally funded school, resulting in unresolved issues for survivors who attended schools funded directly by churches (TRC, 2015b). While this result is far from perfect, at least some Indigenous individuals who suffered under the Canadian RS system received a form of compensation. In the US, however, there is little talk of legal action for RS abuses due to lack of documentation, the conservative nature of the US Supreme Court, and the statute of limitations. In addition, the number of younger survivors in the US is comparatively small, and it is difficult to find individuals willing to speak publicly about their experiences (Smith, 2009). Currently, the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) is working with the Native Amer-

ican Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS⁴⁰ and Indigenous Nations to create a space for healing, allowing those that have suffered due to American RS policy to find some form of closure. They are also calling upon the federal government to be involved in the reconciliation process. They hope to create a group similar to the Canadian TRC. NARF and NABS's initiatives are expanding and are rapidly gaining momentum. NABS's press release in December 2015 indicated that they are "pressuring the United States government to acknowledge responsibility for the creation and implementation of the culturally genocidal policy of the American Indian Boarding School System" (NABS, 2015, p. X). Alongside the various levels of legal and political actions, Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US have initiated methods and developed their own healing processes, forming the Aboriginal Healing Foundation in Canada⁴¹ and the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS) in the US.

2.9.1 Apologies and acknowledgement of wrongdoing by sharing truths

In modern history there have been several attempts by the Canadian and American governments to acknowledge past harms inflicted upon Indigenous populations. It is also noteworthy that former Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologized in 2008, and in 2009, former President Barack Obama issued apologies for the assimilation of Indigenous peoples by the RS system. While their apologies were welcome, they also highlighted striking differences between the two governments. Harper made a formal public apology in 2008 stating, "The government now

⁴⁰NABS was established in 2012 as a non-profit corporation and receives legal consultation by NARF lawyers. The coalition grew out of a symposium held in 2011 that centered on the federal Indian Boarding School policies. The symposium was co-sponsored by NARF, the Universities of Colorado and Wyoming Law Schools, and the Boarding School Healing Project.

⁴¹The Aboriginal Healing Foundation was applauded for its work over the 16 years for supporting local and national healing centres and movements. The Conservative government of Stephen Harper cut the foundation's funding and forced them to cease operation in 2014. They also urged local initiatives to continue their healing work to address the intergenerational effects of RS abuses. See <http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/september-29-2014-press-release.pdf> for more information.

[recognizes] that the consequences of the Indian residential schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on [Indigenous] culture, heritage and language” (CBC Digital Archives, video file, 2008).

Even though a public apology is symbolic, as mentioned by Frideres (2011), Harper and leaders of various Canadian churches were cautious to ensure that the wording of the apology did not pose a risk of any additional legal liability for further court action. In addition, Llewellyn (2002) called attention to the apology as being somewhat of a two-faced position, since churches and the government acknowledged and apologized for their actions outside of court, but denied responsibility and liability while in court.

In the US, the White Bison and the Well-breity Movement petitioned for an apology on behalf of the US, asking President Obama to apologize for historical wrongdoings against Indigenous peoples, such as the maltreatment of Indigenous children in RS and the events leading to intergenerational trauma. As a result, President Obama signed the apology into law, as noted in Section 8113 of H.R. 3326 that the US, acting through Congress:

1. Recognizes that there have been years of official depredations, ill-conceived policies, and the breaking of covenants by the federal government regarding Indian tribes;
2. Apologizes on behalf of the people of the United States to all Native Peoples for the many instances of violence, maltreatment, and neglect inflicted upon [Indigenous peoples] by [US citizens];
3. Urges the President to acknowledge the wrongs; and
4. Commends state governments of the United States against Indian tribes in the history of the United States in order to bring healing to this land. (Murtha, 2009)

Interestingly though, the apology that American Indigenous populations received is hidden in the Department of Defense Appropriations Act. Unfortunately, this tactic has been adopted and frequently used in the US, especially in cases where a president believes that Congress would oppose. Therefore, this apology was not given public recognition or any publicity when it was signed into law, and most people are unaware it even exists or how to even find it. Audra Simpson (2011) questioned the silence of Obama's apology stating that it represents another form of historical violence against Indigenous peoples. Despite social media influence, movements, and petitions, Obama's apology remains hidden.

Pope Francis, during his visit to Bolivia, issued another apology that received worldwide attention on issued on July 9th, 2015. He apologized for the "grave sins" of colonialism against Indigenous peoples of America "in the name of God" (Indian Country Today, 2015, para. 1 & 2). Recognizing that forced Christianity inflicted harm upon Indigenous populations is necessary. Admitting that religious organizations are guilty of wrongdoing, having hidden behind the archaic Doctrine of Discovery, to exploit and persecute Indigenous populations would a positive step forward in the reconciliation process between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, pertaining to colonization and the RS legacy.

As reported by Brave NoiseCast (2015), "the doctrine played a central role in centuries of colonization. . . and resulted in immense loss of land and life by [Indigenous peoples] across the Americas" (para. 2). The Doctrine of Discovery continues to have contemporary impacts on Indigenous peoples. Kenneth Deer (2016), explains that the Doctrine of Discovery is still being used by states in court cases, and the "United States and Canada . . . continue to use the papal bulls to dispossess and disempower Indigenous people[s]" (Barnsely, 2016, p. X). In addition, on May 4th, 2016, Steven Newcomb made an in-person request to Pope Francis to revoke the *Inter Caetera*⁴². Newcomb (2016) stated that the *Inter Caetera* "has been extremely

⁴²The *Inter Caetera* is a Papal Bull or decree that Pope Alexander VI issued in 1493 to authorize Spain and

destructive to [Indigenous] nations and peoples for more than five centuries” (para. 4). Numerous efforts by Indigenous organizations have attempted to pressure the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church to take an official stance to abolish and rescind the Doctrine of Discovery. The Apache Ndé Nneé Working Group requested a “legally-formal and public rescinding by the Holy See of the Inter Caetera and its legal, political, spiritual and territorial legacy” to admit the injustices committed to Indigenous peoples (UN CERD Committee, 2015, p. 6), and who want the truth to be told and shared because their histories have been silenced and hidden. Opening a dialogue about these historical and painful events would help create reconciliation strategies and movements to help repair the impacts of intergenerational trauma.

The TRC of Canada was created to demand truth and recognition for the lack of accountability and remedy regarding the legacy of assimilation, colonization, discrimination, and the RS system. The TRC called for Canada to move forward from an apology into action, in order to reconcile with Indigenous peoples. They put forward 94 recommendations for starting this process (TRC, 2015d). Under the Justice section of the report, the TRC (2015c) stated, “call upon the parties and, in particular, the federal government, to work collaboratively with plaintiffs not included in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement to have disputed legal issues determined expeditiously on an agreed set of facts” (p. 3).

This is a step forward in the establishment of a more positive relationship between the Canadian government and the Indigenous population. However, this process must start with the acknowledgement of wrongdoings and the condemnation of the harmful practices that took place in RS. Indigenous peoples must hold their federal governments responsible for communal pain and suffering. As pointed out by Chrisjohn, Maraun, and Young (2006) Indigenous

Portugal to colonize the Americas. It also provided rights to colonize, convert, and enslave Indigenous and African peoples. It was used to justify claims to territory by Christian explorers. It was then used to justify the Doctrine of Discovery and invoke legal and moral reasoning for the dispossession of Indigenous territories. Please see the following for more information

peoples:

. . . accuse Canada not only of the abuses suffered by [Indigenous] children in Residential School, but of genocide and establishing the schools in the first place; and we reject the self-serving rhetoric that passes as a response to these issues. We will challenge Canada to deal squarely and effectively with its past, and admit the utter immorality of what it has done and what it continues to do (p. 78).

The RS systems were a forceful articulation of the educational policies that aimed to subordinate Indigenous peoples to the dominant culture by eradicating their language, traditional practices, customs, and every aspect of their way of life. In fact, these institutions are considered a type of “social engineering project” that provided students with skills “so that they could contribute to the government’s vision of the growing [American and Canadian] nation” (Te Hiwi, 2015, p. 6). Indigenous children were taught that their Indigenous ways of knowing did not service the American and Canadian nation’s ideas of model citizens. Instead, Indigenous children were repeatedly told that they were inferior and they needed to be changed. Scholars have suggested that Indigenous peoples suffer from “historical unresolved grief” that has led to damaging behaviors, such as domestic violence and substance abuse, and may even lead to suicide, due to the drastic changes forced upon them at these institutions and during the colonization process (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Waldram, 2014).

2.9.2 Intergenerational impacts

For many Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US, the RS system produced unresolved trauma or grief felt by the survivors, their families, communities, and entire nations. Many

RS Survivors were assaulted physically, emotionally, mentally, or sexually. Milloy (2009) stated “sexual abuse was not [only forced] on the individual child in school; it spilled back into communities, . . . it echoed in the lives of subsequent generations of children” (p. 298). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) has noted that the RS system produced individual and collective traumas that profoundly affected multiple contemporary generations. The removal of children from their homes, the separation from their parents, the breaking of their social capital bonded networks, to subject them to a systematic forced assimilation program, and in many cases physical and sexual abuse, has led to the breakdown of Indigenous families and communities with long-lasting and devastating effects.

The collective trauma experienced by Indigenous children who attended RS is well documented in extant literature. Many authors noted that trauma manifested itself in persistent socio-psychological effects easily transmitted to their descendants (Bombay et al., 2009; Gone, 2013; Brave Heart, Chase, & Altschul, 2011). These institutions disrupted the lives of Indigenous children, their families, and communities, profoundly affecting their traditional knowledge systems, language, culture, and worldviews. As a result, many RS Survivors lost their ability to transfer traditional knowledge to their descendants. Given that social capital acquisition is strongly dependent on bonded networks, loss of those networks can disrupt the transmission of understandings, assistance, norms, and values (White, 2003; Portes, 1998).

Many Indigenous studies scholars equate these experiences of intergenerational trauma to those of Holocaust survivors and their descendants (Bombay et al., 2009; Brave Heart et al., 2011; Gone, 2013). Specifically, Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart analyzed Holocaust survivor literature, revealing many similarities to the genocide Indigenous peoples succumbed to by North American settlers. Brave Heart pointed to the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre of the Lakota people as a prime example. Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) stated that the Wounded Knee Massacre is relatable to the Holocaust in that: (a) it was motivated by religious persecution

of Lakota Ghost Dancers; (b) it was grounded in the US federal policies of extermination; (c) the victims of the massacre were thrown into a mass grave and stripped, emphasizing Euro-white supremacy; and (d) survivors and descendants struggle with coming to terms with this collective trauma, akin to the trauma Jewish victims and survivors still face. The Holocaust, the Wounded Knee Massacre, and other events of collective trauma (e.g., RS and the colonization process), have long-lasting effects on survivors and their descendants. Some Indigenous peoples have repressed RS experiences as a means of coping with the trauma, which has led to devastating consequences for the individuals and has produced social issues within their community.

According to Gone (2013), mental health researchers, professionals, and Indigenous community members have associated the disproportionate rates of pathological distress (PTSD in particular) with the historical experiences of colonization and the RS system. The TRC's final summary report issued in 2015 addressed some of these issues by analyzing the narratives of RS Survivors. The stories revealed copious traumas resulting from the loss of cultural heritage and language, death and disease in the schools, and stress resulting from emotional, physical, and sexual abuse. Of particular relevance for the current investigation is the revelation of both individual and collective trauma experienced by RS attendees. The individual traumas affiliated with RS are emotional, physical, spiritual, and mental forms of abuse, aimed at the degradation of Indigenous culture, and contributing to adverse outcomes. Walters, Mohammed, Evans-Campbell, Duran, and Chae (2011) posited that these collective and individual traumas delineate how "historical events and context affect present-day health inequities" (p. 179). As described previously, some of these resulting traumas (e.g., poverty, distress, drug and alcohol abuse, loss of culture and identity) still profoundly affect Indigenous peoples. Gone (2013) found studies reinforcing the link between childhood experiences of severe trauma and adverse exposure, such as RS experiences and RS effects from the colonization process, to alcohol dependence and alcoholism (p. 685).

Confirmation that the residential school experience has intergenerational consequences is offered by Bombay et al. (2009), who found that second-generation RS Survivors or descendants whose parent(s) attended residential school, reported more frequent adverse childhood experiences, as well as depression and weak coping skills when exposed to stressors. The authors posited that this persists due to the presence of many transmitters including parents retelling stories of traumatic RS experiences or other types of mistreatment due to colonization. These transmitters can also lead to profound intergenerational effects, such as maladjustment in childhood and other socio-psychological illnesses (Bombay et al., 2009). Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) found that Indigenous adolescents were reluctant to express their problems and feelings to parents because they did not want to burden them. Indigenous adolescents also reported overwhelming sadness (at times leading to suicide attempts), because they wanted to take away the pain that their family has suffered (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998). Walters et al. (2011) concurred with this view, arguing that survivors' descendants may be predisposed to higher stress vulnerability, perpetuated by contemporary experiences of Indigenous peoples, who continue to live in places where these traumatic historical events occurred.

Residential schools in Canada and the US are closed; yet, many Indigenous peoples express that they still feel the impacts every day. Indigenous peoples, especially, the descendants of former RS students have heard or learned about RS abuse and understand the fact that it can cause and has caused intergenerational trauma. The current dissertation study examines the perspectives of Indigenous university students regarding the impact of the RS legacy of on their lives. As Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples learn about these impacts their awareness and the sharing of their own perspectives on the issue will bring attention to:

broader issues of [Indigenous] cultural impacts [such as] . . . the loss of language through forced English speaking, the loss of traditional connection to the

land, the loss of parenting skills through the absence of four or five generations of children from [Indigenous] communities, and the learned [behaviors] of despising [Indigenous] identity.” (as cited in Milloy, 1999, p. 299)

These cultural impacts of the residential school system have led to a “soul wound” progressing across generations (Brave Heart, 2003). These traumatic events and stressors have led to an abundance of intergenerational effects experienced by the children of RS Survivors including : a lack of strong parenting role models, low educational attainment, an inability to pass on culture and traditional languages, family violence, alcohol abuse, fetal alcohol symptom disorder, and family dysfunction (TRC, 2015b). The aim of the current dissertation study was to examine these effects, as well as describe how Indigenous students have healed and expressed their resiliency despite the traumas caused by RS history and the detrimental effects that these experiences have had on their families.

2.10 Discussion of Interwoven Experiences, Impacts, Differences, and Similarities of Residential School History

In the years following first contact by settlers, Canadian and American federal policies mandated that Indigenous populations send their children to residential schools. Failure to allow the removal of their children to these institutions held drastic ramifications for Indigenous parents such as imprisonment and the cancellation of much-needed food rations. Because Indigenous peoples were seen as a “problem” and an obstacle to societal progress of the 1880s, their alliance in military campaigns and trade services was unnecessary and their presence on arable lands presented a roadblock to expansion. To eradicate the “Indian problem,” both the Cana-

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dian and the US governments executed aggressive assimilation policies through education to subordinate Indigenous peoples and force them to conform to the dominant culture's notion of productive members of society.

While RS in both countries were sustained with federal funds, the methods adopted for assimilating and civilizing children were markedly different. Extant literature reveals that these processes were driven by relatively consistent ideological approaches adopted by the French, British, and later, the Americans. The historical review presented in the earlier sections of this chapter commenced with the analysis of various educational policies, aiming to reveal the differences and similarities in residential school establishments and practices in the US and Canada. In addition, prior to conducting the analyses, it was proposed that:

1. The United States developed a substantially different system of residential schooling in response to the "Indian Wars," differential settler development, and differential education systems as compared to Canada;
2. The educational focus in both countries was on acquisition of menial skills, along with religious and assimilationist learning (aimed at culture and language destruction), with very little academic training;
3. Despite the differences in the systems implemented in the two countries, the outcomes for Indigenous peoples were similar in terms of weak educational attainment and the resulting intergenerational trauma.

These three propositions will be examined in the sections that follow in light of the findings yielded by the literature review.

2.10.1 Substantially different systems of residential schooling

Earlier in this chapter research revealed that some important differences existed in the educational policies of both countries; however, both systems were similar in aims and practice. As a result, the proposition that the US developed a substantially different RS system from Canada is not supported by the available evidence. However, many of the similarities between RS systems were inspired by one another. The off-reserve RS model adopted in Canada was relative to the US approach, as described by Nicholas Davin, who studied Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879. After he returned to Canada from the US, the federal government implemented the first off-reserve RS in Battleford, Saskatchewan in 1883 under the guidance and supervision of an Anglican minister (TRC, 2015a). Davin reported that the education of Indigenous children would be best provided if the schools were “directed towards the destruction of [Indigenous] spirituality since all civilizations were based on religion, it would be inexcusable...” to not replace with a “better one,” such as Christianity (TRC, 2015a, p. 55). In both countries, school curricula included Euro-centric values, parallel content, and religion. As Indigenous peoples in both countries represented an obstacle to the expansion of settler colonies, both programs aimed to ensure forced assimilation through education as a means of solving the so-called Indian problem.

Residential schools in the US were subsidized in a partnership between the US federal government and various religious denominations. While the US government provided the required funding, the education and maintenance of these institutions were entrusted to various religious denominations. The approach the American government in assimilating Indigenous peoples was aggressive; extermination was also seen as a viable alternative. Because the US government and Indigenous nations were engaged in armed conflict, as indicated by the Battle at Little Big Horn and Wounded Knee in 1890, their issues persisted long after The American

Revolution. As mentioned earlier, the US government spent \$20 million on the Indian Wars; thus, operating RS was a financially viable alternative to war. Pratt's infamous stance that "a good Indian is a dead one" and various reports from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggested that extermination or assimilation were the only answers. Focusing on education was a more prudent alternative, financially, and was expected to yield the desired outcomes namely assimilation. Americans aimed to "civilize" Indigenous peoples and use them as a source of menial labor as required.

In Canada, the RS system was similar. The schools were government-sponsored and managed by Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, United or non-denominational societies. One of the major differences between both countries was the absence of a joint RS administration made up of governmental and religious personnel, as this was the norm in the US. Yet, another difference stemmed from the relatively few open wars with Indigenous populations. Until the War of 1812, most Indigenous populations in Canada had been treated as military and economic allies, but in the US they had primarily been perceived as a threat. However, some resistance to westward expansion existed; as exemplified by the Riel Rebellion of the late 1800s, where the Métis fought for the right to govern their territories (TRC, 2015a).

2.10.2 The educational focus in both countries

Prior to commencing the literature review and analysis, it was proposed that both countries utilized education to assimilate Indigenous children into the dominant culture. Available evidence confirms this was achieved through the teaching of menial skills and religious indoctrination aimed at the destruction of Indigenous ways of life. Most residential schools in Canada and the US combined manual learning with religious indoctrination, and banned the use of Indigenous

languages. Students were limited in actual academics and basically prepared for agricultural and domestic jobs. Brenda Child and Brian Klopotek (2014) argued that RS in Canada provided Indigenous children with more opportunities to become leaders or enter the labor market compared to schools operated in the US. Perhaps, this argument was based on the assessment of RS operating in the US before 1930 (after 1930, Indigenous children attended public schools and were exposed to a curriculum with greater academic focus). Canadian RS operated until 1996. However, perspectives changed after WWII, resulting in greater exposure of Indigenous children to academic subjects, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. This change in educational policy likely contributed to the better outcomes for Indigenous children in Canada, as they had more opportunities for becoming leaders or entering the labor market.

Residential schools in both countries incorporated military drills, sports, domestic work, manual labor, and gospel through regimented daily schedules. Indigenous children were taught to be Christians and encouraged to reject Indigenous spirituality because it was portrayed as pagan and wrong. This education was portrayed as a means of gaining “civilized” skills, allowing Indigenous peoples to gain employment in American and Canadian workforces. The RS systems in both countries endorsed ideology that to be civilized and assimilated, children must abandon their Indigenous roots. The relationship both governments had with Indigenous populations was “characterized by the dispossession of the treaties, the coercion of assimilation policies, and the interference of programs aimed at controlling [Indigenous peoples]” (Miller, 1991, p. xvii). These were aimed at exerting control over Indigenous peoples, in order to mold their children into American or Canadian workers, which extended to a “civilized” physical appearance.

2.10.3 Similar outcomes of weak educational attainment resulting in intergenerational trauma

Indigenous peoples suffered devastating effects from colonization and maltreatment in residential schools. Thus, the expected finding that Indigenous peoples in both Canada and the US had similar outcomes from weak educational attainment and suffered from intergenerational trauma is supported by empirical evidence. The re-education they received, in Canada and the US, was abusive and racist. Indigenous children were taught abandon who they were culturally, spiritually, mentally, and spiritually, leaving scars to process. Some RS Survivors were not able to get well function parents, some self-medicated their pain with substance abuse, and some individuals who returned to their communities had difficulty finding employment. The education they received only allowed for a working class status. In both countries, Indigenous children that were forcibly sent to these institutions suffered similar degrading treatment and abuse. Not only was their physical appearance altered to fit the “civilized” image, but also they were brutally punished for speaking their traditional languages. RS Survivors concur that the residential school process created cultural genocide. Julian Burger (1987) noted:

In such instances the marginalization of Indigenous culture becomes cultural genocide or ethnocide. Ethnicity means that an ethnic group, collectively or individual, is denied its right to enjoy, develop and disseminate its own culture language. Where Indigenous peoples do not face physical destruction, they may nevertheless face disintegration as a distinct ethnic group through the destruction of specific cultural characteristics. (p. 31)

This type of cultural destruction existed in both Canada and the US in the form of RS. As Mako

(2012) noted, “a closer examination of the way in which law and colonialism were instruments of genocide, both in the physical and cultural forms” (p. 177) is needed to understand Indigenous peoples’ current social conditions. Analyzing the RS legacy along with the impacts of colonization can help gain a better understanding of the intergenerational trauma suffered by Indigenous populations. As previously mentioned, an intergenerational transmission of historic trauma, such as the loss of culture and language, can have profound effects on future generations. Brave Heart et al. (2011) described it as a “cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations,” which results in collective trauma (p. 283). The authors further purported that this collective trauma is a shared legacy of traumatic events, such as RS, cultural or physical genocide, loss of land, colonization, military conquests, government dependency, and coercive assimilation practices and policies (Brave Heart et al., 2011; Gone, 2013).

2.10.4 Intergenerational trauma

Another adverse consequence of the RS system stemmed from the failure to create a nurturing environment where Indigenous parents (who were RS Survivors) could teach their children parenting skills. Instead, parents were unable to foster a loving and cultivating environment; this not only affected RS students during their childhood, but also later in life, as they were never given the chance to learn how to be caring parents. Children of RS Survivors were forced to grow up without parental support, resulting in both generations experiencing fear, anxiety, and emotional detachment (Stout & Peters, 2011). These assertions are confirmed in the TRC (2015b) report, stating that the intergenerational effects experienced by the children of RS Survivors included a lack of strong parental role models, low educational attainment, the inability to pass on traditional languages, as well as family violence, alcohol addiction, fetal alcohol symptom disorder, and family dysfunction. Some authors posit that these adverse

outcomes can be mitigated by resiliency.

2.10.5 Resiliency

Both intergenerational trauma and historical trauma result in varied individual and collective responses. However, at present, there is insufficient knowledge regarding the causes for such differences. According to Fleming and Ledogar (2008), resilience, defined as “positive adaptation despite adversity” (p. 7) functions as a mechanism to mediate or change the impact of trauma. Benard (2014) claimed that resilience is a trait that enables children born into “high-risk conditions such as families where parents were mentally ill, alcoholic, abusive, or criminal, or in [poverty-stricken or war torn] communities . . . [to] overcome the odds to lead successful lives” (p. 1). Resilience can also be understood as an innate capacity for self-righting, transformation, and change to develop social competence, problem solving, autonomy, and sense of purpose (Benard, 2014). Indigenous resiliency is examined at the individual, familial, communal, and cultural levels, each of which is also posited to be influenced by the relationship to the land (Andersson, 2008; Fleming & Ledogar, 2008). Thus, resilience can serve as a strong mediator of stress, lessening the effects of stressors on an individual or a group. The concept of resilience can also explain the diverse responses to the effects of the RS system on both survivors and their descendants.

Andersson (2008) posited that resilience research is vital because it enables the development of strategies that can assist trauma or abuse victims to recognize the positive aspects of their lives, rather than focusing solely on what is wrong. Thus, such studies would be greatly beneficial for Indigenous peoples having suffered directly or through the intergenerational transmission of historical trauma. In the context of the present investigation, Andersson’s (2008) perspective

is particularly relevant, as it helps reveal Indigenous peoples' strengths, practical benefits, and sense of agency. More importantly, it allows the use of available evidence to pave a way forward. The TRC (2015c) report sheds light on the development of Indigenous resilience by highlighting the strength of trauma survivors and their descendants.

Intergenerational trauma occurs when historical oppression and traumatic, personally and collectively, is transmitted from a survivor to others, particularly children and grandchildren. This dissertation study examined the impact of the RS legacy based on the perspectives of the descendants of RS Survivors, who are university students. In this research, they were given a voice and the opportunity to share their truths about their RS experiences, as well as re-learning their culture, language, and the rebuilding of their lives. The study participants were encouraged to speak about their resiliency and discuss how they handled or experienced intergenerational trauma. Analysis of their narratives will increase the current understanding of the ongoing effects that the RS system in both countries has on Indigenous populations.

2.10.6 Educational attainment

Both Canada and the US rescinded the RS system after WWII, integrating Indigenous children into public schools. According to Gordon and White (2014), the shift from RS to provincial schooling was academically unsuccessful in Canada, as the high school dropout rates among Indigenous students were close to 94% in 1967. In the US, even though Indigenous children were being integrated into public schools and the Indigenous Nations were working with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to control their education, the dropout rate was still high. The Kennedy Report (1969) indicated that the government failed to live up to its responsibility, given that the “dropout rates are twice the national average in both public and Federal schools. Some school

districts have dropout rates approaching 100%” (p. IX). Unfortunately, Indigenous students in both countries were not gaining sufficient academic knowledge, despite their removal from RS. Thus, it is noteworthy to examine the current educational attainment of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US.

Currently, the high school dropout rates among Indigenous students in both countries are lower than in previous decades, yet, their graduation rates are still lagging behind students from other racial backgrounds. The public high school graduation rate for Indigenous students in the US was 68% for the 2011–2012 school year. On the other hand, the graduation rate at the Bureau of Indian Education schools was 53%, which is substantially below the historically stable general population’s average of 80% (Chapman, Laird, Ifill, & KewalRamani, 2011; Native Youth Report, 2014; Stetser & Stillwell, 2014). Gordon and White (2014) conducted a similar assessment in Canada, revealing that only 54% of the Indigenous population on reserve in Canada had a high school diplomas in 1996 and by 2011 this had not changed. Moreover, it is also comparable to high school diplomas reported for Indigenous students in the US. While high school graduation rates have increased for Indigenous students, Indigenous Nations still have educational outcomes well below those reported for the general population.

Receiving a high school education can propel individuals to pursue post-secondary education (PSE). Individuals that have attained PSE have much greater employment opportunities, as well as personal resources, and could provide measurable benefits for their communities. This is particularly relevant for Indigenous students that decide to return home upon graduation. This highlights the need to establish college attainment rates among Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US. In 2011-2012, Indigenous peoples⁴³ received 0.8% of all degrees granted at 4-year Title IV US institutions (Ginder & Kelly-Reid, 2013). The non-Indigenous popula-

⁴³This includes American Indians/Alaska Natives (0.6) and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander population (0.2) in 2011–2012 compared to all groups in the US who received a degree at Title IV institution.

tion with post-secondary education had a higher percentage from 16% in 1996 to 20% in 2011 compared to the Indigenous population in Canada (Gordon & White, 2014). These statistics point to the low educational attainment in formal institutions for Indigenous peoples residing in both Canada and the US. Indigenous education has historically been a contentious issue, due to colonization and the legacy of the residential schools. While many beneficial changes have been made, Indigenous peoples clearly struggle to reach greater educational attainment, comparable to that in the general population. Indigenous education remains an issue that exacerbates the already strained political relationship with their governments.

2.11 Educational Impacts of the Residential School System

As mentioned previously, the educational process can be devastating if presented by coercive means with a hidden agenda, as was the case in Canadian and American RS. Unfortunately, Indigenous peoples suffered greatly due to both governments using education as a means to control and civilize Indigenous populations (Adams, 1995; Furniss, 1995; Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Szasz, 1977). The growing body of scholarship on historical trauma describes the “long-term impacts of colonization, cultural suppression, and historical oppression of many Indigenous peoples” in Canada and the US (Kirmayer, Gone, & Mose, 2014, p. 300). The mandatory RS education resulted in separation and loss as well as mental, physical, and sexual abuse perpetrated by educators and other adults in the RS system. Due to this devastation imposed by the dominant society, Indigenous peoples in both countries have advocated for Indigenous-led and Indigenous-controlled education. The educational achievement gap between Indigenous students and the white majority is still daunting. However, Indigenous peoples are hopeful that healing and reconciliation will help them process this painful portion of history. By gaining greater self-confidence, resilience, and agency, they are hoping to close

educational gaps. The TRC (2015d, p. 5) of Canada lists seven specific actions that should be taken in order to improve Indigenous education:

- To repeal Section 43 of the *Criminal Code of Canada*.
- To develop with [Indigenous] groups a joint strategy to eliminate educational and employment gaps between [Indigenous] and non-[Indigenous] Canadians.
- To eliminate the discrepancy in federal education funding for First Nations children being educated on reserves and those First Nations children being educated off reserves.
- To prepare and publish annual reports comparing funding for the education of First Nations children on and off reserves, as well as educational and income attainments of [Indigenous] peoples in Canada compared with non-[Indigenous] people.
- To draft new [Indigenous] education legislation with the full participation and informed consent of [Indigenous] peoples. The new legislation would include a commitment to sufficient funding and would incorporate the following principles.
- To provide adequate funding to end the backlog of First Nations students seeking a post-secondary education.
- To develop culturally appropriate early childhood education programs for [Indigenous] families.

The Canadian government has initiated the reconciliation process with Indigenous populations. Unfortunately, the US has not acknowledged the ill intentions and wrongdoing of the American RS system nor have they mentioned reconciliation. Thus, in the US the process requires some important changes and steps. These steps should be taken in order to assist with the healing

process under the leadership of the Native American Rights Fund and the Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition.

2.12 Concluding Remarks

This review explores the RS history of Canada and the US based on federal policies and the timelines pertaining to the education of Indigenous peoples. By analyzing available sources and discussing these issues, the aim was to assess three propositions: (1) The US developed a substantially different RS system in response to the “Indian Wars,” different settler base, and different educational styles than Canada; (2) The educational focus in both countries was basic academic (reading, writing, and math), religion (which included the destruction of Indigenous languages), and a focus on manual labor; and (3) Despite, the systemic differences, the outcomes for educational attainment were similar and intergenerational trauma occurred.

Education in the name of religion was used as a tool to assimilate and civilize Indigenous children into American and Canadian societies. Both governments strongly believed that Indigenous children could learn to be productive citizens by adopting American, Canadian, and European beliefs and values. As a result, the RS systems were similar mechanisms used to validate the perception that Indigenous peoples’ traditional livelihood was “abnormal” and needed to be changed to a more “civilized” European standards. Indigenous children were exposed to aggressive forms of education. Both countries deemed this essential because each had limited resources for military campaigns against Indigenous populations. In addition, removing young children from their families was deemed optimal, as this would increase the likelihood that they would adopt the norms, values, and morals of the dominant culture. Once Indigenous children were “educated,” it was believed that they would instill these ideologies in future Indigenous

generations. The educational systems provided limited academic curriculum, but emphasized skills for manual and domestic labor. Learning religion was mandatory because Christianity was seen as a fruitful path toward attaining “civilized” standards and habits.

This chapter did not explain how Indigenous children or their parents resisted residential schools. That is an important story but could not be pursued in this research project. However, the analyzed sources provide similar narratives of intergenerational trauma: being removed from family and community, being forbidden to speak traditional languages, and being forced to undergo drastic physical changes. This review is based on secondary sources, an obvious limitation, as this does not permit evaluation of the veracity of the reported findings. However, reviewing primary sources would have been challenging due to the difficulty in obtaining pertinent data. While no primary sources pertaining to the period ranging from the 1600s to the 1900s were included in the assessment, this information will be the basis for a future project. Still, it is noteworthy that a limited number of electronic archival records were incorporated into this literature review. Clearly, expanding the scope of these archival records would have strengthened the findings. Thus, in future studies, sources pertinent to these governmental policies should be explored. In closing, the dissertation study is imperative because it provides insight into the Canadian and American residential school experiences and explains the adverse effects on survivors and their descendants. By exploring the perceptions and opinions of Indigenous university students from Canada and the US, as their narratives may help us better understand the intergenerational impacts of residential schools.

Chapter 3

Overview of Methods

“I never attended residential school. My experiences are all secondhand. Mine is the first generation to be schooled entirely outside of that system, and yet, I cannot think of any Indigenous [peoples] of my generation who have not been touched by it, one way or another” (Vowel, 2016, 171-172). Residential school history is filled with raw emotions for any Indigenous peoples regardless if a person attended or not. Federally funded residential schools in Canada and the United States forged a horrendous process of assimilating and “civilizing” Indigenous children into a Eurocentric society. This problematic process led to various cataclysms for Indigenous children such as cutting their hair, restricting the usage of traditional languages, disconnecting families, and subjugating them to various types of trauma¹, hence creating a loss of identity². These impacts transcend time, lingering with individuals who attended

¹These traumas can include but are not limited to: domestic violence, neglect, physical abuse, sexual abuse, community violence, alcoholism, and other addictions. Residential school survivors have also endured emotional, mental, physical, and/or sexual abuses while at school.

²Cutting an individual’s hair is associated with the passing of a relative or a type of punishment. Celia Haig-Brown, in *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*, expresses that for Indigenous women long hair is linked to puberty ceremonies, and cutting hair short was a punishment for adult women. Brenda Child, in *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*, explains how hair is a symbol of

these institutions, and are then passed on to their descendants. There are countless Residential School Survivors' experiences (positive, negative, or indifferent), which have either been shared publicly or privately with trusted confidants. Other narratives have remained secrets. This dissertation focuses on the voices of Residential School Survivors' descendants, in particular Indigenous university students, in order to examine residential school distress occurring in their generation. Residential school stories are personal; therefore, these narratives exert ancestral, comradery, and familial bonds. It is a power that transcends generations to unify Indigenous peoples. Due to the sensitive nature of residential school narratives, researchers need to be cognizant of following five aspects when working with Indigenous peoples: the impact of history, relational research, incorporating cultural sensitivity and strengths, demonstrating patience, and negotiating among multiple perspectives (Burnette, Sanders, Butcher, & Rand, 2014).

Unbounded by time, these relationships invoke a type of blood memory³. Blood memory allows Indigenous peoples to have relationships with their ancestors who have passed, as it is an inherent connection of shared past, present, and future experiences. Sefa Dei and Doyle-Wood (2007, p. 659) articulated how "blood memory points to a human connectedness that transcends Western notions of identity predicated on homogeneity and static/fixed racialized conceptions of culture and the nation-state." Blood memories are stories Indigenous peoples carry consciously and subconsciously throughout their lives, creating generational connections through identity, lived experiences, collective experiences, and shared life stories. As Nahanni Fontaine (2001, p. 49) eloquently stated:

tribal identity. David Wallace Adams, in *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, describes how cutting hair is associated with mourning. The cutting of Indigenous hair symbolized stripping away their savagery and for Indigenous children held a negative connotation.

³Blood memory is contextualized by Nahanni Fontaine (2001) as connection to one's ancestors' experiences. Other scholars have described the connectedness to ancestors in sharing impacts of colonialism, loss, and trauma, such as Andrea Smith's (2004) soul wound. A soul wound is the destruction of Indigenous culture that Indigenous Peoples have not healed. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart's (1998) concept of historical unresolved grief states that self-destructive behaviors passed on from generation to generation are due to chronic traumas Indigenous People have experienced such as losses of lives, land, and culture from colonization.

blood memory is similar to having a pass into your history, culture and spirit as an Aboriginal person even if you didn't have that knowledge and/or access to these elements before. It is an assured connection to those ancestors who have come and gone before you as well as to those who are yet to come.

Blood memories are oral and written stories, which affect the social world. Residential School Survivors pass their lived experiences through narratives to their descendants, resulting in descendants retaining these memories, continuing to pass them along generation to generation. These blood memory stories impact descendants lives deeply on an emotional, mental, physical, and spiritual level, therein shaping how they interpret and make meaning of experiences (Blacksmith, 2011; Ellis & Bochner, 1992; Holmes, 2000; Miller & Sperry, 2009; Rappaport, 1995). Therefore, these memories and stories represent a continuum of collapsed time that “manifests out from the bodies of humans” (Holmes, 2000, p.41). Because blood memory connects Residential School Survivors and their descendants, more awareness of residential school blood memories for contemporary Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States can contribute to the healing processes and understanding of why descendants express that they are affected by residential schools' living history.

As mentioned, these shared experiences can manifest as the loss of language, turning to substance abuse as a form of coping, punishment or mockery for not being able to speak one's traditional language, lack of knowledge of their own culture, and can be multiplied through the constant and lingering presence of colonialism. With this in mind, I wanted to create international dialogue between Indigenous peoples. The study of residential school descendants' perspectives adds to the scholarship of residential schools and creates a space for international Indigenous dialogue to analyze blood memory and intergenerational trauma through a process called Colliding Heartwork⁴. Understanding and processing toward dismantling these vicious

⁴Colliding Heartwork is a framework that I am developing to explain the felt experiences of Indigenous stu-

historical underpinnings of residential school traumas requires three research methods: Indigenous Research Methods⁵ (IRM), Participatory Action Research (PAR), and Photovoice (PV). These three research methods make it possible for the researcher to remain aware of the five aspects for working with Indigenous peoples, mentioned above. To reiterate, this study is a collection of the Indigenous university students' perspectives and examines the parallel history and impacts of residential schools in Canada and the United States.

3.1 Overview and Conceptual Philosophy

This dissertation grew out of my experience as a Teaching Assistant for the Introduction of First Nations Studies at the University of Western Ontario (UWO). After initial lectures, the topic of residential schools became an ongoing conversation which made evident that their impact extended beyond the classroom to spaces such as support centers, discussions with friends, media sources, and the sharing of families' encounters to express how Indigenous students feel they have been impacted on a personal level. As expressed previously, this dissertation investigates how residential school history has infringed upon and impacted Indigenous university students. Indigenous university students' perspectives of residential school indicate how they have dealt with these negative and positive impingements and highlight their resiliency and empowerment.

dents as they reflect on how they have been impacted by the residential school system. Colliding Heartwork is also a connection between Indigenous students and the researcher to find a common ground by sharing their knowledge about their family and community's residential school experience based on emotions and feelings. When emotions and feelings are prioritized as being center to our, a space is created for our hearts to collide—thus Colliding Heartwork occurs.

⁵Indigenous Research Methods are research methods and methodologies that are grounded in Indigenous epistemologies, experiences, languages, cultures, and spiritual connections. The aim of IRM is to include paradigms of decolonizing or indigenization to give voice to marginalized voices within the research process.

Indigenous Research Methods, Participatory Action Research, and Photovoice are most well-equipped to examine Indigenous university students' perspectives. These three methodologies create a space for active engagement between participants and researchers through partnership development. An established rapport and partnership between participants and myself was essential for the dissertation study. I felt I was in a unique position to carry out these research methodologies for the following reasons. First, I was a former teaching assistant⁶ for First Nations Studies and Sociology and knew the potential participants prior to the onset of the study. Second, I was a student⁷ who utilized the Indigenous gathering places⁸ at both sites, the University of Western Ontario (UWO) and the University of New Mexico (UNM). Third, I personally knew some of the participants⁹ in capacities outside of the university. Fourth, potential participants could ask faculty and other students about my credibility¹⁰ if they felt this was necessary. The following sections will describe how Indigenous Research Methods, Participatory Action Research, and Photovoice were used in this study, as well as their significance to my project.

⁶I excluded current students from participating in the study to prevent coercion and ensure voluntary participation as well participants' ability to withdraw from the study at any time. I was not a teaching assistant for First Nations Studies for the entire nine months while the study was active. I was a floating teaching assistant in Sociology where I was required to proctor exams in the department. I did not have any teaching responsibilities for the 2014-2015 academic year due to the study's activity and protocol. The First Nations Studies Program was renamed to the Indigenous Studies Program in July 2019.

⁷Potential participants knew who I was and that I was a student peer who accessed the same services they did for Indigenous peoples at Western.

⁸Indigenous gathering places refer to centers focused around supporting Indigenous students and Indigenous research such as Indigenous Support Services, Native Studies Departments, and Native libraries at the University of New Mexico (UNM) and Western.

⁹Indigenous Research Methods allow for relationships between a researcher and participant, so it was acceptable for them to participate in the study.

¹⁰I am a UNM Native American Studies alumni, and I felt students who were unfamiliar with my character and credibility had the opportunity to ask faculty, staff, and my peers about me, so they could make an informed decision about participation in this study.

3.2 Indigenous Research Methods

Indigenous Research Methods (IRM) emerged in the early twenty-first century in the Western academy (Jordan, 2014). IRM places an emphasis on Indigenous knowledges, epistemologies, and methodologies in the research process to give voice to Indigenous experiences. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), who wrote *Decolonizing Methodologies*, is considered to be one of the trailblazers of action for decolonized research practices and paradigms because of her acknowledgement of the place that Indigenous paradigms, epistemologies, and methodologies have in the Western academy. Decolonization empowers Indigenous researchers and allies to become aware of how Indigenous peoples have been colonized, oppressed and exploited by Western research. Through acts of decolonizing the research process we recognize that the current “expression, theoretical framework, methods of data collection, and data analysis” all lean towards the dominant culture, which misrepresents and silences voices of Indigenous research (Chilisa & Tsheko, 2014, p. 223). As pointed out by Smith (2012), the word, “‘**research**’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary. . . [and]. . . it is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity” (p.2). The history of eugenics, blood sampling, and sterilizations are examples of the maltreatment and horrendous studying and sampling of Indigenous peoples in the name of these disgraceful “research” practices. These types of studies are what Balestrery (2010) calls “colonizing enterprises” where researchers conduct ‘helicopter research’ when Indigenous peoples are not consulted or are ill informed about research practices and the data collection processes. The lack of transparency about research practices and data collections further colonize Indigenous peoples’ bodies and knowledge when their voices are ignored. According to Trimble and Mohatt (2006, p. 331), helicopter research is when an outside scientific researcher enters an Indigenous community “for data collection, in which the researcher drops in for a short period of time to collect data and then leaves, in some instances never to be heard from again.” As recently as 2013, a post-doctoral fellow at the University

of Guelph, Ian Mosby, exposed the appalling nutrition experiments that were conducted on Indigenous peoples in communities and residential schools in order to test vitamin efficacy and assess the impact of malnutrition and hunger in northern Cree communities between 1942 and 1952. Mosby (2013, p.151) stated “the goal was to see whether the physical manifestations of disease could be treated using vitamin supplements alone.” This and other improper research “on” Indigenous peoples portrays Indigenous “bodies” as disposable and “valuable” only when they are being used to understand a problem for the “good” for wider humanity. This is another representation of colonialism since Indigenous bodies are deemed as replaceable, invisible, and rightfully neglected. The historical foundation of research is a caliginous continuum from experimentation to the disseminations of findings. Research executed as a colonizing enterprise promotes the self-serving interests and goals of the researcher, failing Indigenous communities’ needs and considerations.

I can personally attest to the lack of relationship building and maintenance between researchers and Indigenous peoples. I specifically searched for a graduate supervisor for my PhD who was still working with an Indigenous community. I was surprised to learn that none of my potential supervisors still worked or sustained a relationship with any Indigenous communities. It was more shocking when the researchers’ interests included Indigenous peoples. There was an immediate feeling that *these are the researchers I have read about*. I made it my personal goal to work with supervisors interested in eliminating colonized research enterprises to build and foster healthy research partnerships with Indigenous communities.

Since research has held a historically egregious contention for Indigenous peoples, it produces a looming effect. It is a result of the imperialism, colonialism, and globalization that oppress Indigenous peoples. Balestrery (2010, p. 133) stated “the sociohistorical context of research with [I]ndigenous Native communities around the world yields evidence across disciplines of research as a colonizing enterprise.” Therefore, researchers aware of the mechanisms at play

can hold a valuable role in demolishing the colonizing enterprise of research. When conducting research with and for Indigenous peoples we must be mindful of the processes, outcomes, and disseminations to ensure we do not repeat colonializing research. It is important for the researcher to be mindful and know that

“the research you do will have the power to label, name, condemn, describe, or prescribe solutions to challenges in former colonized, indigenous peoples and historically oppressed peoples. You are encouraged to conduct research without perpetuating self-serving Western research paradigms that construct Western ways of knowing as superior to the Other’s ways of knowing” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 7).

IRM provides a space for mutual power relations and responsibilities between researchers and Indigenous participants to abate self-serving notions and ensure research is going to be done ethically without inflicting harm.¹¹ As a result, social policies for conducting ethical research have been implemented in formal regulatory bodies and scientific codes of ethics, such as institutional review boards and research ethics boards. Indigenous communities have also developed their own processes for research design, informed consent, research processes, data sharing, disseminations, intellectual property rights, and guidelines for evaluating how research is conducted with and for their communities (for more details see Appendix L). Table 3.3 Codes of Ethics and Major Points for Conducting Research with Indigenous peoples is a timeline of ethical research guidelines and codes, which displays how research practices and processes have evolved (see Appendix L). In particular, it displays how Indigenous peoples have created their

¹¹The Tuskegee Syphilis Study (1932-1972) inflicted harm on African Americans to study untreated syphilis without their consent and proper treatment. Another example is Laud Humphrey’s, “Tearoom Trade,” where he hid his role as a scientist and persuaded people to tell him about their personal lives and motives for seeking impersonal sexual acts. Humphrey unethically invaded their privacy and social standing. One final example is the unethical Nazi experiments on Jews, gypsies, and political prisoners in the form of medical experiments and procedures. These unethical studies led to the creation of the Belmont Report of 1974, formal regulatory bodies, and scientific codes of ethics to protect human participants (subjects) involved in research.

own research protocol for undertaking research with and of their people and called for more cohesive practices and protection of their communities against erroneous research procedures and processes.

At the same time, Indigenous peoples value the importance of research and evidence-based practices¹² for initiating research within their communities and alongside ally researchers. IRM fit well within ethical guidelines (as those listed in Table 3.3) for research with and for Indigenous peoples. IRM and its principles draw upon Participatory Action Research¹³ (PAR), Freirian critical pedagogy, feminist, post-colonial, non-positivist forms of qualitative research, and anti-racist research by interweaving Indigenous epistemologies, experiences, languages, cultures and spiritual traditions (Jordan, 2014). IRM is progressing towards the capacity for “researching from an Indigenous paradigm” (Wilson, 2001, p. 175). The foundation of this dissertation study is the four R’s of IRM¹⁴: respectful, relevant, reciprocity, and responsible (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; White, 2013): as well as the two other R’s, relationships and relational (Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2001; 2008). The four R’s explained by Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) and White (2013) are as follows:

- (1) **Be Respectful** – of the distinction between each person and community’s culture, values, worldview, and all things (animate and inanimate) as interdependent. Be to respectful is to have an understanding of the diversity of the cultures and knowledge held by the people;
- (2) **Be Relevant** - consideration for the importance of a belief in unseen powers in the world

¹²Evidence-based practice (EBP) is commonly referred to in the medical and health fields as the use of current best evidence with clinical expertise and patient values when addressing health care decisions. I believe that evidence-based practice can also be used in research with Indigenous Peoples through a process of collaboration to develop best research guidelines and a code of ethics while addressing research decisions and values of the Indigenous community when working with researchers (allies and other Indigenous researchers).

¹³Participatory Action Research also includes Action Oriented Research, Community-based participatory research, and evidence based research.

¹⁴The Four R’s can be utilized in types of research and research policy.

and the value of an Indigenous worldview, understand the people who are the subject of the investigation;

- (3) Show **Reciprocity** - the relationship between people, animals, and all things is essential. There is a value created for the Indigenous peoples and they can realize that value. It is a bi-lateral process or exchanging of learning processes and research activities;
- (4) Be **Responsible** - to teach, learn, and behave in a moral and ethical manner respecting Indigenous peoples' ways, which means leaving the peoples stronger than when you entered into the process. The interests of research partners are protected, enhanced, and engaged in the process.

These four principles of IRM are the parameters of an Indigenous research paradigm. In addition, each Indigenous person and peoples have different worldviews, which are their primary foundations; thus making Indigenous knowledges unstandardized (Kovach, 2009). Finally, principles of IRM include relationship and relational, which means that knowledge is shared with all of creation (Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2001; 2008). This means that knowledge is not something owned by individuals but shared and gained through relationships with study participants, animals, and plants (to name a few). So to recap, there are six R's of Indigenous research: respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility, relationships, and relationality (relational), which help guide the research process when working with Indigenous peoples. I will refer to the six R's as the Indigenous R's for research or simply as the Indigenous R's in this dissertation.

Individuals or researchers can utilize the Indigenous R's to describe how the world operates, their position in it, how relationships and interactions are valued and shared through experiencing the world, and what makes up the world in conjunction with IRM practices. Individuals' worldview or paradigm is defined as their "basic belief system or worldview that guides the

investigator” (Guba and Lincoln, 2004, p. 17). Wilson (2001) argued that dominant western system research paradigms do not work with Indigenous perspectives. In fact, Indigenous systems of knowledge build on relationships that we have with people, objects, and the cosmos to create a relational accountability so that one can “fulfill [one’s] relationships with the world” (p.177). An Indigenous researcher must hold oneself accountable to all of creation. This is because accountability is tied to an Indigenous worldview. Accountability is how an Indigenous researcher views one’s life as being connected to all of creation and how knowledge is shared.

As an Indigenous woman and scholar, I view an Indigenous paradigm as a lived paradigm. Wilson (2008) explained how an Indigenous paradigm is more than a research paradigm; it is a lived experience since it generates a foundation derived on knowledge and reality as being relational. This dissertation is an embodiment for an Indigenous paradigm and implementation of the Indigenous R’s for research. As an Indigenous researcher, I appreciate the Indigenous R’s wholeheartedly. This dissertation would not be possible without the support, participation, and input¹⁵ from the participants. The Indigenous R’s incorporate participants’ words, thoughts, and personal stories where the researcher establishes a process of understanding through emphasizing *I hear you, I am listening, and I see you*.

These six principles of the Indigenous R’s guide the researcher in assuming responsibility “that the story shared will be treated with the respect it deserves in acknowledging of the relationship from which it emerges” (Kovach 2009, p. 97). Researchers rooted in IRM have an ethical responsibility to share and re-tell our participants’ stories correctly, and, as such, researchers take on “a role of a storyteller” (Wilson, 2008, p. 32). We are facilitators of the research process but doing so we step out of self-serving Western academic research paradigms. My dissertation is a collaborative project and I have emphasized throughout the entire process to

¹⁵Participants from both study sites determined their own schedules for group discussions, interviews, and completing the project. Participants also shared historical stories during the group discussions and interviews to educate the group and the researcher.

others and the participants that this is “our project.” It is a collective effort because I am the storyteller, bringing together Indigenous students’ voices from Canada and United States on how they express they have been impacted by the residential school history.

3.3 Situating Myself as an Indigenous Researcher

My background as a researcher and storyteller, as well as an Indigenous¹⁶ woman and colleague is worth mentioning, as I am familiar with and considerate of the social, cultural, and political environments at both institutions where this study took place, the University of New Mexico and the University of Western Ontario. I am both an insider¹⁷ and outsider¹⁸. I had the privilege of some participants already knowing who I was, and if they did not, the participants could ask faculty, staff, and their peers about my character. My direct relationship with the two communities made it possible to establish trust and partnerships with the participants and have a successful research project based on both IRM and Participatory Action Research standards (see section 3.4). The research relationship and process is reflexive because I must acknowledge the ethical, social, and personal issues such as being a “Good Indigenous Person” and a “Good researcher” that can complicate the process in one’s own community and relations with participants, thereby signifying me as an outsider (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000; George, 2012; Smith, 2012). As a result, it is important to acknowledge, honor, and respect the reflexive process researchers must constantly evaluate in their relationship with participants, their backgrounds, and worldviews.

¹⁶As I pointed out in the introductory chapter, I am an enrolled member of the Duckwater Shoshone Nation and come from an intertribal heritage of Navajo, Pyramid Lake Paiute, and Southern Ute. I grew up in both the Pyramid Lake and Southern Ute Nations.

¹⁷Insider position is explained in dissertation chapter one, referring to shared history of colonialism, identifying as an Indigenous woman and identifying as a residential school descendant.

¹⁸I am a visitor to the traditional territories of the Indigenous peoples in Canada and Ontario. My time in Canada is due to my educational journey. This is also explained in more detail in Chapter One.

Kovach (2005; 2009) contended that honoring Indigenous peoples' relationships is vital and brings awareness to the virtue of their life's journey as much as the destination. IRM creates a space for Indigenous student participants to share their lived experiences or life journey regarding how they are affected by the residential school history as descendants. As Archibald (2008) pointed out "sharing what one has learned is an important Indigenous tradition. . . [and] can take a form of a story of personal life experience" (p.2). Sharing is an important part of IRM, and Indigenous students participating in this dissertation were given an opportunity to think about and share their connections to the residential schooling system. At the same time, sharing personal life experiences set into motion a dialogue between *all our relations* (the universe) and listeners. In the context of research, all our relations can help establish connectivity with people and relations in the world such as plants, animals, medicine, and spirits (Archibald, 2008; Kovach, 2005 Meyer, 2008; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2001, 2008). Applying IRM can work in tandem with Indigenous peoples' inherited thought process of calling upon all our relations to understand the residential school system and the impacts on survivors' descendants through the process of sharing personal stories. This demonstrates interconnectedness, which Indigenous participants portrayed through their photography. The usage of participants' photography will be explained in section 3.4 and 3.5.

Understanding all of our relations offers a holistic perspective about the world and how Indigenous groups comprehend the environment, and their relationships with animals, plants, and spirits. The world and everything in it is considered alive and has a spirit. From an Indigenous perspective, to gain an understanding, the social world must be analyzed in its totality. This type of knowledge is not a "thing" in the world awaiting discovery, but rather knowledge is a shared experience (Cajete, 2000). Since Indigenous perspectives are shared knowledge, it requires researchers and research participants to engage in a lifelong learning process where individuals form relationships with all people, all living things, and the earth around us.

This dissertation is grounded in IRM and how the Indigenous R's acknowledge that the study participants' knowledge comes first because the study's research design is a process of establishing, maintaining, and strengthening relationships with the study participants. The Indigenous R's of research amalgamate subjective truths that build upon each other to produce a collective explanation of the world. Indigenous students' knowledge of the residential school system is based on stories they heard about residential school experiences from their families and community members. Many Indigenous students in the study mentioned that the residential school experience in their families and communities may have disrupted their learning about communities' teachings or knowledge. It is the use of a collective subjective method that leads to an understanding of the influences of the residential school systems as students engage in discussions. As a result, they will come into the study with different subjective truths based on their interpretation of the impact of residential schools. This is why a focus on respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility is crucial to raise our consciousness of the various impacts of residential school descendants. It is a researcher's responsibility as a listener, speaker, and writer to be a storyteller for participants when utilizing IRM.

3.4 Participatory Action Research

Participatory Action Research (sometimes called Community-based Participatory Action Research) is a research approach that takes place in communities and that emphasizes participation and action. According to McTaggart (1997), Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a movement for two main reasons: 1) it recognizes that all research methodologies are political and 2) it expresses the relationship of advantage and power between the researcher and participant. PAR is based on reflection, data collection, education, experiential experimental learning, and action oriented towards research as social transformation and practice (Baum,

MacDougall & Smith, 2006; Kinson, Pain & Kesby, 2007; McTaggart 1997). It represents a back and forth dialogue and reflective understanding between the researchers and participants through the entire research process. This collaborative relationship is essential because it produces dual learning growth, which causes all parties to become invested in making social change.

PAR is “the way groups of people can organize the conditions under which they can learn from their own experiences and make these experiences accessible to others” (McTaggart, 1991, p.170). The ultimate goal is to develop genuine partnerships, which makes the PAR and IRM methods best suited for a dissertation. In addition, these two paradigms allow researchers the opportunity to build trust and “become involved in the community’s activities, listen to and address community partners’ needs” (Castleden, Garvin, & Huu-ay-aht First Nations, 2008, p. 1395). The partnership solidifies that the researcher is taking an active approach to implement *I hear you, I am listening, and I see you* to reiterate that the participant’s voice not only matters, but is crucial to the project. PAR is more of a philosophy for research to aspire to, allowing the community to be active members in the research process. As Minkler & Wallerstein (2008) address, “participatory approaches are not methods at all but *orientations to research*” (p. 6). PAR is a continuous learning process that is based on contextualized practice and participation to produce fresh knowledge.

The dissertation is designed to allow Indigenous students the opportunity to take part in the research as research-participants or partners because they are co-creators (Guillemin & Drew, 2010). The knowledge collected from a PAR study is generated in a learning atmosphere. In this study Indigenous students exchanged their expertise about familial residential school experience through a shared dialogue in group discussions and through one-on-one interviews with me. Throughout this project and the writing process, I met with participants and updated

them via email¹⁹ about each stage of the dissertation. The ongoing interaction allowed for a collective sharing of knowledge and insights between the participants and myself about each dissertation study and phase.

Next, I will look at how photovoice was used in this dissertation. Guillemin and Drew (2010) advocate for this method as it can empower and give voice to research participants. Photography can be used to express participants' raw emotions and experiences, especially, when what they are trying to express may be difficult to put into words. It adds to the analysis of raw data by uncovering hidden knowledge.

3.5 Photovoice

Photovoice is a research method that uses photography to answer research questions using themes. The combination of photography and research is not new to Indigenous peoples as it has been done by community outsiders. Predominantly, photography has been used in anthropological and ethnographical research where the photographs are the topic and data (Curtis & Curtis, 2011). This method of 'documenting' a people's history is rather subjective and is often one-sided because it is based on the perspective of the researcher. Many historical pictures of Indigenous peoples were "taken at a time when colonialism and patriarchy dominated, and consent was not required" (Lemelin, Wiersma, Kapashesit, Beaulieu & Dowsley, 2013, p. 4). Photovoice changes the dynamics of research and photography putting the participant in control of the output. Integrating Photovoice with Indigenous Research Methods is appropriate because it provides a tool for social action through validating Indigenous peoples' experiences.

¹⁹I sent participants weekly emails to update them on the progress of the study while I was at the study site. After the data collection process of the study ended, I sent out monthly emails to inform the study participants on where I was at during the dissertation writing process and data analysis.

Indigenous peoples' speak for themselves and by doing this they educate the researcher on how they view the world.

Using visual methodologies can offer opportunities for new knowledge and allow for more creativity, especially for Indigenous university students (Harrison, 2002). Use of these research methods for this dissertation was inspired by George's²⁰ (2012), *Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and the Social Determinants of Aboriginal Peoples' Health: A Case Study of First Nations Women's Resilience, Resistance, and Renewal*, dissertation and the master thesis work of Isaac²¹ (2011), *Educational Vision Quests: Using Photovoice to Explore the Perspectives of First Nations Youth During Their Transition to Post-secondary Education* and Gray²² (2010), *Visualizing Pedagogy and Power with Urban Native Youth: Exposing the Legacy of the Indian Residential School System*. These studies made a robust case for using Photovoice to share Indigenous values (Castleden et al., 2008). Photovoice fits well into the framework of empowerment education because it allows Indigenous students the opportunity to investigate the effects of the residential school system themselves.

Wang and Burris (1997) introduced Photovoice through their study of rural Chinese women's health and work realities. Photovoice is a suitable method for research with minorities and marginalized groups as well as for topics where little is known because it can present wider cultural perceptions (Berg, 2004; Harrison, 2002; Wang et al., 1997). Participants' photography are visual representations of their reality that demonstrate how things are or should be for them.

²⁰George's dissertation uses Photovoice with Indigenous survivors of intimate partner violence to address their resilience or resistance of colonial conditions, which have generated and support ill health in order to restore and support the community through intervention.

²¹Isaac's thesis focuses on educational disparities that First Nations youth encounter by exploring seven First Nations youth's transition from secondary to post-secondary education and their successes through Photovoice.

²²Gray's thesis examines how urban Indigenous youth interpret and experience the intergenerational effects of the residential schools in Canada with Photovoice.

The foundational principles of Photovoice are critical consciousness and empowerment, which draw upon elements of feminist theory, constructivism, and documentary photography (Guillemin & Drew, 2010; Hergenrather, Rhodes, Cowan, Bardhoshi, & Pula, 2009; Wang et al, 1997). The three goals of Photovoice are to enable people to: (1) record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (2) promote critical dialogue and knowledge about personal and community issues, and (3) reach policymakers (Catalani & Minkler, 2009; Wang 1999). These goals help to empower research participants to advocate for change in their community and for themselves. With Photovoice, participants analyze their current situation and to find ideas to resolve or identify the root of the issue. As a result, the process of analyzing one's current situation "using Photovoice as a tool for action reflects PAR's commitment to meaningful social change" (Wang, 1999, p. 190), and thus makes it a participatory action strategy.

In terms of residential schools, Indigenous students were provided with a metaphor as an example to discuss how they have been impacted by the residential school system. The example referred to how the legacy of residential schools resulted in the loss of one's Indigenous language and how the individual has to learn about their language through books instead of oral transmission. In this study, the example showed how an individual may take a photograph of an Indigenous directory to demonstrate the impact of family involvement and how they are resisting the legacy of residential schools by teaching themselves their Indigenous language. Study participants were taught to use this type of metaphor²³ as a Photovoice research technique so they could implement it in their individual photographs and use it in the future for a project of their own.

²³Methods training in Photovoice for researchers includes the understanding that it is not the content of the participant's photographs that is the focus, but rather what the photograph means to the participant. An example of a metaphor is describing a situation in training where two people can take a photograph of a door but have different interpretations. One individual describes an open door as a representation of a way out of a situation or liberation. The other individual takes a photograph of a closed door, which can indicate being trapped. In Photovoice the discussion of the photographs becomes critical to interpret their meanings.

Photovoice creates a space for participants to talk about their photographs through storytelling. Wang (1999, p. 188) expressed the importance of the SHOWeD method:

“What do you See here?

What is really Happening here?

How does this relate to Our lives?

Why does this situation, concern, or strength exist?

What can we Do about it?”

The SHOWeD method is an avenue for participants to focus on issues that are important to them at both the individual and collective level and to raise awareness on how descendants are impacted by the legacy of residential schools. In particular, Photovoice is an opportunity for Indigenous students to explain how residential schools have affected them and share their stories with the public. For this study, the Photovoice process included camera orientation sessions, group discussions, and one-on-one individual interviews to answer research questions.

In this research study, Indigenous students were asked to address the following six questions:

- 1) How do you as an Indigenous student interpret the history of residential schools in your respective country, Canada and/or the United States?
- 2) When presented with information about the residential school experience in another country (where students do not reside) how do Indigenous students interpret or make connections to the history?

- 3) Can Indigenous students provide an important insight into the intergenerational impacts of residential schools?
- 4) Are there discernable signs of impacts from previous family involvement with the residential school system?
- 5) Are there indications that these impacts implicate how Indigenous students' express cultural empowerment and survival based upon their knowledges of the residential school system?
- 6) Can we learn lessons from a comparative assessment of the residential schools in Canada and the United States?

Photovoice conveys students' knowledge in an intimate environment based on rapport in order to re-legitimize the state of research in the eyes of a marginalized group (Chonody, Ferman, Amitrani-Welsh & Martin, 2013). It is a type of empowerment education that allows research participants to speak for themselves and identify potential solutions. For this reason, PAR and community-based participatory research are successful with Indigenous peoples and effectively balance power by creating ownership (George, 2012). Wang and Burris (1997) stated that: "participants may find Photovoice ideal for creatively documenting their environment and its resources and in the process may demonstrate their own ingenuity and imagination (p. 194)." It gives control to research participants to actively think about the research question and to have their voices heard as well. Research is a collaboration process with people instead of research being on or for them.

For example, the Castleden et al. (2008) study found that community members from the Huuy-ay-aht First Nations spoke highly of their designated role as researchers. Their study on the community's environment and health allowed them to "produce something... invaluable to fu-

ture generations... [and] put it [into] archives” (Castleden et al, 2008, p. 1402). It is this research study’s hope that Indigenous students will be able to see themselves taking on an active participant-researcher role and feel empowered by this experience. Photovoice leads to the human liberation of Indigenous students, as they grow to understand their place in the residential school history and its impacts. This type of empowerment education was depicted in Pablo Freire’s (1970) writing, by which groups of individuals identify their problems through analyzing their social historical roots in order to create strategies for overcoming obstacles (Wallerstein & Bernstein, 1988; Wang & Pies, 2008). Photovoice articulates Freire’s point that “people are the subjects of their own learning, not ‘empty vessels’ filled by the knowledge of experts” (Wallerstein and Duran, 2008, p. 37). Photovoice alters the power relationship between participants and researchers to generate a new educational approach where knowledge comes from the group instead of the researchers.

3.6 Data Collection Procedures

Thirty Indigenous university students from the University of New Mexico (UNM) and the University of Western Ontario (UWO) participated in the multi-phase study outlined in Table 3.1. Ethics approval was received from both UNM and UWO non-medical research ethics boards (see appendix). The study timeline for each site is listed in the appendix. The study began with information sessions and ended with celebration feast meetings. Each phase of the study required continuous attention to reflexivity in order to analyze interpersonal dynamics between the researcher and participants (Finlay, 2002; Kemmis and Wilkinson, 1998). My reflexive process is situated in my field notes, methods, and research position in relation to the study and the participants.

Table 3.1: *Five Research Phase*

Phase	Research Activities
1	Recruitment and Information Sessions
2	Questionnaire, Photovoice Training, and Residential School History Sessions
3	Group Discussions
4	Individual Interviews
5	Member-checking of Interviews and Input on Photo-analyses
6	Celebration Feast

I relied heavily on my field notes, conversations, and email with participants to ensure I was telling their personal narratives accurately. To reiterate the importance of disassembling colonizing enterprises in research, I had on-going conversations with my thesis supervisor and participants about the progress of the study, emerging insights and themes, and ethical issues.

3.6.1 Recruitment and information sessions

My recruitment goal was a total of 16 participants (eight per study site) because Wang (1999) suggested that an ideal number of Photovoice participants are around seven to ten. Recruitment started in August 2014 at the University of New Mexico and in January 2015 at the University of Western Ontario to coincide with the start of term. Participants were actively engaged in the study for one term. Information about the study was circulated on list-serves²⁴ serving the academic community and community members interested in Indigenous announcements. Information was also circulated via snowballing²⁵, campus flyers²⁶, and introducing the study

²⁴Departments and Indigenous organizations distributed the study email, and potential participants were invited to contact me. The Western list-serve was not utilized due to solicitation restrictions; however, recruitment flyers were left in the student centers.

²⁵One consenting participant was passionate about starting the study. The group meeting initiated the study, but could not occur until at least 4 to 6 participants had consented. This participant asked to help with recruitment and informed potential participants to contact me if they were interested. Since this study is based on IRM and PAR, it is important to allow participants agency within the protocol (per IRM and PAR), so I agreed to allow the participant to inform potential recruits.

²⁶The recruitment flyer is enclosed in the appendix.

personally at specific courses²⁷ and Indigenous organizations²⁸ and providing my contact information. I sent out email requests to professors²⁹ in Anthropology, Native/Indigenous studies, and Sociology to see if I could make announcements about the study. Several Indigenous student organizations³⁰ also granted me permission to attend their meetings and talk about the study. Interested participants emailed or phoned me to arrange a meeting to discuss the study in detail. There were also open informational sessions³¹ available to potential participants to get more insight about the study. Due to high interest³² in the study, I consulted with thesis committee members and decided to increase the sample size from 16 to 30 participants. The ethics committee at UNM and UWO approved the increase in participant enrollment. As a result, 30 participants from UNM and UWO consented to partake in the dissertation study. Study participants from UNM and UWO consented to working with me over a total of ten hours³³ through the term. The ten hours include research phases 2-6 in Table 3.1.

The study focuses on the perspectives of 30 Indigenous student participants, and is based on group discussions, one-on-one interviews, and Photovoice discussions regarding photographs. The sample size, *N*, does not by itself tell us about the quality of qualitative data (Roy, Zvonkovic,

²⁷Faculty allowed me to present on the study for 5 minutes at the beginning of their courses. Interested participants were invited to contact me via email or phone.

²⁸Indigenous organizations at the study sites granted me permission to talk about the study at their meetings. Interested participants were encouraged to contact me via email and phone.

²⁹These disciplines were selected based on the researcher's knowledge of departments with a high enrollment of Indigenous students.

³⁰Recruitment through Indigenous student organizations was done at the University of New Mexico. No recruitment using Indigenous student organization was completed at Western because many of the Indigenous students were already exposed to recruitment due the distribution of the flyer and announcements in class. As a result, I felt that students may feel coerced to participate in the study due to hearing about the study repeatedly.

³¹These informational sessions took place in campus classrooms and library study rooms as drop-in meetings.

³²A total of 122 potential participants reached out to the researcher expressing their interest in contributing to the study based on their email responses and attendance at the informational sessions. I created a log listing all potential UNM participants (a total log of 122 students) who contacted me via email and provided their contact information to me during the informational sessions. This log was used to communicate meetings with potential participants to go over the informed consent form and send out information about the future training dates for the first meeting. Out of the 122 potential UNM participants, I received signed informed consents from 16 participants. The log of students' contact information was destroyed when the study commenced with the 16 UNM participants.

³³Please refer to the recruitment flyer in the dissertation appendix.

Goldberg, Sharp, & LaRossa, 2015); however, the sample (N=30) does capture diverse perspectives in terms of the participants' Indigenous Nations and how they feel they have been affected by the residential schools. All 30 participants in this study were students enrolled at UNM and UWO (see Table 3.2 for a summary of characteristics). They included two graduate students, twenty-eight undergraduates, and three participants³⁴ who attended residential schools. All participants said that they had both family and community members who had experienced the residential school system in Canada and the US. All 30 voluntary participants completed the study information session, Photovoice training, questionnaires, and initial group discussion meetings. Participation eligibility required that participants: 1.) self-identify as Indigenous to North America; 2.) be 18 years of age or older, 3.) be an enrolled student at each study site; 4.) be willing and able to use a disposable camera and/or personal digital camera or smartphone's camera; 5.) willing to be audio-recorded, attend individual interviews and group sessions, and 6.) be willing to share their personal experience of how residential school impacted them. In addition, 29 one-on-one interviews³⁵ were completed, and 28 participants granted permission for their photographs³⁶ to be released to this study. Talking about the inter-generational impacts of the residential school is sensitive and can be heavy conversation; thus, being able to locate themes from more participants increases the integrity of the study's goals, composition, and rich raw data to formulate a theory.

³⁴One participant, and his/her family members, described attending residential school during their formative years. One participant attended a LDS school and made comparisons to the residential schools in the late 1800s. This participant's comparison was a reflection response to find similarities and differences. The third participant made a comparison between Indigenous boarding schools in the United States and how they operate in a similar fashion to the residential schools of Indigenous ancestors. For example, Indigenous children in remote reserves in the United States in Arizona leave their community to attend grade school off-reserves. These children leave their communities and are housed in dormitories to attend school. In this sense, Indigenous children are still leaving their homelands and community to receive an education and are housed in dormitories, which is similar to residential schools in the late 1800s where Indigenous children were removed from their communities to attend school apart from their family and community.

³⁵One participant was unable to complete the one-on-one individual session due to an expected family situation. This participant granted me permission to use the comments from the group discussion and questionnaire. The participant expressed remorse for not being able to complete the interview. Since the study is based on IRM and PAR, the participant can add to how the research is carried out.

³⁶The photograph release is not required for study participation. It only permits the researcher to publish participant's photographs.

All information and data collected on Indigenous university participants were kept confidential by giving participants pseudonyms and generalizing Indigenous affiliation instead of being specific, such as stating that students were Pueblo instead of a more specific designation. For example Sarah was identified as age bracket 20-25, Pueblo, which ensures that the identities for individuals participating in the study are protected. Table 4.3, details participants' general characteristics (for more details, please see chapter four, which includes information for each study site, questionnaire demographics, and other individualized backgrounds for participants). After participants consented, they were given study packets that included: a copy of the informed letters of information, support services such as counselors, a one-page planner to schedule study dates, a study timeline, study phases, my contact information, and a journal³⁷. The list of support services (see appendix) included counselors at the student health centers, Indigenous faculty, staff, and Elders who could provide counseling services if needed due to the disclosure of sensitive and emotional stories and experiences within the residential school system during or after the group discussions or one-on-one interviews. After each meeting with the study participants I would debrief with them and ask how they were doing and inquire if they felt the need to see a counselor. Study participants could pursue any of the support services throughout the different study phases with or without the researcher. During the debriefing session, I would walk a participant to see a counselor if one felt the need; however, no participant took advantage of or needed this service.

³⁷Participants were provided with journals to reflect upon their photographs and group discussions. Participants were allowed to share their journals with me if they liked but were not required. Half of the participants shared their journals and read from them during their one-on-one interviews. Some participants granted me permission to use their journals for the study in terms of their reflections on the photographs. Other participants were grateful for the opportunity to write in the journals to reflect on their lives. Participants who did not share their journals expressed to me that using them served as a healing mechanisms to process their feelings and experiences of abuse. This could be the reason why they did not want to share with me.

Table 3.2: *Participant Characteristics*

Participants Background		Institution Enrollment	
<i>Indigenous Nation</i>		University of New Mexico	16
Anishinaabe	5	University of Western Ontario	14
Cree	3	Withdrawals ³⁸	3
Dine	8		
Haudenosaunee	4	<i>Gender</i>	
Northwestern Pacific ³⁹	2	Women	21
Pueblo	7	Men	9
Other ⁴⁰	2		
<i>Age Brackets</i>		<i>Student Status</i>	
18-27	13	Undergraduate	28
28-37	11	Graduate	2
38-47	4		
48-57	1		
58-67	1		
Total # of Participants			30

³⁸These participants consented to the study. One participant withdrew before the orientation phase. Two of the participants withdrew after the study orientation and Photovoice training session. These three participants' information was discarded, and they were replaced.

³⁹To protect the identity of the participants, Northwestern Pacific was chosen by the participants to identify the region of their Indigenous Nations.

⁴⁰There were two participants who could have been identified if we noted either their geographical location or their particular Indigenous Nation so we classified them "other" to protect confidentiality.

3.7 Data Organization and Analysis

I transcribed the group discussions and one-on-one interviews. I also used NVivo to enter in the collected data from the study questionnaires. Lastly, I kept a password-protected journal about my data collection process. These three types of data were used to identify data patterns and draw conclusions. Chapter Four details the results of the study participants' questionnaires (see appendix for questionnaire).

To recap, the data and findings of this study were based on participants' group discussions, one-on-one interviews based on their photographs (see semi-interview guide for interview responses), and questionnaires to answer the six research questions (see section 3.5) by identifying common themes and patterns. NVivo was utilized to code the participants' questionnaires, group discussions, and interviews. I created categories for the questionnaires such as gender, age, knowledge of the residential school, and the impacts of these institutions. The study questionnaire collected basic demographic information and general questions about participants' initial residential school knowledge. I used NVivo to determine categories and relationships based on the participant's transcripts (McCracken, 1988). These codes, categories, and relationships are "tags or labels for allocating units of meaning" to the impacts of the residential school on the study participants (Bisit, 2010, p. 144). The next level of analysis involved pairing similar coded responses into groups and then into specific themes to analyze the data for meaning. In addition, participants' photographs were paired in terms of similar patterns and to determine meaning. The following section explains how group discussions and interviews were conducted.

3.8 Overview of Group Discussions, Interview Guide, and Location of Interviews

Participants were active in determining the timing and location of their group discussions and one-on-one interviews. The final group discussions and interview schedule (see appendix) was utilized to collect information for the study. Participants were given four months or one academic term to complete the study. The scheduling of the first group discussion(s)⁴¹ were unanimously determined at the end of the information session where participants shared their schedules and came up with completion points, such as when disposable cameras would be collected, when photographs would be downloaded, and the projected date of the final group meeting to conclude the study. Group discussions were also scheduled based on suggested dates and times via emailed responses between participants and the researcher. After participants completed the Photovoice training and were given disposable cameras or decided to rely on their own photograph devices, participants contacted the researcher when they were ready to conduct his or her one-on-one interview. The researcher also sent out study reminders to the study groups on what phase the study entered and completed, as well as reminders for participants to schedule an interview when the participant was at the interview stage. The location of the group discussions and interviews was chosen with the utmost care and consideration to protect the anonymity of the participants. Group discussions and interviews took place where participants felt comfortable and when it was most convenient for them to express themselves freely and openly, which were at various places on campus, around the city, their homes, and the researcher's office⁴².

⁴¹Group discussion took place between 2-8 participants to accommodate participants' schedules.

⁴²Three participants met at the researcher's home to complete the interview and a one-on-one dissemination meeting (final phase of the study). The researcher broke her ankle and was confined to her home for a period of the study. Participants offered to complete the study at the researcher's home.

3.9 Questionnaires, Photovoice Training, and Residential School History Sessions

There were a total of five group orientation meetings⁴³ where participants completed a questionnaire, received Photovoice training, and had an overview of residential school history⁴⁴ of Canada and the United States. These two-hour group orientation meetings were held in September 2014 at UNM and January 2015 at UWO. As mentioned in 3.6.1, participants were provided with study packets that included materials about the study and a list of support services they could access to help with any emotional distress they might encounter. There were five group orientation meetings at UNM to accommodate the Indigenous students' academic schedules. Two study orientation meetings⁴⁵ were held one-on-one with the study participant and the researcher due to time conflicts and illness. The remaining study orientation meetings had seven participants per meeting. Indigenous participants were given a questionnaire (see appendix) at the beginning at the orientation meeting to assess their knowledge of residential schools in both countries. Indigenous participants' informed consent was received during the information sessions or returned to the researcher before the orientation meetings began. Basic demographic information was collected and they were given an opportunity at the end of the questionnaire to explain why they were interested in partaking in the study. After participants completed the questionnaire, they received Photovoice training. Photovoice training

⁴³All orientation phases and Photovoice training sessions were completed in a group setting. Only one participant had to reschedule the orientation and Photovoice training session, which was completed one-on-one with the researcher.

⁴⁴The study questionnaires assessed study participants' knowledge before the overview of residential school history of Canada and the United States was conducted. The questionnaires were distributed after the welcome greeting for the initial group meetings. After the questionnaires were returned to the researcher, the initial meeting continued with Photovoice training and the overview of residential school history in both countries.

⁴⁵The two study orientation meetings that were held one-on-one with the study participants and the researcher were due to a time conflict and the illness of two participants. One participant had a full-time job and was unable to attend the orientation with the rest of the participants. This participant requested a one-on-one meeting with the researcher for her orientation. The second participant fell ill and requested to meet one-on-one with the researcher to complete the study orientation meeting.

requires an orientation to photography (and camera operation), a clarification of each of the study questions, a discussion of ethics around photograph taking, the philosophical ground-work of Photovoice (Wang and Burris, 1997), and training in metaphor.⁴⁶ This was done to ensure participants understood how to maintain confidentiality, anonymity, and safety during this study and what they were allowed to take photographs of. Participants were given two disposable cameras and were asked to take eight to ten photographs in total. Participants were also allowed to take photographs with their own personal cameras and smartphone. During the training, I provided examples of photographs one would take to answer the research questions such as an Ute dictionary, which could serve as a metaphor to show how one's traditional language was not passed down. As a result, a person would have to learn the language through reading a book instead of conversations with relatives. Participants were given instruction on the ground rules of taking photographs for the study (see appendix).

After Photovoice training was completed, participants were given photo-release forms to review, sign, and complete when they returned the disposable camera for development. Next, participants received a PowerPoint presentation on the residential school history of Canada and the United States to create a baseline of knowledge. Participants were also given refreshments at the meeting and a \$50 bookstore gift certificate for completing the initial group meetings. At the end of the initial group meeting, I allowed participants to ask questions so I could address their concerns about the study and the informed consent forms. The participants ended the meeting by scheduling a date and time for the next group discussion meetings.

⁴⁶Metaphor refers to how images can represent things to the participant, and the importance is how they describe the meaning. For example, a picture of a closed door could mean being trapped to one person, while another may view it as the possibility to escape.

3.10 Group Discussions

Group discussions were held in October 2014, February 2015, and March 2015, with two to eight participants to share knowledge about residential schools in Canada and the United States. During the first half of the initial group discussions at UNM, the study participants shared their families' experiences at residential schools in the United States. The second half of the group discussion at UNM consisted primarily of participants explaining that they were not familiar with the residential school system in Canada. They expressed that they learned about the residential school history in Canada during the study orientation.⁴⁷ The initial group discussions at UWO were coordinated and structured the same as the UNM meetings. UWO participants shared their families' experiences and knowledge of the residential schools in Canada during the first half of the group discussions, and during the second half of the meeting the participants shared that they had no knowledge of the residential school system in the United States. However, there were three participants who had knowledge of the residential schools in both countries as demonstrated in the completed questionnaires. One UNM participant's community is close to the Canadian-US border; he and shared his knowledge during the second half the discussion meeting. Two UWO participants had knowledge of the residential school system in both countries because they had family members who attended these institutions in both countries.

The group discussions at both study sites were coordinated based on the study participants' cohort. UNM study participants were divided into two cohorts to accommodate all 16 participants' academic schedules. UNM Cohort 1 held group discussions on Tuesday evenings,

⁴⁷Study participants in both countries were given questionnaires about their residential school knowledge to complete prior to receiving information about the residential school history of Canada and the United States. After the study questionnaires were completed and returned to the researcher, the study orientation provided information about the residential school history in Canada and the United States. Study participants were given one week to reflect upon what they learned and shared their perspectives during the group discussions.

and UNM Cohort 2 held group discussions on Wednesday mornings. One participant from cohort 1 and one participant from cohort 2 were unable to attend the first group meeting due to scheduling conflicts, so they rescheduled and had a group meeting with two participants and myself. There were a total of three cohorts at UWO to meet the study participants' academic schedules and accommodate for group discussion. UWO cohort 1 held group discussions on Monday afternoons, UWO cohort 2 met on Thursday afternoons, and UWO cohort 3 held their group discussions on Friday afternoons. There were a total of four to six UWO participants per cohort, and all participants maintained the group discussion dates and times. The group discussions provided the opportunity for study participants to learn about each other's residential school systems. There was a total of ten group discussions.⁴⁸ Participants also discussed how the residential schools have impacted them by answering the following questions:

- 1) How do you as an Indigenous student interpret the history of residential schools in your respective country, Canada and/or the United States?
- 2) When presented with information about the residential school experience in another country (where students do not reside) how do Indigenous students interpret or make connections to the history?
- 3) Can we learn lessons from a comparative assessment of the residential schools in Canada and the United States?

Participants were reminded to keep the discussions about the study confidential. These ten group meetings were audio-recorded and transcribed by the researcher to identify themes and assess their knowledge about the residential schools. Participants received summaries of their respective cohorts' transcribed discussion for their records and to provide feedback to the researcher. All participant identifiers were removed when their summaries were distributed to

⁴⁸Two group discussions were completed one-on-one with a participant and myself due to scheduling conflicts.

them. All audio-recordings were destroyed after transcription. Participants were provided with refreshments during the meetings and scheduled a date and time for a celebration feast.

3.11 Individual Interviews

There were a series of one-on-one interviews with Indigenous participants following each participant's completion of the photographic portion of the study. Each participant set their own deadline to submit photographs so each participant could exert their own agency. One-on-one interviews were conducted October 2014, November 2014, March 2015, April 2015, May 2015, and June 2015 to accommodate participants' schedules. Initially, participants were encouraged to complete the study in four months (one academic term); however, some participants requested additional time to take their photographs due to life circumstances, such as school, employment, and family life that took priority and delayed their photography. Participants took an active role in adding to the study and protocol as they requested to include photographs of their children and photographs they took before the study as they felt they related to the six questions. The initial protocol of the study stated participants were to take photographs of themselves, places, or things. However, participants felt that showcasing their children played an important role in expressing how the intergenerational trauma affected them. Participants requested that photographs with or of their children be included in the study and findings. Participants also gave consent on behalf of their minor children to have the photographs included. IRM and PAR allows for participants to modify the study, as the study becomes a medium to share their knowledges and building relationships with each other and myself to give an accurate reflection of their experiences.

One-on-one interviews were semi-structured (see appendix). These interviews were conducted

and audiotaped by the researcher. During the Photovoice training, participants were encouraged to pick eight to ten photographs to discuss in the interview. Each participant came to the interview with different numbers of photographs, ranging from 4 to 196 photographs. Some participants created titles for their photographs before coming to the interviews, and others generated titles during the interviews. In some cases, I offered suggestions to participants for titles of photographs based on our interviews. The participant approved the finalized photograph titles. Time spent interviewing participants ranged from 38 minutes to 2 hours. Participants were provided with refreshments and one \$50 bookstore gift certificate at the end of the interview.

All participants had photographs that were approved to be used in the study except one. This participant wanted their interview material included in the study but were concerned they would be identified from the photos and therefore asked that the photos not be used. Since the study is based on Indigenous Research and Participatory Action Research, I felt it was crucial to honor and respect the participant's wishes. Therefore, the participant's interview was included in the analysis but not the photographs. As mentioned earlier, 29 interviews were completed. One participant completed two phases⁴⁹ of the study, the information session and group discussion, yet did not complete the one-on-one interview due to personal reasons⁵⁰. This participant's contributions to group discussions and their questionnaire material was left in the study. I made this decision because allowing the participant to share their perspective on the residential school history emphasizes the values inherent in IRM. This inclusion created solidarity and an atmosphere of sharing in line with the principles articulated earlier - *I hear you, I am listening, and I see you*; what you have to contribute is important. Thus, the one-on-one interview is a space for the participant to share with the researcher how one has been impacted personally through in-depth conversation based on their photographs.

⁴⁹This included the information session, questionnaire, Photovoice training, residential school history session, and the group discussion with the three questions.

⁵⁰The participant expressed to the researcher that only the questionnaire and group discussion could be used in study.

Although there was the one participant who did not complete the interview, this did not affect or skew the data because mutual themes identified by all study participants were depicted in the findings. This study's foundation is inclusive of Indigenous Research Methods and Participatory Action Research. Therefore, it grants participants agency to be involved in the direction of the protocol⁵¹ and what is included and not included in the study.

During the interviews, it was difficult not to show emotion, as each story was impactful. I built a rapport with the participants throughout the study from meeting them for coffee, in conversations on campus when we unexpectedly ran into each other, and intentionally meeting with them when they had questions or concerns about the study. I found it is important to be engaged with participants, especially to show them that *I hear you, I am listening, and I see you*. I felt comfortable laughing and, at times, comforting them.

3.12 Member-checking of Interviews and Input on Photo-analysis

Member-checking of one-on-one interviews was done through email and over-the-phone correspondences between the participants and myself. Participants were given two-weeks to review the transcript and give their feedback and edits using MS Word track changes. In addition, participants were sent a PowerPoint of their photographs to review and make changes if needed. The PowerPoint presentation is a collection of all participants' photographs and descriptions, which was given to the participants to see how their peers approached the study. Member-checking was done to ensure accuracy of interviews and to clarify points.

⁵¹See section on Indigenous Research Methods and Participatory Action Research for more details on why implementing participants' agency is crucial to the study.

3.13 Celebration Feast

In December 2015, April 2015, and June 2015 celebration feasts were held with participants to close out the active part of the study. These celebration feasts were held both as a group and one-on-one with the participant and the researcher to accommodate their schedules. At the celebration feast, participants were asked to give feedback on what they liked about the study, how the study could be improved, and the benefits of the study. In addition, participants decided how they wanted the photographs that were not going in the dissertation to be disseminated to the public. This is how the idea for a PowerPoint of all the participants' photographs came about. Journals and copies of all photographs were returned to participants. Participants received their final \$50 bookstore gift certificate, a medicine bundle of sweetgrass and tobacco, and a scarf. The medicine bundle is a type of cultural protocol to thank participants for their time and effort in participating in the study.

3.14 Participant-led Discussions

At the core of the study are the Rs of Indigenous Research Methods. IRM is a reflective process of changing power relations so that the participants' voices are valued and their perspectives incorporated into the research protocol. This was achieved through multiple factors: 1) participants set their own deadlines to finish taking photographs and the one-on-one interview; 2) participants collectively decided on the group meeting dates and times after each meeting; 3) participants included photographs of their children and previous photographs from outside the study; 4) they asked for the creation of a PowerPoint of all participants' photographs and stories, and 5) we collectively decided there be a group Skype session with UNM and UWO

participants. In March 2015, UWO participants asked me if they could meet the UNM participants. This meeting was conducted via Skype. Due to scheduling conflicts only seven participants and myself participated in the Skype visit. It is interesting to note that visit became a teaching moment. The UWO participants were having difficulty with ideas for taking photographs and consulted the UNM participants for their feedback on how they went about taking pictures for the study.

3.15 Compensation

Participants were compensated with a \$50 bookstore gift certificate three times: 1) after the initial group meeting and Photovoice training, 2) after one-on-one interviews, and 3) at the celebration feast. Participants received a total of \$150 in bookstore gift certificates. Attendees of the celebration feast also received a medicine bundle of sweetgrass, tobacco, and scarf. In addition, participants were provided with refreshments at the end of meeting as per cultural protocol.

3.16 Debriefing

I debriefed participants at the end of each session to check on their well-being. I also sent out regular emails to see how participants were doing as well as updates on the progress of the study. At the end of each interview, I called, emailed, and text-messaged participants to see how they were doing after talking about their photographs. I informed participants about how many other participants were enrolled, how many group sessions took place, gave reminders on the

dates of groups meetings and individual interviews, gave the status on transcribing interviews, and let them know my progress while writing the dissertation. Participants were provided with a list of support services, such as counseling services, and could meet with Elders at their institutions if they were under emotional distress (see appendix for list of services). I walked participants to counselors after the interview when needed.

3.17 Summary Overview

This chapter provided an overview of the components and methods of this qualitative research study and why IRM and PAR are important for working with Indigenous students. These research methods, alongside the use of Photovoice, established a connection between Indigenous students and the researcher. A powerful image can be emotionally moving to the reviewer and the photographer's narration invites the reviewer to partake in their perception. Wang and Pies (2008) state that collective sharing and speaking is fundamental to people since it reflects their own experience. As we will see in the next chapter, Photovoice allowed Indigenous students to focus on the power or their perspectives related to how residential schools have left a mark on their lives. Their photographs portray the influence of the history of the residential school system and helped participants to think critically about inside and outside factors of the residential school on themselves, families, communities, and the general Indigenous population who experienced them. Indigenous qualitative and Participatory Action Research methods were determined to be most able to meet the needs of the study and to ensure a robust engagement and a collaborative relationship between the students and universities. Photovoice gave students the chance to share stories of how residential schools may have affected them. This process of storytelling and respect allowed each student to come into the study with different views.

Chapter 4

Research Findings

This project was designed to empower Indigenous students attending UNM and UWO. It sought to build community and trust between Indigenous students and myself as the researcher and it was built to work toward a collective and an individual understanding of the intergenerational impacts of the residential schooling system on their lives. Specifically, the focus of this project was to examine:

1. How historical unresolved grief affected Indigenous students;
2. If and how their understanding¹ of the imprints from boarding and residential school may have united them in a common knowledge about resilience and survival;

¹Students' knowledge of boarding or residential school history was accessed with the study questionnaire. Some students had prior knowledge of these institutions in both countries because they learned about them in their university courses. A few students' traditional territory spans both countries and their community members attended schools in either Canada or the US. Many students had only basic knowledge that boarding schools were in the US and residential schools were in Canada. After the questionnaires were administered, I provided a more detailed history of these institutions in Canada and the US so students would have the same understanding. During the group discussions, students expressed that they learned more about these institutions in each country after the orientation.

3. If sharing their experiences and reflecting on the experiences of their family and community impacted these students engaged in this study.

To begin, it is important to be mindful that each student and their families have a unique lived experience and have felt multiple chain reactions as a result of residential school policies and the institutions created by them. Furthermore, how each individual engaged with historical unresolved grief shaped their lives differently. For instance Brave Heart (2003) attested that Indigenous peoples as a whole (survivors, as well as those who never experienced direct losses, such as RS Survivors' descendants) suffer from a generalized condition of historical trauma and unresolved grief dating back to colonization. Therefore, historical trauma is cumulative and increases over time from one generation to the next.

Historical unresolved grief² derives from the loss of lives and land, forced abandonment of culture, and prohibited practices of ceremonies and traditional languages, as well as other vital aspects of Indigenous culture destroyed by the settler conquest of North America (Duran & Duran; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Mitchell & Maracle, 2005). Hence, Indigenous students at UNM and UWO that participated in this study, reflected upon how their parents' and grandparents' experiences of the residential schooling system were transferred to them. Indigenous students took a self-reflective approach to examining their life stories about being a descendant of a Residential School Survivor. The social consequences of this RS, non-Indigenous education institution involvement came out in their personal exploration, and they raised concerns around a myriad of things such as alcoholism, identity questions or loss, damages to language, lack of cultural ties and more. This led to igniting what I have called their Colliding heartwork³.

²The understanding of historical unresolved grief was assessed through the group discussions and Indigenous participants' interpretation as a collective. The majority of Indigenous students were either Indigenous Studies majors or minors. They applied their conceptual understanding based on what they learned in Indigenous Studies that relied on Brave Heart's work. The definition of historical unresolved grief was also shared with Indigenous students during the residential school history group discussion as part of their orientation (See Chapter 3, Table 3.1 and 3.10 for more information).

³Colliding heartwork is a process I am developing to help better understand the intergenerational impacts of

Colliding heartwork was developed throughout the data collection and analysis process (explained in Chapter Five in extensive detail). It was not a method that was applied during the initial research stages; rather, Colliding heartwork grew out of the research process. I view this concept as a new tool, as an important place, and as part of the continually evolving field of Indigenous Research Methodology. Colliding heartwork privileges the felt experiences, emotions, and feelings that are required to understand the ongoing impacts of the residential school system on Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous students involved in this project identified several aspects of empowerment and numerous survival tactics on the part of Indigenous peoples who attended residential schools. They highlighted how these historical and contemporary reminders of this institutional system have lasting impressions. By addressing how intergenerational trauma and historical unresolved grief functions in Indigenous students' lives we, as educators and staff who provide services at university, can better enhance our knowledge and skills, permitting us to do a better job assuring success of Indigenous students.. We will recognize how learning or relearning about the residential schooling system while Indigenous students are pursuing their studies can negatively trigger them.

This chapter summarizes the project's main findings based on the one-on-one interviews, the Photovoice data, group discussions, and questionnaires. The discussion that follows integrates Indigenous students' narratives about their photographs. Indigenous students' photographs from UNM and UWO were chosen (see section 4.3 for selection details and Chapter 5) by the researcher to highlight what is central to our understanding of historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma among RS Survivors' descendants. Indigenous students shared their personal stories and perceptions about RS with each other. Traditionally in Photovoice, Indigenous students' voices and visions about the project are based on their personal and ev-

residential school system. Colliding Heartwork will be explained more in Chapter 5.

eryday understandings of their photographs, which they then share with the group to establish a collective knowledge (Wang, Burris, & Ping, 1996). However, due to the sensitive nature of the topic, and the personal and familial after-effects of the residential school system, there are substantial parts of the data that could not be published. Participants did not feel comfortable sharing some⁴ of their photographs within a group discussion setting; therefore the details of the photographs were discussed in the one-on-one interviews with the researcher. The legacy of RS is still delicate for their descendants, especially when they reflected on issues within their personal lives. With this in mind, the researcher selected photographs only from the interviews that are shared publicly. It is this study's aim to share these stories and photographs with the hope that it will help to raise the awareness in readers to the impact of the residential schooling system on Indigenous lives.

A few of the Indigenous students disclosed that they experienced forms of abuse.⁵ Abuse experienced by descendants was consistent with the findings outlined by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) regarding how their physical and mental health had been affected by residential schools. Some of these effects include (but are not limited to) former difficulties with addictions, low self-esteem, repercussion from their social environment such as poor parenting skills, and experiences of sexual and physical abuse (Assembly of First Nations, 2004; Ship & Norton, 2001). The participants and I mutually decided not to publish the life stories about processing and healing from their abuses. Participants exerted their agency to change the protocol (e.g. in Chapter 3 section 3.15 Indigenous students included

⁴A pilot study's results found that Indigenous students preferred to share their photographs in a one-on-one environment. After meeting with UNM and UWO Indigenous students, I asked them in a group meeting if they would like to share their photographs with the rest of study participants or share them with me (as found in the pilot study). UNM and UWO students felt photographs were too personal and opted for the one-on-one meeting (interview with me). However, Indigenous students were willing to share their photographs and their captions to the rest of the group in a PowerPoint.

⁵Some participants experienced different forms of abuse such as emotional, mental, physical, or sexual. Particular data related to individuals was not published in this study in order to respect the wishes and agreements I made with participants. They gifted me their stories to share in this dissertation. Some gifted stories were only told for me and I did not receive permission to share them publicly.

their children and arranged a meeting with participants outside their own study site) and made decisions on what would be shared and disseminated in the findings of the project. This right was exercised continually throughout the project.

Photovoice is an empowerment tool for Indigenous students to “recognize the vitality of their own voices... [and] seeks to transform their self-image from objects to policy to actors in the policy arena” (Wang et al., 1996, p. 1392). Subsequently, this process allows us to identify solutions and policies to better equip Indigenous students, –the descendants of RS Survivors—during their studies at post-secondary institutions. The following narratives of UNM and UWO students are accompanied by paraphrased quotes based on field notes and recorded transcriptions for each session. Each photograph in this project tells a unique story of passions, accomplishments, and individual and collective strengths. They pay homage to one’s ancestors and families. Furthermore, students’ photographs speak to their hopes for their children and the future generations of Indigenous peoples. These photographs also reflect the struggles of working through feelings about the legacy of the residential schools. These narratives confirm the complexity of the residential school systems’ impact on the lives of Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US by discussing the positive, neutral, and negative aspects of this history.

4.1 Notable Characteristics

Eighty percent of the study sample was comprised of students pursuing an Indigenous Studies degree at UNM and UWO as either majors or minors. One reason Indigenous Studies majors and minors may have volunteered to participate in the project was in order to extend their understanding of residential schools, as articulated by UWO Participant 2:

I'm in First Nations Studies so residential schools come up a lot [...]; but in the United States, I would say it probably only came up once or twice. [...] We learned at one point that they... used... the model for the United States or Canada to model apartheid in South Africa and then concentration campus, which to me just blew my mind. [...] Things started to make a lot more sense, [such as] our present situation for Indigenous people, my present situation, and my family's situation. I wanted to take my understanding of the residential schools further. (Personal communication, Interview, June 17, 2015).

Other participants were drawn to this study because they wanted to reflect on how the legacy of residential schools impacted them and their families. Some participants stated they used the study as a healing mechanism to let go of the negativity and anger associated with these institutions. Many participants highlighted that in their Indigenous Studies courses they learned details about residential schools that were not relayed to them by their family or community members.

For the purpose of obtaining the necessary data, I identified Indigenous students enrolled at these two institutions as potential study participants using listservs, campus flyers, and an-

nouncements in courses (see Section 3.7, Recruitment and Information Sessions, for details). As previously mentioned, the majority of the dissertation study's participants were Indigenous Studies students. In the following section, I describe participants' characteristics, which was gathered through a questionnaire (See Table 4.1).

4.2 Questionnaire Results

Study participants came from several Indigenous backgrounds, such as Anishinaabe, Cree, D ne, Haudenosaunee, Northwestern Pacific, and Pueblo (see Table 3.3, Participant Characteristics, in Chapter 3 for specific details). The questionnaire aimed to elicit basic demographic information and assessed UNM and UWO participants' individual knowledge about residential school history (see appendix for the questionnaire). The following sections describe findings that emerged from analyzing questionnaire responses reported in Table 4.1.

Participants' questionnaires were completed prior to group discussions and the commencement of their individual Photovoice projects. Our aim was to assess the students' knowledge of the residential school system in Canada and/or the US. It was essential that the participants had at least a basic knowledge. All 30 participants had prior knowledge and awareness of the residential school system in Canada and the US, most of which was gained through books and conversations with their community members, Elders, family, and friends. While some participants also noted that they gained pertinent information from television programs, the majority of study participants at both universities acquired knowledge about residential schools from family, or through courses offered as a part of their respective Indigenous Studies programs. Analysis of the questionnaire responses revealed that 53% of study participants understood that "residential schools" is a Canadian term, while "boarding schools" is the term used in the US

to refer to institutions that were designed to assimilate and “civilize” Indigenous populations. Similarly, the majority of the study participants had a broad understanding of the residential school/boarding school system in both countries⁶.

In addition, study participants were asked if they felt that the residential school system had an impact on them personally, to which 97% responded affirmatively. Family made up 79% of UWO (Canada) students’ prior knowledge of residential schools. By comparison, 100% of UNM (US) students reported family as their main influence for knowledge of RS, while 44% of their knowledge came from the community. Study participants’ responses to further questionnaire items reflected that these impacts of RS included intergenerational trauma, loss of traditional language and culture, and experiencing different types of abuse (e.g., sexual, physical, emotional, and psychological). These assertions are supported by the findings published by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada in the Honoring the Truth: Reconciling for the Future summary report, where cultural and language loss and emotional and physical abuses were cited as the main types of trauma experienced by Indigenous students who attended residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Table 4.1 presents findings yielded from the questionnaire responses of the students at both study sites.

Table 4.1: *UNM and UWO Questionnaire Results*

UNM & UWO Participants	[Women]	[Men]	Canada	US
1. Do you know about residential schools or boarding schools?				
No				
Yes	21	9	14	16

⁶In this dissertation, for simplicity the term “residential school,” abbreviated RS, will be used to refer to both US boarding schools and Canadian based residential schools, as both institutions were designed to assimilate and “civilize” Indigenous peoples.

2. How did you find out or learn about these schools?				
Books	1			1
Community	12	5	10	7
Elders		1		1
Family	18	9	11	16
Friends	9	3	3	9
Attended one TV	2	1	1	2
University Classes	1			1
	12	3	5	10
3. Do you know the differences between residential schools and boarding schools?				
Yes	13	3	6	9
No	8	6	8	7
4. Do you know where these schools were located?				
Yes	17	6	10	13
No	5	2	4	3
5. Do you feel that these schools have impacted you?				
Yes	21	8	13	16
No		1	1	
6. Have you received any type of support to help you process your feelings about the history of these schools?				
Yes	7	8	6	1
No	14	1	8	15

7. Would you recommend these support services to other students?				
Yes	15	4	10	10
No	5	5	3	6
Maybe	1		1	
8. Are there any types of support services you feel are needed to help you or other students processing learning about these schools?				
Yes	17	8	10	15
No	3	1	3	1
Unsure	1		1	
9. Do you feel increased awareness of these schools is needed?				
Yes	21	9	14	16
No				

The last question included in the questionnaire prompted the participants to indicate if, in their view, the general American and Canadian public should be made more aware of these institutions and the damaging effects they had on Indigenous populations. All participants expressed that there should be more awareness about the residential school system. Study participants indicated that greater awareness would be a way of truth telling, allowing the public to understand how Indigenous communities are dealing with social issues (e.g., alcoholism, drug abuse, and domestic violence). However, many also suggested that, in addition to educating the public about Indigenous peoples' concerns and history, such truth telling would allow Indigenous individuals to become more self-aware. As this item allowed the participants to provide a detailed response if they wished, some of their views on residential school awareness are included below:

Because until everyone is made aware of these schools, a comprehensive understanding of First Nations peoples of North America will never be fully understood. Historical context is integral to learning about First Nations people in North America. – UWO 12

It is a part of [Canadian] and [American] history that needs to be told. Too many of our Indigenous people don't know where all of this intergenerational and lateral violence is coming from. – UWO 8

We need to understand how boarding schools affected our parents in distancing them from their cultures [and] traditional ways of living, and have affected the parenting skills of some. It also introduced the nuclear family aspect instead of reinforcing the extended family benefits. – White Deer

Outsiders are usually completely unaware of what our Peoples have gone through and how it continues to affect our youth today. If they do not know, how can they begin to understand our desire to re-establish and integrate our culture in education? – Little Sun⁷

The study participants expressed that many Indigenous youth (based on knowledge in their own communities) feel disconnected from their Indigenous background and from the traditional ways of knowing as a result of the residential school legacy. Study participants thought that the impacts of the residential school system on Indigenous youth could only be rectified if the history of these institutions was taught expansively in an age-appropriate curriculum in public schools. This would allow for Indigenous youth to be introduced to the cross-generational effects of residential schools, and could help lessen the roller coaster of emotions (i.e. anger, frustration, and sadness) that would impact them over their life-course.

⁷Participants chose their own pseudonym or decided to remain with a numerical identifier.

The questionnaire provided study participants with the opportunity to share their opinions about what they thought were the effects that the residential school system had on their Indigenous families who attended these institutions, as well as indicating the impact that they felt personally. Listed below are a few detailed responses:

My mother does not speak her language or live on the reservation, nor do three of her four siblings. Therefore, I also do not speak my language or live on the reservation. This is because my grandparents and their parents all went to boarding schools. – April Thomas

My parents and grandparents went to boarding school, [where] they were taught different beliefs, letting go of their culture. I was impacted because my parents were assimilated and didn't teach me much about our culture. It was more English and education. – Blackhorse

I can't tell you how but I know it has. – Bluebird Daniel Ellclaw

Through intergenerational trauma placed on my parents and grandparents. I have been through many abuses that I now realize have stemmed from the residential schools. – UWO 1

In the participants' initial questionnaire prior to the Photovoice aspect of the project, they expressed that they felt that residential schools: influenced how language was taught or not taught to them; did not provide proper cultural teachings; influenced their choice to not pursue formal education; exposed them to experiences of abuses or lateral violence; created a lack of warmth from family members; and created an inherent knowledge that the system impacted them even if they could not pinpoint specific factors in their lives.

The questionnaires also allowed the participants to share their perspectives on the ways de-

scendants of residential school students coped with the impact of residential school history. Participants were asked to share their thoughts about potential services they felt could be a help to them or other students during their interviews. For instance, Plain Jane stated:

“I have only talked about my feelings about boarding schools with my husband. I am still learning about the history, [and] continuing to process the information. Other people in need of services are probably unsure that support services are available. I want to help people get the help they need: talking circles, one-on-one with a person capable and qualified to engage in the subject.”

Some participants' coping mechanisms were to talk with significant others, Elders, family members, or counselors about their families' involvement in these institutions, and they sought support after feeling the repercussions on a personal level. At the same time, Indigenous participants stressed that other Indigenous students who felt hurt by the residential school system should have access to support services. Some of the support services Indigenous students felt were needed was talking circles (i.e., the opportunity to learn and/or discuss residential schools in order to process what they learned in university courses), psychological services, and speaking with Elders, as well as services to ensure their success in post-secondary education, such as increased information on financial aid and other awards. Indigenous students also expressed that they wanted more information about residential schools, such as workshops.

The questionnaire provided Indigenous students with an opportunity to give direct feedback through open-ended questions listed in Table 4.1. For Question 8, “Are there any types of support services you feel are needed to help you or other students' process learning about these schools?,” there were 17 women and 8 men who expressed that support services were needed to process their feelings and understanding about residential schools. In addition, four

participants were not aware of available support services for them or others. There was one participant who was unsure or unaware of support services such as counseling or talking circles that were available to help deal with the residual effects.

A noted difference between UNM and UWO participants was identifying if support or help was received to process the impacts of RS. For instance, of the UWO students (residing in Canada) 43% received support compared to one student in the US. As mentioned, Indigenous students who answered either yes, no, or unsure were able to add more feedback to explain what they felt would be appropriate support mechanisms for themselves and others learning or recognizing the personal impacts these institutions had on themselves, family, and communities. In addition, students expressed that there is a need to have more guest speakers and culturally relevant outlets for understanding their peoples' experiences. Table 4.2 below details support services⁸ suggested by Indigenous students in their questionnaires:

Indigenous students were also keen to initiate the healing process in response to the maltreatments their family members and others endured at these institutions. The group discussions, questionnaires, and one-on-one interviews found that the majority of the study participants had knowledge about the RS system from Indigenous Studies courses and stories from their family members. Since this knowledge was largely theoretical, the aim of the present study was to allow these students to take part in a hands-on process. I felt that this process would generate a greater awareness of the intergenerational impacts by allowing students to share their individual histories about their feelings about the effects of residential school. To facilitate this we set up both an individual journey and a collective one. One journey where they would go more deeply into their personal understandings exploring their own understandings and one where they travelled together learning from each other.

⁸Indigenous students referred to services such as one-on-one counseling, talking circles, and community members to share their stories. All these types of services will help them process emotions that may arise as they learn about residential schools.

Table 4.2: *Types of Support Services Needed*

Services	Responses	Selected comments with details that speak to services needed
Guest Speakers who are culturally relevant to speak	15	“Talk with someone... [and] share coping strategies.” “More education about these schools and their impact on the next generations. We need to know how our minds were ‘changed.’”
More Academic Support	3	“... Services ⁸ ... available with knowledgeable people that can help students who are learning about [residential school] for the first time.”
More Financial Support	1	“... financial... for all reason(s)” such as to complete one’s university education.
More culturally relevant sources for healing and processing emotions	12	“Sweat lodges, Elders, and prayers.” “Talking circles generational and intergenerational about the effects of [residential] schools and how to heal by moving forward.”
More psychological services	5	“... Mental health services for individual students.” “Counseling services, education to mainstream audiences so they can understand the history.”

4.3 Impacts of the Residential Schooling System in Canada and the US

This section relates thirty stories of self-identified Indigenous students at UNM and UWO who were involved in this project. As mentioned previously in Section 4, each Indigenous student approached the project differently. For instance, each student had their own distinctive approach to describe their own and their families’ experiences with RS. One student took a collage of photographs to connect herself with her mother’s RS experience. Other students used the environment or props to artistically created a photograph to indicate the RS outcomes (see section 4.1 for details). These stories are based on discussions with participants, their photographs, and my thorough examination of the transcripts.

The stories of RS on the lives of Indigenous students are organized into sections based on the following research questions:

- 1) How do you as an Indigenous student interpret the history of residential schools in your respective country, Canada and/or the United States?
- 2) When presented with information about the residential school experience in another country (where students do not reside) how do Indigenous students interpret or make connections to the history?
- 3) Can Indigenous students provide an important insight into the intergenerational impacts of residential schools?
- 4) Are there discernable signs of impacts from previous family involvement with the residential school system?
- 5) Are there indications that these impacts implicate how Indigenous students' express cultural empowerment and survival based upon their knowledges of the residential school system?
- 6) Can we learn lessons from a comparative assessment of the residential schools in Canada and the United States?

Photographs are situated in the one-on-one interviews and transcriptions of the group discussions will be highlighted to explain how students answered the questions above. The use of photovoice, photography, combined with narration, created a pathway for Indigenous students to submerge themselves in the project. Indigenous students reflected on how the residential school system changed their lives and those of family members through their photographs in the interviews.

4.3.1 Interpretation of the residential school history in student's respective country, Canada or US

Each student had strong responses to how Canada or the US dealt with Indigenous children who went to residential schools. For instance, UNM and UWO Indigenous students' initial responses to RS were the following: "disruptive," "hurtful," "damaging," or "created loss" and left them feeling "anger," "sadness," and "empathy" for children, family members, and parents who were forced to send their children to these institutions. During their one-on-one interviews and the group discussions, the students made continuous connections of the present to the past treatment of Indigenous children attending RS. At the same time, participants imagined and empathized with what Indigenous children endured at these institutions. Additionally, participants were mindful and expressed being protectors of their children and Indigenous children in general because they were cognizant of the maltreatment of Indigenous children who attended RS. Each participant stated repeatedly the need for Indigenous children to be in a safe and positive environment to demonstrate being resilient. Alma depicts the frustration, sadness, and empathy for children who attended:

Turning five and starting school should be a beautiful thing. . . . My son was excited. . . . These kids had no choice. These children had no choice by the time they turned five. I'm pretty sure their parents didn't want them to turn five, knowing that they were going to be taken away. I'm pretty sure that my brothers didn't want to turn five, knowing what was going to be in store for them.



Figure 4.1: Turning Five

Another Indigenous student, UWO 7, commented on the impact of residential schools on children and imagined how they must have felt:

This place is my home...When I think of home...I think of my beach. . . . It's probably one of the places where I feel safest and... the most at home. To me here, I feel connected to people who have passed on. I feel connected to the Creator. [. . .] I [joined] the study because to be pulled away from this, that is when I can start to feel the hurt of being taken away. Because if someone told me I could never go back there I don't know how I'd feel and it would be hard to deal with. . . I look

at people being pulled away and being taken. . . . Yes, the schools were horrible, being pulled away from your land, and everything you know, and everything that you are accustomed to.

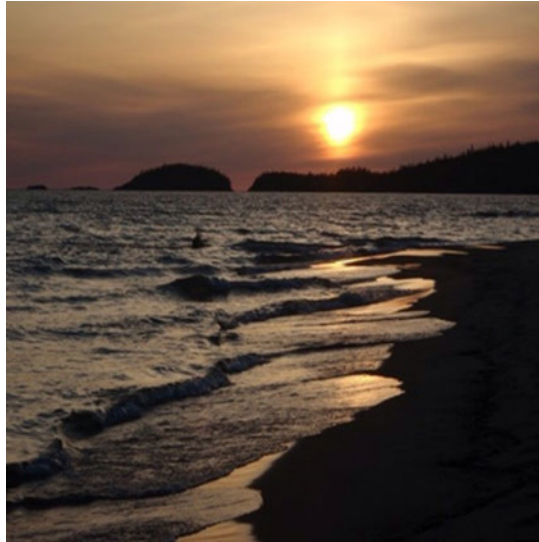


Figure 4.2: Home

Indigenous students also described their interpretations of the residential school as a “very dark past, not only in Canada and the United States but also for Indigenous peoples. [...] It was a place where they were [...] untaught, stripped... of everything that made them human. [...] They separated the boys and girls and we lost how to have that respect for relationships” (UWO 8, Personal Communication, February 12, 2015). Blackhorse had a similar response during one of the group discussions at UNM: “Speaking about the history of [residential] schools I think of one word, ‘hell’, for our grandparents and our great-grandparents and whoever went to [residential] school back then” (Personal communication, October 1, 2014). Participants also talked about how residential schools changed Indigenous ways of living such as measuring time. According to Sunshine, the university campus clock is a reminder of the residential school concept of “structured time” because it goes back to how:

[The residential] system [. . . provided] the daily agenda [and one's] life is lived by the minute, by the hour. It's a structure, like a routine. . . Indigenous people already had a clock system. It just didn't. . . ring. Our clock was the sun, the stars, the universe, and the seasons, but this clock is more of a white man's thing. It's 10AM; I have to go to church. I can get up in the morning and pray to my Creator anytime I want. Or this clock is saying it's very structured.

Sunshine referred to how children who attended residential school had a structured time of daily chores, military drills, eating, schooling, the outing system, and sleeping. Sunshine expressed that attending university resembled a modern-day residential school, which was supported by her peers in the group discussion. The participants felt that Indigenous students still had to go away from their homes to receive an education, they had to pick between obtaining a traditional education versus a Western education that would secure them employment in the workforce, and university courses were governed by Western concepts of time. Hungry Turtle also pointed out that Indigenous men are still forced to cut their hair because “they want a job. They want to look normal and modernized” and said she met some Indigenous sophomores who had “beautiful hair, long, braided. . . but when [graduation got closer] they started cutting it off because White people. . . would rather choose someone who looked more socially acceptable” (Personal communication, November 11, 2014). It appeared that the notion of being forced to cut one's hair to be considered a modern or civilized member of the workforce is a challenge or social standard that Indigenous students and peoples continue to face. Indigenous children at RS had their hair cut in order to meet the standards of settler society.

In addition, Indigenous students who were in either a group or individual meeting expressed anger for the residential schools and the treatment of their family members and RS Survivors. Indigenous students also felt that acknowledging and talking about the residential school sys-

tem was important not only for themselves but for their families and to educate the dominant society about the impacts these institutions continue to have. Indigenous students expressed that history was “emotional,” that “history needs to be told,” and that there are still “physical remnants” of these institutions that serve as constant reminders of the process of assimilation and civilization of Indigenous peoples. Everwind Saward articulated:

I had always grown up knowing that my papa went to a residential school in Brantford. [I]t’s called the Mohawk Institute. . . [In] grade 4. . . we went on a field trip to the Brantford one because it’s still there. . . I walk by this school [pictured below] every day on my way to campus. It was the first thing I had noticed when moving to London, I think because it looks so eerily similar to the Mohawk Institute, the residential school my papa had attended. . . The image of Mohawk Institute is ingrained into my mind so now I can easily identify similar-looking schools. I wonder if they teach those children in that school about First Nations people, about residential schools? Probably not. When talking to myself about things like this there is anger in my gut that stirs and I get so angry. As I’m writing I wonder if that anger will ever go away. Sometimes it feels like anger and sometimes it’s sadness and despair for those children who survived and those who didn’t.



Figure 4.3: Reminiscence of Residential School in Everyday Life

Little Sun made a similar comment:

I took some [photographs] of the tracks and how I love them and I hate them. I love them because they helped my grandfather get home when he wanted to run away. But they also took him back where he was forced to go and I think about how many of our people get up on those tracks today and they're so fractured, you know; they're so conflicted because they don't know what to do. They are so lost.



Figure 4.4: Love & Hate Relationship

According to Plain Jane it was important to know the residential school history so that she would be able to inform her children about the past when it was appropriate.

I took these [photographs] on the old Albuquerque Indian school property. I was right there with my children, holding onto them. I was protecting them. I... showed... them where it happened [and am] ready to tell them the story when they get older. [...] [M]y grandparents went to [residential] school in the city... My children holding on to me in the [photograph] represents the bond and connection I have with my children, a bond broken generations ago between my grandmother and her mother. The cycle continued until now.



Figure 4.5: Me and my children

Plain Jane also empathized with Indigenous parents who were forced to send their children to residential schools. Plain Jane and other Indigenous parents in the project discussed the need to protect their children and said talking about the truth of residential schools would help their children to understand the contemporary issues facing Indigenous peoples and help alleviate potential shock and anger their children may feel when they learn about the residential school history.

Blackhorse's photograph of him and his son also reiterated Plain Jane's feelings about the residential school and the taking away of children. He stated:

The [photograph] depicts our bond as one. The correlation between this [photograph] and boarding school is the family connection that was lost when the kids were sent to boarding school. I feel that once the bond is broken between families, it is very difficult to repair. Fixing requires learning about your child all over again and trying to get your love back.



Figure 4.6: Broken Bond

Indigenous parents in the project imagined that for Indigenous parents who sent their children to residential school, it was painful and they did not want to send their children.

4.3.2 Thoughts about the residential school system in the opposing country

Both students from UNM and UWO made similar statements about the residential schools in Canada and the US. When asked to describe the opposing country's residential school system, participants used the words: "disruptive," "hurtful," "damaging," and "created loss." Participants stated they were left feeling "anger," "sadness," and "empathy" for Indigenous children, families, and communities. Participants felt Indigenous children who experienced RS had

similar outcomes across both countries. Additionally, Indigenous students felt “connected” to Indigenous peoples across the border because they endured analogous occurrences of assimilation, colonization, and oppression by the federal governments of each country. For instance, UWO 7 stated, “To be completely honest, I think it made me more connected to people in the States. I thought they had their problems and we had our problems. But after learning about the boarding school, they weren’t different. We have the same issues [...] trying to find identity, culture, and what was taken” (Personal communication, April 28, 2015). Harley also had a similar comment: “I didn’t feel as isolated anymore because I thought that we were the only ones that got treated that badly. So there was a bit of a sense of community” (Personal communication, November 18, 2014). Furthermore, UNM participants expressed that talking about residential school in the Canadian context allowed them to connect with Indigenous peoples across the border. Their dialogue is as follows:

Little Sun: I think we should share being Native and share a lot of the stuff that we went through. The burden is too much to bear and to know that our brothers and sisters to the North also endured the same horrors—it’s very important to know about their experiences.

Plain Jane: I agree. I think it’s important for us to know their issues because you have someone to cope with and you have someone who understands the struggles and the whole effect that it’s had on our Native people. If we understand what happened to them and how they’ve handled it, ways they’ve overcome it and their resiliency could be a good learning tool for us.

Bluebird: I would also agree. We share our stories, even if it’s just between Tribes. It’s about sharing our experiences [about what] our people, our elders, [and] our ancestors went through and this is what we see in our

communities, so [I feel that] reflecting back on how boarding schools affected me [is important].

A few UWO Indigenous students also expressed during their group discussion that the two countries' residential school systems were similar or that they gained an understanding about their similarities after the initial group meeting (Personal communication, group discussion, February 23, 2015):

Alma: I knew there were schools in the US but I didn't know how similar they were. I would read books. There was a book I was reading and this guy talks about his experience with boarding schools in the US and for him it was more of a positive thing but I don't know how true that was because anyone around here wouldn't say it was a positive thing. The boarding schools in both countries seem similar now that I have more information.

Everwind: I knew that there were residential schools in the States but I didn't really think about it. I didn't make a conscious effort to think about it or learn about. It was never looked at as a big connection. But if you look at the big [photograph] and connect every school as to what actually happened to [Indigenous] people on both sides of the border, it is overwhelming.

UWO 8: For me, we both originate from the States. It's all Turtle Island. It happened to all of us. The borderlines don't mean nothing. We need to know our own histories. It affects us all.

All the Indigenous students who participated in the project collectively decided that the RS history of Canada and the US was a shared experience based on their group discussion. Table 4.1, UNM and UWO Questionnaire Results, showed that 53% of participants were aware of boarding and residential schools because their traditional communities historically spanned across the Canadian-US border⁹ A few participants stated in their one-on-one interviews that their parents told them the RS system existed across the border but did not make the full connection until critically talking about it with peers.

Charlie communicated the outcomes of the residential schooling system in both countries on their Indigenous populations. He stated both governments had a clear intention of targeting Indigenous children by cutting them off from their languages, ideas, traditions, and cultures. As noted by Charlie:

This target represents how I get the feeling they knew exactly where to hit us by taking our language away. They did everything to take it away—beat us or wash our mouths out with soap—or strictly forbid it to the point where our grandparents didn't want to teach us. All of our worldviews are in our language; that's how we communicate our teachings, our behaviors in life. By cutting that off, I just felt like they knew just cutting the language part off. They knew that that was the key to assimilating us.

As Indigenous students discussed the overlaps of the RS history between Canada and the US, UWO students requested if they would be able to meet the UNM students via Skype (See Chapter 3 section 3.15 Participant-led Discussions). To reiterate, UWO students wanted to

⁹These traditional territories included migration or trading routes. Some Indigenous communities fled from the US to Canada, which participants learned about from their family or in their Indigenous Studies courses.



Figure 4.7: Right on Target

consult UNM students on how they initiated their photographs. This interaction between the two sites is an example of carrying out the principles of Indigenous Research Methods: respect, relevance, reciprocity, relationship, and responsibility (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; Wilson, 2008). In addition, it speaks to the Indigenous students working together to understanding and work through their emotions, perspectives, and learning about the RS systems' impacts on them and their families.

4.3.3 Insights into the intergenerational impacts of residential school

Indigenous students at both study sites were impacted by the residential school system even though they did not attend. There were three participants who shared that they attended residential school and they channeled their healing self-reflective efforts into their photographs. This project allowed Indigenous students to open up about their families' lives. Indigenous students conveyed that family members who attended these institutions did not pass on their language to them. Furthermore they were unable to attend ceremonies or express concerns about Indigenous identity with them. Indigenous students articulated the notion of "loss" as a

type of intergenerational impact from their parents or grandparents' attendance at residential school. The impact was also articulated as "anger" for what happened to a relative, as well as feeling "isolated." Table 4.3, Personal Associations to Residential School, features each participant's connection to these institutions.

Table 4.3: *Personal Associations to Residential School*

I attended	3
Parents(s) Attended	10
Uncle(s) or Aunt(s) Attended	6
Sibling(s) Attended	3
Grandparent(s) Attended	30

Each Indigenous student had a relative who attended residential school, which is why they had basic knowledge about residential school in their respective country. All the participants had a grandparent who attended a school. The photographs below represent how Indigenous students answered the third research question: Can Indigenous students provide an important insight into the intergenerational impacts of residential schools?

During the one-on-one interview with White Deer, we talked about how going to residential school prevented him from participating in ceremony. At the same time, he acknowledged the importance of relearning his culture and responsibilities. The photographs represented a type of cultural loss.

As a son of a medicine man, in my earlier years, I was always attached to my dad. When he went to gather his medicine plants or herbs that he needed to use I would always go along. ...He would tell me, 'You stay here because you're not meant to see where I get them and you're not meant to see them'. And so I would stay by the truck and I would entertain myself while he would go about his business. If I had continued that path without being taken off the reservation,

I myself would've probably been in his shoes at some point. ...I would have known my responsibility as a son of a medicine man. [These] two [photographs] ...depict what I lost. ...These are all things that I had to retrain in order to dress like a traditional [Pueblo] man.



(a) Acquiring Traditional Regalia



(b) My Father's Teaching Resides in Me

Figure 4.8: Cultural loss

April Thomas further noted the feeling of being isolated from cultural traditions because they were not passed onto her since her grandmother attended residential school.

I was thinking about...how isolated I feel sometimes from my pueblo. I thought my feeling this way could be from the boarding school experience. My grandmother went to boarding school. She felt like she needed to modernize herself and her family in order to succeed, which is what they really instilled in boarding schools: those traditions, living on the reservation, and staying within your own language isn't always going to let you be successful. You're going to have to assimilate and be modernized. My mother never learned the language as a result

of that. She wasn't as close to the traditions as my grandmother. So I felt really isolated at times from my traditions because even though I go back often and I feel close to my family out there. I chose to take this [photograph] because the events following my ancestral people being forced into boarding schools have led up to this point in my life.



Figure 4.9: Isolation

Everwind Saward echoed a similar comment, stating that growing up with a Christian background, a result of her family's upbringing, prevented her participation in longhouse ceremonies at an early age. However, she is currently learning more about these ceremonies and getting involved.

Tonight I walked home from the first social I've attended in years. I feel reconnected with the world in a way that I had almost forgotten. ... Tonight I found myself incredibly envious of those who knew all the songs by the first drumbeat. ... I am envious that they are so connected to the culture and spiritually. I am envious they have always grown up traditional and have always attended longhouse. I am thankful for my Christian background but I have always known my heart is missing something else. I need both of them.

Indigenous students had strong opinions about how the residential schooling system created different types of loss for them personally or changed their communities. Some of the participants talked about the changes in their community from poverty, increased consumption of alcohol and other types of substance abuse, how community members do not provide for one another, the decrease in speaking their traditional languages, and cutbacks in community activities or gatherings. To the study participants, these factors were a result of the residential school system because it altered Indigenous ways of living and perspectives since their family or community members were socialized into an ideological concept of “successful” working members of the dominant society and forced to change their Indigenous identity.

Vanessa indicated that there is a different mindset in her community. She talked about how things were stolen because to her the residential school system took away the concept of community and in her community people do not take care for each other anymore. The community is not the same; especially when it comes to fishing:

It was always fun when they made the big fishing nets...It [was] a real communal part...I remember when I was younger we used to go down to the river. There were always...people but now it's not the same. ... A lot of people down... fishing... have been to residential schools and there's a lot of drinking...It's not as safe as it used to be... There [is] the loss of community because they used to make sure everyone had some [fish]. Now, there's a lot of what can they get for themselves.

Mariposa also commented about the loss of traditional teachings due to her family not being taught how to conduct them.



Figure 4.10: Communal Fishing

... [I] took a [photograph] of the sacred fire... because there are all these rules. You have to walk around it... clockwise; you can't walk through it... I wish I knew right from the beginning. [There] are little kids who have parents who are actually teaching them. I never had that and I want to be able to know like even with smudging. I don't think I'm doing it right. I want to learn so I stared at it for a long time... because someday I want to learn. I know it's not going to be hard but I want to do it right without being embarrassed or being yelled at... because my ways, my learning is lost.



Figure 4.11: Re-learning Cultural Protocols

4.3.4 Discernible signs of impacts from family involvement

Participants from UNM and UWO highlighted three signs common to their family members who attended residential schools. Indigenous students expressed their unconditional love for their family members but voiced frustrations about how their family members' actions affected them. At the same time, they verbally and physically expressed their empathy for hardships their family members endured at the residential schools. These expressions during the one-on-one interviews were difficult to hear and process because their feelings about the discernible signs of the residential school institutions on their lives and their families' lives were emotional. In answering the fourth research question, "Are there discernible signs of impacts from previous family involvement with the residential school system?," participants identified the following themes: abuse, alcoholism, lack of family relationships and lack of parenting. As one participant explained in one of the group discussions:

[It] is really upsetting that your loved one didn't get the childhood that he deserved. A lot of people see [my grandpa] as a harsh man, but he was never that way with me... He didn't get a chance to be a child. He had to grow up hard and not show emotion and it's sad.

Another participant talked in one of the group discussions about how abuses occurred in the family because of a parent's attendance at residential school:

It's being a victim of residential school. I'm a victim of my father, who was in residential school, so I have dealt with many of the same abuses that happened within the residential school system. I could probably list off the abuses and tell

you, “Yes, I felt that” and if it’s a learned behavior then it’s carried on through generations.

During a one-on-one interview, UWO 8 mentioned the diminished family bonds with his parents, who attended residential schools, but added that the familial bonds are being strengthened.

I think how awesome it would have been to still have that bond from my mom and my dad [as well as for them] to have with their parents because they never got that. So in return, we never got that. It’s up to me to start implementing that back into our family, those hugs and kisses and I love you, because I never got it. They never got it but [my children] get it all the time.

The lack of family bonds, warmth, and absence of parenting skills was present in various interviews with Indigenous students. Harley provided a photograph of a city bus stop where he reflected on his life. He felt that his parents lacked parenting skills because they went to residential school and were unable to foster his growth into a healthy adult:

... [Mom] didn’t teach. Dad didn’t teach. [The] troubled path... the few [DWI’s] prevent[ed] me from driving. [...] Time... is abstract. It’s very pixilated. It doesn’t make sense to me. [My parents didn’t teach me] how to be a responsible adult [and] self-discipline. ... I think... had they gotten a better education, had they stuck with it or whatever... They would have taught me the tools to become a person, a proper adult, and then to turn... into a good parent. I get so much of my worldview from reading books... I think that if Mom and Dad had read more books they would have learned things that would have made them do things a little

bit [differently; they would have been] better parents.



Figure 4.12: Responsible Adult

Alcoholism was cited multiple times throughout the group discussions and one-on-one interviews. Participants talked about the rise of alcoholism and other substance abuse among community members who attended residential schools. Other participants spoke about family members who consumed alcohol to mitigate their residential school experiences or other life challenges. Excessive alcohol usage was a taught coping mechanism for some participants' family members, which was also picked up by their descendants. As rationalized by UWO 4:

I took this [photograph] because there has been a history of alcohol abuse in my family and it has had an effect on our Indigenous people. My mother, my uncle, so many people tell me that they have suffered from alcohol. It's such a strong thing in my family that so many people have abused alcohol.



Figure 4.13: Alcohol Abuse

4.3.5 Expressions of cultural empowerment

There are multiple narratives of the residential school experience in Canada and the United States. Some Residential School Survivors had a negative experience, others were neutral, and a few had positive experiences, talking about how they learned certain skills or were able to acquire a post-secondary education as a result of going to residential school. The majority of the participants in the project portrayed a dominant narrative of the adverse outcomes of the residential school system in Canada and the US. In addition, Indigenous students also acknowledged there are stories where Residential School Survivors were resilient, parents were willing to send their children to these institutions due to the poor conditions on the reserves, and each experience was different. Participants utilized their knowledge of the RS system to address the fifth research question, “Are there indications of how Indigenous students express cultural empowerment and survival based upon their knowledge of the residential school system?” Indigenous students indicated that they have been empowered and were able to demonstrate resiliency in the wake of residential school history through paying tribute to their ancestors, re-learning their language, making cultural items, exerting their Indigenous identity, and holding tight to their history. These are examples of coming together to link hearts through a process of Colliding heartwork. Colliding Heartwork is the weaving together of Indigenous students’

life stories to understand the intergenerational impacts of the residential school system on their lives, family, and community as well as finding empathy for other Indigenous peoples who experienced these institutions.

UWO 10 explained how making cultural items enabled her to connect to past relations and maintain traditions, which were not allowed at residential school or were on the decline after family members attended these institutions. She articulated:

I want a genuine article of what everyone in the past and what my family had. My grandmother made beautiful mitts and moccasins, and mukluks. I want to learn that art and I want to learn what she did. . . . I want to learn for myself and I want the tradition to be alive.

Harley, like many other participants, learned or relearned to bead or make other traditional items through being self-taught, family, or other Indigenous teachings because their families did not teach them or lacked teaching because they attended residential school. UWO 9 also expressed similar sentiments regarding Navajo weavers in her family, represented by the three different rugs made by her mom, grandmother, and her:

. . . [This is the] first rug I ever made. . . weaving teaches us about ourselves. It teaches us about the right way to live. . . This was never passed down to me and it's not a life way anymore. . . It used to be a social event where they would all sit together and weave baskets but when they go to [residential] schools. . . the social, personal and loving element is taken away. Now, it's become just an art. The [residential school's] approach. . . it is not consistent with life ways, with Indigenous

philosophy, with love and everything else that accompanies it. It is objectified. . . It removes the beautiful complexity of what it means to engage in this art form. It's not just learning to make a rug; it's about learning about yourself.



Figure 4.14: Weaving is an expression not art

Participants discussed in their group discussion and one-on-one interviews that they are empowered by their communities' and families' continued support of their university education. At the same time, participants reflected upon the negative history of the residential schools and suppression of their cultural teachings, identity, and transmission of their traditional languages. Indigenous students were proud of their Indigenous identity and their communities. UNM 5 spoke to the significance of being proud of her home community:

The feeling that Acoma is “backing me up.” . . . I'm happy and proud to know that despite where my education takes me, despite the sad history of my people, my home, Haa'ka, will always be behind me to support me.

She felt that her community was behind her and had always supported her when she traveled away from home to get her education. Like UWO 5, many participants felt a sense of pride in who they are as an Indigenous person, the community they came from, and their current



Figure 4.15: Haa'ka Backing Me Up

life position, as well as using their education to help their community or other Indigenous communities.

Other participants spoke to the significance of maintaining or adapting ceremonies to heal RS Survivors, their families, and other Indigenous peoples from their experiences and work through emotions. Indigenous participants highlighted their appreciation RS Survivors for preserving knowledge of their ceremonies while they faced adversities in these institutions that rejected Indigenous ways of knowing and prevented them from practicing. Without RS Survivors' spirited struggle to retain their Indigenous ways, many of the ceremonies might not be practiced today. For instance, UWO 8 expressed:

[This] personal fasting lodge...our ceremonies are still being practiced today; again, showing that [the residential schools] weren't successful in wiping out who

we are.



Figure 4.16: Still being practiced

Healing takes many forms to help RS Survivors, family and community members who have started to talk about the residential school system and their experiences as a way to heal. Participants stated that ceremonies were a positive step toward alleviating the negative RS outcomes and provided a safe way to understand how residential school impacted their lives. Ceremonies also represented how participants felt that Indigenous peoples have been resilient to overcome the atrocities of these institutions and take action to heal from pain or ill experiences by going on to pursue post-secondary educations.

All the participants emphasized the importance of revitalizing their language and re-learning their traditional languages. Speaking Indigenous languages was prevented in the residential school system and children were punished (see Chapter 2) if they spoke because they were supposed to be learning English. Indigenous students repeated and shared similar stories of

family members not teaching their language or having limited knowledge or fluency because a grandparent or parent who attended these institutions did not stress the values of learning, or were disciplined by a teacher for speaking. Furthermore, speaking or re-learning Indigenous languages for participants was a vital part of their Indigenous identity. Language allows Indigenous peoples to speak to their ancestors and spirits when in ceremonies, emphasizes how traditional knowledge is passed, and allows them to talk with Elders who are not fluent in English. Residential schools did diminish many Indigenous languages; RS descendants are working toward revitalizing first and second language speakers. According to UWO 4 learning the Oneida language was extremely essential:

... [The] Oneida Morning Prayer... means thank you for this day and I'm glad to be here. I think it is a very powerful message. You can say this to yourself every day so I hung it up on my mirror and I look at it every day to remind me that (1) it's a new day to be thankful that you're here and for your Indigenous culture (2) Oneida is what we think our background is and that's what it says on my status card.

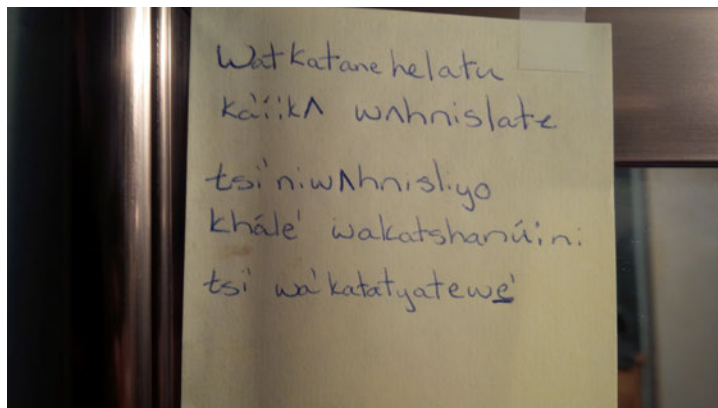


Figure 4.17: Re-learning Oneida

4.3.6 Comparative assessment of residential schools

The study participants were in unanimous agreement that residential schools in Canada and the United States should be compared as they understood both countries' residential school systems had similar outcomes and isolated Indigenous children from their Indigenous identities and fractured their growth into healthy adults. The final research question was, "Can we learn lessons from a comparative assessment of the residential schools in Canada and the United States?" Indigenous students were asked to reflect and give their opinion on residential school history in both countries. Participants shared parallel stories of family members struggling with alcoholism and other substance abuse because they attended these institutions, the lack of language spoken at home, empathy for children's and their parents' connection to these institutions, anger and sadness regarding the history associated with these schools. Finally, participants felt that it is important to educate themselves, their children, and both Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals about the impacts of RS. One participant at UWO stated during the group discussion, "I think they have the same bottom line and that's to assimilate. Like I said before, Canada and the US have the same histories" (UWO 11, Personal communication, February 12, 2015).

In addition, participants discussed how they thought about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Canada. UWO participants stated the non-Indigenous peoples might feel that Indigenous peoples have moved past the residential school history in Canada because they reconciled with the government. UNM participants were appreciative that the Canadian government formally apologized and created the TRC to acknowledge the wrongs of the RS system, which is not the case in the United States. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Canada and the United States (US) have both apologized to their Indigenous populations for the historical wrongdoings and harms of assimilation and colonization. The only difference is that Canada formally

apologized in 2008 and the US apologized as a petition that was not formally announced; in fact, few Americans and Indigenous peoples were aware President Barack Obama apologized in 2009. Both UNM and UWO participants affirmed that they felt their federal governments' apologies were insincere and lacked substance. Listed below are some of the comments from the group discussion from participants

UNM 8 Obama's was whack...[and] so lame... There is no feeling or anything, no[thing] genuine. (laughing)

Alma: I think with both apologies I...don't feel any emotion in that apology. Both [Obama] and Steven Harper are just saying words

UWO 1: Steven Harper said three days after the apology that there was no history of colonization in Canada. He threw the apology in the trash by saying we're perfect citizens and we've never done anything wrong. I think a lot of his apology was for show; he wasn't sincere about it at all.

Participants in both countries verbally expressed in the group discussions and individual interviews that the apologies from Canada and United States were insincere and lacked meaning for Indigenous children who went to residential schools. After viewing the videos of the two apologies during the initial group discussion, participants expressed anger and frustration that both countries failed to acknowledge or minimized their wrongdoing. In terms of reconciliation, one participant from UWO shared that in their family there are many members who have addictions with alcohol and members who attended residential school are still unwilling to talk

about their experience and that Canadians:

[... Assume] that because of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission... everyone is fine to talk about it and everything is getting better. There are still a lot of people... who don't want to acknowledge it... There are still people who don't want to talk about it... There's that stop in history that nobody wants to discuss.

The process of reconciliation from the residential school system is still being worked out between Indigenous peoples and the governments of Canada and the United States. Some Indigenous communities and individuals are ready and others are not. Some make statements but have no concrete proposals. A photograph by UWO 8 tied together the collective residential school impacts of both Canada and the US, as well as how Indigenous peoples are processing this history.

This... puzzle... [is] not even a quarter of the way complete. The puzzle pieces are scattered around all over the place. To me, each one of those puzzle pieces represents every one of us. Every time one of us goes through that healing, whether it's through healing lodge or whether it's through our own personal way of dealing with our past and getting back to our ceremonies and getting healthy, each one of us after doing that becomes one of those puzzle pieces that gets put in its place. To me, eventually we're all going whole again and that puzzle is going to be put back together. And we'll be living the way we were meant to be living here on Mother Earth.

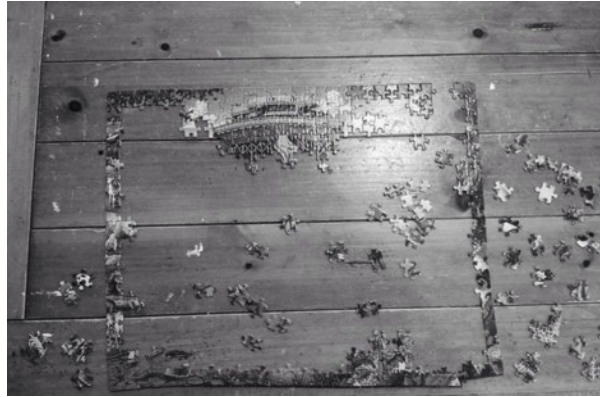


Figure 4.18: Putting back in place

4.4 Summary

To refer to the residential school history as complicated is an understatement. The RS history and Indigenous experiences are many diverse and powerful life stories of survivors and family members. These stories shaped how we as Indigenous peoples see our families, our communities, and ourselves. There is not one story, but many numerous ones, both told and untold, which pull at the strings of our hearts and memories while also informing how our future will be formed. Understanding the intergenerational effects of residential schools is a process of emotions, familial history, and situating one's own life. We cannot forget what has happened to our family, community, and fellow Indigenous relatives who attended these institutions. Instead, we hold both governments of Canada and the United States accountable for what occurred under their "educational policies" to ensure the past is not repeated. As Indigenous peoples, we strive to heal and to be empowered to create and maintain healthy minds and steps so our current and future generations of Indigenous children can live and prosper from their education. The residential school system may have broken some children and others will not be forgotten because their blood runs through our veins. As RS descendants, we have a unique opportunity to make positive change for Indigenous relatives and ourselves. Processing these emotions for change and understanding one's life are reflected in the photographs,

interviews, and group discussions of Indigenous students at UWO and UNM.

Participants advocated for positive changes and increased public awareness about the residential school system in both countries. More public awareness would help improve the overall understanding of how these institutions still impact Indigenous peoples. The family and community stories of RS continue to emerge. To reiterate, all thirty participants received their knowledge about residential schools from not only family members, community members but through self-education and their Indigenous Studies courses. With Indigenous Studies on the rise in Canada and the United States, it is more likely that RS descendants will continue to process their raw emotions about history and the impacts these institutions had on their families by self-reflection. This chapter provides a case study of two sites in particular how thirty Indigenous students conveyed their RS impacts from loss, abuse, self-discovery of their traditions, languages, and connection to each other as well as other Indigenous peoples who attended. The residential school system in Canada and the US continues to affect family members and their descendants, as participants shared in their group discussions, individual interviews, and photographs. As stated by UWO 1, “I had knowledge of [residential schools] but it wasn’t until I started university [...]. I think it was the history class. [...] I started to come to terms with, Okay, wow! My grandparents were in residential school. When I went through my healing and I know residential schools were brought up. And, I knew that my grandparents went to residential schools but I don’t think that it actually hit me hit me until I was learning about them in school. [...] I would look at things and in my life [...] this is what is happening because of residential schools. It was so close to home. Literally, I grew up with a residential school in my backyard.” (Personal communication, March 15, 2015).

Chapter 5

Colliding Heartwork

5.1 Introduction

Bringing emotion into research is often frowned upon by traditional Western academics; in fact, researchers are trained to avoid, diminish, and criticize subjectivity. My choice to break away from *traditional* academic writing, or what Dave Monture (2018) referred to as the trappings of “the academic priesthoods” is an effort to utilize my position as an Indigenous warrior¹ scholar within the academy to speak to both past and present forms of oppression, suppression, silence, and assimilation policies that we, our ancestors, family members, and peers have experienced. When Indigenous lived experiences are examined, the vast range of emotions must also be considered essential to our understanding of the lingering repercussions of past ills, such as

¹I define an Indigenous warrior scholar as an individual gifted with the talent of intellect to use their words and actions to create radical change in the academy through embracing one’s ancestors, community, and family. It is a warrior spirit that flows through the individual.

the RS system. Indigenous peoples encounter persistent forms of colonialism, and authentic voices will be necessary to continue honoring the power of emotions. When emotions and feelings are divorced, erased, and severed in the research process, Indigenous peoples' voices could be lost. Our diminished voices contribute to ongoing colonial agendas and the attempts to produce a type of "creative celiba(cy)" (Monture, 2018). This academic creative celibacy stifles Indigenous scholars and writers, trying to get us to conform to the norms of the academy, stripping away emotions, and feelings in order to be objective. This ideology is equivalent to thinking of Indigenous peoples as empty vessels and erases an important component of the lived and living history of the RS system from the body of research.

Emotions "work to *space* the surfaces of individual and collective bodies," particularly through Indigenous peoples, and these emotions form the "*source of our feelings*" (Ahmed, 2015, p.1, my emphasis is italicized) about policies and events impacting Indigenous communities. It is harmful and disrespectful to ignore and/or mitigate the feelings of RS Survivors regarding their experiences. When Indigenous peoples' emotions, feelings, or even their voices are silenced while discussing RS history, it implies that their emotions shouldn't exist, and it represents the continual marginalization and discrimination by the settler-states. Emotions and feelings are not absent during the research process, or in the daily lives of Indigenous peoples and people in general. According to Dian Million (2013) the academy "repeatedly produces gatekeepers" that prevent Indigenous scholars' entry into social discourses "because we seek to present our histories as affective, felt, intuited as well as thought" (p. 57). Instead, Indigenous histories are sources of strength, power, empowerment, survival, and resiliency. The inclusion of Indigenous perspectives into the academy as affective and felt histories, such as this (my) project²'s narratives, photographs, and group discussions, only builds upon Ahmed and Million's work through a framework called colliding heartwork.

²As mentioned in Chapter One, I am making a conscious effort to refer to this dissertation as "the" or "this" project to give voice to the Indigenous study participants. Colliding Heartwork is where the researcher is the facilitator of residential school narratives and it is important that this remains at the center focus of this framework.

The RS system is a *lived* history, a *living* testimony, and shared history for many Indigenous peoples in Canada and the US. As discussed in Chapter 2, many Indigenous peoples attended these institutions during their height between the late 1880s and the 1970s. They were taught to conform to Eurocentric lifestyles through forced abandonment of their Indigenous cultures, traditions, and languages. These were clearly assimilation efforts that were enforced through related government policies and activities (e.g., mandatory attendance policed by Indian agents in both countries). Indigenous student participants in this dissertation study have pointed out that these institutions did not privilege Indigenous systems of culture, education, values, or teachings. Instead, the agendas functioned to prevent or limit Indigenous knowledge systems and life ways from entering the public sphere of Euro-American and Euro-Canadian settler-society. As a lived history, the RS experience has consequences in the present.

RS Survivors informed their descendants and Indigenous communities about what they endured through truth-telling testimony experienced while in the RS system. The living testimonies of RS Survivors' descendants are representative of their collective and individual understandings, and how they understand the intergenerational impacts of the residential schooling system on their lives. This study has explored multiple avenues including RS living testimonies, RS scholarship, and living testimonies of RS Survivors' descendants (Indigenous students), and found that these accounts are filled with amalgamations of emotions and feelings that transcend time, and create blood memories (see Chapter 3). Emotions and feelings, personal and collective, are chain reactions that may influence intergenerational trauma and/or historical unresolved grief. *Colliding heartwork* is an analytic tool that allows us to better understand and situate the range of emotions and feelings that Indigenous students may exhibit.

In this research, I examined how Indigenous students³ at the University of New Mexico⁴

³Indigenous students and participants will be used interchangeably to reference UNM and UWO students that were active in study.

⁴UNM students investigated the boarding school system on their lives, family, and community

(UNM) and the University of Western Ontario⁵ (UWO) processed historical unresolved grief, and their understanding of intergenerational trauma and how they explored processes of resiliency. This study is a complex and multi-layered comparative approach to the shared RS history across two countries. The results amalgamate UNM and UWO students' individual and collective responses to this legacy. The key findings were very informative. Rather than identifying a single specific experience of historical unresolved grief, participants expressed the emotional or felt experience of RS history based on three comparative characteristics: (1) family and ancestors, (2) community and other Indigenous nations, and (3) self. This pattern provides access to the lived, living, and shared histories of the participants. We gave the participants the freedom to personalize their contributions as a type of "personal narrative and personal testimony; a felt experience," which required using "felt theory" to discuss the wounds associated with RS (Million, 2004; 2008; 2009; 2013). The study questionnaire found that 97% or 29 Indigenous students felt they were impacted by the RS system (see Chapter 4 for further details). The range of negative impacts was expressed through familial and cultural losses including (but not limited to): a lack of warmth from emotionally damaged parents affected by the RS system, a loss of Indigenous language, and the inability to fully participate in ceremony. These intergenerational issues are a pattern of experiences resulting from the RS system.

Participants' experiences, feelings, and emotions were analyzed using colliding heartwork. These sections are as follows: section 5.2 examines the origins and meaning of "colliding heartwork," and heartwork; section 5.3 details how Indigenous peoples' lives were disrupted and altered by a process of anomie in the residential schools then concludes with framing how RS impacts created an Indigenous apocalypse that is emotional; section 5.4 introduces and explains the colliding heartwork framework; and section 5.5 considers the study limitations.

⁵UWO students examined the residential school system on their lives, family, and community.

5.2 Origins and Meanings: Using ‘colliding heartwork’

This section describes the bridging blocks of ‘colliding heartwork.’ Colliding heartwork is a framework that is used to understand, process, and ignite the healing process for RS Survivors’ descendants to help deal with emotions and experiences regarding the RS history. This framework was born out of the data collection and relationship building between the participants and I, which is detailed in five phases (refer to section 5.4 for more details). Before delving into these phases, I explain my thought process for developing ‘colliding heartwork’ and I give homage to Indigenous scholars who have demonstrated heartwork as a foundation to my framework to examine the ongoing intergenerational impacts of the RS system.

5.2.1 What is heartwork?

The term heartwork has been used since the 1980s as a reference regarding an individual’s participation in self-healing, self-development, deepening self-learning/awareness, finding a person’s passion or life calling, and children’s education. In addition, heartwork is defined by Indigenous scholars and poets as using one’s heart to work with and for Indigenous communities⁶ (Winder, 2015; Minthorn & Shotton, 2018). As a result, this ‘colliding heartwork’ framework continues to build upon the heartwork and scholarship of Indigenous scholars to reclaim the academy through incorporating Indigenous perspectives and research frameworks (Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Kovach, 2009; Absolon, 2011). Tanaya Winder, Shoshone/Ute poet, defines heartwork as an individual’s personal calling or one’s purposeful work to passionately commit themselves and passionately “mend soul wounds and healing” (Winder, 2015; Winder,

⁶In this study, the word ‘heart’ is not used as the main muscular organ of the circulatory system, but as the metaphorical heart, which is responsible for a person’s emotionality. For example, the term ‘heartbreak’ refers to an emotional and overwhelming distress, not a physiological heart organ that is not working correctly.

n.d). It is the work of the heart because it is committed to healing oneself, family, community, and ancestors. It is not portrayed as work such as labor because it is based on the gifts a person received from the Creator at the time of birth (Winder, 2015). Minthorn (2018) further elaborated on how the concept of heartwork is defined in the academy, for Indigenous scholars, as an individual’s effort to support their “communities not expecting or wanting any payback or rewards. It is selfless and passionate to help benefit those whom we hold close to our hearts” (p. 32). At the core is the dedication to Indigenous community and making oneself accountable to foster, maintain, and build relationships for the benefit of these communities through selfless actions. As mentioned previously, I applied heartwork as defined by Winder (2015) and Minthorn (2018) to the development of the process I have called “colliding heartwork” which is explored more deeply in the next section.

5.2.2 What is colliding heartwork?

Drawing from Sara Ahmed’s theory of emotions and Dian Million’s scholarship on felt theory, I will explain *colliding heartwork*. As previously stated, colliding heartwork stems from “grounded theory to create new theory” (Birks & Mills, 2015), and acts as another mechanism to examine the multi-layered responses and experiences of RS on Indigenous peoples or their descendants. I developed colliding heartwork based on field notes in which emotional responses from Indigenous students were recorded, including the documentation of my responses to the participants, when I was emotionally triggered. During the coding process, I decided against delving into the study with designated themes, and rather, I searched for what themes emerged from the data (see methods Chapter Three).

Charmaz (2004), Charmaz and Belgrave (2006) states that grounded theory is based on indi-

vidual cases or experiences, such as participants' life stories that are analyzed for a pattern to generate a theory. Grounded theorists may argue that *colliding heartwork* is not derived from a true-grounded theory approach because of preconceived ideas regarding participants' feelings due to historical unresolved grief. On the other hand, colliding heartwork is grounded in Indigenous Research Methods (IRM), which privileges Indigenous standpoints and epistemologies. Participants led this study and expressed their emotions through personal stories to navigate to a place where their hearts and minds could collide, thus evoking unique and collective perspectives. This process generated the patterns I documented. In addition, I also share a common experience with the participants as I am affected by the RS legacy of loss, sadness, and resiliency. Therefore, I had to be open to different interpretations of the guiding research questions, and I had to remain mindful of shared common experiences in order to process the emotional repercussions of the data. These repercussions could range from tiny to massive, and some went unnoticed until the study's end. These collisions (of our hearts) are the apex of *colliding heartwork*.

Colliding heartwork is mindful that Indigenous peoples process the ongoing effects of colonialism differently. Non-Indigenous people may react differently, but there is no standard reaction to the reality of RS history. For instance, historical trauma has many different factors; the loss of land, loss of ancestors, and communal loss (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1995), leading to a "soul wound" (Duran & Duran, 1995). This type of wounding is a "reaction or response to an injury" (Linklater, 2014, p. 22). Today, it is likely that this has increased negative health and social outcomes for contemporary Indigenous peoples (Walters et al., 2011). These historical losses are associated with different symptoms of emotional distress such as anxiety, depression, alcoholism, and suicide (Duran, 2006); many Indigenous peoples also feel discriminated against.

Indigenous students at UWO and UNM were self-aware of these historical losses, soul wounds,

and the multiple forms of historical trauma, which are conceptualized as the “Four Cs” (Hartmann & Gone, 2014). According to Hartmann and Gone (2014), the “Four Cs” explain how historical trauma for Indigenous peoples is a blend of psychological trauma and historical oppression. The Four Cs are:

Colonial injury to Indigenous peoples as a consequence of experiences with conquest, subjugation, and dispossession by [...] settlers; *Collective experience* of these injuries by entire Indigenous communities or collectivities whose identities, ideals, and social lives were impaired as a result is highlighted; *Cumulative effects* of these injuries from continued oppression have accumulated or “snowballed” over time through extended histories of harm by dominant settler colonial society is accentuated; and *Cross-generational impacts* result from these injuries as transmitted to subsequent generations in unremitting fashion in the form of legacies of risk and vulnerability to [behavioral health] problems until healing has occurred” (Hartmann & Gone, 2014, p. 275).

UWO and UNM participants understood⁷ or could readily understand the concept of the “Four Cs.” All participants came to understand that concept as the study unfolded. Participants’ understanding came from the personal experiences as and what they had learned in their own histories as well as that of their families’. Participants’ experiences resembled a historical loss that has become common knowledge or “part of the cognitive world of contemporary” Indigenous peoples (Whitebeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Xiaojin, 2004, p. 121). This response to trauma can be high, moderate, low, or absent. Colliding heartwork helps to address the range of responses to trauma(s) and emotions experienced or felt by the RS history and families’ experiences in these institutions. Colliding heartwork also aims to empower Indigenous students who are

⁷Some of the participants were not aware of the “Four Cs” concept specifically but understand that Indigenous peoples endured different types of colonial/settler trauma.

learning or re-learning about RS history at university, helping them to find strength in their emotions and felt experiences. Post-secondary education institutions must recognize that RS history is emotional; therefore, these institutions must create and enhance support mechanisms for Indigenous students. Before taking up a more in-depth discussion of how we can apply the concepts associated with “colliding heartwork” it is important to explain why emotions and feelings are major components of the PROCESS of understanding and developing “colliding heartwork.” It is critical to recognize the unremitting pain and the partial mending processes of which these Indigenous peoples’ RS accounts are built upon.

5.3 Normlessness, Apocalypse, and High Emotions in Residential Schools

As noted in Chapter Two, the off-reserve system of housing Indigenous children far away from their families and communities originated with the opening of the Pennsylvania based Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 (Adam, 1995; Huckins, 1995; Child, 1998; Reyhner, 2004; Bowker, 2007). These types of schools are one major facet of many policies that impacted Indigenous peoples and their communities. Other policies that drastically changed Indigenous communities included the dispossession of territories, food rationing, being quarantined to reserves/reservations, disenfranchisement, being mistreated violently, and the banning of traditional ceremonies as illegal, to name only a few. These historical and legalized agendas and policies targeting Indigenous peoples aggressively tried (with some success) to erase Indigenous minds and bodies from the landscape of the settler-states. Indigenous peoples were thrust into the involuntary state of anomie and apocalypse (which we discuss below in 5.3.1).

The two settler-states failed to establish long-term relationships⁸ with Indigenous peoples in order to create a new society with more shared values and real partnership-based standards. The Indigenous worldview and social standards for regulating behavior, values, and purpose were deemed foreign, savage, wild, and beneath the “civilized” Western social values. The decision was made to outright assimilate thereby ‘civilizing’ through the destruction of Indigenous ways. Some Indigenous communities and individuals fought the change to the new social order imposed by the settler-state and others tried to adapt in order to survive in an unsettling new society. Émile Durkheim’s concept of anomie describes the condition of normlessness in society. Normlessness is a condition characterized by societal instability, a consequence from the breakdown of norms and values or the lack of purpose or ideals. Normlessness causes despair, aimlessness, and loss of common cause and common purpose, which can lead to problematic behaviors. Therefore, this period of anomie occurs when individuals do not have a clear concept of what is and what is not proper and/or acceptable behavior, and how to achieve expectations in legitimate (i.e. acceptable) ways (Durkheim 1951). Durkheim argued that anomie is the breakdown of social bonds between individual and community. Drawing on Durkheim (1951), we can see anomie as resulting from the combination of two processes: (1) the “new” Western (settler-state) provides no opportunity for individuals to connect in ways that preserve the common understanding of the world, and 2) the destruction, or partial destruction, of Indigenous ways of life. Anomie led to the destruction of Indigenous common purposes and understandings. This was a designed outcome of the RS systems in Canada and the US. This involuntary state was imposed by outsiders with Western social standards and approaches (e.g., the need to embrace Christianity above Indigenous beliefs) which altered and attempted to eradicate Indigenous norms and knowledges.

⁸Indigenous peoples did have alliances with settler-states for military and trade purposes (see Chapter 2). The argument here is that once Indigenous peoples did not benefit the settler-state, these ties were broken. Indigenous peoples moved from being military allies to being seen as a problem to the settler-state’s advancement. The settler-states dealt with their perceived problem through assimilation and so-called civilization policies.

This system indoctrinated Indigenous children with ideas that they were useless and lacked purpose as “model” American or Canadian members of society if they continued to embrace their Indigenous ways of knowing and lifestyle. This socially ascribed status of “uselessness” assigned to Indigenous children compelled them to embrace settler-social norms. RS normlessness can be applied to Robert Merton’s Theories⁹ of Anomie and Strain, which situates the state of anomie among Indigenous children. According to Merton, there is a discrepancy between the social goals that are put forward and an individual’s inability to achieve them. This creates conditions that prevent or restrict access to attaining those goals, thereby producing anomie. Therefore, anomie is a social response, or adaptation, produced by a disjuncture between socially approved means and culturally accepted goals. Further, Merton’s “strain” refers to “deviant behavior” where individuals use illegitimate means to attain cultural goals that are inaccessible through institutionalized means (Featherstone & Deflem, 2003, p. 472). Indigenous children at RS had to abstain or to surrender their “deviant behavior” – Indigenous identity, worldviews, community, and families – for months, years, and for some, the rest of their lives. These violent interruptions of indigeneity (e.g., forced haircutting) created anomic conditions for Indigenous children.

Therefore, we can trace that this state of anomie was born as Indigenous children were taken from their families and homes and forced into the residential schools: families were fractured, lines of communication severed, and the teaching of traditional ways was ended. Traditional Indigenous connections were interrupted then replaced with American or Canadian social norms to generate a new and different society for Indigenous peoples. However, there was no new society. Compounding the problems was the fact that this newly offered/forced society did not work because the settler-societies did not welcome Indigenous peoples into their mainstream society. So, Indigenous communities were destroyed and nothing was offered in return. As an

⁹Merton’s strain/anomie theory is often used to examine crime and delinquency. It is considered to be a dominant paradigm for studying criminal behavior (Antonaccio, Smith, & Gostjev, 2014).

inevitable result, a state of anomie exists. Yet, some Indigenous peoples resisted these schools and tried to escape the abrupt social changes, but these groups still experienced anomie. The outcome of this is visible, as those impacted tried to be “Americans” or “Canadians” during their childhood. These assimilated identities and lifestyles provoke tensions with their Indi-geneity. Some RS Survivors’ turned to harmful or unacceptable behaviors such as alcoholism or forms of substance abuse, and for many parents, their strains¹⁰ resulted in neglecting their children. The space where anomie begins during the RS system represents a living energy that continues to influence and pull at Indigenous peoples’ hearts. All thirty participants in this dissertation study were aware of these institutions, the consequences Indigenous children experienced (See Table 4.1), and the unspoken concept of anomie. Anomie should be viewed as an apocalypse and destruction of Indigenous lifeways; this eradication is emotionally triggering for many Indigenous peoples.

5.3.1 Indigenous apocalypse

Is it appropriate to argue that Indigenous peoples have endured an apocalypse through this RS system and its legacies? The English Oxford Dictionary defines apocalypse as the complete final destruction of the world, an event involving destruction or damage on a catastrophic scale. Residential schools and the colonial policies during the peak of these systems were such an apocalypse. They *severely damaged* individuals and families, ways of life, and Indigenous civilizations. The result has been a long-standing wave of recurring impacts throughout history that continues to affect people today.

¹⁰There have been RS Survivors who have gone on to be teachers, medical doctors, and artists by using the education they received at these institutions. When studying the RS history, we must be mindful that this legacy is extremely complex and there are multiple narratives to describe positive, negative and neutral experiences.

The Indigenous apocalypse is often portrayed as science fictional film and literature (e.g., Gerald Vizenor's *Darkness in Saint Louis Bearheart*, Helen Haig-Brown's *Cave*, or Drew Hayden Taylor's *Take Us To Your Chief and Other Stories*). I argue that social scientists need to ignite a discourse examining the different waves of the "Indigenous apocalypse." As well, I feel it is important that we realize that Indigenous peoples are living in a "post-apocalypse" (Tallbear, 2016). Lakota scholar Kim Tallbear states that these waves have existed for a long time:

... for half a millennia many died, and some of [them] survived the infected settler hordes. Our [A]ncestors saw the coming of ships and wagons full of disease and violence, the coming of the US cavalry, [... and] now the US national guard" during the 2016 Dakota Access Pipeline protest (Tallbear, 2016).

Unfortunately, Canada and the US have not changed their military tactics against Indigenous peoples. For instance, Indigenous protests are often portrayed by the settler-states as an excuse to provide soldiers with weapons and tanks in an attempt to control, silence, or threaten Indigenous peoples. The aim is to stop the voicing of their concerns about how the settler states have violated either or both their human and treaty rights.

Enforced colonization continues as the framework to keep Indigenous peoples from rising against the settler-state's agenda. While assumptions are made about Indigenous peoples living in a post-colonial epoch, we do not live in a post-colonial society because colonialism is alive and well. It continues to breath down Indigenous necks, trying to subdue and further assimilate us. Today, these processes include forced, constructed identity (e.g., The Indian Act or Blood Quantum), privatization of traditional territories, failure to consult with Indigenous communities and their members regarding land development, ignoring the Murdered and Missing Indigenous women and girls, as well as running oil pipelines through home territories, to name

only a few. As I try and piece together what I learned from this study and participants (Hoover & Morrow, 2015), I believe we need to initiate language that indicates Indigenous peoples are living in a post-apocalyptic society created by the settler-states, not a post-colonial era as some believe. The new colonialism is the process that tries to resist the resistors, maintain past relations, and force people into realities that have nothing to do with their best interest and does not reflect their worldview.

For many Indigenous peoples, trauma is so familiar and embedded into our cultural and historical understandings that the ramifications of this apocalypse are in a sense acknowledged. Sara Ahmed (2015) pointed out that the word *pain* does not provide a description or history but the reader or storyteller¹¹ creates images of pain such as the events surrounding the residential school system. These RS accounts become triggers as “negative emotions of anger and sadness are evoked as the reader [or listener’s]: the pain of others become *ours*, an appropriation that transforms and perhaps even neutralizes their pain into our sadness” (Ahmed, 2015, p. 21, my emphasis is italicized). When the pain of our ancestors and families becomes *ours*, and though it is a heavy weight to carry, we have alleviated some of their suffering. This is where our bodies collide with our hearts; colliding heartwork is a framework to articulate these perspectives.

Understanding the feelings that persist within Indigenous peoples requires one to look deeply into emotion(s). This is indispensable, even obligatory for all including the Indigenous students as they tried to unload historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma. Emotions and the need to work with emotions are explored in the next section.

¹¹I am using the word “storyteller” as an individual transferring RS accounts to the descendant. Indigenous participants in this study carried with them first-hand reports of their family members, or they learned second-hand through university courses or books about Indigenous children’s experiences at residential schools.

5.3.2 Emotional work

Felt knowledge allows an individual to pursue their own emotional work to complete their own self-examination and connection to RS. This emotional work allows for healing and learning because individuals own their own personal, unique understanding of RS. It is a beautiful process of learning, finding, and pulling back layers of one's self and one's heart, and becoming completely vulnerable to the emotional side of the research, thus, producing colliding heartwork. These participants expressed a multitude of feelings like guilt, frustration, anger, hatred, and sadness. They were also empowered, hopeful, and resilient. Participants expressed gratefulness for their Indigenous identity, language, and lifeways. They embraced their Indigenous knowledge systems, some of which are still intact, but many of which are surely altered. This transformation of emotions brought out through the research process demonstrates an elevation of one's consciousness. Dian Million's felt theory and Sara Ahmed's *Cultural Politics of Emotion* lays the foundation to investigate how emotions stick to bodies, in particular Indigenous bodies, in order to explain the intergenerational impacts of the RS system on descendants. Emotions and felt experiences open the dialogue and prompt active listening in order to understand and empathize with the outcomes of the RS system on Indigenous peoples. The pain, anger, sadness, hurt, and hatred associated with these institutions developed by the settler-states of Canada and the US has not dissipated.

5.4 Modeling and using colliding heartwork

As noted, colliding heartwork is an emotional response to the multiple losses, impacts, and other events including the RS system, which were imposed on Indigenous peoples by the

settler-state. It is an approach for processing emotional residue felt by those who experienced harm and those who empathized with their family members and ancestors who were forced into residential schools. In addition, colliding heartwork involves empowerment to revitalize Indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions through a means to strengthen Indigenous individuals or communities. Social scientists need to continue exploring techniques to examine how emotions are bonded to their bodies of the descendants of RS Survivors creating a space for “emotions [to] show us how histories ¹²; how histories of colonialism, slavery, and violence shape lives and worlds in the present” (Ahmed, 2015, p. 202). As noted above, these occurrences represent periods of Indigenous apocalypses and post-apocalypse. The Indigenous participants in this study embody a collective of voices and bodies where emotions manifest. Participants entered into a space to have healthy conversations, reflections, and to uplift each other, their families, their friends, and others to educate themselves about the RS history. Colliding heartwork connects our hearts to reflection and toward a common understanding where diverse Indigenous histories and lived experiences intersect.

Colliding heartwork is a process that revolves around self-reflections of one’s heart through five phases: 1) preparing our hearts, 2) opening our hearts, 3) initial connections to hearts, 4) renewing connections to our hearts, and 5) colliding heartwork. Each phase brings together participants’ emotions, experiences, and hearts into a transformation for colliding heartwork to work as a connection. For instance, Phase 4 is the capacity/capability to build relationships with other Indigenous peoples in the context of: 1) self, 2) family and ancestors, and 3) community and Indigenous nation(s) (as visualized in Figures 5.3, 5.4 and 5.7). This then allows the participants¹³ to grasp how the RS system remains as part of their lives. These figures also attempt to show how these three components of one’s identity weave together pieces of the

¹²Histories such as the RS system in Canada and the US which stay alive, even when they are not consciously remembered.

¹³In this context, I am referring to the study participants and the researcher or all the individuals engaging in colliding heartwork.

participant's emotional heart to the researcher's, and together they become one strong, beating, empowered, Indigenous heart. The uniting of hearts is a constant reminder that Indigenous peoples survived not only RS but also other forms of colonial repression. Indigenous peoples are fulfilling the dreams and prayers of our ancestors. Through this process, each Indigenous person whether conscious or not, carries pieces of their ancestors, family, and communities' history with them. These historical and contemporary experiences become part of Indigenous peoples' bodies, minds, and spirits, which create a space for colliding heartwork to operate. In this particular case of colliding heartwork, Indigenous students are in fellowship with each other based on similar felt experiences, emotions, and feelings regarding residential schools. Hence, a space comes to life where individuals' hearts, minds, and spirits collide to embrace healing and the strengthening of Indigenous communities.

Colliding heartwork is a process, depicted in Figure 5.1: *Mapping the Process of Colliding Heartwork*, to illustrate how the five different phases are plotted. This represents the phases or stages, used to examine UWO and UNM students' life stories so we can collectively understand the after-effects of the RS system. It also reflects the impacts of learning about and sharing experiences, which leads to self-reflection.

Figure 5.1: Mapping the Process of Colliding Heartwork

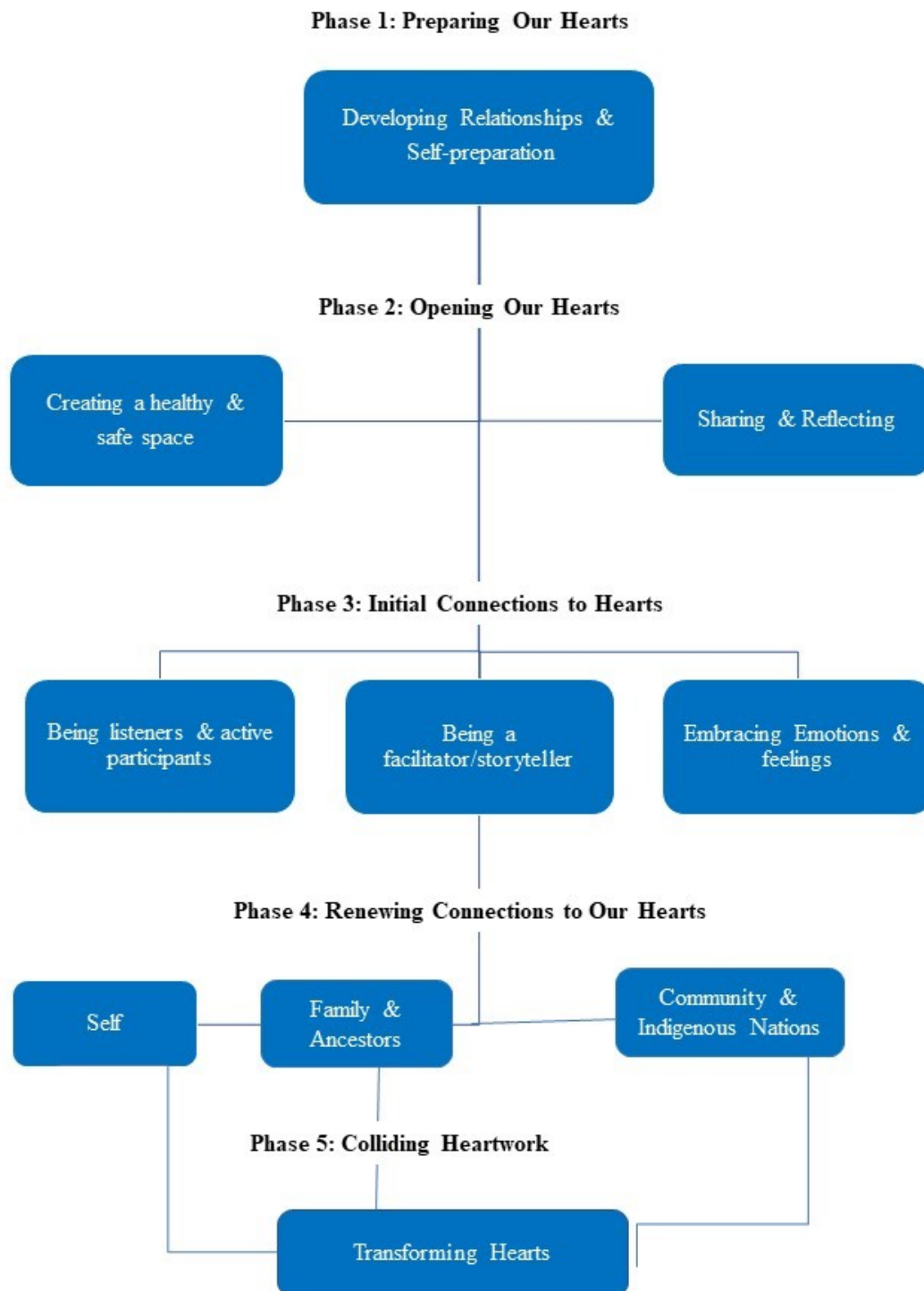
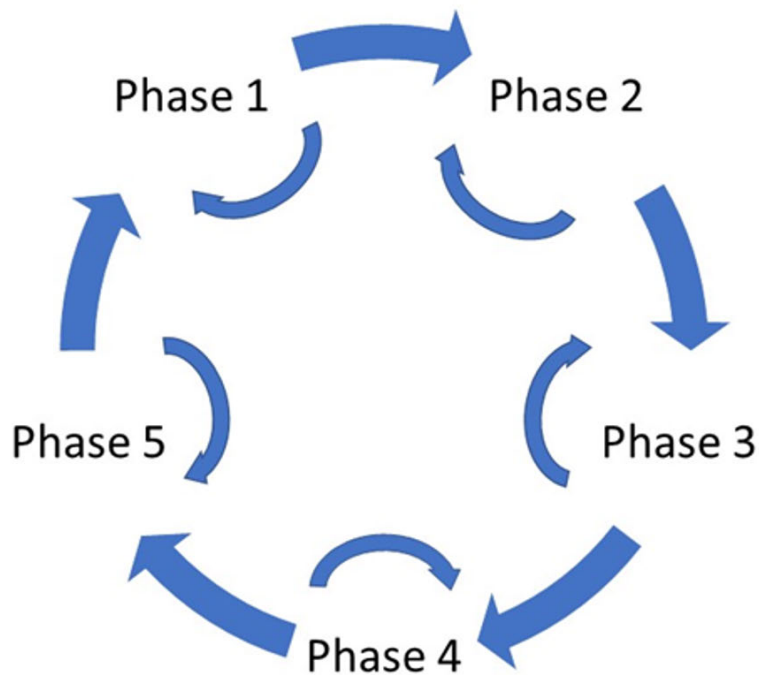


Figure 5.1¹⁴ takes the linear representation above and Figure 5.2: *The Course of Colliding Heartwork* represents the cyclical process of colliding heartwork to emphasize relationships and felt experiences. Researchers and Indigenous peoples become partners; this is relationship building and the maintaining of ties to one another, through the sharing of their hearts and experiences to cultivate a better understanding about what transpired at these institutions as well as the ongoing impacts upon emotions and feelings. Partners must take special care of each other while moving through each phase. These relationships can require individuals to return to previous phases by constantly reflecting and discussing ways to improve their understandings of RS. These phases are detailed over the next five sections.

Figure 5.2: The Course of Colliding Heartwork



¹⁴This is a more detailed version, depicted as a linear map, for explanation purposes only.

5.4.1 Phase 1: Preparing Our Hearts

The first process of colliding heartwork¹⁵ is self-preparation. In this case, discussing the difficult topic of residential schools can be emotionally distressing because it is a living history. The recruitment and information sessions (e.g., discussed in Chapter Three) became part of the self-preparation process for colliding heartwork where the students began to prepare their hearts and minds to discuss the intergenerational impacts of RS. During this phase, disclosing the emotionally distressing nature was critical, so participants could mentally, emotionally, physically, and spiritually harness their energy and effort for the anticipated discussions of ongoing colonialism and assimilation. As a researcher, I also prepared my heart and mind, by spending between twenty minutes to two hours with the potential participants, discussing what levels of participation would be necessary. Phase one is the initial building block of developing relationships that I hoped to have with the Indigenous students. Relationship building must be gradual and much patience is necessary. With Indigenous students, I constantly reminded them to take as many days as necessary to reflect and to decide if they wanted to voluntarily participate; this demonstrates mindfulness of their hearts and emotions.

After Indigenous students consented to participate in the study, a questionnaire (see appendix) was distributed and completed. The questionnaire referred to their readiness for the phase one of colliding heartwork. Introductions during the initial group discussion served to foster or to maintain relationships with their study cohort and myself (see Appendix for table of responses). In addition, some Indigenous students shared their reason for participating in the study. For example, Alma stated she “[. . .] wanted to take [her] understanding of the residential schools further” (Personal communication, Interview, June 17, 2015; see Chapter 4.1 for full quotation). “Preparing our hearts” is a phase where relationships are developing, and this

¹⁵Colliding heartwork is a framework that can be used as a type of Indigenous Research Method and does not solely apply to the residential schools. It is a process of emotional work and felt experiences.

helps our hearts to take precaution while entering space where the examination of the personal impacts of RS history begins.

5.4.2 Phase 2: Opening Our Hearts

The second phase, “opening our hearts” is a gift that is earned by both the researcher and other Indigenous students through relationship building, providing a space to be comfortable with each other, and maintaining ties. This phase requires two critical steps: 1) creating/having a healthy and safe space and 2) using the space to reflect and share. The researcher is responsible and accountable for creating this sharing space and once it has been chosen and created, phase two can commence, and participants can begin “opening their hearts” to one another. Strong relationships are needed for the Indigenous students to be willing to open honestly, share their life stories, and discuss the impacts of residential schools. This is accomplished by reminding all participants that their words and perspectives are important, respected, valued, and unique. It is important to remind everyone that we are a collective coming together in a positive way to have difficult conversations and to potentially bring about a healthy change. The researcher must be cognizant of anyone’s words and act in a forward-thinking nature by being supportive, giving encouragement, and remaining mindful when feelings and emotions are shared. It is vital that the researcher keep in mind that each participant is unique and has different histories that determine how they interpret and express being impacted by these subjects. So, the researcher’s attitude and approach must allow for the participants to help build the space needed to trust one another and to share. Through this method, we were able to open ourselves emotionally to process one’s another’s thoughts about RS, and in a way that mimics the following of the old ways, which is important (see Chapter Three).

5.4.3 Phase 3: Initial Connections to Hearts: Through facilitation/storytelling, listening/participation, and embracing emotions and feelings.

The third phase begins the connection between one another's hearts by developing empathy through storytelling and embracing emotions and feelings. This phase occurs in three parts: 1) being a facilitator or storyteller, 2) being listeners and active participants, and 3) embracing emotions and feelings. These parts rely on storytelling, emotions, and feelings to cultivate the role of empathy in and for our hearts while examining the intergenerational impacts and historical unresolved grief that Indigenous students experience. Indigenous scholars, Jo-Ann Archibald (Stó:lo), Joy Harjo (Muscogee), and Leanne Simpson (Anishinaabe) emphasized that stories¹⁶ for many Indigenous communities are vessels of knowledge, societal values, and traditions, and they help develop relationships with people, ancestors, the land, and all of creation. Thus, stories can be used as unique data sources in evaluation research (Patton 2002). There is an inherent power in Indigenous oral traditions and shared stories. Cajete (1994) further articulated how traditional stories are the foundation of all human learning and teaching. This foundation of learning and teaching in turn makes "stories reflect the genuine and authentic experience of an individual, a team, or a community" (Datta, 2018, p. 36). Storytelling, in many instances, can cause colliding heartwork to occur, and so, as a collection of Indigenous stories grows, influenced by a common and trusted relationship, truths will continue be facilitated. In our case, this emotional RS history will not be erased.

¹⁶Since time immemorial Indigenous peoples have utilized stories or relied on oral accounts to transfer stories, histories, teachings, wisdom and other forms of knowledge transmission to record their histories. For instance, Battiste (2000) stated the Canadian Supreme Court acknowledges Indigenous oral traditions are valid sources of evidence.

5.4.3.1 Being a facilitator/storyteller.

Indigenous students shared their life stories in group discussions with each other and during the photovoice interviews with the researcher. Colliding heartwork works as a complementary framework that can be added to the current academic scholarship as both an Indigenous research method and as a storytelling methodology. As a result, the person listening to the story (researcher) becomes a keeper of the emotions, and a facilitator to share the stories with the rest of the world (Figure 5.3 below).

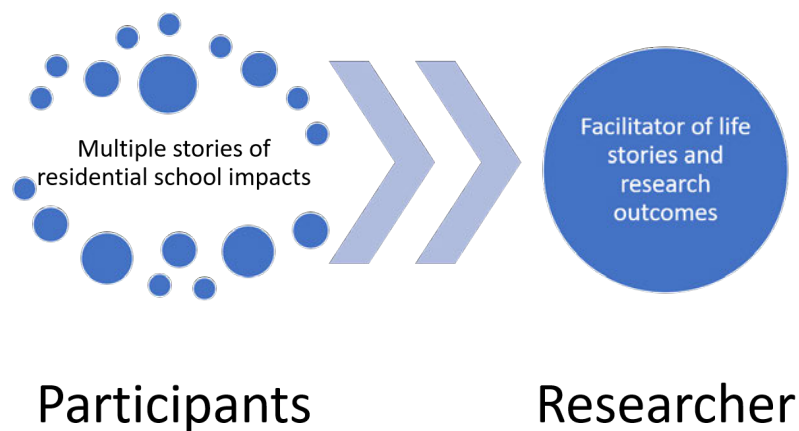


Figure 5.3: Residential School Facilitator of Life Stories

This process means the listener/researcher must strive to make every possible effort to maintain cultural protocols so that emotionally-filled stories are given their due respect. The researcher takes on the responsibility to recount participants' stories in an accurate and meaningful way. This transforms the researcher into a storyteller, and also, a facilitator of the research outcomes. Stories can take on separate and collective lives. Thomas King (2003) recognized the privilege of listening to stories because “once a story is told, it cannot be called back. Once told, it is loose in the world. So, you have to be careful with the stories you tell. And you have to watch out for the stories that you are told” (p. 10). Figure 5.3 shows the multi-layered nature of individual stories and the process for healing and joining hearts by bringing together

various Indigenous students' life stories¹⁷. The researcher takes the responsibility of re-telling their stories in a clear, constructive, and educational manner, which creates a pathway toward healing, the connecting of hearts, and the blending of RS personal stories.

5.4.3.2 Being listeners and active participants

When individuals share their life stories and open up to share personal experiences, it is a humbling moment for the researcher. This is a chance to learn and be provided with knowledge. During my interview with White Deer, a study participant, he described his photographs, *Figure 8: Cultural loss* (Chapter 4), and how his regalia was connected to leadership principles:

From this day forth, I have *blessed you with the people. I have blessed you with the world.* You have now *accepted* your people into your hands. You have now accepted the world into your hands. From this day forth, from the biggest, even to the smallest being, *you will not do harm with your voice, with your thoughts, with your behavior, and your actions.*" White Deer (Personal correspondence, November 2, 2014, my emphasis italicized).

In this interview, I asked White Deer about how the leadership principles behind this oath would be applied to the relationship between a researcher and a participant, particularly Indigenous participants. We concluded that accountability between them means accepting each other's roles as responsible observers to vulnerable individuals. This is one way of igniting colliding heartwork through storytelling and listening. If you are a good listener, you will enter a space

¹⁷As mentioned in Chapter 4, participants applied their own unique approach and personal insights on the influences of residential schools by sharing their life stories.

where your heart collides with the participants in order to emphasize their experience. Before I explain how to apply colliding heartwork, I will honor White Deer by giving more context to his words.

White Deer was the fifth one-on-one interview¹⁸ and his thirty-two photovoice stories were filled with joy, happiness, anger, sadness, and frustration. Even though White Deer was only required to talk about eight photographs he decided to share twelve (see Figure C.17 in appendix). As with White Deer, each of the other Indigenous participants and I entered a sacred space where raw emotions were exchanged and felt through shared tears, shame, hugs, smiles, and respect for each other. The impacts of colonialism and colonial abuse can and have led to shame. Simpson (2011) stated that shame “is rooted in the humiliation that colonialism has heaped on our peoples for hundreds of years and is now carried within our bodies, minds and our hearts. It is shame that our ancestors—our families—did not really rally hard enough against the colonial regime” (p. 13-14). Therefore, when talking and reflecting about the aftermaths of the RS system we must use the emotions associated with pain, sadness, shame, and guilt to create a turning point. As Indigenous peoples, we have suffered, and some have become disconnected from families and communities; however, we remain. Each participant was aware of the negative emotions linked to these institutions; each interview was filled with a cultural reawakening, a resurgence of survival, and the entering into a period of healing from colonial injury. Self-reflection and making oneself emotionally vulnerable for another person opens the space for colliding heartwork to occur.

¹⁸Any of the 29 participants could have been used to introduce colliding heartwork. I center on the interview with White Deer as an example for explanation purposes.

5.4.3.3 Embracing emotions and feelings

The third aspect of phase three is about the role of emotions. This requires a more detailed examination. First, I will discuss vulnerability and how this relates to embracing emotion. I will then explore emotion in the interview process and look at the actual emotions that came out. Finally, I will look at what this means for conducting this type of research.

Conducting colliding heartwork requires both the researcher and the participant to become vulnerable and have empathy for each other. Alison M. Jaggar (2008) argued, “rather than repressing emotion in epistemology it is necessary to rethink the relationship between knowledge and emotion and construct conceptual models that demonstrate the mutually constitutive rather than oppositional relation between reason and emotion” (p. 385). The interviews with Indigenous students relied on relationship-building rooted in the principles of IRM (Indigenous Research Methods). These principles are associated with the following: being a listener, being a storyteller, being a facilitator, and embracing emotions and feelings. In addition, these principles helped establish rapport and allowed participants to be emotionally present and not closed or suppressed (Phase 2 and Phase 3 of colliding heartwork). This vulnerability is the openness to share emotions about personal experience, and in White Deer’s case, his personal RS stories were completely transformed by colliding heartwork into empowerment, resilience, and a pride in his cultural heritage.

In this type of feeling-based and highly emotional study, a researcher must take responsibility for the well-being of the descendants of RS Survivors. The researcher must also be willing and open to empathize. Participation in a research project of this nature requires the researcher to enter into a mutual relationship of respect and tolerance for the participant’s perspectives. Becoming a steward to prevent harm is a role of the researcher. Harmonizing the power between

the participants and researcher ensures Indigenous communities and individuals are not taken advantage of throughout the research process. A researcher must break through the academic exterior of trying to be “the ideal of the dispassionate investigator” (Jaggar, 2008, p. 386) and embrace how “efforts to refine our emotions are necessary to our theoretical investigation” (Jaggar, 2008, p. 389).

Ethical research practices create a comfortable space in which to live out colliding heartwork. Emotions are also linked to standpoint theory, which cultivates knowledge to liberate marginalized individuals (e.g. Indigenous or women) in order to detect their struggles in the social world (Million, 2004; Jaggar, 2008; Fox & Tippeconnic, 2017). The process of reconciliation in Canada is still being developed, defined, and shaped. Indigenous peoples, especially these Indigenous study participants, have raw emotions discussing RS and most Indigenous peoples are in the midst of a healing process. Reconciliation must go beyond feelings of guilt, shame, and mere apologies; the settler-state must do better. The power and strength associated with emotions must be understood in order to create a reliable method for healing the intergenerational effects of the RS system. Emotions are the initial gateways to our hearts and souls, to our ancestors, and toward creating connections with others. Emotions are common and they create an avenue to pursue social justice. Emotions allow us to process the RS legacy in Phase 3 to develop empathy as we progress through colliding heartwork.

5.4.4 Phase 4: Renewing Connections to Our Hearts

Phase four renews the connections within us and to others by involving intense healing through the development of empathic feelings for Indigenous peoples who have survived and continue to cope with the outcomes of colonialism. Colliding heartwork creates a link for Indigenous

peoples who have common shared experiences and histories because of the RS system, colonization, and on-going colonialism. This self-reflective process also attempts to understand historical unresolved grief and tries to overcome it. Phase four of colliding heartwork develops on three levels. The first level is the interpersonal connection between: 1) oneself, 2) family and ancestors, 3) community and nation as depicted in Figure 5.4 below:

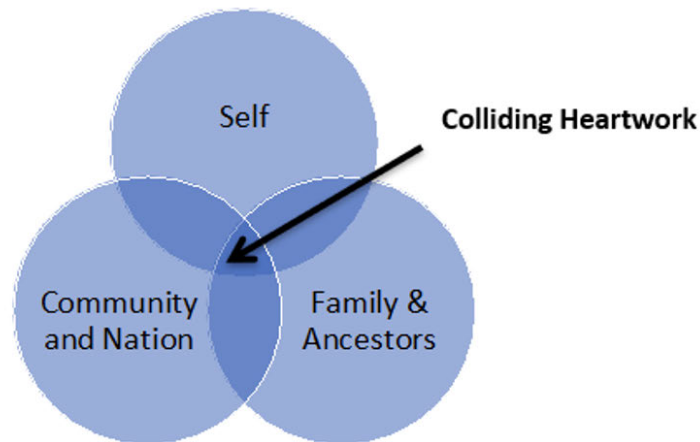


Figure 5.4: Collective Self

The interpersonal level implies a space where intimate conversations occur and relationships are built among the study participants. These actions are cultivated within themselves and with their families, their communities, and their nation. The RS system is a felt experience that ebbs and flows synchronously between those impacted: the individual, family, community members, and other Indigenous nations. Colliding heartwork, as depicted in Figure 5.4 *Collective Self*, is the coming together of these three intricate parts of one's identity to help understand and heal from RS trauma. These overlapping pieces of the collective self are where Indigenous students gained knowledge about these institutions and their policies.

The questionnaire titled "Findings in Table 4.1" provides evidence that 56% or 17 Indigenous students had knowledge of the RS system from their community. Furthermore, 90% of 27

Indigenous students learned or found out about RS directly from their families. So, how does an Indigenous student process the multilayered information and stories of the RS system and identify how they fit into this particular history? This intersection of the collective self forms a strength-based approach to facilitate the understanding and healing processes for Indigenous society, which is still working towards healing historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma. As a result of how RS knowledge impacts each of the three components of the collective self, individuals must self-assess their feelings and acknowledge where these feelings have emerged from within themselves. As reported in the same questionnaire, 97% or 29 Indigenous students felt they were impacted by residential schools and shared their personal narratives either in group discussions or photovoice interviews. Colliding heartwork works as a self-exploration of the lasting effects felt and experienced by this colonial system of “education.”

Emotions cannot be voided. During colliding heartwork, they act like a system of arteries, connecting a group of people, in this case, the study participants, and like blood, the understanding that is learned and realized from these RS impacts, flows between each person. As a facilitator, colliding heartwork allows this flow of information and realization between participants, and is responsible for folding their emotions into the dissemination of their stories. In addition, emotions are passed from ancestors and RS Survivors as their stories are retold, their actions are remembered, and their life events are described. For example, in (study participant) Little Sun’s interview she discussed her grandfather’s experience within the RS system. In her photograph, *Figure 4: Love/Hate Relationship* (Chapter 4), it demonstrates the complexity of mixed emotions about railroad tracks, which provided her grandfather’s escape from the RS, but had also been the same tracks that had removed him from his family and community. Little Sun’s eyes watered as she retold how her grandfather ran away from the institution as a little boy and the pain he experienced. Her grandfather’s experiences also draw an association to the inarticulacy she expressed regarding her Indigenous language.

Other participants shared similar stories from family members and also testimonies from RS Survivors they read about during their university studies. The researcher continues retelling the truths of RS descendants, including the negative impacts that lend power to these stories and continue to breathe life into these emotional events. Emotions can help to support the pathway to understanding and then to assist in healing. If emotions are dismissed as insignificant to the healing process, then this leads to the invalidation of the Indigenous experience as affected by colonialism and colonization. The RS history and its impacts force Indigenous peoples to process and heal. Because these felt experiences are so affecting they must first do individual emotional work on three components of their identity: the self, family and ancestors, and their Nation and community, which then leads into the basis for Phase Four: renewing connections to our hearts. Because RS history is a shared history, comprised of three parts: participants, territories, and felt emotions (see section 5.4.4 for details), Indigenous participants needed to bond and build relationships throughout this renewal process in order to progress and build relationships with others in the shared journey of healing.

The Indigenous student participants learned about multiple RS experiences from their family, friends, community, and university courses as depicted in *Figure 5.5 RS Knowledge between Genders*. The graph does not reflect the range of emotions; however, each story presents emotion even though it may be hidden. The retelling of RS experiences is emotional, and it is impossible to capture the emotions and feelings without colliding heartwork's influence which weaves the ability to heal and empower the Indigenous participants to promote change and awareness.

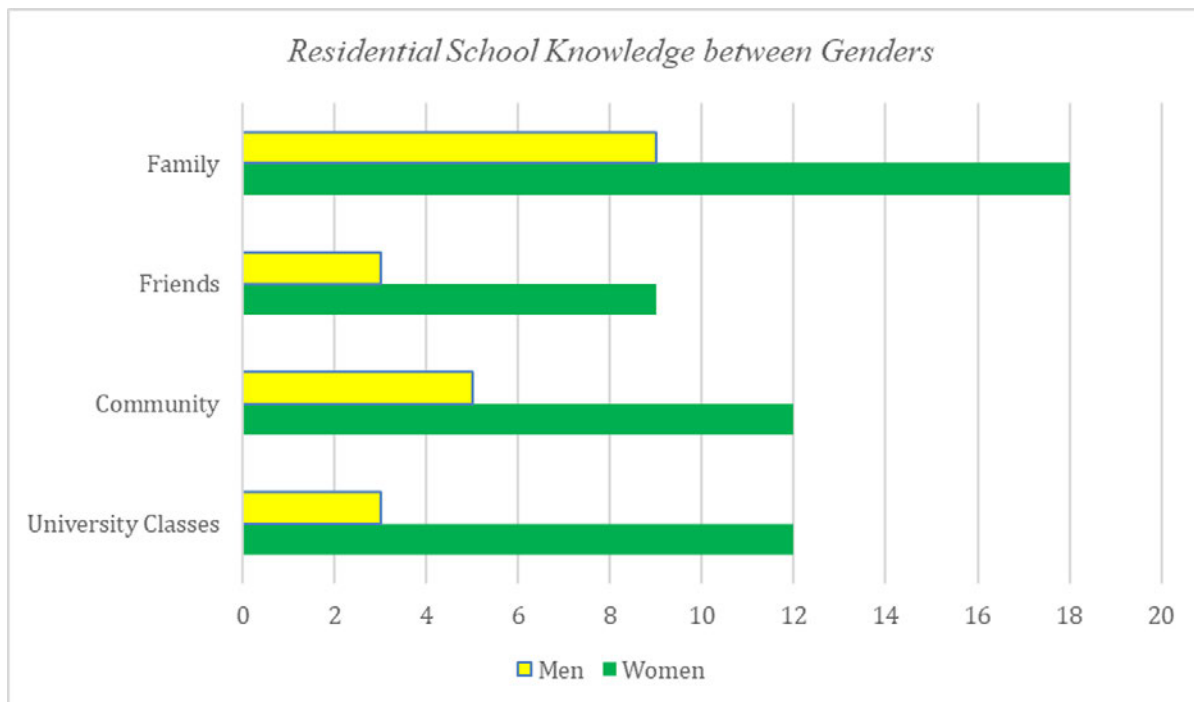


Figure 5.5: RS Knowledge between Genders

Figure 5.5 answers question two: how did you find out or learn about residential schools? Fifty six percent or 17 Indigenous students (men and women) had knowledge of the RS system from their community (See Table 4.1 in Chapter 4 for full questionnaire results and appendix). Among Indigenous women, 57% of their RS knowledge stemmed from community, which is almost equal to Indigenous men who gained 56% of their RS knowledge from their community. Therefore, the RS impacts on Indigenous communities plays a role in the process of colliding heartwork and understanding one's collective self. If gender is removed from this analysis regarding where students learned about the RS system, we find similar learning patterns taught by family influence in both countries as shown in *Figure 5.6* below:

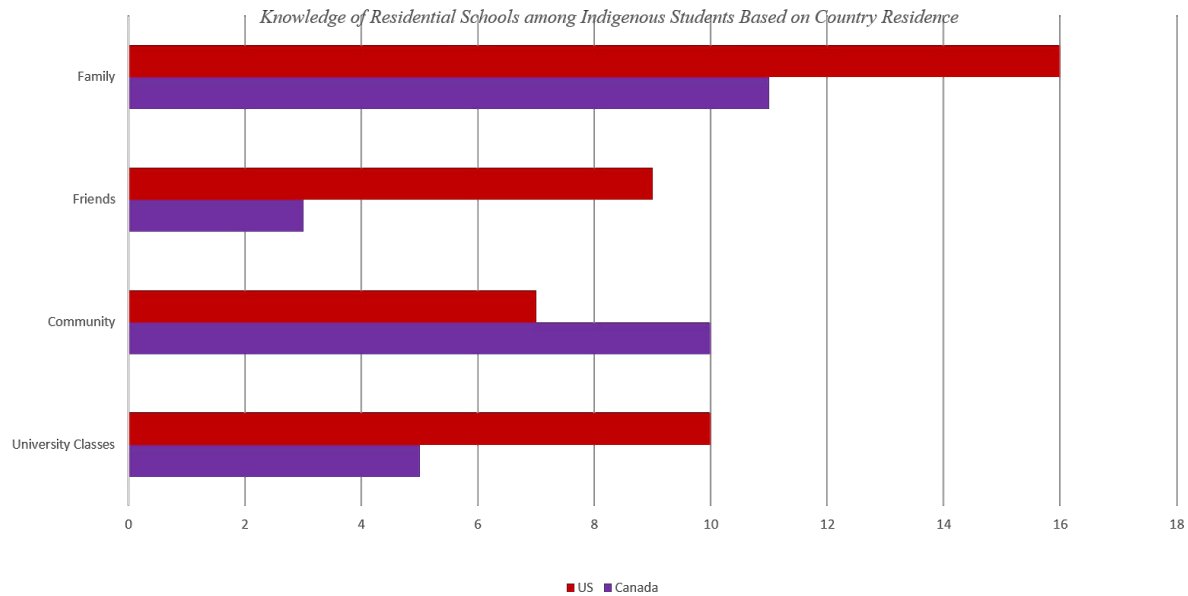


Figure 5.6: RS Knowledge among Indigenous Students

Figure 5.6: RS Knowledge among Indigenous Students displays that 90% of 27 Indigenous students learned about RS directly from their families (Question 2), regardless of whether Indigenous students resided in Canada or the US. Figure 5.4, the *Collective Self*, exhibits a reflexive awareness of how Indigenous participants fit into the history of these institutions and colliding heartwork brings together the hearts of Indigenous students: self, family, community and nation, to do emotional work to heal. As gateways of our hearts, emotions connect people together in this shared history. These gateways are like flowing rivers, carrying our feelings and understandings to a larger body of water, which is the collective experience.

5.4.4.1 One Shared History of Residential Schools

Colliding heartwork occurs as a result of various emotions encapsulating feelings, empathic behavior, and disclosures of RS felt experiences. Even though most of the study participants

did not attend these institutions, their family members and ancestors did, and this fact creates contemporary felt experiences, either through empathy or imagination.

Figure 5.7: One Shared History of Residential Schools gives a visual overview of their photovoice projects, one-on-one interviews, and group discussion outcomes. Hence, it makes connections to Indigenous peoples across Turtle Island who attended these institutions. Indigenous students were asked to incorporate their perspectives and understandings about the operation of residential schools in both Canada and the US. In order to make an analytical comparison about the different, yet similar, approaches to the assimilation of Indigenous peoples, the study participants had to reflect upon their understanding through photographs. For instance, Charlie's photograph, *Figure 4.7: Right on Target* (Chapter 4), expressed that both countries were aware of and understood the logic for the administration, procedures, and educational strategies to dismantle Indigenous culture and language. They tried to succeed by assimilating Indigenous peoples into the colonial nation-state. UWO 8 weaved together experiences of the RS system from both Canada and the US by discussing how Indigenous peoples have had to pick up the broken pieces of their lives and all of the loss in *Figure 4.18: Putting the pieces back together* (Chapter 4). Both photographs from Charlie and UWO 8 emphasize the felt experiences and emotions. In the group discussions, Indigenous students spoke of the lack of emotion in apologies by the two federal governments while referring to the harmful experiences and the intergenerational pain their family members and other Indigenous peoples endured in these institutions. *Figure 5.7: One Shared History of Residential Schools*, brings together Indigenous students in two different territories and shows how their experiences allowed them to come to understand the RS differences and similarities, then process all of this into one legacy for Turtle Island.

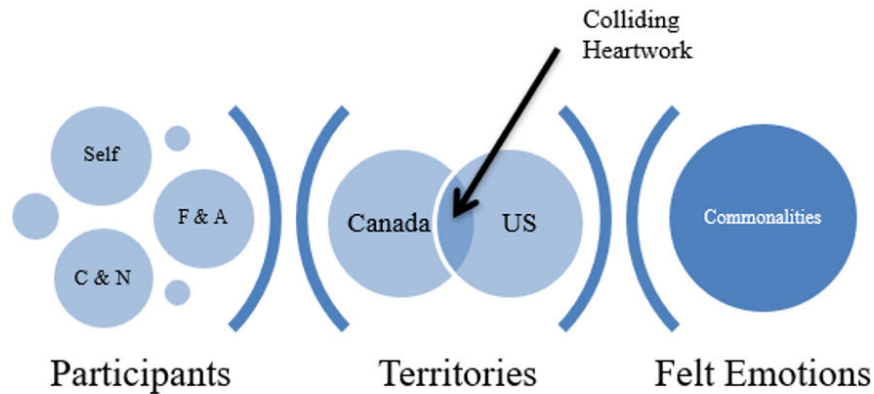


Figure 5.7: One Shared History of Residential Schools

5.4.4.2 Participants

The first section in Figure 5.7 shows several circles, which represent multiple individuals and their collective selves: self, family and ancestors (F & A), and community and Indigenous nation (C & N) (refer to Figure 5.4). Each of these individuals is impacted differently by RS history. It also illustrates how each participant's understanding of residential schools operates. In addition, each sphere has been impacted differently by RS history, and each sphere also acts as a separate, individual entity. Felt experiences become enhanced when the three components of the collective self merge together to understand what happened at these institutions. After an individual works through their own understanding and begins the healing process, they can make connections to other Indigenous peoples or individuals. The second part, territories, shows where Indigenous students from Canada and the US found solidarity in their felt emotions and experiences and united in a common healing. The group discussions and photovoice projects by UNM and UWO students reflected commonalities in historical unresolved grief and intergenerational trauma as a result of the RS system's impact on themselves, family, community, and each other's nations.

5.4.4.3 Territories

UNM and UWO students became connected over the shared RS history in Turtle Island because what occurred in one territory simultaneously occurred in the other. This shared history, both living and lived, produced colliding heartwork between the two participant groups. This makes colliding heartwork not only an exposition of empathy towards traumatic events or histories but also a connection between hearts that are reflecting and searching for a common understanding of the intersection that occurs where Indigenous histories and lived experiences meet. Hence, the creation of a space where our hearts, minds, and spirits collide to embrace healing, and the strengthening of ourselves and our communities by reigniting and continuing our traditions and cultures.

5.4.4.4 Felt Emotions

Participants in this study were constantly questioning how they fit into RS history. Even though they were linked through their families, communities, and ancestral history, Indigenous students came to realize they are part of a larger Indigenous network across Turtle Island, which is grounded in a shared history of colonization and colonialism. “Still Here” became a shared common phrase used by the study participants in both territories because RS occurred concurrently in both places. The expression referred to the empowerment, resiliency, and healing that they have committed themselves to in order to move forward and not allow the history and ongoing impacts to define them or remove their agency. Similar narratives exist, as well as emotions such as loss (see Figure 5.9, in Phase Five), and empathy for survivors, ancestors, and other Indigenous peoples. Even physical remnants and reminders such as schools still stand.

Colliding heartwork is comprised of these three aspects: self, family/ancestors, and community (different from one's home) and other Indigenous nations making a conscious effort to reflect and analyze common historical and contemporary experiences within in the RS system. Each of these three parts contributes to power and emotional influence that mold and make personal narratives come to life. The photographs, interviews, and group discussions give testimony to the outcomes of the RS system based on self, family/ancestors, and community and Indigenous nation. Colliding heartwork is not stagnate; it moves in and out, always in motion between the three spaces of our hearts to connect Indigenous peoples to their family, ancestors, community, and other Indigenous Nations, then bridges across to other territories. The next section explains the final phase of colliding heartwork, which helps guide our understanding of RS intergenerational effects and the push to acknowledge the past in order to empower one another and move forward in a positive and healthy way.

Figure 5.8: Situating Colliding Heartwork for Personal Learning and Understanding shows where Indigenous students come to see themselves in the RS legacy. Indigenous students used photographs to express their perspectives on the six research questions. All the photographs in Chapter 4 referred to their understanding of who they are and how the RS history impacted them, their family and community, and other Indigenous Nations.

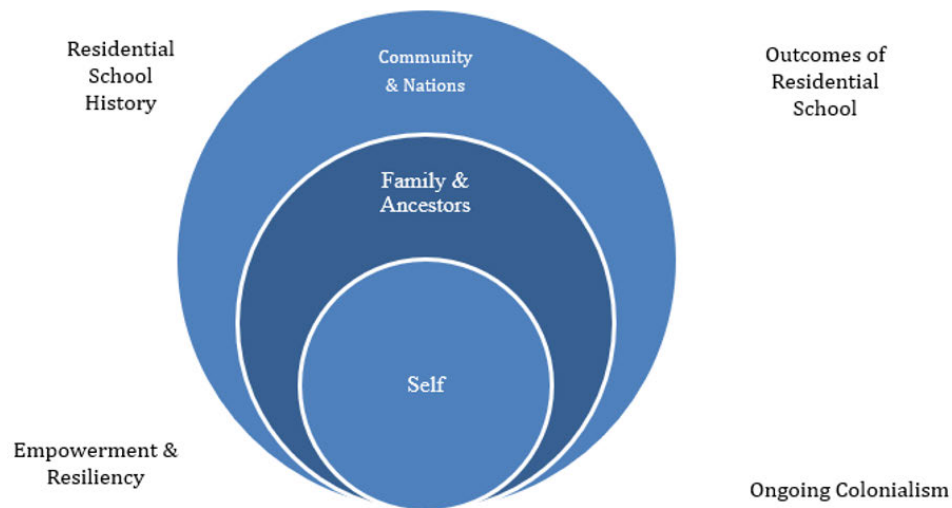


Figure 5.8: Situating Colliding Heartwork for Personal Learning and Understanding

Figure 5.8. The four effects of personal learning and understanding of residential schools are RS history, outcomes of residential schools, empowerment and resiliency, and ongoing colonialism; they are tied to multiple lived experiences (self, family and ancestors, community and nations) and linked to the RS system. The self is the center of personal learning and of understanding residential schools, which then extends to the family and ancestors. This is where people acknowledge and empathize with the experiences of ancestors and families. They then move onto identifying and embracing a common experience of RS with other Indigenous communities and nations. The three facets of identity in the background of the Indigenous students' collective self can only be brought out and recognized through learning and understanding by processing each event from every standpoint: as themselves, as a part of their family and ancestors, and as members of their community and nations.

5.4.5 Phase 5: Colliding Our Hearts

As previously articulated, Phase 5 refers to the movement through different phases of colliding heartwork, both individually and collectively. This process of learning creates a space for the collision to occur, weaving the hearts of participants and researchers, closing gaps in our understanding of the various RS impacts, and connecting everyone to each other: their family and ancestors, and their community and/or other Indigenous nations. Our hearts collide through a slow process of learning and understanding, however, a side effect can be our hearts rapidly crashing into one another's when emotions surface and the understanding of our place in the RS legacy appears. *Figure 5.8: Situating Colliding Heartwork for Personal Learning and Understanding* shows how Indigenous students pursued both a collective and individual process of learning over the course of one term. During the photovoice projects, each student realized how she/he/they was personally affected by RS history; this created a catalytic moment where they actively realized how intergenerational trauma and/or historical unresolved grief were affecting their lives.

Indigenous students used photographs to express their perspectives on the six research questions. All the photographs in Chapter 4 referred to their understanding of their identity and how RS history impacted them, their family and community, and other Indigenous Nations. Alma's photograph "Turning Five" (*Figure 4.1* in Chapter 4) documents the Indigenous Nations whose children were forced to attend RS institutions, and the feeling of dread when children turned five years old. RS history is present in this photograph because both countries had laws for compulsory attendance beginning with children age five and older. The photograph also illustrates the connections and feelings Alma had with family members who were forced to attend RS institutions. Lastly, the photograph's meaning returns to the present, with Alma thinking about her son, and how in different times, she would have had to let him go. The pain and sad-

ness that parents and children must have felt when they were forced away from their loved ones to attend these institutions, was certainly present. The power of empathy continues to resonate with Indigenous students in the study as they make connections to the past and present.

The study participants did not allow the negativity and the pain associated with RS to stop them from participating in the revitalization of their culture, language, and traditions. For instance, UNM 5 acknowledges in “Haa’ka Backing Me Up” (*Figure 4.15* in Chapter 4) that there is a sad history when it comes to her community and the impacts of the RS system. She is proud of her Indigenous identity and feels that her community is always supportive. Other Indigenous students’ photographs highlighted that both countries’ federal governments tried to stop Indigenous children from speaking their language, to abandon their ceremonies, and ignore their traditions. However, the federal governments and their RS system were unsuccessful, as many study participants stated Indigenous peoples still practice their ceremonies, and as individuals, they are learning their traditional languages, going to ceremonies, and making cultural items (see *Figures 4.11, 4.14, 4.17*, and other photographs¹⁹ in the appendix).

5.4.5.1 What can we learn?

There are hundreds of RS narratives, testimonies, and scholarship filled with moments of tension, pain, anger, sadness, unanswered questions, neutral or indifferent feelings, or experiences and emotions that are unable to be shared or processed (see *Figure 5.9 Emotions Associated*

¹⁹To be respectful to all the Indigenous students who participated in this study, I have included all photographs that they granted me permission to release and use in the dissertation. The major themes coded in this dissertation are representative of the photographs, interviews, and group discussions in Chapter 4. However, I did not use all photographs because they would have exhausted the paper limitations for the submission of this dissertation. I honor each Indigenous student’s story by including all photographs they shared in their interviews in the appendix. This is how I honor and respect the relationships I built and continue to maintain with them for taking time out of their lives to make this study possible. Their photographs will be used in future publications regarding colliding heartwork and RS scholarship especially those not included in the dissertation.

with Residential Schools in the following section, 5.4.5.2). While using lived experiences, researchers, Indigenous peoples, allies, and individuals try to truly understand what happened at these institutions. We must be mindful of conflicting views among family members who experienced RS, which could create a space where feelings alternate and even contradict the unfolding of events based on the individual's memory. Regardless of these mixed emotions and experiences of RS Survivors, their families, their communities' members, and their ancestors, the history of residential schools is permanently etched into the minds, bodies, hearts, and souls of many Indigenous peoples in a systematic and traumatic way. Even though, these institutions are closed and no longer operate as a system of assimilation, the long-term effects of the RS system continue to resonate through each generation as colonialist behaviors, ideals, and opinions persist, such as Indigenous children's hair being cut or being reprimanded for speaking traditional languages in public schools.

There are still instances where it is unacceptable for Indigenous men to have long hair in some professional work settings. As previously mentioned by Hungry Turtle in Chapter 4, Indigenous men are still forced to cut their hair and adhere to the social prescribed conditions of colonial business norms to secure employment. Hungry Turtle observed that her Indigenous men colleagues with long, braided hair "started cutting it off" because settler employers "would rather choose someone who looked more socially acceptable" (Personal communication, November 11, 2017). The cutting of Indigenous hair is a symbol of the negative emotions and the attempt to permanently break Indigenous children from their traditional and Indigenous lifeways. Indigenous study participants made conscious associations regarding the requirements to conform to the standards of their settler-nation state. The RS system forced Indigenous children to assimilate into the colonial mainstream societies of Canada and the US. Indigenous students are not legally bound to assimilate; yet, they must still adopt colonial requirements or the perception of what is "normal" or "professional" to be successful on the job market. In addition, some post-secondary institutions may not fully support Indige-

nous students when they are called home to take on traditional leadership roles or participate in ceremonies that may last for more than a few days or even an academic term; Indigenous students could lose their funding if a program is not accommodating. Some ceremonies are unplanned and the circumstances may require some to leave without proper notice. This hypothetical circumstance places Indigenous students in a situation where they must either conform to settler-society's conditions of educational success or choose traditions over educational pursuits. Indigenous students who decided not to conform may be portrayed as unsuccessful and unable to meet the targeted timeline of the degree program or be shunned by their department.

Since colliding heartwork brings individuals together through feeling and emotions, it is a collaboration and relationship-building process similar to participating in a ceremony where individuals become positively changed, individually or collectively. For example, Wilson (2008) describes how the research completed by "... Indigenous [peoples] is a ceremony that allows us a raised level of consciousness and insight into our world. Through going forward together with open minds and good hearts we have uncovered the nature of this ceremony" (p. 137). This elevated consciousness is becoming self-aware of the present change in emotions and how emotions lead to the production of a continuation of shared knowledge and an ongoing resurgence of Indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions.

5.4.5.2 Significance of emotion during the interview process

There must be special attention given to the value of emotions in the interview process with Indigenous students throughout colliding heartwork. For instance, as the researcher, I was mindful about maintaining the Indigenous Rs of research throughout this study. I had a unique relationship with each participant, so the corridors of our hearts collided allowing us to cultivate

our healing and to process the RS imprints felt by our families, communities, and ourselves. Throughout the relationship building and maintenance with Indigenous students, I constantly thought about being a good steward and facilitator of their stories by listening and opening my heart and my mind. Indigenous students focused on how some physical reminders of the RS establishment still stand, such as school buildings and parks that memorialize the RS Survivors. These may be subtle reminders, but they are emotional, nonetheless. Whether individuals read about what occurred at residential schools and/or heard stories from RS Survivors, sharing these truths will always be emotional. Below, the Figure 5.9: *Emotions Associated with Residential Schools*, highlights some of the emotions Indigenous students experienced in their photovoice projects and interview processes. As a researcher, it is important to be present in the moment as Indigenous peoples share their emotions and feelings about RS.



Figure 5.9: Emotions Associated with Residential Schools

Many emotions are tied to the RS legacy and ongoing colonialism. *Figure 5.9* represents the most common emotions the study participants experienced. Researchers, both Indigenous and

non-Indigenous, interested in engaging in colliding heartwork should anticipate the emotional nature and lasting effects caused by the RS system. Indigenous students/ descendants of RS Survivors may be sensitive, especially during the interview process. Regardless, if the research model has participants or if the researcher is simply using surveys or a data set, the researcher must be mindful that the RS system made lasting effects on Indigenous communities and their ancestors²⁰.

For many Indigenous peoples the connection between their ancestors and themselves has not been severed. In fact, this relationship and connection is alive and continuously maintained. UWO 7's *Figure 4.2* (Chapter 4) emphasized the strong connection to her community, most of whom had passed on, and she acknowledged the probable pain of being removed from one's homeland and the pain of being forced to leave one's home. In our interview, UWO 7's eyes teared up as she described the effects of RS. UWO 7 was comfortable with allowing me to witness her hurt and pain. I acknowledged her emotions by asking if she needed a break or wanted to continue. Colliding heartwork works by sharing and expressing emotions cultivated by an equal relationship between a participant and researcher, to honor, respect, and be willing to accept the responsibility of sharing lived experiences.

The emotional side of this research is rooted in RS history, and becomes very emotional for anyone involved in RS scholarship including those in this project. For example, in *Figure 4.3* (Chapter 4), Everwind Saward shared truths about the intergenerational impacts of RS as she talked about her "papa" (grandfather). Everwind's grandfather attended the Mohawk Institute, a Canadian residential school; she shared feelings of immense anger when she saw schools with similar architecture to the institution her papa attended. She was uncertain if her anger would ever diminish. Everwind continued to express various other emotions: sadness and despair

²⁰When working with residential school archives, researchers should respect and acknowledge that there is an Indigenous person who is connected to the record/file.

for the Indigenous children who survived and those who did not. Everwind's powerful and emotionally charged testimony continued through our interview. In *Figure 4.3: Reminiscence of Residential School in Everyday Life*, Everwind detailed how she was impacted by the RS system. I respectfully documented her lived experiences, her emotions, and her feelings by creating "keyword-based notes during the [interview]" (Phillippi & Lauderdale, 2017, p. 385). The interviews, group discussions, and photographs, Everwind Seward and other participants shared were highly emotional and provoked feeling, thus creating a "felt theory" (Million, 2004; 2008; 2009; 2013), which communicated the ongoing struggles of colonialism. I became aware of how Everwind, other participants, and I shared a commonality with our emotional remnants of the RS system, and this allowed for critical reflection. Common experiences exist because relatives and community members shared their RS testimonies so colliding heartwork exists as Indigenous methodology since it "[evokes a] collective responsibility" to create "a relational balance" (Kovach, 2009, p. 178). It focuses on the responsibility to be mindful and careful when re-telling the life stories of Indigenous descendants of RS Survivors and to be respectful of their emotions and feelings regarding the impacts of the RS legacy.

To further understand colliding heartwork, I return to my conversation with White Deer and his photographs, *Figure 8* and *Figure 9*. The responsibility and intentions a person has should be positive and help the community rather than hurt. I made a record of White Deer's verbal and nonverbal emotional tone, behavior, and my own thoughts through observational data (Maharaj, 2016; Flick, 2014; Morrow, 2007). During our interview, when White Deer said, "[accept the] people into your hands. [...] [Y]ou will not do harm with your voice, with your thoughts, with your behavior, and your actions" (personal correspondence, November 2, 2014). I asked White Deer if I could include this in the dissertation to highlight attributes of his Indigenous leadership and show that research with Indigenous communities and individuals must be carried out. White Deer understood and conferred my request; hence, a formation of relational balance was created and nurtured to tell part of his life story accurately.

I refer to part of White Deer's interview to demonstrate the importance of the research process, which involves the emotional attributes and intergenerational impacts involved. This is not meant to detract from the other Indigenous participants because each shared their emotions and feelings. As mentioned previously, Sara Ahmed's (2014:2015) theory of cultural politics of emotion and Dian Million's felt theory (2004) provide a theoretical framework to analyze Indigenous participants' interviews and group discussions as a type of felt action and experience for this dissertation study. Emotions are vital as we critically examine the unending disruptions the RS system had on Indigenous peoples' minds, bodies, and hearts in Canada and the US. The ongoing settler-state and colonialism have forced uncomfortable conversations and moments upon Indigenous peoples who must involuntarily participate in this society, yet still, many lack clean drinking water, missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls are not considered a priority, and Indigenous peoples are not treated as true citizens. Emotions create a space for individual and collective healing, and through self-affirmation, resiliency, and an empowerment to move forward, strategies form to help create healthy solutions and outlets to process the damage done by residential schools.

5.4.5.3 Conducting and using research in a proper way.

After understanding why emotions and storytelling are necessary to process the third phase of colliding heartwork, we must be mindful of how knowledge is stored and maintained. The excerpts from White Deer's interview conveyed the persistent tension between Indigenous and Western worldviews and their approaches to research. The conversations between White Deer and I are not only an examples of best practices for research with Indigenous peoples, but also demonstrates the roles and ethics that leaders and researchers should follow by using the Indigenous R's: respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility, relationship, and relationality (see Chapter 3 section 3.2). In this case RS descendants grant permission to use personal knowl-

edge and testimony within our scholarship in order to educate others about these institutions. White Deer's interview is essential because scholars and readers must be mindful and respectful of the fact that when working with living descendants of RS Survivors, their knowledge and testimonies open portals to their hearts, emotions, and lived experiences of this history. Some living descendants may share more than others, but the stories themselves are significant. Each story is a message about what happened to family and community members. Therefore, these personal stories are teachings that must be treated with the utmost respect and enable the process of colliding heartwork. Hence, we are blessed to be facilitators of these lived experiences. Each person (e.g. readers: academic, student, community member) reading this dissertation becomes a vessel of this emotional knowledge and is actively engaged, thus initiating a connection of hearts. As a result, the reader witnesses and learns about the intergenerational effects of ongoing colonialism and about the historical unresolved grief felt by Indigenous students.

5.5 Addressing potential limitations

There are some limitations and perceived limitations this study. First, this study cannot address how colliding heartwork works for direct RS Survivors, allies, and other individuals who want to learn more about the RS system in Canada and the US because the participants were descendants of survivors. In order to draw comparisons, the study would need to involve other groups. Second, the photovoice project took a hybrid approach²¹ given the larger group and the commitment to Indigenous methods (see Chapter 3, Methodology). While we feel this was appropriate, some photovoice methodologists might take exception. Third, unresolved historical grief was not measured using a clinical diagnosis (e.g., post-traumatic stress disorder diagno-

²¹Wang (1999) suggested that there should be 5–7 participants involved in a photovoice project. This study had 30 photovoice projects and deviated from the small group discussions on the photographs. It was done to accommodate the sensitive discussions of RS impacts on the students.

sis), and Indigenous students confirmed their understanding in the group meetings where the brief history of these institutions was discussed. The approach to understanding and expressing the impacts of intergenerational trauma was similar. Their understanding was used as the measure (See Chapter 3). Fourth, the researcher was an insider and outsider, and this dual role must be acknowledged. It is my feeling that this dual role was indispensable in completing the analysis and reaching the results. Being an insider and outsider was important to this study. As a RS Survivor's descendant, I knew the impacts of RS, which allowed me to relate to the participants and also guide the difficult conversations as a relation or relative. Being in relation to the study participant means that we have connections to a common history of settler colonialism, assimilation, and RS history. Being referred to, as a relative is a common gesture amongst some Indigenous peoples; when someone refers to you as a relative it signifies respect. You are considered to be a relative even though there is no familial tie. At the same time, I was an outsider as the study participants only shared with me pieces of their lives.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Study Overview

This study examined the past and ongoing impacts of residential school (RS) history on Indigenous university students using individual photovoice projects, one-on-one interviews, and group discussions. The analysis of research methods revealed a framework that I decided to call colliding heartwork, which serves as a process to aid and support Indigenous students in their understanding of both the intergenerational impacts and unresolved historical grief associated with the RS system. In order for the framework of colliding heartwork to be deemed successful, a strong bond must be created between the participants and the researcher leading them on this journey. The process also relies on Indigenous participants, particularly descendants of RS Survivors, using their emotions and feelings to work through hardships they have dealt with throughout their lives. Emotions and feelings can help Indigenous peoples further

this healing process in powerful and meaningful ways. Colliding heartwork is based on building relationships between the participants and the researcher, moving through five phases, and results in empathy and the weaving of emotional hearts, to help everyone involved understand ongoing RS impacts. Emotional work is required to understand and process the RS legacy, especially for Indigenous students who are learning details about RS in their university studies. Colliding Heartwork is a framework that equips Indigenous students with the proper mindset to process RS history.

Indigenous students who are descendants of RS Survivors are resilient and prepared for the healing process. Indigenous students from Canada were able to bond with Indigenous students from the United States because they shared this common history. Through lived experiences, the study participants reflected upon the history of colonization and its effects on Indigenous peoples, their communities, and their ancestors. Indigenous students relied on their emotions and described how they felt impacted by the RS history, also taking into account how family members processed these experiences as well. Each student was uniquely affected by the RS legacy. Students' stories and their willingness to become vulnerable to group discussions and study questions allowed for the development and process of colliding heartwork. Even though the residential schools have closed in both Canada and the US, Indigenous peoples are still processing this history which continues to negatively and emotionally affect them; however, they are constantly reminded that as Indigenous peoples they have survived. Indigenous students would not exist if not for the sacrifices and the resiliency of RS Survivors, but these students require more support throughout their educational journey. They deserve safe spaces where they feel heard and can engage in traditional ceremonies because the legacy and physical remnants of residential schools remain, and they evoke emotional responses that require healing.

6.2 Recommendations

The settler-states of Canada and the US must continue consulting with Indigenous nations regarding the curriculum taught in both private and public schools and educational programs. Information regarding the RS system and its continued impacts on Indigenous peoples should be addressed. Adding honest, age-appropriate curricula that introduces students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to RS history at all levels, would provide students with the ability to begin processing a wide range of emotions early on. By the time students begin their post-secondary years, they should be able to handle the more shocking RS details and understand this dark period in American and Canadian histories and hopefully be able to process it better. Educational policy shouldn't just include a small portion of Indigenous curriculum; this is simply not enough. Textbooks must include Indigenous history with Indigenous perspectives and they must reflect upon the RS legacy accurately and not disregard the negative outcomes.

As Indigenous university students learn more details and re-visit the history of the RS legacy with their families, community members, and peers felt experiences are created. Universities and other educational institutions must incorporate more support services such as readily accessible counsellors trained to deal with the emotional triggers expected during their learning process (most campuses do offer these services but by appointment only). These support services should provide ongoing care and provide time and space for talking circles¹ to discuss and work through the contemporary RS outcomes as they affect themselves, their family, community, and other Indigenous Nations.

¹A talking circle is where participants sit in a circle designed for open sharing. The talking circle creates a safe environment for sharing participants' perspectives, respectfully, by having one participant speak at a time using a talking stick, an eagle feather, or another sacred object. By sharing each other's point of views, each participant listens while one individual speaks with the intention of connecting and understanding each other.

Policy makers and educators must also be willing to tackle the educational achievement gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students and advocate for more funding to both public and band/tribal schools in terms of employing/hiring more instructors with equitable pay to decrease student to teacher ratios, increase school and administrative supplies, and advance educational infrastructures. Also necessary is a push for more Indigenous scholars at post-secondary institutions as a cohort hire so that Indigenous scholars are not tokenized or expected to be “the” Indigenous voice in the department or on committees. Failure to provide support mechanisms for Indigenous students and scholars in post-secondary educational institutions is a disservice because they are institutionally and systemically suppressed by being required to do more with less. Action is necessary to accompany ideas that promote healthy and positive change for all Indigenous students.

Unfortunately, these recommendations have already been heard by both settler-states and many have been ignored, so Indigenous peoples will continue to fight for these changes. In order to fulfill the reconciliation process, lasting impacts of the RS system must not be ignored or diluted. Reconciliation needs to progress past verbal and written apologies and into action plans that do not take five or more years to implement. An example of advancement is the Canadian Government passing Bill C-262 to ensure the rights of Indigenous peoples are honored and respected by ratifying and implementing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The Canadian government issued a public apology for RS in 2008 and created the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to document occurrences at these institutions. Yet, in 2009, just one year later, former Prime Minister, Stephen Harper, said, “Canada had no history of colonialism” (Fontaine, 2016). During Prime Minister Justin Trudeau’s visit to New York University in 2016, he referred to Canada having engaged in colonial behaviors, but suggested that they did not have the baggage of colonialism (Fontaine, 2016). This demonstrates that the Canadian settler-state tends to acknowledge the harms it has done to Indigenous peoples when it benefits them; it is a unilateral statement, yet, ignores its

history when they want to uphold their international image of peacekeepers. The United States has never apologized for the harms done to Indigenous peoples.

Former President Barack Obama was petitioned by Indigenous groups to apologize for the US' past colonial history. The apology was submitted in an Appropriation Bill in 2010 with no consideration to write a full or detailed paragraph. This acknowledgement of past wrongdoing to Indigenous peoples can be altered and thus, it is not a permanent or meaningful apology. The majority of Canadian citizens, permanent residents, and the world audience heard about Canada's apology for RS and colonialism, but in the US, few American citizens, permanent residents, and Indigenous peoples even knew the apology was issued because it was basically hidden. The election of President Donald Trump has increased the misconceptions, stereotypes, and racism toward Indigenous peoples with his mockery of associating Pocahontas with the misuse of Indigenous citizenship to a nation. The 45th President chronically displays insensitivity and uses offensive language while mentioning Indigenous peoples, downplaying the Trail of Tears² history, and even more sadly by processing the termination of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe, stating that they "no longer fit the legal definition of "Indian" and would be losing its reservation status" (Nagle, 2018).

Both settler-states need to own and acknowledge their colonial past and ongoing colonialist efforts, which include the suppression and oppression of Indigenous peoples; they must work towards reconciliation to lasting changes and improvements. The US could and should deliver a publicized national apology. Failure to commit to these actions or fully grasp what reconciliation means places both settler-states in the position of an abuser in an abusive relationship (with Indigenous peoples). Leanne Simpson (2011) argued that if governments and their citizens embody an abusive relationship, resembling a type of "domestic partner abuse," by continuously

²Donald Trump's tweet "Today Elizabeth Warren, sometimes referred to by me as Pocahontas, joined the race for President. Will she run as our first Native American presidential candidate, or has she decided that after 32 years, this is not playing so well anymore? See you on the campaign TRAIL, Liz!" on 9 February 2019.

apologizing in order to feel less guilty about their behavior toward Indigenous peoples, then there is not a sincere acknowledgement of past wrongdoing. Only action and commitment will change the cycle of abuse. Reconciliation regarding the RS system must be focused, but should also involve the “broader set of relationships that generate policies, legislations and practices aimed at assimilation and political genocide” (Simpson, 2011, p. 22) to regenerate and to enhance Indigenous lifeways: education, health, and socio-political standings.

In addition, future research is needed to determine if the findings of this study correspond to other Indigenous students attending other post-secondary education institutions in Canada, the US, or both, especially those who feel like they have been impacted by the RS system. Lastly, other descendants of RS Survivors outside of post-secondary education may also need to reach out to policy-makers who can help to develop support mechanisms or outlets to help heal and process the intergenerational impacts of RS. How can non-Indigenous students learn about the colonial past of Indigenous peoples without a proactive curriculum that helps them to become allies of Indigenous peoples? Post-secondary institutions need to support Indigenous Studies Departments with funding, by promoting Indigenous programs to full department status, and by increasing faculty.

6.2.1 Support, Development, and Coping with Emotions

One simple step forward would be in the classroom. Warnings regarding emotionally distressing course content are necessary, and a more conscious effort to announce these forewarning are absolutely necessary. Post-secondary institutions should create more spaces for Indigenous ceremonies and arrange allowances for Indigenous students, staff, and faculty who are working together to process the felt experiences of RS through teaching (e.g., rooms for smudges,

prayers, and outdoor spaces).

Two actionable support programs that exist to assuage the negative effects of RS are the Canadian National Indian Residential School Crisis Line and provincial support services for the Indian Residential School Resolution Health Support Program. Some resources also exist within The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition in the US. Each country has local Indigenous organizations that provide students and community members with counseling and traditional teaching and healing services led by Indigenous Elders. There are also state level activities, for example, the settler-state of Canada recently published their report, *The 94 Calls to Action*, based on the findings from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The report was meant to support Indigenous peoples and close gaps in areas where they are behind their non-Indigenous counterparts, such as in graduation rates, housing assistance, access to safe drinking water, and general healthcare. Sadly, the US settler-state has not taken action or pursued an examination of the colonial legacy of the RS system at the federal level. Indigenous organizations in the US are currently calling upon the federal government to admit that RS caused ill harm and disrupted Indigenous peoples' lives; many are still processing.

6.3 Conclusion

Scholars, teachers, researchers, and students delving into the contemporary impacts of the RS system must realize that vulnerability is a necessary part of this subject. Many Indigenous peoples and students have opened their hearts and minds to share stories about this true and challenging history. This vulnerability and willingness to share must be respected. Listening, understanding, and accepting the gift or personal testimony are requirements of being an ethical facilitator or a storyteller in this research process. During the study, participant White Deer

stated:

”From this day forth, I have blessed you with the people. I have blessed you with the world. You have now accepted your people into your hands. You have now accepted the world into your hands. From this day forth, from the biggest, even to the smallest being, you will not do harm with your voice, with your thoughts, with your behavior, and your actions.”

A cultural and ethical responsibility must be established to tell these life stories accurately while being vulnerable in order to set into motion the action of colliding heartwork. I hope that White Deer’s words will resonate with readers, so hopefully they decide to allow themselves to be vulnerable and open to the idea of colliding heartwork. Towaoc (Thank you).

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Appendix A

Letter of Information & Consent

Study Title: Post-Secondary Education Indigenous students' perspectives: Sharing Our Voices on How We Fit into Residential School History of Canada and the United States using Photo-Voice

Study Researcher: Natahnee Winder, University of Western Ontario

Thesis Supervisor & Study Supervisor: Jerry White, University of Western Ontario

Study Supervisor: Tiffany Lee, University of New Mexico

Introduction:

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information about the study so you can make an informed decision on participating in this research. This letter will give you the information you will need to understand why this study is being done and why you are being invited to participate. It will also describe what you will need to do to participate and any known risks, inconveniences or discomforts that you may have while participating. We encourage you to take some time to think this over and ask questions now and at any other time. If you decide to participate, you will be asked to sign this form and you will be given a copy for your records.

You are invited to take part in an Indigenous Research Methods and Participatory Action Research study to analyze and to create dialogue about the parallel histories of Indigenous education, through a comparative assessment of residential school history in Canada and the United States (U.S), to increase our understanding of how intergenerational trauma works. There is a lack of studies that compare the residential school history of two countries. This is in order to generate knowledge to better handle the impacts of residential school, this study explores the perceptions of Indigenous students who are in the university setting and to determine if we can learn valuable lessons from a comparative assessment of two countries. Even if you did not attend a residential school, do you feel your personal experience in this educational system has been impacted you,? If so, how? The method we are using is called Photo-voice, which uses photography to investigate or discuss about your concerns. There are no right or wrong answers. The research model allows you to incorporate your ideas and questions about residential schools.

Who is eligible to participate in the study?

You are eligible to participate in this study if a) self-identify as First Nations (Indigenous to North America); b) 18 years of age or older; c) are enrolled as a student for the UWO

Winter 2015 term or UNM Fall 2014 term; and d) willing and able to use a disposable camera and/or your personal digital camera or smartphone's camera; e) willing to be audio-recorded, individual interviews and group session to ensure accuracy. Audio-recordings will be destroyed after transcription.

Students will be recruited from the University of Western Ontario, London, ON Canada and the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, United States who meet the eligibility requirements described above.

What will I have to do if I choose to take part in the study?

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer the following questions: 1) How do you as an Indigenous student interpret the history of residential school in your respective country, Canada/ the U.S?; 2) When presented with information concerning the residential school experience in the other country how do Indigenous students interpret or make connections to the history?; 3) Can Indigenous students provide an important insight into the inter-generational impacts of residential schools?; 4) Are there discernable signs of impacts from previous family involvement with the residential school system?; 5) Are there indications that these impacts implicate how Indigenous students' express cultural empowerment and survival based upon their knowledges of the residential school system?; and, 6) Can we learn lessons from a comparative assessment of the residential schools in Canada and the U.S? The questions are significant to initiate the research process to understand the impacts that residential schools may have on Indigenous students in Canada and the U.S based your lived experience.

You will be invited to attend an initial group meeting on campus where the researcher will meet with you and 4 to 8 other participants to explain the purpose and nature of the research,

facilitate personal introductions, and complete a questionnaire. Next, you will receive a brief presentation on residential school history in Canada and the United States and receive Photo-voice training. The ethics of taking photographs, including respect for privacy, confidentiality, and rights, will also be discussed. The researcher will then give you two disposable cameras or use your own digital camera/smartphone's camera. You will be asked to answer each of the following questions using photography of places and/or objects that: (1) best represents of impacts of residential school in your life; (2) best represent your coping strategies when learning or understanding the impacts of residential schools; (3) how have you shown resistance or perservance in the context of residential school; and (4) how you express cultural empowerment and survival based upon your knowledge of the residential school system. You will also be given a journal, which will allow you to document, reflect on, and share details about your experiences and perspectives about each photograph you take as well as your thoughts about the residential school presentation. You will have 2 to 3 weeks to take photographs and journal your thoughts. The initial group meeting will last about 2 to 3 hours.

Following the photograph taking and journaling, there will be a audio-recorded second group meeting where the researcher will retrieve the cameras to print your photographs or download photographs from your digital camera/smartphone onto the research laptop. The researcher will also retrieve your journal to print copies. Your photographs and journal will be returned to you for consideration during your individual interview. In this second group meeting, the researcher will ask you to reflect upon the presentation on the residential school history in Canada and the U.S from the initial meeting and schedule individual interviews with you and other participants. The researcher will ask you and the group the following: 1) how do you interpret the history of residential school in your respective country, Canada or the US?; and 2) how do you interpret or make connections to the residential school history in Canada and the US?. The purpose of the group meeting is to create dialogue about the two residential schools systems, which will be moderated and documented by the researcher, and will last 1 to 1.5

hours. The researcher will schedule individual interviews at beginning of the group meeting with you and other participants, which will take place one week after this meeting.

Approximately one week later, you will be invited to participate in a 1 to 1.5 hour individual interview, to be held approximately 1 month after the initial group meeting. The individual interview is facilitated by the researcher where you will select significant photographs from your collections to share your insights and concerns on how residential schools has impacted you. In this audio-recorded interview, you will choose 12 photographs to contribute to the dialogue of the interview. The interview will be held at a mutually agreed upon location on campus between you and the researcher.

Following analysis of the transcripts for the research, you will be invited to help form a working group to participate in reading the transcripts for accuracy and submit your changes to the researcher. This process will involve consistent contact and support over the course of two months, at intervals mutually agreed upon by the researcher and participants. The purpose of this group is to clarify important issues and to create consensus, collaborative participation, and cooperation, among Indigenous students and the researcher to ensure the proposed research study reflects a Indigenous Research Methods and Participatory Action Research approaches; no data will be collected.

The study will conclude with a celebration feast meeting of you, the research team and participants. The purpose of the meeting is to assess this study in terms of its benefits to you, participants and the larger community, as well as its difficulties. At this time, you will decide how your photographs will be disseminated to the general public. The final group meeting will last approximately 2 hours.

You may agree or decline to participate in any aspects of this study at any time. Any decision that you make will be respected and remain confidential. Beyond what is discussed in the group sessions, no one outside the research team will have access to the data gathered in this study.

Are there any risks or discomforts associated with taking part in this project?

The risk of harm from participating in this study is minimal. Some participants may experience emotional distress because we are attempting to break the silence of the impacts of residential schools and may create a potentially depressing experience since we are dealing with a sensitive topic. As a result, all participants will be made aware of the potential risks and benefits before confirming participation. To address this potential risk, researcher will provide of list counselors and counseling resources to support you during meeting times. The researcher will check in on your emotional state periodically throughout the project as a preventative strategy and debrief you after each meeting session.

Are there any benefits associated with taking part in this study?

Your insights and concerns about the impacts of residential school on your generation are very important information that only you have. By participating in this study, you have opportunity to learn about, and engage in photography to initiate the international dialogue about the impacts of residential school on Indigenous communities and students. The proposed research study findings may have policy implications, given increased awareness, about the impact of residential schools on Indigenous students by helping universities and Indigenous Services better recruit and retain; improve Indigenous communities through creating understanding of processes, and help research participants unpack the impacts of intergenerational trauma. There are different levels of intergenerational trauma within and at both the community and individ-

ual levels. This study may help to identify some the sources and contribute to healing methods. It will provide the academy and the public with knowledge about the lack of descendants and others voices, together society will have the opportunity to increase awareness of the history of residential schools in Canada and the U.S. In addition, the results of this study may be used to support further public awareness of the impacts of residential school in the Canada and the U.S. The proposed study adds to the growing literature that is aimed at informing general society about silenced educational history of Indigenous Peoples in North America.

At the end of the study, you will be provided with a package that includes your photographs, transcripts, and research findings. The larger benefit of this project will be gaining knowledge to help those working to improve educational opportunities and support services for Indigenous students.

Will I be compensated for participating in this study?

Yes. You will receive three \$50 gift certificates from the campus bookstore to be used on books and supplies for participating in the study: 1) \$50 for participating in the initial meeting, 2) \$50 for participating in the group meeting, and 3) \$50 for participating in the individual interview for a total of \$150 in gift certificates. You will not be compensated for additional time spent reviewing the analyzed transcripts and planning and implementing action initiatives.

What happens to the information that I tell you?

All individual and group discussions will be audio-recorded and transcribed into written form to ensure accuracy. Only the researcher team will listen to the tapes. Beyond what is discussed in the group sessions, no one outside the research team will have access to the data

gathered during this study. Once transcribed, the audio-recordings will be destroyed. In order to protect your identity, no names or other identifiers will appear on the tapes, transcripts, or photographs. Quotes from interviews and group meetings will be included in publication and presentations, and will be identified using codes numbers and pseudonyms (false name) to ensure your anonymity. There will be a study key that tells the researcher which pseudonym goes with your coded number information will be kept in a password-protected electronic file. When the study is finished study key will be destroyed. If you would like to use your name in the study, you must give the researcher special written permission.

You will choose which photographs, if any, you release to the researchers to use in publications and presentations. You are free to request that parts of your recording be erased, or parts of your photographs to be blurred. All information pertaining to the study will be securely stored in a locked office at The University of Western Ontario and the University of New Mexico, based on where are you are recruited from, and digital files and types out documents and transcripts will be password protected and will be destroyed after five years.

At the conclusion of this study, the researcher will publish the study's findings which will be presented the in both community and academic settings. Information will be presented in summary format and you will not be identified in any publications or presentations. The researcher will also release a copy of the findings to the collaborators at the university so that they have an archival record of our collaborative project and so that other students can have access to the findings for future reference. The goal is that the study continues to serve as an educational resource for the university community.

Voluntary participation and withdrawal:

Participation in this project is voluntary. You can choose whether to be in this study or not, and you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. If you agree to participate, you may refuse to answer any questions asked in the individual interviews and group meetings you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. If you wish to withdrawal information you can contact the researcher and this can be done for specific photographs and quotes as long as the request is made prior to the research being presented or published.

Other information about this project:

We place your safety above the spontaneity of photographs, and safety issues will be discussed during Photo-voice training.

Questions about the conduct of this study and your rights as a research participant can be directed to the Office of Research Ethics, University of Western Ontario or the University of New Mexico Office of the Institutional Review Board.

I have read the letter of information and agree to participate in this Indigenous Research Methods and Participatory Action Research study using photo-voice. I give my permission to be audio-recorded, under the terms outlined above. All of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I consent to take part in the study. We thank you for your time.

Appendix B

Letter of Information – Participants

Photograph Release

Study Title: Post-Secondary Education Indigenous students’ perspectives: Sharing Our Voices on How We Fit into Residential School History of Canada the United States using Photo-Voice

Study Researcher: Natahnee Winder, University of Western Ontario

Thesis Supervisor & Study Supervisor: Jerry White, University of Western Ontario

Study Supervisor: Tiffany Lee, University of New Mexico

The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information you require to make an informed decision on sharing your photographs in this research. It is important for you to un-

derstand why we are asking you to use your photographs and what it will involve. Please take the time to read this carefully and feel free to ask questions if anything is unclear or there are words or phrases you do not understand.

You will be asked to take photographs using two (2) disposable cameras or you can use your own digital camera/smartphone's camera. You can take photographs of anything you want, but you cannot photograph human beings, other than yourself (if you choose), for the purposes of this study.

Once the cameras or downloads of your digital photographs are collected, the researcher will make duplicate copies of the photographs. One set will be yours to keep. The researcher will hold onto the other set and mark accordingly using codes and pseudonyms to keep track of the authors of each set of photographs. You will choose what photographs from the researcher's set to use in your audio-recorded individual interview.

What will happen to my photographs if I release them?

If you give permission, your photographs and your descriptions of them could be used in publications, in conferences and meetings, and/or photography exhibits. Your photographs will not be used for profit purposes in any way. You can choose to be informed of exhibits events by email or mail. On the consent form, you can choose which photographs if any; you wish release to the researchers.

Why do you want my photographs?

The photographs you have taken are valuable sources or information and are considered central

components of this research study. We intend to use these photographs as results of this study to influence and improve services, programs and policies that impact Indigenous students from learning about the residential schools in the community and university setting.

Will I still own my photographs?

Yes. Signing the attached consent gives permission to the researchers to store and reproduce your photographs, but you will still hold and be able to keep your digital and hard copies of the photographs and use them as you wish. Signing the consent form does not guarantee publication of your photographs.

Voluntary participation and withdrawal:

You can choose whether to release your photographs or not. You do not have to release your photographs in this study if you do not wish to. If you volunteer to release your photographs to this study, you may withdraw them at any time without consequences of any kind. If you wish to withdraw a photograph you can contact the researcher and this will be done as long as the request is made prior to the researcher being presented or published.

Unless you ask for special permission, your name will be kept anonymous in relation to your photographs. You can determine the pseudonym (fake name) of your choice. This pseudonym, your gender, age, and Nation(s) will be used to identify the author of each photograph to show the variation of Indigenous students' voices.

I have read the letter of information. I give my permission to have my photographs released, under the terms outlined above. All of my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I consent to have the photographs I have produced as a participant in this study to be used in reports, publications, presentations, and exhibits about the study.

I check to release all my photographs for this study (Please check): _____

I agree to release only the following photographs for this study (Please check): _____ (Please indicate the title of the picture)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Appendix C

Participants' Photovoice Projects

Little Sun’s Photovoice Project













 <p>Figure 1: Change or die; Change or suffer</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Survival in a forced environment</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Survival in a forced environment</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Where I belong</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Indigenous resurgence</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Many loaves of bread</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Nature remains untouched</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Hold strong</p>	 <p>Figure 9: We are blessed people</p>
 <p>Figure 10: Diverse learning</p>	 <p>Figure 11: I am</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Transcending lessons</p>

Figure C.1: Little Sun’s photographs (1 of 2)

Little Sun's Photovoice Project cont.

Figure 13: Transcending lessons









Figure 14: Transcending lessons



Figure 15: Love & hate relationship

Figure C.2: Little Sun's photographs (2 of 2)

UWO 1's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: My family who have passed on see places through me</p>	 <p>Figure 2: My keepers</p>	<p>Reading of the Great Law¹</p> <p>This is a picture of all the chiefs and grandmothers through the Six Nations [They] were doing a talk on the wampums This was a very important day for me Every time I go into Longhouse it's like I'm sitting there with all my family You just feel them there It's like home</p>
<p>You Will²</p> <p>This was one of the first days that we went to the ocean with our daughters I can't help but state the fact that this was how I wish my childhood was I was always told that's not where we live That's not what we do That's our people don't do that We don't travel We don't do this I think because my parents not only didn't have the means but they were in that...they had so much negativity built up in them I always told [my daughters] "You will, you will, you will"</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Mom's visit</p>	 <p>Figure 4: See the beauty after undergoing challenges</p>
<p>My Family is the World³</p> <p>My family... means the world to me Again, hard times when before I met my husband I was in a completely... the full affects of residential schools My husband came out of nowhere and saved my life It's up to me to start implementing that back into our family those hugs and kisses and I love you Because I never got it and [my parents] never got it but [my daughters] get it all the time</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Resilient trees</p>	 <p>Figure 6: The company of Indigenous peoples</p>



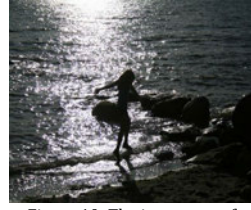

¹ Photograph was not included because it had other people (not involved in the study) in it The participant released the caption for the dissertation and described the photograph during the interview

² Participant released photograph(s) to researcher to use in future presentations on this project This photograph was not released for the dissertation but the caption was

³ Ibid

Figure C.3: UWO 1's photographs (1 of 2)

UWO 1's Photovoice Project cont.

 <p>Figure 8: Thinking about my family on trips and what I can share with them</p>	 <p>Figure 9: Thinking of Residential School Survivors and taking them on heart trips</p>	 <p>Figure 10: The innocence of childhood</p>
 <p>Figure 11: My daughters will make a change in the world</p>	<p>Processing the affect of Residential School³</p> <p>This is my daughter and that's in front of the memorial at Mt Elgin where my grandmother went to residential school. Going there was emotional, I think because seeing my grandmother's name up on that plaque was...I think pretty rough for me to see. When I was younger I didn't understand it. I knew she went but I didn't understand what she went through. I think...they wait until they are all gone and now they are bringing it out. When they waited so long. A lot them went to their grave not having any healing from it.</p>	<p>Bringing All My Family with Me⁴</p> <p>When we got home there was this huge thing right here. I often wonder like who was with us.</p>
<p>Dancing with your family⁵</p> <p>My daughters got to see meet Pam Palmater in Toronto. Pam took them under her wing while we were there. She was dancing with them. All I could think about was this is so amazing sitting here in a mall having a round dance and having this amazing strong woman befriend your children. This is happening because we are who we are as people.</p>	<p>Two Generations⁶</p> <p>[There] is two generations of Oneida women not only getting educated but also bringing in and holding the wampum belt. That's the Oneida wampum. [Showing] our resilience to everything because the way I think about residential schools is this picture shouldn't be. That shouldn't be there if residential schools were successful.</p>	

³ Ibid
⁴ Ibid
⁵ Ibid
⁶ Ibid

Figure C.4: UWO 1's photographs (2 of 2)

Bluebird's Photovoice Project

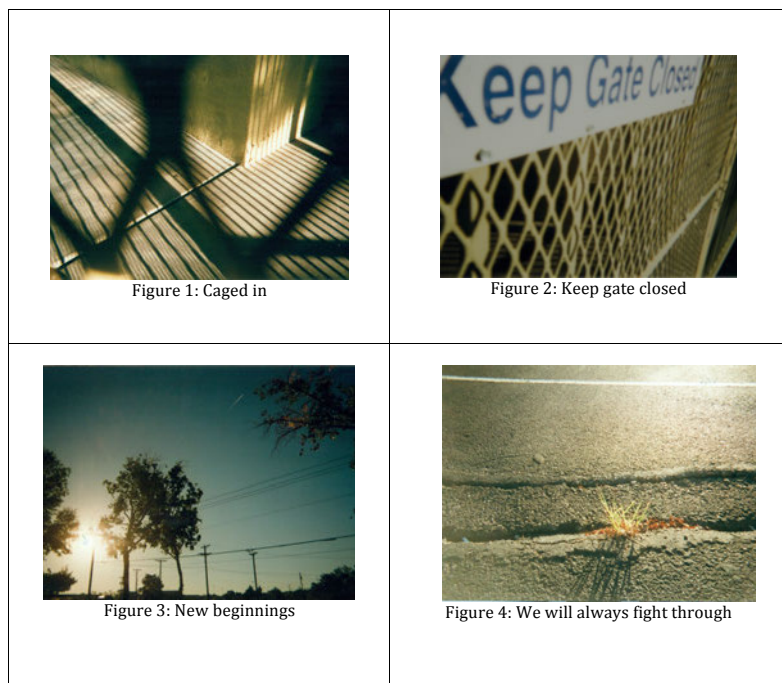


Figure C.5: Bluebird's photographs (1 of 1)

Alma's Photovoice Project












 <p>Figure 1: Prisons not schools</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Turning Five</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Who has power</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Lost in the innocence</p>	 <p>Figure 5: There should have been more childhood moments</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Few and far between</p>
 <p>Figure 7: God and religion to justify</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Picking up pieces</p>	 <p>Figure 9: Lost potential</p>
 <p>Figure 10: Ashtray of society</p>	 <p>Figure 11: The beauty of being Native</p>	

Figure C.6: Alma's photographs (1 of 1)

April Thomas's Photovoice Project

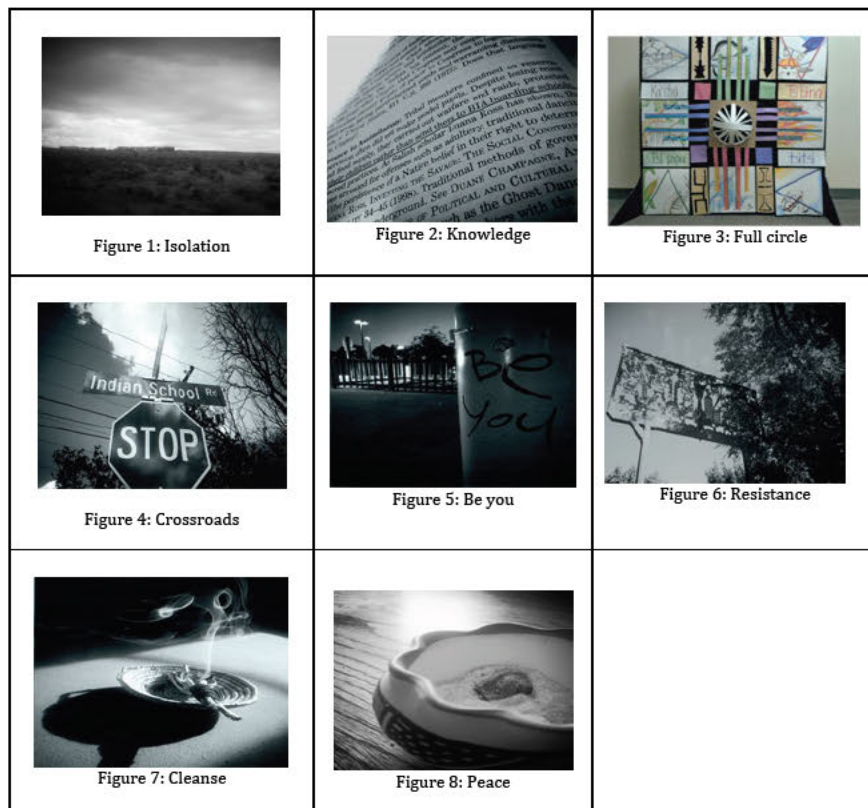


Figure C.7: April Thomas's photographs (1 of 1)

Mariposa 3's Photovoice Project







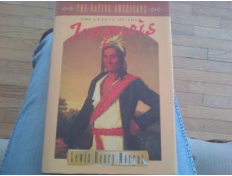

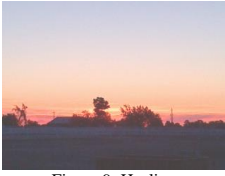
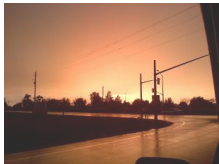


 <p>Figure 1: Family Letter</p>	 <p>Figure 2: What they think we should be</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Connection with ancestors</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Commercialized Indian</p>	 <p>Figure 5: We're strong and haven't lost everything</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Commercialization</p>
 <p>Figure 7: What should we be called?</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Re-learning traditions</p>	 <p>Figure 9: Healing</p>
 <p>Figure 10: Peaceful</p>	 <p>Figure 11: Broken family</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Re-learning cultural protocols</p>

Figure C.8: Mariposa 3's photographs (1 of 2)

Mariposa's Photovoice Project cont.

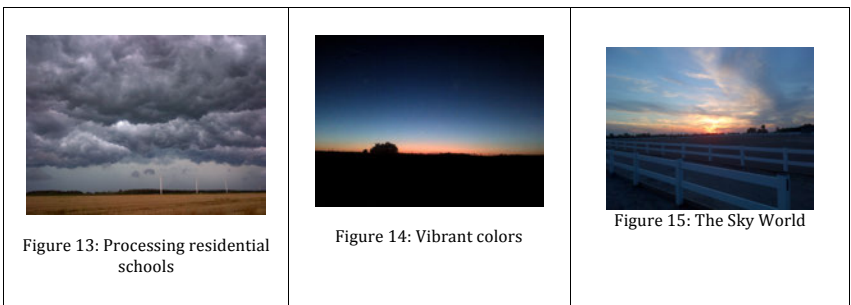





Figure C.9: Mariposa's photographs (2 of 2)

Blackhorse's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: Broken bond</p>	<p>Re-learning Being Diné¹</p> <p>The book open depicts that no one is going to help me about the boarding schools. It's going to be me as a person to do research to know what these people have gone through in the past. So, this picture shows that I'm re-learning and re-tracing the history of not only boarding schools but re-learning the history of our culture. Re-learning the history of Native Americans, our values, and our sacredness. I am in this picture alone because no one is going to learn unless you do the work.</p>
 <p>Figure 2: Tarantula</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Boarding school "unfair"</p>
<p>I am a Shield to My Family²</p> <p>I thought about my dad during boarding school era. I thought about they probably want everything for their child. They wanted happiness. I would do anything for my daughter. I would give her the whole world if I could. But I just feel that the bond between the kids and their dads were pushed away during boarding school. A broken value as a family, I believe that the kids back then when they got older it was easier for them to push away their family. I feel that the boarding school done some psychological damage to the kids. This picture reminds me of the bond between the kids in their dad. My kids are my world. I would do anything to protect them. I can't imagine letting go and having her be away from me for a day. This depicts that I am the person in the middle to teach my daughter about boarding schools and teaching her what was lost during the era of boarding schools.</p>	

¹ Participant released photograph(s) to researcher to use in future presentations on this project. This photograph was not released for the dissertation but the caption was.

² Ibid.

Figure C.10: Blackhorse's photographs (1 of 1)

UWO 4's Photovoice Project



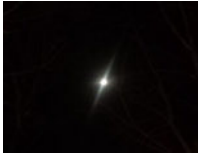








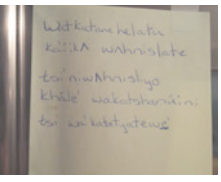
 <p>Figure 1: What we can learn</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Feeling alone and strong</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Seeing what my ancestors saw</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Comforting feeling</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Dispersed family</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Alcohol abuse</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Connections</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Connected to Mother Earth</p>	 <p>Figure 9: My journey</p>
 <p>Figure 10: More connections</p>	 <p>Figure 11: This card</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Re-learning Oneida</p>

Figure C.11: UWO 4's photographs (1 of 1)

UNM 5's Photovoice Project

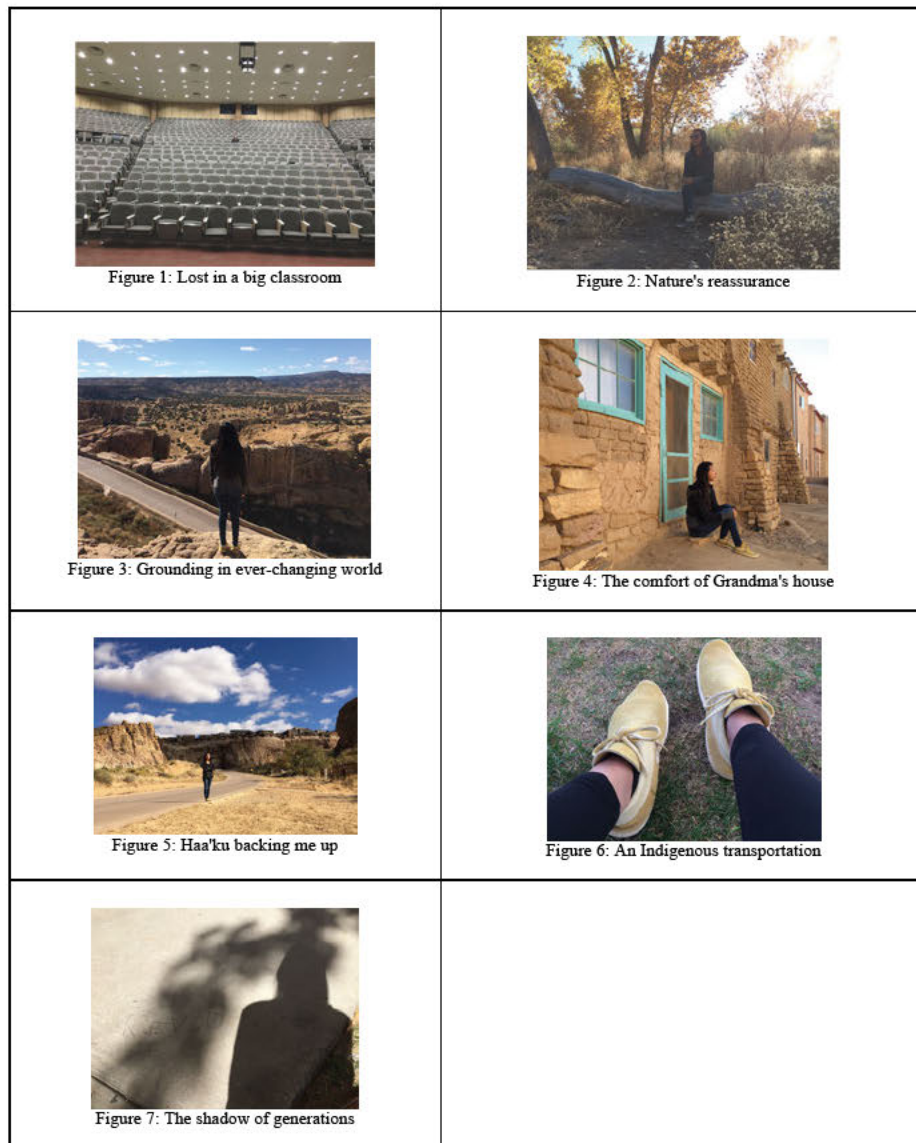


Figure C.12: UNM 5's photographs (1 of 1)

Everwind Seward's Photovoice Project








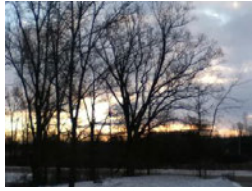

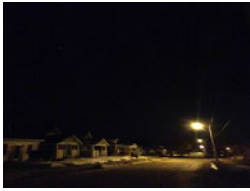
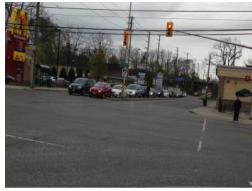

 <p>Figure 1: Reminisce of residential school in everyday life</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Cheesy Bowl of Candy</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Our Christmas Tree</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Kindergarten Moccasins</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Waves and Earthquakes</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Balancing living in Two Worlds</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Re-addressing Images of Natives</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Being at home</p>	 <p>Figure 9: It's 8 am on a Friday</p>
 <p>Figure 10: Reconnected with the world</p>	 <p>Figure 11: Dinner with J</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Loved Ones</p>

Figure C.13: Everwind Seward's photographs (1 of 1)

Sushine's Photovoice Project













 <p>Figure 1: You can't retain us</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Imposter to Mother Earth</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Building the white man's economy</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Man made nature</p>	 <p>Figure 5: The path to nowhere</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Structured time</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Trapped in time</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Why am I here, where am I?</p>	 <p>Figure 9: A reason to go to school</p>
 <p>Figure 10: Two different worlds</p>	 <p>Figure 11: Colonization right here</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Stereotypes</p>

Figure C.14: Sunshine's photographs (1 of 2)

Sushine's Photovoice Project cont.

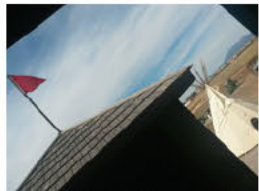







 <p>Figure 13: Blend of assimilation and colonization</p>	 <p>Figure 14: Dominance</p>	 <p>Figure 15: Death</p>
 <p>Figure 16: White man's religion</p>	 <p>Figure 17: I am still here</p>	 <p>Figure 18: The benefits of media</p>
 <p>Figure 19: Diversity within unity</p>	 <p>Figure 20: Traditions are still here</p>	

Figure C.15: Sunshine's photographs (2 of 2)

UWO 6's Photovoice Project cont.




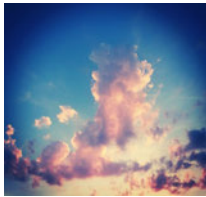


 <p>Figure 1: Higher Education</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Keeping up with traditions</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Do what you love</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Be true</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Be strong</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Keep the course</p>

Figure C.16: UWO 6's photographs (1 of 1)

White Deer's Photovoice Project

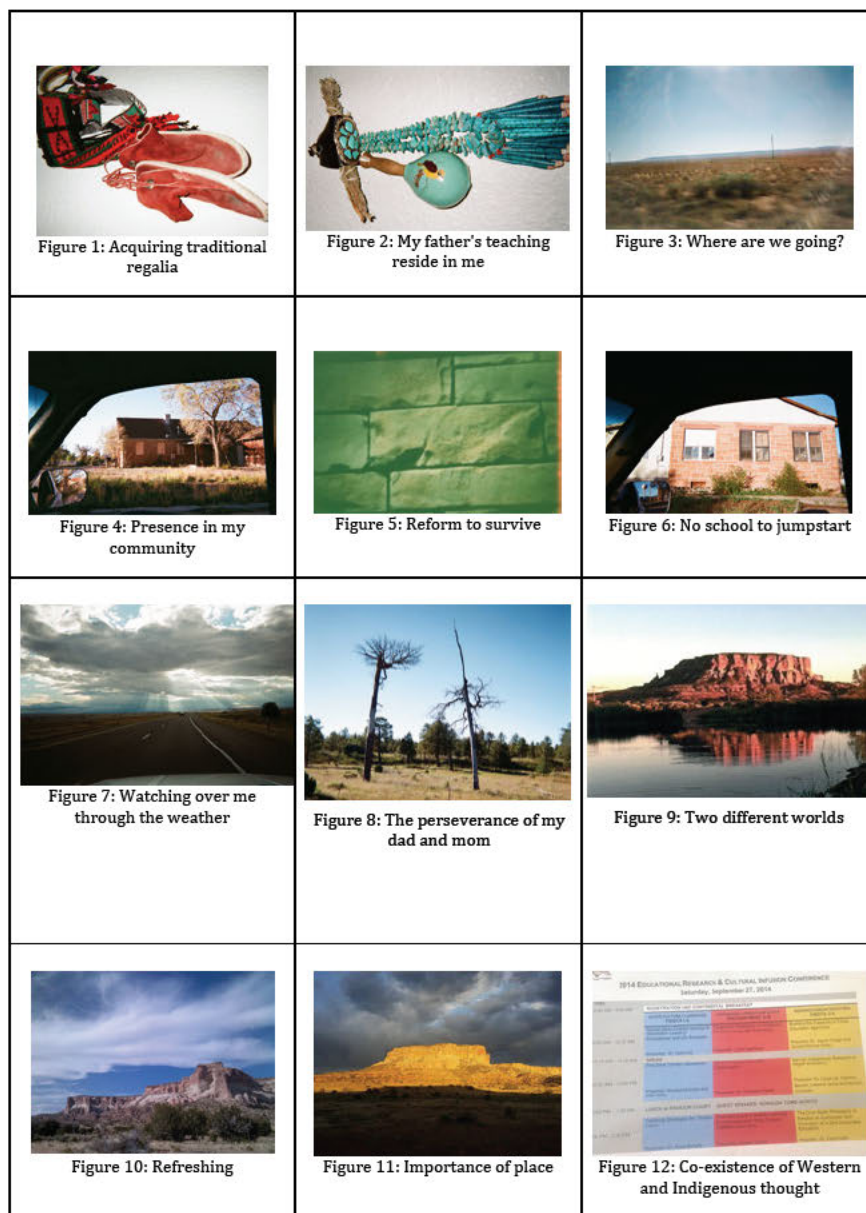


Figure C.17: White Deer's photographs (1 of 2)

White Deer's Photovoice Project cont.

Figure C.18: White Deer's photographs (2 of 2)

UWO 7's photovoice project

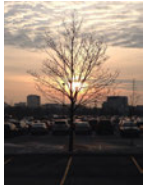


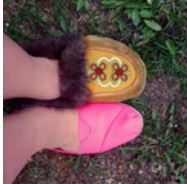


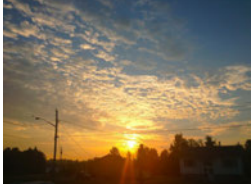

 <p>Figure 1: Concrete Beauty</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Perspective</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Voicing life</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Together</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Resurgent</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Home</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Morning view</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Finding the light</p>	

Figure C.19: UWO 7's photographs (1 of 1)

Hungry Turtle's Photovoice Project

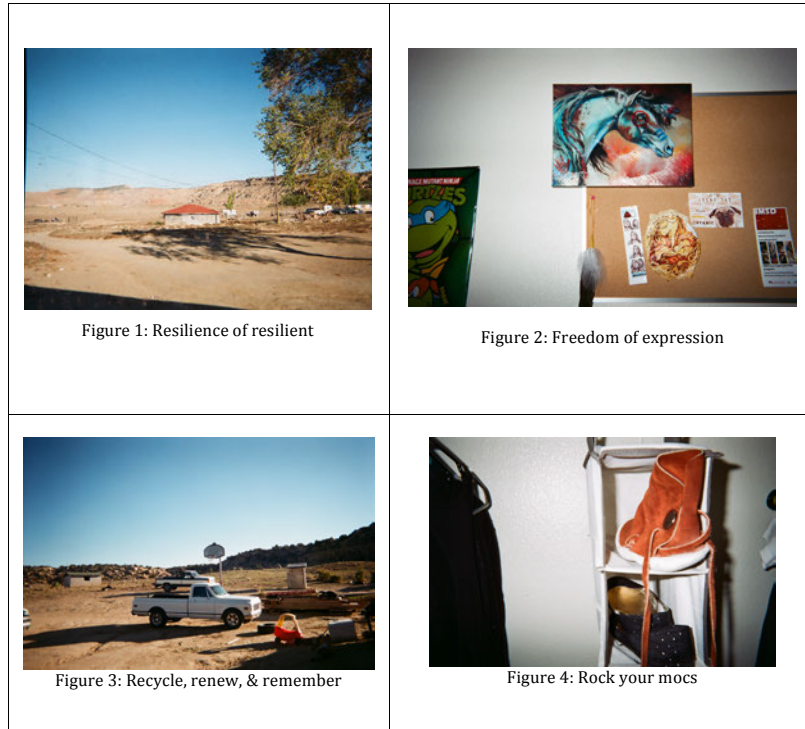


Figure 1: Resilience of resilient

Figure 2: Freedom of expression

Figure 3: Recycle, renew, & remember

Figure 4: Rock your mocs

Figure C.20: Hungry Turtle's photographs (1 of 1)

UWO 8's Photovoice Project


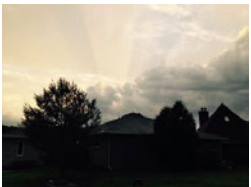
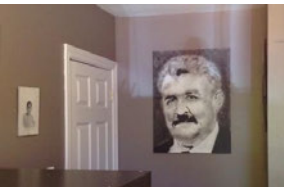
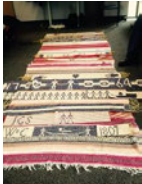







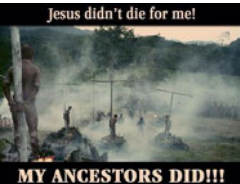
 <p>Figure 1: Stronger Nations</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Light at the end of the tunnel</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Remember the Day School Survivors</p>
 <p>Figure 4: History before the residential schools</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Persistence of Wampum Agreement</p>	 <p>Figure 6: We mirror the trillium</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Flourishing ceremonies</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Strength of the Grandfathers</p>	 <p>Figure 9: Still being practiced</p>
 <p>Figure 10: One of the effects of residential school</p>	 <p>Figure 11: Putting back in place</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Our Ancestors</p>

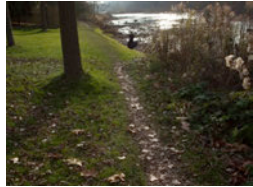




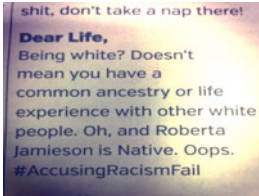


Figure C.21: UWO 8's photographs (1 of 1)

UNM 9's Photovoice Project



Figure C.22: UNM 9's photographs (1 of 1)

UWO 9's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: My quiet time</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Good company</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Meditative time</p>
<p>Decolonization & Reconciliation¹</p> <p>I was at this workshop to do with decolonizing [I am] holding a traditional ajagak and you have to get the stick into one of the holes in the bone I don't have a lot of opportunities to see something as simple as a little toy that has to do with my culture</p>	 <p>Figure 4: Simple pleasure</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Skills</p>
 <p>Figure 6: Different perspectives</p>	 <p>Figure 7: Christmas ukulele</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Smudge materials</p>

¹ Participant released photograph to the researcher to use in future presentations on this project. This photograph was not released for the dissertation but the caption was.

Figure C.23: UWO 9's photographs (1 of 3)

UWO 9's Photovoice Project cont.


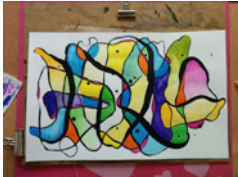



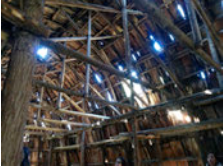



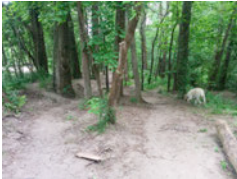


 <p>Figure 9: My healing</p>	 <p>Figure 10: Art Healing</p>	 <p>Figure 11: Finding balance</p>
 <p>Figure 12: Quiet time</p>	 <p>Figure 13: Accomplishment</p>	 <p>Figure 14: Haudenosaunee</p>
 <p>Figure 15: Emergence</p>	 <p>Figure 16: Curious</p>	 <p>Figure 17: Patterns to unwind</p>
 <p>Figure 18: Appreciate the small things</p>	 <p>Figure 19: Power of meditation</p>	 <p>Figure 20: Meditation</p>

Figure C.24: UWO 9's photographs (2 of 3)

UWO 9's Photovoice Project cont.

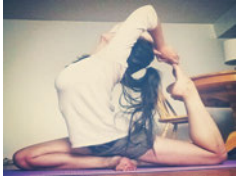
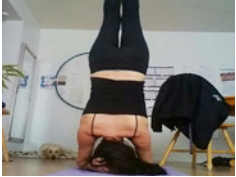











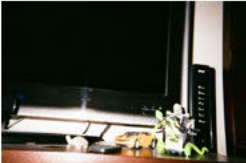


 <p>Figure 21: Positive expression</p>	 <p>Figure 22: Headstands</p>	 <p>Figure 23: Fulfilling...reconnected</p>
 <p>Figure 24: Feels like solitude</p>	 <p>Figure 25: Tobacco teaching</p>	 <p>Figure 26: Positive healing</p>
 <p>Figure 27: Intricate details of nature</p>	 <p>Figure 28: Yoga hula loop</p>	

Figure C.25: UWO 9's photographs (3 of 3)

Harley's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: The lone journey</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Stories</p>	 <p>Figure 3: My life in a basket</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Dorm life</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Sense of loneliness at the dorms</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Growing up fast</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Responsible adult</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Foundation</p>	<p>Power of the Mind¹</p> <p>[The] mind... is amazing It has no value It's priceless [This] is a picture of my diploma... something that I worked very hard for and it's right... next to Batman and speaking to the power of the mind [Mom] was there because it's a tribute to her And, I always imagine when I crossed the stage with my bachelors she'll be there And, I will hand my diploma over to her because she's earned it too</p>

¹ Participant released photograph(s) to researcher to use in future presentations on this project This photograph was not released for the dissertation but the caption was






Figure C.26: Harley's photographs (1 of 2)

Harley's Photovoice Project cont.



Figure C.27: Harley's photographs (2 of 2)

Plain Jane's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: Washing away all that is Indian</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Confronting the institution my mother was part of</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Ice cream salvation</p>
<p>Reconnecting¹</p> <p>This picture shows the unspoken language and bond between a mother and her child. Our heads touching as we transmit our love and bond for one another. Our hands touch to feel one another. We look into one another's eyes then we close them to imprint on one another. Restoring and strengthening the attachment that was once stolen on this very land. I purposely took his picture on the AIS campus to show that this ground where this assimilation was supposed to happen...to separate mother and child. And, make this child fall of the white ways and forget their native ways was not going to occur with my bloodline.</p>	 <p>Figure 4: The symbol of my identity</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Me and my children</p>
<p>Protector of Her Future²</p> <p>This picture depends on the strong hold and bond between a mother and daughter. Although, the mission of boarding schools was to change the lives of Indian youth so that they may assimilate to white ways, this picture shows that they have not entirely achieved their mission. The alienation and brainwashing practices used by these institutions will not come close to ever being instilled in my children and grandchildren. I am a strong woman willing to protect my children, I stand higher than the rubble of walls that once confined my grandmother. My strength for my daughter's happiness and safety.</p>		

¹ Participant released photograph(s) to researcher to use in future presentations on this project. This photograph was not released for the dissertation but the caption was.

² Ibid

Figure C.28: Plain Jane's photographs (1 of 1)

Vanessa's Photovoice Project













 <p>Figure 1: Significance of snow</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Communal fishing</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Tree climbers</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Reclaiming my medicine</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Warriors</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Follow</p>
 <p>Figure 7: Safety at Grandma's</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Language revitalization</p>	 <p>Figure 9: Importance of language</p>
 <p>Figure 10: Growing up</p>	 <p>Figure 11: Danger when you least expect</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Honoring Natives - War of 1812</p>

Figure C.29: Vanessa's photographs (1 of 2)

Vanessa's Photovoice Project cont.

 <p>Figure 13: Representing Natives in history</p>	 <p>Figure 14: Internalized colonialism</p>	 <p>Figure 15: Freedom in survival</p>
 <p>Figure 16: The importance of Native medicine</p>		

Figure C.30: Vanessa's photographs (2 of 2)

910420's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: Native paraphernalia</p>	<p>Critical lens of identity¹</p> <p>This picture was a goofball moment The notepad is says "Identity Theft Boarding School" and it serves two purposes It serves humor, which is a cultural mark for Native Americans but it also shows the affects of history What boarding schools did was they took the identity from the students It was changed forever and yet now we're big on identity theft Boarding schools took away our true identity</p>	<p>Homeland security boarding schools²</p> <p>This picture is John Wayne and me with my identity theft picture John Wayne could shoot his 3030 caliber rifle up in the air and 10 miles away some Indian will fall over dead on the ground He was a very precise with his shot So, my shot on this one was this whole image of the Wild West - kill the Indian, take his scalp He's dead and I'm alive</p>
<p>Cultural cop identity thief³</p> <p>They throw people in jail for identity theft Yet, how many American Indians are on the streets right now homeless, as a result, of boarding school The Cultural Cops circling around like vultures waiting for you fallout so they can take your per capita and land</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Feather and books</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Setting sun</p>
 <p>Figure 4: School ties</p>	 <p>Figure 5: You don't know what it's like to walk in my moccasins and you never will</p>	

¹ Participant released photograph(s) to researcher to use in future presentations on this project This photograph was not released for the dissertation but the caption was

² ibid

³ ibid

Figure C.31: 910420's photographs (1 of 1)

Charlie's Photovoice Project



Figure C.32: Charlie's photographs (1 of 2)

Charlie's Photovoice Project cont.







 <p>Figure 13: Roots, trunk and growing branches</p>	 <p>Figure 14: Shredded history</p>	 <p>Figure 15: Laundry</p>
 <p>Figure 16: Patterns</p>	 <p>Figure 17: Pride</p>	 <p>Figure 18: Numbers and Identity</p>
 <p>Figure 19: Good medicine</p>	 <p>Figure 20: Right on target</p>	 <p>Figure 21: Fitting in (courage)</p>



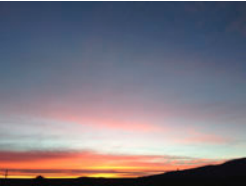





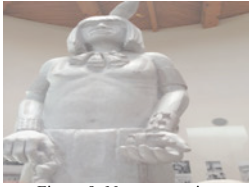

Figure C.33: Charlie's photographs (2 of 2)

UWO 13's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: Home surrounded by plants</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Old preschool, did my first four years here</p>
 <p>Figure 3: Childhood sanctuary</p>	 <p>Figure 4: First teaching</p>
 <p>Figure 5: Breaking the cycle</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Hope</p>

Figure C.34: UWO 13's photographs (1 of 1)








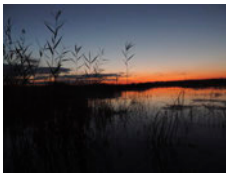
Lynn's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: The cross used as a weapon</p>	 <p>Figure 2: A breath of prayer</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Morning offerings</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Substance of healing</p>	 <p>Figure 5: My ancestors are still here</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Today we're talking about Indians!</p>
 <p>Figure 7: "School pride" or "mixed mission"</p>	<p>Proper Education¹</p> <p>The funny thing about [...] Pueblo communities, [...] Catholicism or the colonization with Catholicism and the education, the boarding school, aren't really a talked about within my community I don't know if that's a good or a bad thing We're going through healing, right now</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Pueblo Propaganda</p>
 <p>Figure 9: New generation</p>	 <p>Figure 10: Waiting for the rain</p>	

¹ This is a photograph from an exhibit from the Albuquerque Indian Boarding School It is not included due to copyright

Figure C.35: Lynn's photographs (1 of 1)




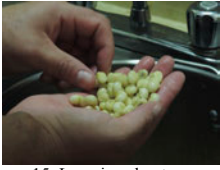

Eliza's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: Portables instead of schools</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Unique twist to dreamcatchers</p>	<p>Love of Powwows¹</p> <p>I went to the Kettle Point Powwow...and it's was the first powwow that I've ever seen in my life [My community] has never believed in powwows. My grandfather...believes in the language and living the simple life. He would ask, "What is it about those bustles? What does it mean? It's beautiful." I love powwows.</p>
 <p>Figure 3: Spirit of the loon</p>	 <p>Figure 4: Pimicikamāk</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Cree footwear</p>
 <p>Figure 6: Status Backlog</p>	 <p>Figure 7: Love of the Medicine Wheel</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Nativist jewelry</p>
 <p>Figure 9: Collaborating with different styles</p>	 <p>Figure 10: Powwows & passion of jewelry</p>	 <p>Figure 11: Comes back with a promise</p>

¹ Photograph was not included because it had other people (not involved in the study) in it. The participant released the caption for the dissertation and described the photograph during the interview.

Figure C.36: Eliza's photographs (1 of 2)

Eliza's Photovoice Project cont.

 <p>Figure 12: Representing smudging</p>	 <p>Figure 13: Just get out of here</p>	<p>Teaching each other²</p> <p>They were gathering acorns We took those acorns and planted them at Swan Lake [...] We had to take off the top to see if they were actually okay to seed I thought it was a really cool picture of teaching each other what they have to look for</p>
 <p>Figure 14: Ending to a great day</p>	 <p>Figure 15: Learning about corn soup</p>	 <p>Figure 16: Art of dreamcatchers</p>

² Ibid

Figure C.37: Eliza's photographs (2 of 2)

UNM 15's Photovoice Project




 <p>Figure 1: Wild</p>	 <p>Figure 2: Reaching high</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Breaking the law</p>
 <p>Figure 4: Finding my way</p>	 <p>Figure 5: Camouflage</p>	 <p>Figure 6: Golden</p>
 <p>Figure 7: See</p>	 <p>Figure 8: Beautiful</p>	 <p>Figure 9: Wrapped</p>
 <p>Figure 10: Peace</p>	 <p>Figure 11: My roots</p>	 <p>Figure 12: Perfection</p>
 <p>Figure 13: Shredding light</p>		

Figure C.38: UNM 15's photographs (1 of 1)

Running Horse's Photovoice Project

 <p>Figure 1: #no radiation #no fracking</p>	<p>Creating a better world for my daughter¹</p> <p>My daughter is the reason why I'm doing everything The reason why I'm learning all this stuff Why I'm decolonizing myself</p>
<p>Tribes United²</p> <p>It is important to unite because were all fighting the same fight We just don't realize it Even the term tribe that separates us from each other and that's not who we were, that's not who ancestors were [It] is so ingrained in us to look out for our own neck and survival for you And hundreds of years ago, our ancestors it didn't mean that, it meant save family then you</p>	 <p>Figure 2: My Indigeneity</p>
<p>Representing Natives on campus³</p> <p>This is a picture of me showing my pride I was running for a leadership position on campus to support Natives I have on my turquoise on There was a group of us campaigning together</p>	

¹ Participant released photograph(s) to researcher to use in future presentations on this project This photograph was not released for the dissertation but the caption was

² ibid

³ ibid

Figure C.39: Running Horse's photographs (1 of 1)

Appendix D

Ethics Approval Letters



**Western
Research**

Research Ethics

Use of Human Participants - Ethics Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Dr. Jerry P. White

File Number: [REDACTED]

Review Level: Full Board

Protocol Title: Post-Secondary Education Indigenous students' perspectives: Sharing Our Voices on How We Fit into Residential School History of Canada the

United States using Photo-Voice

Department & Institution: Social Science/Sociology,

Sponsor:

Ethics Approval Date: March 04, 2014 Expiry Date: May 15, 2015

Documents Reviewed & Approved & Documents Received for Information:

Document Name	Comments	Version Date
Other	Cover Letter to Committee	2013/12/09
Instruments	List of Support Services	2013/12/09
Other	References	2013/12/09
Instruments	Study Stages	2013/12/09
Instruments	Study Key	2013/12/09
Instruments	Study Timeline for both sites	2013/12/09
Instruments	Semi-structure Interview	2013/12/09
Western University Protocol		2013/12/10
Recruitment Items	Clean copy of updated flyer	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean Copy of Attach J - LOI to NAS	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean Copy of Attach K - LOI to WRC	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean copy Attach I - LOI to AISS	2014/02/04
Recruitment Items	Clean copy of Attach G - Email Script	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean Copy of Attach H - LOI to Indig. Services	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean copy of Attach E - LOI Photo Release to Participants	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean Copy of Attach D - Participants Photo Release	2014/02/04
Instruments	Clean copy of Attach C - Questionnaire	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean copy of Attach B - the consent form - participants	2014/02/04
Revised Letter of Information & Consent	Clean copy of Attach A - LOI to Participant	2014/02/04
Letter of Information	Letter of Information Community	2013/12/09
Letter of Information	Consent form - Participants Photo release	2013/12/09

This is to notify you that The University of Western Ontario Research Ethics Board for Non-Medical Research Involving Human Subjects (NMREB) which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario has granted approval to the above named research study on the approval date noted above.

This approval shall remain valid until the expiry date noted above assuming timely and acceptable responses to the NMREB's periodic requests for surveillance and monitoring information.

Members of the NMREB who are named as investigators in research studies, or declare a conflict of interest, do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on, such studies when they are presented to the NMREB.

The Chair of the NMREB is Dr. Riley Hinson. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 0000941.

[REDACTED]
Ethics Officer to Contact for Further Information

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

Figure D.1: UWO Ethics Approval



DATE: August 18, 2014

REFERENCE #: [REDACTED]

PROJECT TITLE: [REDACTED] Post-Secondary Education Indigenous students' perspectives: Sharing Our Voices on How We Fit into Residential School History of Canada and the United States using Photo-Voice

PI OF RECORD: Tiffany Lee

SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

BOARD DECISION: APPROVED

EFFECTIVE DATE: August 12, 2014

EXPIRATION DATE: August 11, 2015

REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review

REVIEW CATEGORY: Expedited review category 6, 7

SUBPART DECISION: Not Applicable

PROJECT STATUS: Active - Open to Enrollment

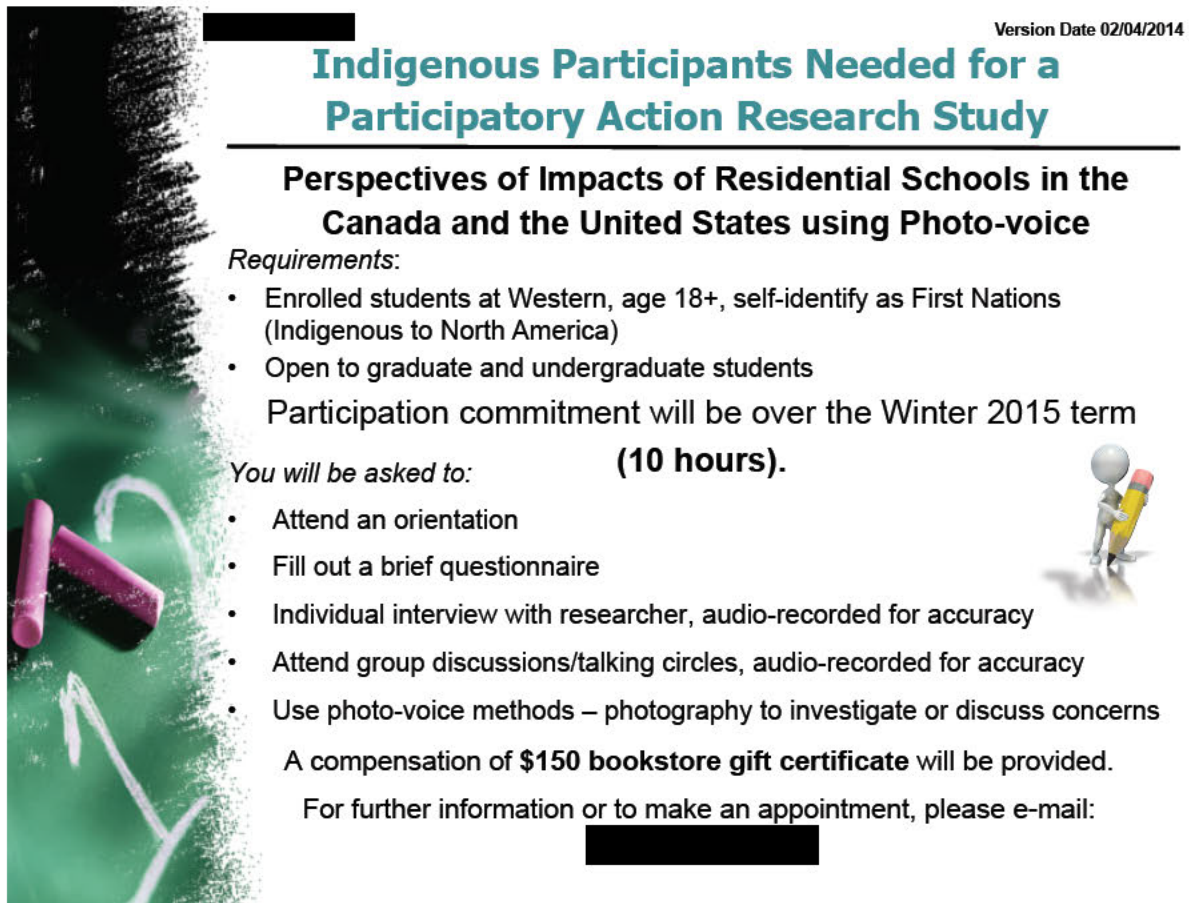
DOCUMENTS:

- Advertisement - Study Flyer (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Advertisement - Email script (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Application Form - Project information form (UPDATED: 06/19/2014)
- Consent Form - Selection of Photographs (UPDATED: 05/8/2014)
- Consent Form - Consent and Letter of Information for Photographs (UPDATED: 05/8/2014)
- Consent Form - Informed Consent and Letter of Information for Study (UPDATED: 05/8/2014)
- Data Collection - Interview Guide (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Letter - Western University Ethics Approval Letter (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Letter - Dr. Jerry White - Western Study Maintenance (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Other - Department Review (UPDATED: 04/29/2014)
- Other - Project Team Form (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Other - American Indian Student Organizations (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Other - List of Support Services (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Other - Study Key Sample (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Protocol - Study Protocol (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Questionnaire/Survey - Questionnaire (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Study Plan - Study Stages (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)
- Study Plan - Study Timeline (UPDATED: 04/7/2014)

Figure D.2: UNM Ethics Approval

Appendix E

Recruitment Materials



Version Date 02/04/2014

Indigenous Participants Needed for a Participatory Action Research Study

Perspectives of Impacts of Residential Schools in the Canada and the United States using Photo-voice

Requirements:

- Enrolled students at Western, age 18+, self-identify as First Nations (Indigenous to North America)
- Open to graduate and undergraduate students

Participation commitment will be over the Winter 2015 term
(10 hours).


You will be asked to:

- Attend an orientation
- Fill out a brief questionnaire
- Individual interview with researcher, audio-recorded for accuracy
- Attend group discussions/talking circles, audio-recorded for accuracy
- Use photo-voice methods – photography to investigate or discuss concerns

A compensation of **\$150 bookstore gift certificate** will be provided.

For further information or to make an appointment, please e-mail:
[REDACTED]

Figure E.1: UWO Recruitment Flyer



Version Date 03/31/2014

Indigenous Participants Needed for a Participatory Action Research Study

Perspectives of Impacts of Boarding Schools in the Canada and the United States using Photo-voice

Requirements:

- Enrolled students at UNM, age 18+, self-identify as American Indian (Indigenous to North America)
- Open to graduate and undergraduate students

Participation commitment will be over the Fall 2014 term

You will be asked to: **(10 hours).**

- Attend an orientation
- Fill out a brief questionnaire
- Individual interview with researcher, audio-recorded for accuracy
- Attend group discussions/talking circles, audio-recorded for accuracy
- Use photo-voice methods – photography to investigate or discuss concerns

A compensation of **\$150 bookstore gift certificate** will be provided.

For further information or to make an appointment, please e-mail:
[REDACTED]




Figure E.2: UNM Recruitment Flyer

Email Script for Recruitment

Subject Line: Invitation to participate in research – Do you have something to say about the Residential Schools in North America?

My name is Natahnee Winder and I am Duckwater Shoshone from the Southern Ute and Pyramid Lake Paiute Nations. I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at Western University in London, Ontario Canada, working under the supervision of Associate Professor, Tiffany Lee, at the University of New Mexico and Professor, Jerry White, also at Western University. You are being invited to participate in a research study looking at the impacts of residential schools (RS) or boarding schools on Indigenous university students from the University of Western Ontario (London, Ontario) or University of New Mexico (Albuquerque, NM).

I am seeking up to eight, self-identifying as American Indian/First Nations, students who are over the age of eighteen to collaborate with me on an Indigenous Research Method and Participatory Action Research study that analyzes and creates dialogue about the parallel histories of Indigenous education, through a comparative assessment of residential school history in Canada and the United States. This study may increase our understanding of intergenerational trauma and generate knowledge to better handle its impacts in the university setting. In addition, we may learn valuable lessons from a comparative assessment of two countries. The method we are using is called Photovoice, which uses photography to investigate or discuss your concerns. There are no right or wrong answers. We will meet and discuss your photographs in a critically conscious way using Indigenous Research Methods, sharing with each other your interpretations. Participants will be required to meet for a minimum of 10 hours during the Fall 2014\Spring 2015 term (2 to 3 hours for orientation: completion of an anonymous questionnaire, a brief presentation on RS history in the two countries, and photo-voice training; 1 to 1.5 hours audio-recorded group session to collect cameras and discuss the process; 1.5 to 2 hours audio-recorded individual interviews for each photograph selection and dialogue meeting with researcher; 2 hours group meeting and feast to evaluate the research process). Lastly, you are encouraged (but not required) to read transcripts for accuracy and make changes if required—this totals 4 extra hours that are optional in addition to the 10 hours required. You will be compensated with a \$150 gift certificate from the campus bookstore for your participation.

I think your knowledge, your voice, and your wisdom are valuable as an Indigenous student—you have much to say and I would be honored to hear from you!

If you would like more information on this study or would like to receive a letter of information [if not already attached to this email] about this study please contact the researcher at the contact information given below.

Thank you,
Natahnee Winder
PhD Student
Department of Sociology
Western University

Figure E.3: Email Script

Appendix F

Study Questionnaire

Version Date: 02/04/2014

**Participant Questionnaire Form
(Obtained by researcher)**

Study Title: Post-Secondary Education Indigenous students' perspectives: Sharing Our Voices on How We Fit into Residential School History of Canada and the United States using Photo-Voice

Study Researcher:
Natahnee Winder
PhD Student, Dept. of Sociology
Western University (Western)

Supervisors:
Tiffany Lee, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of
Native American Studies, University of New Mexico
Jerry White, PhD, Professor, Department of Sociology
Western

Basic Demographic Information *Coded Identification (research team only):* _____

Name: _____ Gender: Male or Female Age: _____

Contact Information: _____

Band or Tribal Affiliation: _____ Circle One: Undergrad or Graduate Student

General Questions (Please circle or write your responses):

Do you know about residential schools or boarding schools: Yes or No

How did you find out or learn about these schools? Family Friends Community
School/Education (type): _____ Other: _____

Do you know the difference between residential schools and boarding schools: Yes or No If so,
what are the differences: _____

Do you know where these schools were located? Yes or No If so, where? _____

Do you feel that these schools have impacted you? Yes or No If so, how? _____

Figure F.1: Questionnaire Page 1 of 2

Have you received any type of support to help you process your feelings about the history of these schools? Yes or No If so, what kind of services or why not? _____

Would you recommend these support services to other students? Yes or No If so, why is it important to share? _____

Are there any types of support services you feel are needed to help you or other students' process learning about these schools? Yes or No If so, what kind? _____

Do you feel increased awareness of these schools needs to be made? Yes or No Why or why not? _____

Please write a couple of sentences about why you are interested in participating in the study?

Would you like to share any additional comments or questions? _____

Figure F.2: Questionnaire Page 2 of 2

Appendix G

Interview Guide for Semi-Structured Interviews

Introductory questions: Preamble and general line of questioning

To start, I am going to ask some general questions about your educational involvement and aspirations to help me relate to your photos to your insights on the impacts of the residential school system on your life.

First – Pseudonym

- I would like you to think about what you would like your pseudonym to be for the thesis and publications. You can email me your name or we can wait until the celebration feast to decide.

- Where are you from?
- Have you had experience with photography or visual arts before?
- How did taking pictures help or hinder your ability to accurately illustrate your experiences and perspectives?
- Prior to this study, what did you know about residential school history in Canada?
 - Probe: When did you hear or learn about this history?
 - Probe: Has this history been discussed in your courses, if so, which ones?
 - Probe: If so, how did you make you feel?
 - Probe: What steps did you do help debrief yourself?
- Prior to this study, what did you know about the boarding school (residential school) history in the United States?
 - Probe: When did you hear or learn about this history?
 - Probe: Has this history been discussed in your courses, if so, which ones?
 - Probe: If so, how did you make you feel?
 - Probe: What steps did you do help debrief yourself?
- When you think about residential or boarding school in your current life, how did you feel you have been impacted?
 - Probe: Or what does residential or boarding school mean to you?
- Do you think the two systems can be compared?
 - Probe: Do you think we can learn from a comparison analysis?
 - Probe: What are the similarities? Differences?

Photo selection for individual interview:

As I am downloading your photos onto the laptop, can you think about which 8 to 12 photos you think are most important to talk with me about. We will then talk about each of these pictures, and I will ask a set of questions about each of them.

Photo elicitation

- Can you tell me about your photo and what it means to you?
 - Probe: Why did you take this photo?
 - Probe: Why did you choose this photo to talk about?
 - Probe: Can you tell me where was the picture taken, and the significance of this place (if significant)?
- What does this photo mean in relation to your insight and concerns about residential school?
 - Probe: How does this photo bring attention to the impacts of residential school?
- I see that in this photo, you highlight [Insert activity]. Can you tell me a little about this activity?
 - Probe: If you would give this photo a title what would it be?
 - Probe: How does this photo compare to other representations of Indigenous students learning about the history of residential schools?
 - Probe: Is it specific to helping students understand or heal from becoming aware of the history?
 - Why or why not? Is that an implied/implicit understanding?

- Is there something about the meaning of this picture that you would like to change, continue or strengthen?
 - Probe: Why does this issue, concern or strength exist?
 - Probe: How/What can we do about it?
 - Probe: How is your photo different from similar to others you have taken?
 - Probe: What is not represented in the photo? Things you could not capture?

Overall questions:

- Thinking across the photos you discussed, how would you prioritize the facilitators you have mentioned? How would you prioritize the barriers?
- Is there anything you want to address, explain further? Did you like the interview? etc

Appendix H

Tentative Study Timeline for the University of Western Ontario

November – December 2013

- Follow-up on letters to sent to partners with a meeting during the academic break (Letters will be sent at the beginning of January 2014)
 - Indigenous Support Services
- Submit Ethics Proposal for dissertation study to the UWO committee for approval

January – February 2014

- Work on revisions requested from Ethics Committee

- Submit to UNM Ethics Committee after approval letter from UWO is received

March – April 2014

- Submit Protocol Revisions if needed to UNM and UWO
- Research study will use the Informed Consent Form of the university where Indigenous students will be recruited from in order to be meet the requirements of the institution.
- The study protocol will remain the same for both universities

May – December 2014

- Researcher will be in communication with research team and partner about the process of the study at the UNM Site
- Distribution of Recruitment Flyer and email – **Study start date for Jan. 5, 2015**

January 2015 *UWO classes start TBA*

- Distribution of Recruitment Flyer and email – beginning of the month
- Beginning recruiting Indigenous students
- Conduct two informational meetings about the research study
 - Locations: ISS – during the first two weeks of classes (Jan. 5th – 16th)

- Schedule initial group meeting (Jan. 14th – Jan. 23rd)
- Invite Indigenous students to participate in the initial group meetings – there will be two separate scheduled times to meet the needs of participants
 - Indigenous students will be asked to start taking photos (Jan. 14th – Feb. 6th)

February 2015 *Reading Week TBA*

- Conduct Group Meeting (Feb. 23rd – Feb. 27th)
 - Collect cameras or download pictures and journals
 - Make copies of photos and journals
 - Schedule individual interviews
- Researcher will be transcribing group meeting

March 2015

- Individual interviews (Mar. 2nd – Mar. 13th)
- Transcribing individual interviews and second group meeting
- Once transcription is completed, Indigenous students will be asked to review them for accuracy and input

April 2015

- Celebration Feast (Apr. 1st – Apr. 10th)
 - Discuss benefits and challenges of the study
 - Indigenous students will decide how they want their photos to be disseminated to the public

This is a tentative timeline for the research study to allow the researcher to schedule meetings within the dates outlined above. For example, Celebration Feast (April 1st – April 10th) will be schedule during the first of December. The researcher will confirm availability for all participants for the dates selected and after confirmation is received. The researcher will notify all parties involved in the study at the Celebration Feast will be held on April 4th at 2:30pm. In addition, study schedule will be finalized after the research team receives the official university academic calendar for 2014-2015.

Appendix I

Tentative Study Timeline for the University of New Mexico

February 2014

- Follow-up on letters to sent to partners with a meeting during the academic break (Letters will be sent at the beginning of January 2014)
 - American Indian Student Services (AISS)
 - Department of Native American Studies (NAS)
 - Women’s Resource Center
 - Robert Wood Johnson Center – Interim Associate Director

March 2014

- Submit Ethics Proposal for dissertation study to the UNM committee for approval
- Include The University of Western Ontario's Ethic Approval Letter for the UWO site in application

April – May 2014

- Work on revisions requested from Ethics Committee

May 2014

- Submit Protocol Revisions if needed to UNM and UWO
- Research study will use the Informed Consent Form of the university where Indigenous students will be recruited from in order to be meet the requirements of the institution.
- The study protocol will remain the same for both universities

August 2014 *UNM classes begin on August 18, 2014*¹

- Distribution of Recruitment Flyer and email – beginning of the month
- Beginning recruiting Indigenous students
- Conduct two informational meetings about the research study

1

<https://registrar.unm.edu/academic-calendar/ten-year-semester-dates-calendar.html>. UNM academic calendar is subject to change. These are potential dates.

- Locations: AISS and NAS – during the first two weeks of classes (Aug. 18th – Aug. 29th)

September 2014

- Schedule initial group meeting (Sept. 1st – Sept. 5th)
- Invite Indigenous students to participate in the initial group meetings – there will be two separate scheduled times to meet the needs of participants
 - Indigenous students will be asked to start taking photos (Sept. 1st - Sept. 26th)

October 2014 *UNM² Fall Break, Oct. 9 – 10th*

- Conduct Group Meeting (Sept. 29th – Oct. 3rd)
 - Collect cameras or download pictures and journals
 - Make copies of photos and journals
 - Schedule individual interviews
- Researcher will be transcribing group meeting
- Individual interviews (Oct. 20th – Oct. 31st)

November 2014

- Transcribing individual interviews and second group meeting
- Once transcription is completed, Indigenous students will be asked to review them for accuracy and input

December 2014

- Celebration Feast (Dec. 1st – Dec. 5th)
 - Discuss benefits and challenges of the study
 - Indigenous students will decide how they want their photos to be disseminated to the public

This is a tentative timeline for the research study to allow the researcher to schedule meetings within the dates outlined above. For example, Celebration Feast (Dec. 1st – Dec. 5th) will be schedule during the first of December. The researcher will confirm availability for all participants for the dates selected and after confirmation is received. The researcher will notify all parties involved in the study at the Celebration Feast will be held on Dec. 4th at 2:30pm. In addition, study schedule will be finalized after the research team receives the official university academic calendar for 2014-2015.

Appendix J

List of Support Services

University of Western Ontario

1. First Nations Studies
2. Indigenous Services
3. UWO Student Health Services
4. UWO Student Development Centre

University of New Mexico

1. American Indian Student Services
2. Native American Studies Department

3. UNM Women's Resource Center
4. UNM Student Health & Counseling (SHAC)

Addresses and phone numbers of each support service were provided to the study participants.

Appendix K

Study Stages

Post-Secondary Education Indigenous students' perspectives: Sharing Our Voices on How We Fit into Residential School History of Canada the United States using PhotoVoice

1. Recruitment: Indigenous students over the age of eighteen will be recruited from the UWO and UNM using email and flyers.
2. Initial Group Discussion - Orientation: Outline of study and expectations, administration of a questionnaire, photo-voice elicitation training, and presentation of residential school history in Canada and US. During the orientation meetings, the researcher will meet with separate groups of research participants to explain the purpose and the nature of the study. Letter of information and informed consent will be distributed and collected to Indigenous students. Researcher will administer an anonymous questionnaire (see attachment A-E and G) to collect basic demographic information and assess students' current knowledge of residential schools after receiving informed consent.

After questionnaires have been collected and returned, the researcher will proceed with a PowerPoint presentation of the residential school history in Canada and the US and orientate students with photo-elicitation and photo-voice training. The orientation session will last 1.5 to 2 hours (George, 2012). The researcher will discuss the ethics of taking pictures, including the respect for privacy and confidentiality, will be discussed. The researcher will give students cameras and ask them to take pictures of places and/or objects that: (a) best represents of impacts of residential school in their lives; (b) best represent their coping strategies when learning or understanding the impacts of residential schools; (c) how have they shown resistance or perservance in the context of residential school; and (d) how they express cultural empowerment and survival based upon their knowledges of the residential school system. Indigenous students will also be provided journals to allow them to document, reflect on, share details about, and contextualize the experiences and perspectives captured in their pictures (George, 2012). The journals are intended to assist Indigenous students to communicate in written form their experiences and perspectives of the impacts of residential schools. The researcher will encourage students to draw on the journals during the course of their interviews.

3. Second Group discussion, collection of cameras and journals: Approximately two weeks later, the researcher will collect the cameras and journals from students and print copies of the pictures, which will be returned to them in 3 to 5 days, for their considerations (George, 2012). Students will be free to remove the pictures of their choice. The researcher will ask students to reflect upon the residential school history in Canada and the US and ask the following questions: (a) how do they interpret the history of residential school in their respective country, Canada or the US?, and (b) how do they interpret or make connections to the residential school history in Canada and the US? The purpose of the group session is to create dialogue about the two residential schools systems, which will be moderated and documented by the researcher, and will last 1 to 1.5 hours. The researcher will schedule individual interviews at beginning of the group session for one

week after the group discussion with students.

4. Individual interviews: Students will be invited to participate in a 1 to 2 hour individual interview, which is facilitated by the researcher; they will select significant photographs from their collections using photo-elicitation and share their university experience. Indigenous students' creativity will create, as their pictures will be a tool for self-narration of experiences and perceptions, a space for them to share with the researcher the aspects of their lived experiences that may be invisible. The pictures will form the basis of the interview dialogue (George, 2012)
5. Analysis of transcripts: The active approaches, IRM and PAR, of data analysis is required to ensure Indigenous students' attitudes and perceptions are portrayed accurately and to promote further discussions of the findings. All camera sessions, educational presentations, individual interviews, and group discussions will be auto-taped, transcribed, and presented to Indigenous students (George, 2012). The researcher will contact each student to determine if they would like to review the transcripts. Indigenous students, who are interested, will be invited to participate in reading the transcripts for accuracy and submit their changes to the researcher. After the transcripts are completed coded utilizing NVivo, Indigenous students will be shown the themes the researcher found and will be invited to form a working group to clarify important issues. This working group is to create consensus, collaborative participation, and cooperation, among Indigenous students and the researcher to ensure the proposed research study reflects IRM and PAR approaches; no data will be collected (see attached timeline). The researcher's analysis of Indigenous students' individual interviews, group discussions, and pictures will be collected, organized, and analyzed using NVivo, software that support qualitative and mixed methods research. NVivo will allow the researcher to analysis the transcripts line-by-line and create codes to capture the emerging themes.
6. 6. Final Group Meeting: The proposed research study will conclude with a 2-hour meet-

ing and celebration feast with the principal investigator (UWO and UNM), researchers, and students. A feast is culturally appropriate to show appreciation to Indigenous students and individuals involved in the proposed research study. The meeting is also to evaluate the proposed research in terms of its benefits and difficulties to the students and the larger community. Indigenous students will also inform the research team how they would like their pictures to be disseminated to the public. Due to the sensitive topic of the proposed research study, Indigenous students will be debriefed after orientation, individuals interview, and group sessions. This will be done to allow students the opportunity to share and acknowledge salient emotions that may arise from the individual interview, photo-voice, and group sessions. The researcher will ask the students how he or she feels after each session and will refer them if necessary to a counseling resources at UWO and UNM. The researcher will make every effort to find a comfortable location for the one-on-one interviews and group discussions. Indigenous students will be in control of the interview location, it will help to decrease feelings of anxiety or any other emotional discomfort, their thoughts and feelings about the picture and the research process. The group discussions will be conducted in talking circles/focus groups that are familiar to Indigenous types of interaction to discuss their feelings and thoughts about matters. Participation in each stage of the proposed research is voluntary. Indigenous students may agree to or decline to participate in any aspect of the proposed research. Any decisions that Indigenous students make will be respected and remain confidential.

Appendix L

Codes of Ethics and Research with Indigenous peoples

Table 3.3, below, outlines codes of ethics and major points for conducting research with Indigenous peoples (sources: Tri-Council Policy Statement, 2014; Taniguchi, Taulii, & Maddock, 2012; Thomas, Lynxleg, Thomas, & Deer, 2014; Harding, Harper, Stone, O’Neil, Berger, Harris & Donatuto, 2011; U.S Department of Health & Human Services, 2010; Ministry of Social Development, 2004).

Figure 3.1 Codes of Ethics and Major Points for Conducting Research with Indigenous peoples

Date	Source	Title of Document	Major Points
1974	Department of Health,	Code of Federal Regulations Title	Guidelines for protections to human subjects involved in both biomedical

	Education, and Welfare, 45 CFR part 46 — USA	45 Public Welfare Department, Department of Health and Human Services Part 46 Protection of Human Subjects	and behavioral research conducted
1996	Navajo Nation	Navajo Nation Human Research Code	Protections for Navajo people; conditions for physicians, researchers, and others doing research within the Navajo Nation
1998	Tri-Council Policy ⁵² see Chapter 9 in the 2014 updated.	Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human	Promote the ethical conduct of research involving humans ⁵³ Guidelines in conducting ethical and culturally competent research involving Aboriginal peoples
1999	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies	Guidelines for Ethical Research in Indigenous Studies	Principles of ethical research in Indigenous studies; practical applications, such as full and equal participation, affecting livelihoods, maintaining culture and heritage
2000	Indigenous Peoples Council	Indigenous Research	Legal protection for tribes in ownership of research; includes a

⁵²Tri-Council is based on three federal research agencies: the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR), the National Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) in Canada. These agencies make up a panel called the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics to interpret and implement the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS).

⁵³Revisions have been made to include research involving First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Peoples of Canada.

	on Biocolonialism	Protections Act	model academic research agreement
2004	Ministry of Social Development Te Manatū Whakahiato Ora	Nga Ara Tohutohu Rangahau Māori Guidelines for Research and Evaluation with Māori	Guidelines to enhance abilities to carry out effective and appropriate research with Māori such as ensure involvement, develop effective research partnerships with Iwi Māori and Māori stakeholders, and gather robust data about Māori to inform policy and program development process.
2007	Canadian Institutes for Health Research	CIHR Guidelines for Health Research Involving Aboriginal People	Guidelines in conducting ethical and culturally competent research involving Aboriginal peoples
2008	Health Research Council of New Zealand (HRCNZ)	Guidelines for Researchers on Health Research	These Guidelines intend to assist researchers undertaking biomedical, public health or clinical research involving Maori participants or research on issues relevant to Maori health. These Guidelines will inform researchers about consultation and the processes involved in initiating consultation with Maori.
2010	World Health Organization	Indigenous People and Participatory Health Research:	Issues covered by a research agreement and examples of forms to be used with indigenous communities

		Planning and Management, Preparing Research Agreements	for an agreement, collective consent, informed consent
2014	Manitoba First Nations Education Research Centre, Inc.	Guidelines for Ethical Research in Manitoba First Nations	Protections First Nations in Manitoba, research protocols to honor the principles of protection, preservation, partnership, and participation.

Curriculum Vitae

Publications:

Winder, N. (2020). Colliding Heartwork: The space where our hearts meet and collide to process the boarding school experience. In Minton, S.J. (Ed.), *Residential schools and Indigenous peoples: From genocide via education to the possibilities for processes of truth, restitution, reconciliation, and reclamation* (pp. 141-162). (Routledge research in international and comparative education).

Vane., J., Minton, S.J., Ka’Ai, T., Norman-Hill, R., & Winder, N. (2020). Reflections. In Minton, S.J. (Ed.), *Residential schools and Indigenous peoples: From genocide via education to the possibilities for processes of truth, restitution, reconciliation, and reclamation* (pp. 191-219). (Routledge research in international and comparative education).

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