Non-Indigenous educator and Indigenous student relations:

Rooting ourselves in their values

by

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Master̈s Thesis

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January 2017

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Abstract

Assimilative and integrative policies remain part of Canada‟s dominant narrative and continue to inform non-Indigenous educators‟ relations with their Indigenous students. Counter narratives of Indigenous student and non-Indigenous educator relations emerge from the literature as oppositional or binary accounts. Following a conceptual framework of narratives in relation rather than as closed and neatly opposing systems, this narrative study interprets the ways in which non-Indigenous educators story their relationships with Indigenous students through conversational interviews. This text explores how non-Indigenous educators navigate the spaces in between the dominant narrative and counter narratives to establish and maintain genuine relationships with their Indigenous students. What emerged in this space of relation were themes of non-interference, family and love. When defined within traditional Indigenous knowledges, the values themselves as well as the ability and responsibility that non-Indigenous educators have to learn about and work from the values of their Indigenous students is presented. The overarching centrality of implicit Indigenous knowledges calls for educational practice and policy to reflect the significance of both explicit Indigenous knowledges, as in curriculum, and implicit Indigenous knowledges, as in values. Non-Indigenous educator narratives detail the ways in which educators can work from the values of their Indigenous students in order to develop relations. Indigenous student and non-Indigenous educator relations have significant influence on student success and open space to foster a renewed relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples of present-day Canada.

Acknowledgments

This learning journey was made possible with the guidance of several mentors. My interest in this research came from my new-found confidence to write (Anthea Kyle) and to complete a master‟s thesis (Dr. Paul Berger). It stemmed from my work towards becoming an ally in Indigenous academia (Dr. Sandra Wolf) and the traditional territory of the Fort William First Nation on which I learned. I truly began to recognize my potential when Dr. Joan Chambers accepted me as her thesis student. She supported me through moments of inspiration and others of perspiration. If this research *were* the roots of an evergreen, Dr. Chambers would be the earth that facilitated its lovely little life. I continue to marvel the generous time and support of my graduate assistantship supervisor, Dr. Ismel Gonzalez, committee member, Dr. Kristin Burnett, internal examiner, Dr. Leisa Desmoulins and external examiner, Dr. Jean-Paul Restoule.

The academic community and its gracious supports were not isolated, for my work originated from relationships with former students and staff at Waverly school on the traditional territory of the Nuu-chah-nulth peoples. Although I will not breach confidentiality to recognize you, you are forever in my heart and on my mind. ʔuusyak šiƛiiʔicsuu for your time and care in this work. ʔuusyak šiƛiiʔicsuu for sharing your stories with me and for letting me share them with the world.

Finally, I am thankful for the peace, love, intelligence and humour that I leave the library to go home to (Ian Benoit and Marshall). Further, the wit, cheer and love from family and friends near and far. I am grateful for the roots that ground me to where I am from and the opportunities that this work has provided me with in wherever I go. I look forward to the next chapter, one that I will participate in by learning from the people whom I exist in relation with. I have learned that reflections of implicit values are perhaps part of my path as an ally in Indigenous education.

Chapter One: With Relevance, Responsibility, Respect and Reciprocity

In Relation with Narratives

As I begin a new chapter in this text and in my life as a researcher, I remain cognizant of the power of words. Words have the capacity to construct not only a story, but also the web of relations between myself, my participants, the students who I have learned from and the concepts that I continually come to know (Kovach, 2005). Through these words, I narrate this collective story (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Because stories are all that we are (King, 2003), it is with tenacity, courage and faith (Absolon & Willett, 2005) that I share my learning journey (Battiste, 2013) as not only a collection of stories, but as an extension of myself (Wilson, 2008). I narrate my learning experiences that collectively position me as a non-Indigenous educator in relation with my Indigenous students. Following, I name my research motives, position as an ally and my personal research protocol. These are significant because the ways in which Indigenous research is conducted are more meaningful than the stagnant words that come to compose it (Brayboy & Maughan, 2009; King, 2003; Wilson, 2008). "Indigenous research *is* a life changing ceremony" (Wilson, 2008, p. 61) so that "lovingly coming to know" (Nishnaabeg intelligence) (Simpson, 2014, p. 12) is an emerging process whereby I continue to develop relationships with knowledges through relevance, responsibility, respect and reciprocity (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001; see also Archibald, 2008; Wilson, 2008). This positioning piece is succeeded by the central research questions as well as the purpose and significance of this study.

Indigenous students are systematically subjected to Canada''s dominant narrative, a pervasive system of values and practices that privilege the culture of the dominant society (R. Bishop, 2003). In present-day Canada, the dominant narrative recounts history and moulds reality from the lens of Western tradition in order to benefit those who identify with this

dominant ideology. For example, in the dominant narrative, policies of assimilation (Milloy, 1999), and one-way integration (Assembly of First Nations [AFN], 2010) are masked by creating a fictional "Other" to justify an imagined history without colonization, to comfort colonizers and to secure an unearned right to the land that we now call Canada (Francis, 2011; LaRoque, 2007). Since most educators are members of the dominant society as privileged authority figures, they easily reproduce the dominant narrative in their classrooms and blame their Indigenous students for failing to conform (Cote-Meek, 2014; Schick & St. Denis, 2005; Van Ingen & Halas, 2006). The (lack of) relationships between non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students are informed and shaped by this dominant system (Dion, 2009; Higgins, Madden, & Korteweg, 2015). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) has identified the current educational system wherein Indigenous peoples, knowledges and histories are absent as the root of these problems; and in its recommendations, calls for a curriculum that meaningfully includes Indigenous knowledges and ensures greater parental control and input over their children"s education (TRC, 2015).

Counter stories, those which resist the dominant narrative, explain that non-Indigenous educators must acknowledge the unearned privilege that the dominant narrative affords them and adapt to the individual stories that their Indigenous students carry with them (Battiste, 2013; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001; Whitley, 2014). The literature presents these counter stories in direct opposition to the dominant narrative, yet counter stories are not intended to be binaries (Bamberg, 2004; Murakami, 2004). Sefa Dei (2005) asked, "if something is *against* something, then what is it for?" (p. 12). It is in this site of tension (Andrews, 2004) – the web of relations that span the space connecting relations between Indigenous students and non-Indigenous educators in the dominant narrative to relations between Indigenous students and non-Indigenous

educators in counter narratives – that has emerged as an unexplored space where change (Harper, 2000; Whitley, 2014) and transformation (Palmer, 1993) may transpire. The urgency to explore this space has personal significance (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000); it may benefit the students who I have learned from because the student-educator relationship has a profound impact on student engagement and achievement (MacIver, 2012; Taylor, 1995; Whitley, 2014). There is also national significance to this space since non-Indigenous peoples live on stolen Indigenous territories. Further, non-Indigenous educators comprise 95% of the teaching staff in most school boards (Nicol & Korteweg, 2010) and 95% of Indigenous children in present-day Canada will be taught by a non-Indigenous educator (Taylor, 1995). By investigating the relationship between the dominant narrative and counter narratives, non-Indigenous educators might find a space for a "renewed relationship" (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a, p. 807) with their Indigenous students.

Terminology. When coming to know this renewed relationship, the importance of words and word choice prompts me to contextualize my language. My decision to write "Indigenous" peoples is synonymous to Alfred and Corntassel (2005), who discuss the term as a common place-based existence opposed to colonization regardless of formal status under the *Indian Act*. "Indigenous knowledges," encompass the ways in which Indigenous peoples interpret knowledge. "Peoples" and "knowledges" remain plural to describe the diverse ways of being and knowing (Munroe, Borden, Orr, Toney, & Meader, 2013). I recognize that generalized terms such as "Indigenous" are problematic because they collectivize Indigenous peoples, while we know that there is more diversity among Indigenous peoples themselves than there is in comparison to non-Indigenous peoples (Aikenhead, 2010), with 96 distinct Indigenous communities nestled in present-day British Columbia alone (Chandler, Lalond, & Teucher, 2004). It is for this reason that when describing specific knowledges or peoples, I choose to name

the associated nation. For the purposes of this research, the term "non-Indigenous" does not imply any particular race, but an adherence to the dominant narrative. "Indian" on the other hand, is both an imagined term and a legal term; "it" is not a person at all, but rather a fantasy created by non-Indigenous peoples (Francis, 2011) as well as a legal term cemented from the *Indian Act*. Throughout the text, direct quotations from the literature will retain the language of the original author. It is with respect to the dignity and humanity of others that I see these terms as limited in who they may or may not relate with and I proceed in this work with a respect for complexity without paralysis (Regan, 2010).

In Relation with my Readers: Relevance

As I interpret new relations with knowledges, I address my readers personally. I consider your needs, as well as my own in the relationship which I intend to develop with you (Wilson, 2008). I recognize and will remain responsible for my own interpretations by contextualizing my lived experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Simpson, 2014). I acknowledge your diverse experiences and realize that you will open new contexts while interpreting my written knowledges (Zilber, Tuval-Mashiach, & Lieblich, 2008). As such, I lovingly encourage you to come to relate with and find purpose in this text in a way that is sensitive to the time and space that you find yourself occupying. This may involve reaching inwards, as I often do, or outwards within the socio-location of your own narrative (Craig & Huber, 2007).

In Relation with my Position

To develop and maintain relations (Wilson, 2008), I take this space to locate myself to establish trust (Absolon & Willett, 2005), honour my teachings (Wilson, 2008) and be true to who I continue to become (Bamberg, 2004). It is my intention that through this text we may start our relationship on a common platform from which we will both continue to learn and grow

(Wilson, 2008). Elders from Kovach‟s (2005) work guide me to share my own intimate journey when they say that "if you have important things to say, speak from the heart" (p. 28). From the heart is where my most transcendent stories originate, these "narratives … reveal [my] identity" (Bamberg, 2004, p. 358). They follow me wherever I go, for "a part of me … will be chained to these stories as long as I live" (King, 2003, p. 9). Once I share these stories, they are "loose in the world" (King, 2003, p. 10) and cannot be taken back so I trust that you will interpret them with a good heart.

I follow the lead of well-established Indigenous researcher, Wilson (2008), who writes to his sons to establish relational accountability with his readers. I invite you to relate to me in your own way when I speak to the Indigenous students from whom I have learned. In doing so, I caution that I do not wish to collectivize my students since they are individuals who connect to these experiences in their own ways.

When I first met you, I felt prepared but I was still nervous.[1] Your names were written on my attendance sheet that I hung from a clipboard at the front of the room. At the front of our room. I doubt that either of us knew it at the time but in this classroom (and outside of it) we would come to learn how to navigate the space that separated us.

On that first day, I thought I had introduced myself to you. I played a slideshow that showed pictures from my past: my practicum in Kenya, a Canucks game, and the view from a mountain top in the Okanagan. I thought that a slideshow was best. You probably came to know that I do not identify as an Indigenous person but I did not tell you this. I probed about your summer and learned how much you enjoyed swimming at the ledges. I didn‟t know where the

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[1] Italicized text indicates a letter to my former students.

ledges were since I was new to this small west coast town. I thought that knowing what you did during the summer was best.

Over those next months you tested me. I think you tested me because you expected me to leave you. I remember how I felt when you asked me if I would stay whilst in the middle of our Math class. I learned that each year, a new stranger appeared before you, an outsider to your community who didn''t know you, your family or your community. While you were in cultural studies one day, one of your parents stood squared to my chest and forced her finger at me. She said that I was not part of your nation. I was not part of who you are. My students, you told me that I was worse than a residential school teacher and you spit on the floor in front of me before you slid through it. Your resistance scared me but I can''t claim that mine didn''t scare you. I think we were both protecting ourselves. As we interacted, I did what I thought was best. I sent home weekly progress reports on your behaviours and I held you accountable for your actions through detentions or loss of privileges. What I thought was best kept us at arm''s length. After all, you and your families were right. I was not and will never be part of who you are.

Once we realized that we would both be sticking around, we learned to compromise. I felt honoured to sing and dance according to your traditional protocols. I remember when you complimented me after dancing the ʔaqaʕas. I helped you get ready for performances and we spent time learning about your diverse cultures. You honoured me by performing at the University of Victoria, where I completed my undergraduate degree. You agreed to take part in silent reading according to my schedule and you learned to trust me when I presented something new. Remember when I tried "whole brain teaching"? I bet you thought I had gone nuts when I asked you to mirror my movements and voice to learn about the order of operations. Thanks for laughing with me and not at me. Not all of what we shared was easy though. I won''t break our

trust by sharing too much but I think that our difficult conversations opened a space for us to understand one another. We learned that we shared some difficult experiences. Do you remember when we cried together? Laughed together? When I told you that you'd never guess what I had up my sleeve, you guessed my arm. I never got the chance to tell you this, but the most important lesson that you taught me is how to be myself. I have never been sillier, calmer, prouder, more spiritual, honest, emotional or outgoing, all at the same time, than when I was learning with you. ʔuusyak ši ii ʔic suu (and I hold my hands up to you) for facilitating the many stories that I carry with me. I will continue to honour them in a way that I think you would say is best because you taught me that what I think is best isn"t always best for you.

Despite the fact that my students and I shared difficult positions and experiences, I recognize now that as a White non-Indigenous person, I have been privileged with an invisible ladder that allows me to step above any social, economic, educational, health or mental deficiencies that I may have encountered in the past or may encounter in the future (Max, 2005; Schick & St. Denis, 2005). This ladder is not held out for my Indigenous students. I can name the specific European roots of my genealogy, my family"s composition, health and economic concerns, our standard of living while I grew up or parental values because these "… form the lens through which I make sense of the world" (Max, 2005, p. 81) but I see more urgency to open this space to address the fact that the behaviours and values of my family do not affect my current position in society as much as the colour of my skin (Lowman & Barker, 2015). As a White non-Indigenous person, I am privileged with the choice to engage with my Indigenous students or unknowingly (Schick & St. Denis, 2005) and comfortably (Lowman & Barker, 2015) disconnect from them. My students, however, do not have the same choice to engage in the dominant culture that I am a part of (Bradford, 2007; Lowman & Barker, 2015).

In Relation with my Motivations

Hampton (1995) claimed that researchers always have a motive in engaging with their work and that this motive is emotional; "we do what we do for reasons, emotional reasons. That is the engine that drives us." (p. 52). My Indigenous students have given me gifts to allow me to be myself, uncover who I can become and they have left me with meaningful stories. These gifts drive me to engage in respectful and responsible research that honours who my students are as individuals, who they will grow to become and the stories that I have left with them. My motivation to engage with Indigenous knowledges (Wilson, 2008), unsettle my own position in the dominant narrative (Lowman & Barker, 2015) and search for a space where Indigenous students and non-Indigenous educators can exist in harmony (Manuel & Posluns, 1974) comes from the strength, humility, self-determination and spirit of the Indigenous students with whom I have learned to exist in harmony.

When I left my Indigenous students from the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation to begin my journey as a researcher on the traditional territory of the Fort William First Nation (Lakehead University), I soon discovered that this space of harmony was not represented in the literature. In my first qualitative research course, I learned that researchers are tasked to accurately represent their participants in their studies (Potts & Brown, 2005) so I expected that other researchers had found the space which represented my students and me. Instead, I read about the position of a "perfect stranger" (Dion, 2009; see also Higgins et al., 2015) and I had to question my own social location related to this position. A perfect stranger is a non-Indigenous person who claims to have never met an Indigenous person and claims to possess no understanding or knowledge of Indigenous history and culture despite clear evidence to the contrary. Educators in this position are often fearful to challenge themselves by teaching knowledges and histories that counter the

dominant Canadian ideologies and may cause themselves and non-Indigenous learners any discomfort (Dion, 2009). The perfect stranger reproduces an Other when they neglect to critically discuss relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. This is because the creation of a romanticized Other enables perfect strangers to remove themselves from relations with Indigenous peoples in the here and now and instead, appear to be "respectful admirers, moral helpers, or protectors of law and order" (Dion, 2009, p. 179).

Upon reflection, I did leave whiteness unexamined and failed to understand my Indigenous students when I first met them in September, 2012. In fact, I will never fully understand them; recall from my letter to the students, "I was not part of your nation. I was not part of who you are." Thus, like every other transient outsider, I was a perfect stranger. This was a difficult realization but Dussault and Erasmus (1996a) and other researchers (Battiste, 2013; Lowman & Barker, 2015; Max, 2005) have assured me that guilt and blame do not benefit my Indigenous students. By the time I left their school in August, 2015, this perfect stranger position did not occupy the dynamic space (Whitley, 2014) that represented my relations with my Indigenous students. Throughout my master"s coursework, I questioned what happened to that space over those years that we spent together. How can other educators engage in it so that they are no longer perfect strangers? My intention is not to stagnate barriers to the relationship between non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students because this would position me with authority as an outsider to solve a problem for Indigenous peoples (R. Bishop, 2003; Lowman & Barker, 2015; Palmater, 2015) as well as stagnate and solidify a barrier"s existence (Wilson, 2008). This of course "does nothing to form relations but rather can tear them apart" (Wilson, 2008, p. 109).

In Relation with an Ally: Responsibility

This learning journey has not been comfortable. In fact, I have learned that if I begin to feel comfortable in this work, I risk dishonouring my students (L. T. Smith, 2012) because "discomfort and pain are often signs that truth is struggling to be born among us" (Palmer, 1993, p. 73). I am motivated by Hekman (1999) to "make strange with that which appears familiar, and make familiar with which appears strange" (p. 138) so that I am in constant introspective negotiation with knowledges that I interpret. I recognize that to do nothing is to remain comfortably located within the dominant narrative (A. Bishop, 2002), so that although it is inappropriate for me, as a non-Indigenous researcher to claim knowledge about Indigenous peoples, I can work as an ally to benefit my Indigenous students (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Max, 2005). As such, this thesis is purposeful in its interpretation of stories by non-Indigenous educators and their understandings of their social location rather than about Indigenous students. Claiming *to be* an ally is too complacent, for *working as* an ally is a process without completion (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Max, 2005). I strive to work as an ally because I recognize that although I am not personally responsible for instigating colonization (A. Bishop, 2002), I benefit from colonization and the unearned privileges accrued from the displacement and marginalization of Indigenous peoples in North America. As an ally and educator, I have the responsibility to act to change the dominant narrative that forecloses productive relationships with my Indigenous students (Cote-Meek, 2014; Nicol & Korteweg, 2010). As an ally, I have struggled to find my place in Indigenous education. I do not claim to be an expert (Archibald, 2008) and recognize that this text is a demonstration of my continued learning. As an ally, I choose to accept that I will never fully understand Indigenous concepts but it is my responsibility to listen and work to counter the dominant narrative in my classroom and to ensure Indigenous

students see positive and accurate representations of themselves, their knowledges and histories and that their non-Indigenous peers learn an uncomfortable but accurate truth.

Through listening is how I found my place as an ally. While performing for an in-course dramatization of the physical transition that Indigenous children experienced when admitted to residential schools, I experienced two messages which I interpreted with the assistance of several Indigenous mentors. In the performance, I wore a wig to be cut by a peer who performed as a nun. A vignette that I wrote was audio recorded and played in the background. It described the relations that my hair had with my family; "My mother used to braid that hair, gently massaging it through her fingers as she crossed one strand with another. While she braided, she sang our family"s songs to me. My voice joined hers and I patted my fingers against my toes" (Doerksen, 2017, p. 1197). What I felt as the nun cut the wig was a numbing sensation in my arms. Further, although the wig was cut successfully in each practice dramatization, the scissors would not cut through the fibres of the hair in that moment. As it was explained to me later, hair can represent Anishinaabe spirit so the protection that was offered to me symbolized the need for my spirit in Indigenous education. I must clarify that my experience is not synonymous with the Indigenous children who were sent to residential schools. In the removed context of what the experience meant to me, it would have been easy to disregard the sensation and intact wig as coincidental but it was through this experience that I chose to become an ally. This choice is an example of what I consider my responsibility to Indigenous education.

In Relation with Research Guidelines: Respect

When I work to recognize the relations between non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students, I look inwards to my own personal transformation before reaching outwards to other non-Indigenous educators (Battiste, 2013; Belczewski, 2009; Lowman & Barker, 2015;

Whitley, 2014). My personal transformation involves continuous learning. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) explained this best when they were learning to bend old practices to meet contemporary times;

> [T]he more we learn the less we know in terms of having penetrated through another layer of understanding of what life in an Indigenous context is about, only to recognize the existence of many additional layers that lie beyond our current understanding. (p.17)

I do not believe that these layers of understanding will ever shed completely to reveal a core.

Working as an ally, Barker (2010) explained that non-Indigenous peoples must understand the meaning of respect in both Western and Indigenous traditions, then seek to embody respect in our relations with Indigenous peoples. I have learned that my process involves decolonizing my "ways of knowing" (Tupper & Cappello, 2008, p. 576), being and doing (Brown & Strega, 2005). Battiste (2002) described decolonization as a two-part process; recognizing ones investment in the dominant narrative must be followed by the legitimization of Indigenous knowledges and a dismantling of the structures of power that underpin the dominant narrative. Editor at *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, Ritskes (2012) explained this process as continuous; "[it] is a goal but it is not an endpoint. I like this open-ended beginning because it speaks to two things: that the struggle for decolonization is a journey that is never finished." From this understanding of decolonization as a journey without an end, I draw on Corntassel (2012), who explained that, together, decolonization and resurgence[2] involve every day practises to dismantle the structures that support the dominant narrative. Through teachable moments each day, all educators have a responsibility to dismantle those structures and promote healthy relationships with the land. Thus, my decolonizing praxis in the classroom was in those teachable moments. For example, students" voices were recognized when they explained their

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[2] Corntassel (2012) explained "resurgence" as a connection to places, cultures and communities.

resistance to the Harper government at lunch time, classroom activities (such as the protocol for working with cedar) followed the teachings from local Elders and in the spring, students grew vegetables to cook in a school-wide pit cook.[3] Moving from the classroom and into academia, this work examines non-Indigenous relations with Indigenous peoples within the education system and how non-Indigenous educators are responsible for decolonizing their classroom and acknowledging and undertaking a role within that process (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Ways in which I continue to engage in everyday practices include following the guidance of my Indigenous mentors, listening to the connections that tie me to the concepts which I seek to interpret, giving thanks to our Indigenous ancestors and by having faith in the ceremony (Wilson, 2008). These practices are my responsibility and it is through them that I remain accountable to respectful research practices.

   Guidelines for Respect. My ceremony or the ways in which I come to know (Simpson, 2014) are personal. Wilson (2008) recommended that I state my own research guidelines to place myself in relation with this space. I do not claim to be an expert of any knowledges which I interpret (Francis, 2011; Wilson, 2008). I do not own any of these knowledges (Wilson, 2008) and instead, I am guided by Indigenous peoples to come to know these knowledges (Battiste, 2013). To me, this means that I need to disrupt my current ways of viewing the world. I know that these interpretations will evolve and transform as I grow as a researcher and an educator; thus, they will transcend the written text that I interpret in this moment (Haig-Brown, 2010; Wilson, 2008). I acknowledge that research from a non-Indigenous educator like my own has the capacity to harm Indigenous peoples (Absolon & Willett, 2005; Bradford, 2007; L. T. Smith, 2012) and is often considered inappropriate (H. Adams, 1999; Max, 2005). I understand that

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[3] A pit cook is a way that the Nuu-chah-nuth peoples have traditionally cooked food. Waverly's spring pit cook was led by a community leader.

communities must initiate and engage in their own research (Archibald, 2008; L. T. Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008) because non-Indigenous constructions of Indigenous knowledges cannot lead to transformation (King, 2003). It is not my intention to speak for my Indigenous students or Indigenous peoples in general (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Wilson, 2008) but rather to listen and learn from and with them.

The Central Research Interest

It is within the context of respectful research guidelines that I share my central research interest and its inward and outward implications. Within this narrative inquiry, I looked into and in between the stories that non-Indigenous educators shared to interpret: How do non-Indigenous educators navigate the spaces in between the dominant narrative and counter narratives to establish and maintain genuine relationships with their Indigenous students? Introspectively: How do I relate to these stories in order to benefit my Indigenous students? Extrospectively: How might other non-Indigenous educators engage in this interpretation in order to benefit their Indigenous students?

The Research Purpose and Significance with Reciprocity

The literature review summarizes how Indigenous students have had no choice but to leave their identities behind to navigate the dominant narrative (Aikenhead, 2010; Kanu, 2005; Tremblay, Vallee & Ryan, 1967; Van Ingen & Halas, 2006). Even though they resisted and continue to resist colonization and racialization, we (non-Indigenous educators) continue to expect our Indigenous students to adhere to our dominant narrative (Grant, 1996; Lewthwaite, Owen, Doiron, Renaud, & McMillan, 2014). Counter narratives from Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers insist that it is our responsibility to learn how to engage in the narratives of our Indigenous students (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; R. Bishop, 2003; Nicol & Korteweg,

2010; Oskineegish, 2015; Whitley, 2014). To state such a dichotomy potentially dishonours my Indigenous students (Bamberg, 2004; Murakami, 2004) so I search through the space in between this binary in order to practice developing and maintaining genuine relationships as an act of reciprocity (Wilson, 2008). Reciprocity is an Indigenous concept which I understand to be my expression of gratitude in return for what I have been generously gifted. The gesture of gratitude does not come with expectations in terms of its form, time or place (Battiste, 2013). With reciprocity, I leave tobacco ties for the spirit(s) that guided me to engage in Indigenous research as a non-Indigenous ally. With reciprocity, I give thanks to my students, participants and this work for facilitating my continued understanding of Indigenous education and research.

The purpose of this study is to interpret the ways in which four non-Indigenous educators (including myself) story their relationships with Indigenous students in relation to dominant and counter narratives. Through analysing stories of non-Indigenous educators who have experienced genuine relations with their Indigenous students, this study explores a gap in the literature that leaves non-Indigenous educator – Indigenous student relations under-represented. The purpose of the interpretations that emerge is to mark the relations between non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students.

This study is significant because the relations (or lack of) that are created and maintained between non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students impact student engagement, academic achievement and future success (MacIver, 2012; Whitley, 2014). In addition to impacting student success, "the relationships between the instructor and student [are] … also key to creating systemic change across the Canadian education system" (Pidgeon, Munoz, Kirkness, & Archibald, 2013, p. 19). The literature review demonstrates some documented ways in which the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples have been damaged. National

reports initiated by the federal government such as the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a, 1996b) and the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC, 2015) call for a renewed relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Senator Sinclair, head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, said that education (residential schools) got us in the mess that we are in and that education will also get us out (Watters, 2015). Not only is education a way to achieve a renewed relationship, it is a legal responsibility, "Education is a fundamental human and Aboriginal right, guaranteed in treaties, in international law, and in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom*" (TRC, 2015, p. 145). When we look at the ways in which we continue to educate children, we see that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples" relations are not an Indigenous concern, but a present-day Canadian concern (Watters, 2015). Non-Indigenous educators dominate the school climate (Nam, Roehrig, Kern, & Reynolds, 2012; Taylor, 1995) and their Indigenous student populations continue to grow at the fastest rate of any demographic within Canada (Battiste, 2013; Kanu, 2005); Statistics Canada (2006) indicated a 45% increase in Indigenous populations versus an 8% increase in non-Indigenous populations. It is crucial to address ways in which Indigenous students can succeed (MacIver, 2012) and the relations that they form with their predominantly non-Indigenous educators have a significant impact on this success (Harper, 2000; Whitley, 2014).

Chapter Two: Within the Context of the Literature

A review of the literature provides emerging themes that inform the analytic framework of this study. As the first of three main sections, traditional Indigenous education is detailed to contrast the institutionalized education of the Canadian residential school system. Care is taken to read the works of Indigenous researchers as they describe Indigenous knowledges and education practices. Assimilative policies of the residential school system have shape shifted into policies of integration by non-Indigenous policy makers (Tremblay et al., 1967) and calls for cultural preservation by Indigenous peoples (National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), 1972) continue. However, federal policies continue to replicate residential school roots of colonization (TRC, 2015; Tremblay et al., 1967). The second section of the literature review discusses the dominant Canadian narrative, which secures unearned privilege for non-Indigenous peoples through a constructed normalcy (Andrews, 2004; Bamberg, 2004; Schick & St. Denis, 2005). Some people, such as Indigenous students participating in the Canadian school system, do not see themselves represented in the dominant narrative (Aikenhead, 2010; Kanu, 2005; Tremblay et al., 1967; Van Ingen & Halas, 2006) and may resist this imagined normalcy through "counter narratives" (Andrews, 2004; Bradford, 2007; hooks, 2003). Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers inform this discussion; non-Indigenous researchers Bamberg and Andrews (2004) have conceptualized the binary framework of dominant and counter narratives while Indigenous researchers have contributed examples of how resistance produces counter-stories to the dominant narrative (e.g. Dion, 2007; Grey, 2011). In the third section, the ways in which non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students develop and maintain genuine relationships are themed according to dominant and counter narratives. Since this thesis looks at the perspectives that non-Indigenous educators have of their relations with Indigenous students,

studies that emanate from this perspective are heavily drawn upon. A thematic analysis of the

relevant literature produced the themes: privilege (Dion, 2009), blame (Cote-Meek, 2014),

profiling (Van Ingen & Halas, 2006), authority (Watt-Cloutier, 2010) and knowledge

transmission (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). The interpretation of these themes was guided by

Andrews (2004) and Jones (2004), who indicated that counter narratives are not intended to

directly oppose the dominant narrative, but instead, resist it. Murakami (2004) and King (2003)

would question this simplicity while Wilson (2008) would caution stigmatizing a barrier between

Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and as such, the ways in which non-Indigenous

educators engaged in the themes is explored through this work.

Indigenous Knowledges

There is no one Indigenous knowledge or worldview but rather multiple and intersecting

knowledges that reflect place-based relationships (Battsite, 2002). Reflecting on a traditional

Anishinaabe worldview, Young (2005) conversed with her participant‟s son about what it would

be like to live in traditional times. She explained that in place of a game boy, "he would have a

really spiritual way of life and he would be playing games and he‟d be hunting, fishing, helping

out the community" (p. 69). Young (2005) described a connection with the land and spirit world

as the most significant aspects of her worldview. Battiste (2002) expanded on this connection

with the land when she said, "Indigenous knowledge is … inherently tied to land, not to land in

general but to particular landscapes, landforms, and biomes where ceremonies are properly held,

stories properly recited, medicines properly gathered, and transfers of knowledge properly

authenticated" (p. 13). To the Mowachaht-Muchaltath Nation in the Nuu-chah-nulth territory, a

landscape that they call Yuquot is considered to have great significance, "Yuquot is also the

centre of our history, a place of many stories" (Mowachaht-Nuchalaht First Nations, 2000, p.

17). From Yuquot originated the story of Snot-boy, who became the first man of the nation. Indigenous knowledges are as diverse as the lands with which it is tied; there is no universal perspective (Battiste, 2005). On these diverse landscapes, relationships with all natural things, or "all my relations," (Little Bear, 2009, p. 7) inform traditional Indigenous knowledges (Wilson, 2008) so "that which the trees exhale, I inhale. That which I exhale, the tree inhales" (Graveline, 1998, p. 57). Young (2005) recalled learning about "all my relations" at a young age. Her father had just taught her how to prepare beaver and she was about to throw away the parts they would not eat; "He said, „those things do not belong in the garbage; go down to the river, put them in the river and say „*miigwetch*" to the beaver spirit for giving us food‟" (p. 23). What Young learned through this experience were the values inherent in her culture. Battiste (2013) clarified the connection between explicit Indigenous knowledges and implicit Indigenous knowledges; "it is difficult to distinguish the empirical content from the moral message" (p. 179). For the purpose of this thesis, Indigenous knowledges will refer to both the empirical message and the moral message.

Indigenous education. Just as Young (2005) learned from her father, the purpose of traditional Indigenous education is to teach the values and attitudes of ones‟ culture (NIB, 1972). *Indian Control of Indian Education* (ICIE) (NIB, 1972) is a seminal paper which was presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development by the NIB to highlight the philosophy, goals, principals and directions of Indigenous education by Indigenous peoples:

> The values which we want to pass on to our children, values which make our people a great race, are not written in any book. They are found in our history, in our legends and in the culture. We believe that if an Indian child is fully aware of the important Indian values he will have reason to be proud of our race and of himself as an Indian. (p. 2)

Forty-five years later, the goals of Indigenous education remain the same; TRC (2015) called for

curricula that are culturally appropriate for Indigenous children and Battiste (2013) wrote about

the ethical responsibility that educators have to acknowledge and expand students‟ identities.

Before attempting to define the values embedded in Indigenous education, Hampton (1995)

cautioned that educational practices vary greatly between nations. Little Bear (2009) explained

that teachings reflect the values of the nation. Within this context, Hampton (1995) described

general forms of Indigenous education as oral stories, ceremonies, oral histories and

apprenticeships (As cited in Buffalohead, 1976) and continued that education serves to teach

children moral behaviour. Hampton (1995) exemplified this point with a quotation from Auston

Hammond, a Tlingit Elder; "Raven makes mistakes so we don‟t have to" (p. 8), which

demonstrates the purpose of the main character in many Tlingit stories. In the Tseshaht Nation of

the Nuu-chah-nulth territory, Cote (2010) learned from her grandfather, "He told us stories about

Pitch woman stealing the little children, stories about the marriage of Mink. And then there were

those wonderful stories about Thunderbird and Whale, and the grand stories about our powerful

Tseshaht whalers" (p. 9). In addition to moral guidance, in Indigenous education, adults model

the skills needed to contribute to society (Little Bear, 2009). These skills are taught "through

direct experience in the natural world" (Bardnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 11). Tim Paul, an

artist who grew up with his extended family in the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation learned from his

mentors, "An apprentice is naturally influenced by the personal and tribal style of his mentor

until the tools, the unique forms and configurations of the art are learned" (Macnair, 2000, p.

364). The autonomy of the child, in traditional education, is respected (McPherson & Rabb,

1993), children are loved dearly as they are gifts from the Creator (Little Bear, 2000) and adults

are personally responsible for a child‟s education (NIB, 1972). The following discussion details the importance of autonomy, love and family in Indigenous education.

Non-interference. NIB (1972) recognized the need for Indigenous education to foster respect for the personal freedom of the child. Although autonomy can be interpreted and represented in different ways across nations, it is important for Indigenous children to develop values which are compatible with Indigenous culture (NIB, 1972). McPherson and Rabb (1993) discussed autonomy as self-imposed law, where children who have autonomy regulate their own behaviour. Further, they recognized that in Indigenous education, adults do not interfere with the autonomy of the child (McPherson & Rabb, 1993). Hampton (1995) discussed this concept as respect in his sixth standard of the redefinition of Indigenous education and explained that there is strength in autonomy and personal power[4]. Battiste (2013) justified that it is because of this connection to self-discovery that non-interference is required, "allowing each person to develop naturally into their giftedness and wholeness" (p. 161). Children lose their autonomy when another person imposes his or her own laws onto the child (McPherson & Rabb, 1993). Not only is the concept of non-interference represented in the literature by Indigenous researchers, early non-Indigenous anthropologists took note of its significance. Wax and Thomas (1961) described non-interference as the most widely recognized value inherent in Indigenous culture. Grant (1995) coupled non-interference with love to describe children‟s relationships with their traditional educators.

Love. Specific to the Ojibwe, love is one of the Seven Grandfather teachings and, although inseparable from the other six (Benton-Banai, 1988), love has roots which extend so deeply in Indigenous education that they uphold communal law (Gross, 2002a; Little Bear,

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[4] Power in the individual is defined for this study from Hampton‟s (1995) idea of power; a positive sense of self which is fostered when the identity of the individual is recognized and respected. This concept of individual power is closely connected to respect for the autonomy of the individual.

2000). Love is a positive approach to social control; "To know love is to know peace" (Wesley-Esquimaux & Calliou, 2010, p. 18). Love is not only integral to the Anishinaabeg teachings from the Seven Grandfathers. The idea of family and protective love is reflected across Indigenous worldviews; "From the moment of birth, children are the objects of love and kindness from a large circle of relatives and friends. They are strictly trained but in a „sea" of love and kindness" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 81). Hodgson-Smith (2010) indicated that love is an appropriate way to address Indigenous education. Little Bear (2000) expanded that love is integral to the learning relationships between the extended family and the child. For example, Kirkness (1993) recalled learning from her extended family through love and patience. Kirkness" (1993) family love is not isolated, for Indigenous family relationships are characterized by love and trust (Anderson, 2011; Barnes, Josefowitz, & Cole, 2006).

Family. Family love is not limited to the nuclear family; in the Chickasaw nation, both kin and community are regarded as family (Deacon, Pendley, W. R. Hinson, & J. D. Hinson, 2011). Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) expand that "extended kinship structures" (p. 13) are common in Indigenous societies. Traditional Indigenous values necessitate investment from all adults in a child"s education (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a; Kovach, 2013; Little Bear, 2009) so that Indigenous education begins with and should have continuity in the values, behaviours and experiences within the family (Anderson & Ball, 2011; NIB, 1972). Within the extended family, children imitate adult activities through apprentice-like relations of modelling and observation (Hampton, 1995) to develop a sense of personal belonging (Kovach, 2013). As children mature, they begin to learn alongside same-gendered role models to master the specific skills of their nation (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996b; Kovach, 2013). For example, in the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation, "the boy and youth come to know the mysteries of the sea, and the nature of its inhabitants,

under the guidance of father, uncles and grandfathers" (Macnair, 2000, p. 363). Family, as the

extended community, is integral in Indigenous education because adults teach the specific skills

of the community (Little Bear, 2000). In addition to this intentional knowledge transfer,

participants in Restoule"s (2008) study described how families without the intention to

communicate Indigenous values would still transfer them to their children. Family is thus the

medium of conscious and subconscious knowledge transmission in Indigenous education. NIB

(1972) asserted that only members of the family can develop an education that is appropriate for

the values of the local culture as well as the skills required to live in modern society.

European Presence

J. W. Friesen and Friesen (2005) explained that the first missionaries who came to

present-day Canada recognized the values rooted in existing educational practices; they attested

that Indigenous knowledges were honourable and religious. Churchill (1997) and Dussault and

Erasmus (1996a) concurred: despite that from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Columbus

and other Spanish invaders carried diseases that devastated South and Central American

Indigenous populations, early relations are said to have been mutual. By the nineteenth century,

Dussault and Erasmus (1996a) and Bear Nicholas (2001) recognized a distinct shift in relations

between Indigenous inhabitants and European settlers. Sir George Murray, Secretary of State for

the Colonies of the British Imperial Government, believed that tribes occupying the southern

regions of Upper Canada would benefit from Christian knowledge and education, thus beginning

a formal policy of "civilization" (Grant, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Watt-Cloutier, 2010). Indigenous

nations exchanged land settlements for schooling facilities (Grant, 1996) so day schools were

established (Kovach, 2013; White & Peters, 2013). These on-reserve schools were generally

accepted by Indigenous families (Grant, 1996) since individual nations had authority over the

education (Milloy, 1999); Inuit children, for example, learned how to read and write in their own languages in day schools until the twentieth century (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a).

Educational policies of assimilation. In 1842, *The Bagot Commission Report* acknowledged that reserve-dwelling populations were only "half-civilized" from day schools and in 1847, the *Ryerson Report* reiterated the need for a more aggressive form of schooling (Grant, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Kovach, 2013). Modelled after the Mohawk Institute (1831-1969) in Upper Canada (Stonefish & Kechego, 2007), the policy of civilization was revised in 1857 to provide Indigenous children with off-reserve boarding schools (Milloy, 1999; Stonechild, 2006). These industrial schools would eliminate attendance problems if Indigenous families were willing to send their children to them (J. W. Friesen & Friesen, 2005; Milloy, 1999); "First and foremost was parental resistance to separation from their children, an attitude that the French thought was unusually strong among the Indians of North America because of their excessive love of offspring." (Miller, 1996, p. 55)

Residential schools. Love for their children made industrial schools unattractive to Indigenous communities. Fuelled by minimal voluntary enrolment in industrial schools, Canada's federal government imposed educational responsibility through the *British North America Act* of 1867 while *The Indian Act* banned self-government and Indigenous peoples were made subjects of the Department of Indian Affairs (Cherubini, 2010; Milloy, 1999). Following *The Davin Report* in 1879, the state and church abandoned the Canadian industrial school model and instead collaboratively erected residential schools with the intent to eliminate students' native cultures and impose Eurocentric values (Bear Nicholas, 2001; Fallon & Paquette, 2012; Milloy, 1999; K. D. Smith, 2014). Whether labelled as industrial or residential, Miller (1996)

explained that the function of schools for Indigenous children remained true to the head of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott‟s vision to eliminate the "Indian problem."

Admission to residential schools for status Indian children between the ages of six and fifteen became compulsory in the 1920‟s (Milloy, 1999; Stanton, 2011). It was punishable by law for parents to withhold their children‟s attendance (Kelly, 2008), and parents were not permitted to leave their reserve to visit their children without a pass[5] from an Indian Agent (Sellars, 2013). Despite fixed policy for compulsory schooling, the *Indian Act* did not specify a standard of education (Mendelson, 2008). Legally, Indigenous peoples were not considered "people," so treatment of their children by school staff went unquestioned (Grant, 1996).

Staff context. Although children who attended residential schools sometimes speak of one or two caring staff members, accounts of the residential school system is plagued by ritualized abuse inflicted by non-Indigenous school staff (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a; Stanton, 2011; Stonefish & Kechego, 2007). These staff members were often unqualified to teach (Barnes et al., 2006; K. D. Smith, 2014) because investment in the church or religious dedication was considered more important than their academic credentials (Grant, 1996). For example, Sellars (2013) described one of her educators as an alcoholic who passed out in class while Nayar and Mlaxha (2014) explained that most supervisors at the Port Alberni Residential School were former military personnel in need of a place to live.

Physical, sexual, environmental abuse. Residential school staff used "their positions of almost unquestioned power over the students" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 12-13). This environment made Mlaxha feel like he was living in a prison (Nayar & Mlaxha, 2014). The strap

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[5] *The Indian Act* gave power to Indian Agents to restrict movements on and off of reserves by requiring a signed pass. Although the pass system‟s initial purpose was to prevent collaboration after the Red River and Northwest Rebellions, it was enforced to maintain separation between Indigenous peoples and settlers until the 1930‟s (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996c).

was the most common form of punishment (Barnes et al., 2006; Chrisjohn & Young, 2005; Grant, 1996), but other unimaginable punishments were inflicted upon children (Sellars, 2013). Some students sustained permanent physical injury as a result of punishment (Chrisjohn & Young, 2005). "Nurturing" (Kovach, 2013) and "cleansing" (Fontaine, 2010) were words that staff used to describe sexual abuse and left children feeling guilty, confused and ashamed (Grant, 1996). Aside from overt physical and sexual abuse, the staff did not understand or ignored the needs of children (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a). The children were fed so little (Haig-Brown, 1988) and food of such poor quality (Barnes et al., 2006) that they experienced starvation (Mussell, 2008). Haig-Brown (1988) explained that children used to steal potatoes and cook them in the school''s garbage incinerator. Manual labour took precedence over education to financially sustain the schools (Barnes et al., 2006; Grant, 1996; Sellars, 2013) so poor nutrition and physical exhaustion often led to illnesses (Milloy, 1999). A lack of regard for the health and safety of the children (Barnes et al., 2006; Sellars, 2013) contributed to an average death rate of nearly 50% in the early 1900''s (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a). King (2012) described the school, "at its best, [was] a cold dead place" (p. 113). Some children who survived may not have experienced physical or sexual abuse but spiritual, emotional and intellectual abuse was institutionalized; all children were "victimized and brainwashed" (Grant, 1996, p. 223).

   Emotional, intellectual, spiritual, psychological abuse. Under the policy of assimilation, children experienced isolation when they were purposefully and forcibly removed and separated from their families (Barnes et al., 2006; Battiste, 2013; Chrisjohn & Young, 2005); Mlaxha recalled his undesired apprehension by an Indian Agent (Nayar & Mlaxha, 2014). Fontaine (2010) stated that children may have blamed their parents for leaving them while K. D. Smith (2014) and Kelly (2008) produced accounts of children who feared that the devil would harm

their families for their traditional beliefs (Fontaine, 2010). Competition (A. Bishop, 2002;

Chrisjohn & Young, 2005; Grant, 1996), disconnection (Kovach, 2013; Stonefish & Kechego,

2007), expressional (Cherubini & Hodson, 2008; Gray, 2011; Neegan, 2005) and emotional

suppression (Kovach, 2013; Sellars, 2013) led to psychological trauma. Kovach (2013) called

this "monopolization of perception" (p. 36), where the school staff exercised control of the

children's identities (Fontaine, 2010; Grant, 1996; Sellars, 2013). Residential schools failed to

prepare children for adulthood and intergenerational effects of the varying abuses persist

(Fontaine, 2010); Mlaxha expressed, "I could not feel anything. I lost my connection with people

[and] the spirit world" (Nayar & Mlaxha, 2014, p. 73).

     Intergenerational Trauma. Residential schools abused up to five generations of children

(Barnes et al., 2006; Mussell, 2008), stealing from its 150,000 students appropriate parenting

skills (Kelly, 2008; Kovach, 2013), culture and language (Grant, 1996; Haig-Brown, 1988) and

self-determination (Fontaine, 2010; Grant, 1996). The federal government was aware of the

genocide that they had carried out but evidence, such as *The Bryce Report* in 1907 and *The Story

of a National Crime* in 1922 were largely ignored (Milloy, 1999). In 1967, the Indian

Department in Saskatchewan hired George Caldwell from the Canadian Welfare Council, who

found that 80% of the remaining children in the residential school system were enrolled due to

home and family dysfunction[6] (Caldwell, 1967; Grant, 1996). He questioned the effects of the

residential school system but failed to make any serious connection between school practices and

its graduates' maladaptive behaviours (Caldwell, 1967; Nayar & Mlaxah, 2014). Research now

recognizes the link and terms it "intergenerational trauma," which is when unresolved trauma

experienced by one generation is passed to subsequent generations (Aboriginal Healing

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[6] This indicates the beginning of the sixties scoop (Grant, 1996).

Foundation [AHF], 1999; Bombay et al., 2014). Intergenerational symptoms of the residential school system include altered societal norms, as in the normalization of sexual, physical, spiritual and intellectual abuse, which continue to foster dysfunction in Indigenous communities (Bombay et al., 2014; Grant, 1996). Having attended residential school, Sellars (2013) remembered telling her own daughter to "quit being a baby" (p. 159) when she cried, expecting her child to suppress emotion. In light of naming the trauma associated with the residential school system, Cote-Meek (2014) cautioned that Indigenous peoples who attended residential schools are not the "sick ones." Instead, it is the colonizers who are sick. An Elder from southern Alberta recounted a story about a great white bird who stole children away (Bear Nicholas, 2001). Although it is assumed that the bird has died, it continues to live; colonization did not cease to exist when the last remaining residential school closed (Battiste, 2013).

Educational policy diverges from overt assimilation. It became apparent that the residential school system did not adhere to *The Indian Act*: it was unable to educate, let alone provide the basic necessities for Indigenous children (Bombay et al., 2014; Milloy, 1999). Indigenous peoples" resistance to the residential school system was formally documented (Grant, 1996) when both Caldwell"s *Indian Residential Schools* and Hawthorn"s *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada* (also called the *Hawthorn Report*) recommended the closure of residential schools in 1966 when it was released (AHF, 1999). Policies of integration surfaced in Canadian schools yet implementation continues to be criticized by Indigenous peoples (Cote-Meek, 2014; Schick & St. Denis, 2005).

One-way integration. The Indian Act determined that a policy of integration would best civilize Indigenous children. Starting in the 1950"s, the federal government placed Indigenous education under the jurisdiction of the provinces, without consultation with Indigenous

populations or the public school system; in 1951 Indigenous children began to enter provincially run schools (Bear Nicholas, 2001; Fallon & Paquette, 2012). Educators were unprepared to work with Indigenous students (Grant, 1996; Tremblay et al., 1967), Eurocentric pedagogies remained incompatible with Indigenous students" identities (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a; Stonefish & Kechego, 2007), and non-Indigenous students at the schools saw themselves as superior to their Indigenous peers (Tremblay et al., 1967). In review, the 1966 *Hawthorn Report* questioned whether a policy of integration or segregation would be more beneficial to Indigenous children (Battiste, 2013) because Indigenous students" academic achievement levels continued to fall below that of non-Indigenous students from the mainstream education system (Cherubini, 2010), contributing to an Indigenous student dropout rate of 97% (Bear Nicholas, 2001). True integration only takes place when policy and practice blend both Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledges; streaming Indigenous children into the public school system was a one-way process (AFN, 2010), so that "it is not surprising that Aboriginal people are suspicious of the siren song of ‚integration,'' or ‚whatever you want to call it''" (Francis, 2011, p. 245).

Looking forward from one-way integration and in response to self-determination voiced by Indigenous peoples, government policies began to address the preservation, rather than assimilation, of Indigenous cultures. In 1969, the federal government published *The White Paper*, which Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau envisioned would normalize relationships between mainstream society and Indigenous populations (Fallon & Paquette, 2012) by removing "obstacles" for Indigenous peoples to become part of the dominant society (Wilson, 2008). AFN (2010) insisted that *The White Paper* called for complete assimilation. It would have terminated the legal agreement between the government and Indigenous peoples, eliminating Indian status, reserve land and *The Indian Act* (Battiste, 2013; Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a). The Indian

Association of Alberta responded with the *Red Paper* and a "Red Power"[7] movement gave way

to the NIB (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a).

     Resistance and preservation. The most significant response to *The White Paper* was

ICIE, a policy paper that NIB presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern

Development in 1972. ICIE outlined the need for education systems (both federally and

provincially-funded schools) that allow Indigenous children to develop the values of their culture

and non-Indigenous children to learn about Indigenous history and culture (NIB, 1972). ICIE

called for local control of federal Indigenous education and representation within provincial

boards because only Indigenous peoples can make decisions that reinforce NIB (1972) goals of

promoting Indigenous identity in a modern society. As part of local control, NIB (1972)

recommended measures at all schooling levels to ensure that educational programming followed

their goals. NIB (1972) further called for measures to ensure that Indigenous and non-Indigenous

educators are trained adequately to facilitate these goals. In 2010, AFN reasserted ICIE in *First*

Nations Control of First Nations Education. AFN (2010) recognized Jean Chrétien's (Minister of

Indian Affairs) acknowledgement of ICIE in 1973, but insisted that their "statement of values…

is as true today as it was at its inception" (p. 3). The intention of ICIE has not yet been reached;

Battiste (2013) expanded that "the federal and provincial education laws, regulations, and

practices have yet to implement or reconcile with the constitutional rights to have and teach

Indigenous knowledge" (p. 70). Without a mutual understanding between Indigenous and non-

Indigenous peoples (TRC, 2015), non-Indigenous peoples actively refuse to understand the

impacts of the residential school system (Stanton, 2011).

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[7] The Red Power movement describes a growing sense of a collective Indigenous identity in the late 1960's
(Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a)

A Dominant Narrative

Despite detailed accounts of abuses (Fontaine, 2010; Nayar & Mlaxha, 2014) and their implications for today"s Indigenous peoples (Bombay et al., 2014; Cote-Meek, 2014; Palmater, 2015), Canadians continue to argue that the residential school system was a tale of "a few bad apples" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 4) and most non-Indigenous students arrive at post-secondary institutions without knowledge of the residential school system (TRC, 2015). A dominant narrative like this, which imagines a history without colonization stems from ignorance of Indigenous perspectives and experiences (Dion, 2009). For example, one year after apologizing for the residential school system, Prime Minister Stephen Harper claimed that Canada had no history of colonization (Cote-Meek, 2014). The TRC (2015) reminded us that the residential school system was only one system among many which seek to marginalize Indigenous peoples. As non-Indigenous allies, Lowman and Barker (2015) noted that current systems engrained in our dominant narrative continue to work together to "displace and disempower Indigenous peoples, knowledge and practices" (p. 33).

The dominant narrative has historic roots. Non-Indigenous writers from the nineteenth century proclaimed that the estimated 500,000 (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a) Indigenous peoples who resided on this land did not participate in its union (H. Adams, 1999, Dussault & Erasmus, 1996b); rather the land was "terra nullius, empty of peoples who mattered" (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996a, p. 18). This (mis)information continues to be taught in schools and secures a Eurocentric belief system that determines the norm, holds all else in comparison and forms the basis of Canada"s dominant narrative (H. Adams, 1999; Neegan, 2005).

A dominant narrative refers to the ways in which the dominant society"s perspective about culture, history, politics, economics and legitimate forms of knowledge are produced and

reproduced as the prevailing stories that inform and shape the landscape of our lives and the broader society (Andrews, 2004). Battiste (2013) expanded that, "only one visible, powerful, and defining tradition of knowledge has been embraced, developed, and diffused throughout the world. This tradition has largely been led by men in the hierarchical society of Western society and based on the Eurocentric tradition" (p. 161). The dominant narrative produces pre-existing norms (European descent, Eurocentric, Christian, heterosexual, male [Wilson, 2008]) that determine a standard (or a normal) for our actions and beliefs (Battiste, 2013; Neegan, 2005). This standard works to limit diversity (Andrews, 2004) and requires that everything which falls outside of those established norms is perceived as less than or unworthy (Neegan, 2005). Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers have written about the dominant narrative. LaRocque (2007) wrote that these narratives are pervasive and Andrews (2004) explained that this is because "we become the stories we know and the master narrative is reproduced" (p. 1). "Our senses are assaulted by the stench of domination every day" (hooks, 2003, p. 12); we are marinated in its existence (Battiste, 2005) so that we cannot escape its influence. L. T. Smith (2012), writing from a Maori perspective, expanded that, in society, some knowledges are more dominant than others.[8] Rules are created and perpetuated to make sense of which knowledges should maintain a dominant position. Beliefs from the stark contrast that has historically categorized Indigenous and Western knowledges remains (L. T. Smith, 2012), despite the diversity of humankind (Battiste, 2013). The pervasiveness of the dominant narrative is misleading because, as Bradford (2007) explained, the dominant narrative expresses false assumptions about reality that do not reflect people"s lived experiences or histories. Falsities

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[8] This discussion is limited in that it will not expand to the intersections of race, gender, space or time (L. T. Smith, 2012).

emanate from dominant society dwellers gripping onto an imagined "Other" to privilege and hold on to their own sacred reality (Palmater, 2015).

Privilege through the Other. The dominant society believes itself to be a blank slate so that anyone with a mark is an imagined Other (Battiste, 2013; Francis, 2011; L. T. Smith, 2012). In this way the, "[dominant narrative] becomes the norm" (Higgins et al., 2015, p. 260) and "hatred forms around the unknown, the difference of ‚others'" (hooks, 2003, p. 9) so that those participating in the dominant narrative are systematically privileged as that which is normal. The dominant society fabricates Indigenous identity through the Other (Francis, 2011; LaRocque, 2007) so that non-Indigenous peoples attempt to justify an imagined history sans colonization (LaRocque, 2007); "we help create the outward enemy [(Indigenous peoples)] to distract us from the inward enemy" (Palmer, 1993, p. 12). Non-Indigenous peoples measure their progress against Indigenous peoples" imagined primitive past (LaRocque, 2007) to see themselves as advanced, generous (L. T. Smith, 2012) and superior to the Other (Bradford, 2007). These beliefs are transmitted and made true through the public education system (Battiste, 2000). According to Battiste (2013), "education is a process by which a culture expresses its reality and values, processes its culture, and integrates its culture into it" (p. 162).

Canada's present-day education system. Thirty years ago, non-Indigenous researcher and educator, Wolcott (1987) recognized that "he was not assigned to the [Blackfish First Nations] village to teach villagers their way of life; [he] was assigned to teach them something about [his]" (p. 145), demonstrating that school was a vehicle to transmit Eurocentric values (Wotherspoon, 2006). Present-day Canadian school systems continue to be structures that maintain colonial inequality because they transmit the dominant narrative (Battiste, 2013; Dion, 2007, 2009; hooks, 2003; Lewthwaite et al., 2014); A non-Indigenous high school educator in

Wotherspoon‟s (2006) study confirmed, "Despite all efforts so far, the public school system is still a white patriarchal system – too inflexible to accommodate significant change" (p. 684). Far from being neutral spaces (Battiste, 2013; Stonechild, 2006), schools are places of contact (Pratt, 1991; Strong-Wilson et al., 2014), where privilege lingers unnamed (Higgins et al., 2015) and determines the standard from which to judge school success (Battiste, 2013). Achievement indicators (Lewthwaite et al., 2014), curriculum development (Tupper & Cappello, 2008) and knowledge transmission (Cote-Meek, 2014) are influenced by dominant ideologies (Dion, 2009; Higgins et al., 2015); they exclude alternative worldviews, histories and knowledges (Battiste, 2000; Cote-Meek, 2014). The dominant society refuses to accept that its school system is one-sided (MacDonald, 2014) and remains resistant to change (Lowman & Barker, 2015). Students who identify with worldviews which are different from the dominant narrative then experience barriers to "success" in schools (Battiste, 2013; Cote-Meek, 2014).

   Non-Indigenous educators' role. Rather than open spaces for their Indigenous students, non-Indigenous educators maintain their own identities within their role in the dominant narrative (Dion, 2007). Non-Indigenous educators and Whiteness are synonymous (Harper, 2000) and within the system, educators define their roles according to the dominant discourse of schooling (Dion, 2009). Emerging policies, increased responsibilities, and resource cutbacks leave little room for professional autonomy so most non-Indigenous educators claim powerlessness to make change (Wotherspoon, 2006). In the context of her study, Wotherspoon (2006) found that educators‟ occupational responsibilities need to be considered when seeking to improve Indigenous education. This idea runs parallel to Dion‟s (2009) concept of the perfect stranger in that educators actively refuse to acknowledge their privilege within the dominant society and how this shapes their relationships with Indigenous students and knowledges.

Wotherspoon (2006) offered a potential solution. By balancing expected roles with support to engage in Indigenous educational initiatives, there is a better chance for educational change. Dion (2009) further commented on the difficulties that occupational roles pose; when educators successfully meet their role as educators – to teach facts, skills, and care for students – they "[formulate] an active refusal" (p. 136) about their involvement in the dominant narrative (Cherubini & Hodson, 2008). The role of the educator as a disconnected knowledge dispensary (Palmer, 1993) was best described by an educator-participant who left a study by Nicol and Korteweg (2010) because the "relationship stuff" (p. 185) was too foreign to her role as an educator. In the dominant relationship, "no one, teacher or pupils, ever let his guard down very far" (Wolcott, 1987, p. 144) yet some outlier narratives describe the importance of removing these barriers to develop an open learning space (Palmer, 1993) or to legitimize Indigenous knowledges (Battiste, 2002). While responding to Wolcott"s (1987) analysis of the non-Indigenous educator – Indigenous student relationship, Hampton (1995) confirmed that there is possibility for educators to understand their position in the dominant narrative, "[i]f educators realize that they are agents of cultural brainwashing rather than altruistic helpers, much that is otherwise incomprehensible becomes self-evident" (p. 35). Although "transforming their relationships with students challeng[es] their very identities as teachers" (Nicol & Korteweg, 2010, p. 185), educators have the ability to positively or negatively impact students and their communities (Wotherspoon, 2006). At the heart of any change is an educator"s acceptance of the responsibility to foster that change (Aikenhead, 2010; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010).

A Counter Narrative

Battiste (1998) wrote about the flaws in dominant ideologies twenty years ago when she said, "the assumptions and beliefs that constructed and maintained Eurocentrism are not

universal" (p. 23). Non-Indigenous researchers have also critiqued dominant ideologies. They indicated that our education system is home to many people who do not see themselves written on the pages of the dominant narrative (Andrews, 2004; hooks, 2003) so these individuals must find meaning outside of the story that predominantly informs dominant nationhood (Andrews, 2004). Critical race theorist, Delgado (1995) stated that these people voice a counter reality, called counter stories. Counter stories offer spaces of resistance within the dominant narrative (Andrews, 2004; Bradford, 2007) to present an alternate reading (Bamberg, 2004).

Non-Indigenous researchers, Bamberg and Andrews (2004) write about counter narratives from a social justice perspective. Andrews (2004) explained that counter narratives tell the stories of peoples who are in "outgroups."[9] Andrews (2004) generalized that counter narratives have been voiced in multiple disciplines. Larocque (2007) explained, "[t]his material from so many different fields and disciplines is not only disputatious but reconstructive, inventive, cogent and often elegant" (p. 13). It is from this understanding that counter narratives are interpreted for this study. More specifically, Indigenous researchers and their non-Indigenous allies who work in the field of Indigenous education have produced counter narratives. Examples include Gray"s (2011) research, where Indigenous youth challenged present-day Canadian landscapes by taking back their identities, Strong-Wilson et al."s (2014) use of dialectical images to move educators into Pratt"s (1991) contact zone[10], and Tupper and Cappello"s (2008) use of treaties to "interrupt the common sense stories that reify power and dominance" (p. 570). Similarly, Dion (2007) has engaged her predominantly non-Indigenous graduate students in

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[9] Andrews" (2004) definition of "outgroups" is based on Delgato"s (1995) description; "groups whose marginality defines the boundaries of the mainstream, whose voice and perspective – whose consciousness – has been suppressed, devalued, and abnormalized" (p. 64).

[10] Pratt (1990) defines a contact zone as a space where two different cultures meet in often asymmetrical relations of power. She uses it in an educational context to explain how groups that have been colonized can find shared understandings in a mutually constructed space that she terms, a "safe house."

recognizing their relations with Indigenous peoples. Andrews (2004) shared that counter stories are expressed individually, but share commonalities; "they make space and take space for marginalized … ideas" (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 2). In this space, the literature suggests that exposing the dominant narrative (Bamberg, 2004; Bradford, 2007; hooks, 2003) can promote anti-racist education (Tupper & Cappello, 2008). As such, counter narratives can enable non-Indigenous peoples to learn about asymmetrical relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Cherubini & Hodson, 2008; Dion, 2009). Counter narratives represent alternative realities (Tupper & Cappello, 2008), which Bamberg (2004) claimed may lead to equality and reciprocity. The counter stories presented by Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers are discussed in the following paragraphs as emerging themes within the context of the dominating conceptualizations of relations between Indigenous students and non-Indigenous educators.

Dominant and Countering Binaries

Although at the heart of Indigenous education lies relationships (Hampton, 1995; Little Bear, 2009), the literature that examines relations between non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students "[focuses on] alienation or lack of relationships and does nothing to form relations but rather can tear them apart" (Wilson, 2008, p. 109). This section of the literature review presents a thematic analysis of research by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars of how non-Indigenous educators perceive their relations with Indigenous students. As such, it is necessary to preface that the dominant ideas, actions and values of non-Indigenous educators that emerge are not necessarily representative of appropriate practice, but rather, they represent the landscape of the current system. Recall that the dominant narrative holds ideals that are constructed for the comfort of people within the dominant society. Counter narratives, ideas

which resist what is presented in the dominant narrative, are offered to provide perspective of what the literature recommends educators do in order to form relations with their Indigenous students. Pervasive themes that describe interactions between non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students emerge from the literature as privilege (Dion, 2009), blame (Cote-Meek, 2014), profiling (Van Ingen & Halas, 2006), authority (Watt-Cloutier, 2010) and knowledge transmission (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). Both the dominant interactions and those which offer resistance are detailed under these themes.

Educators and privilege. Not only do non-Indigenous educators exclusively read the pages of the dominant narrative to their students, they also fail to recognize that these texts privilege educators" own worldviews (Battiste, 2013; Dion, 2007). In the classroom where the dominant narrative is in operation, everyone reads the same story (Cote-Meek, 2014; Lowman & Barker, 2015) so as not to draw attention to differences (Dion, 2007; Wotherspoon, 2006). Within this system, the advantages that non-Indigenous educators hold are obscured (Higgins et al., 2015; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012) and, in turn, the oppression and discrimination that plagues the lives of others (Battiste, 2013; Whitley, 2014; Wotherspoon, 2006) remain invisible and this situation produces a position that Dion (2009) described as the perfect stranger. Educators see themselves as neutral and unmarked (Dion, 2009). In this space, non-Indigenous educators deny "the role that Whiteness plays in shaping non-Indigenous educators" lives" (Higgins et al., 2015, p. 251). Perfect strangers lack critical reflection; they are unaware of how little they know about themselves (Higgins et al., 2015), Indigenous peoples and how their experiences differ (Dion, 2009). Resistance to acknowledging privilege often results in anger (Kanu, 2005; Lowman & Barker, 2015) and guilt (Dion, 2009), which shield educators from personal responsibility (Kanu, 2005; Lowman & Barker, 2015) and encourage comfort (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Schick & St.

Denis, 2005). Due to this resistance, Nicol and Korteweg (2010) questioned how researchers can develop relationships with non-Indigenous educators that might enable them to "sustain and even embrace the uncomfortable examination of our educator identities" (p. 185).

Playing the perfect stranger is dangerous because it fails to acknowledge (St. Denis, 2007) and develop (Battiste, 2013) effective relationships with Indigenous students. Diverging from the pages of the dominant narrative requires new stories that make privilege visible (Battiste, 2013; A. Bishop, 2002; Schick & St. Denis, 2005) and recognize the associated power (Andrews, 2004; St. Denis, 2007; Strega, 2005). Hingley (2000) set this example when he recognized himself as an unknown benefactor of power inherent in his adherence to the dominant narrative. Critical self-reflection (Belczewski, 2009; hooks, 2003; Oskineegish, 2015; Whitley, 2014) is the first step to understand and develop relationships with Indigenous peoples (Nicol & Korteweg, 2010). "Through the exercise of examining his own culture as the alien one, the teacher-enemy may be less aggressive about forcing his lesson on his prisoner-pupils" (Wolcott, 1987, p. 147); our gaze must shift from the other, inwards to oneself (Max, 2005) and expose one‟s own investment in the dominant narrative (Dion, 2007). Indigenous education cannot exist without the recognition of oppression and resistance (Hampton, 1995). Educators must accept this process as uncomfortable and unsettling because there are no simple ways to confront colonization (Battiste, 2013; Hingley, 2000; Lowman & Barker, 2015). This is evident in Nicol and Korteweg‟s (2010) research, in which understanding educators‟ investments in the dominant narrative prompted most participants to withdraw from the study. A. Bishop (2002) explained that guilt and anger must be distinguished from responsibility.

Educators and blame. Although "racial hierarchies … hold in place colonial structures of the mind [and] clearly posit Aboriginal students as inferior," (Cote-Meek, 2014, p. 95), rather

than take responsibility, non-Indigenous educators blame their Indigenous students for their lack of educational and social success (Hewitt, 2000; Mussell, 2008; Wotherspoon, 2006). Educators neglect to acknowledge the systemic opportunities and constraints that prevent authentic Indigenous student performance (TRC, 2015). Cote-Meek (2014) and Lowman and Barker (2015) explained that Indigenous peoples must not be held individually responsible for colonial practices inflicted upon them; a discourse of blame proposes that Indigenous peoples must change (R. Bishop, 2003; Pidgeon et al., 2013) and overcome this discrimination and inequality (Schick & St. Denis, 2005). Hampton (1995) stated that the education system itself subconsciously transmits, "a vicious spiral of self-justification, as the blame is shifted to the victims who must be ‚helped,‟ that is, controlled for their own good" (p. 34). In the context of Alaska Native education, Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) suggested that educators can change rather than expect their students to change. Educators can engage in a two-way[11] learning process where they recognize Indigenous knowledges and use them to build students‟ understanding of concepts in school (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). Without an openness to change, educators see their students through the lens of the dominant narrative (Battiste, 2013).

Educators and profiling. Non-Indigenous educators situate their perceptions of Indigenous students in stereotypes (Dion, 2009). When educators position their Indigenous students within the stereotypes of an imaginary Indian (Dion, 2009), Indigenous students are left with "… no room for authentic representation of who they are" (Dussault & Erasmus, 1996b; p. 759). The literature suggests that there are five emerging themes that describe how non-Indigenous educators locate Indigenous students within the dominant narrative. The themes place Indigenous students as collective, less capable, with low self-esteem, worth, and negative family

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[11] A two-way knowledge transmission is interpreted for this study as the ability and responsibility that non-Indigenous educators have to extend their dominant, Western knowledges with the integration of Indigenous knowledges.

interactions so that "it is a wonder why [Indigenous families] don't continue the practice of physically hiding their children in the bush every September as they did during the Residential School period" (Cherubini & Hodson, 2008, p. 25). Counter narratives suggest that in order for non-Indigenous educators to engage in positive relationships with their Indigenous students, opposing actions and perceptions are vital (Higgins et al., 2015; Whitley, 2014).

Educators and collectivity. Non-Indigenous educators expect all of their Indigenous students to practice the same culture (Higgins et al., 2015; Whitley, 2014) and learn in the same manner (Battiste, 2000; Whitley, 2014). Within the dominant narrative, Indigenous students are constructed as one dimensional. For instance, Higgins et al. (2015) explains that non-Indigenous educators perceived Indigenous students as gifted artists, and similarly, Whitley's (2014) non-Indigenous educator participants explained that Indigenous students learned through kinaesthetic activities. Resistance within the literature, however, insists that interests and abilities within Indigenous peoples are diverse (Aikenhead, 2010). A Saulteaux Elder explained to Battiste (2013) that this diversity comes from purpose; "We are all on a journey to find our unique gifts given to us by the Creator" (p. 18). Discerning Indigenous students as individuals rather than as a homogeneous group makes the biggest difference in developing relationships between non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students (Battiste, 2013; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010) because "these teachers… teach to and through the strength of their students" (Lewthwaite et al., 2014, p. 23). Such distinction suggests that Indigenous students have many diverse experiences to contribute to the learning process (Hewitt, 2000). Instruction that discourages the employment of only one way to teach Indigenous children is important (Battiste, 2013; Oskineegish, 2015) and offers resistance to the dominant narrative (Munroe et al., 2013).

Educators and expectations. Non-Indigenous researchers have found that non-Indigenous educators are surprised when they encounter Indigenous students who are academically successful (Lewthwaite et al., 2014; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012; Whitley, 2014). Non-Indigenous educators perceive Indigenous students to have lower mental capacities than non-Indigenous students (Cote-Meek, 2014; Mussell, 2008) and, therefore, they are held to lower expectations than non-Indigenous students (Gray, 2011; Whitley, 2014). Neegan (2005) found that these lowered expectations lump and stream Indigenous students through the school system. Similarly, in Riley and Ungerleider"s (2012) study, educators were more likely to stream Indigenous students into remedial programs than same-levelled non-Indigenous students. Watt-Cloutier (2010) postulated that lowering expectations is harmful to Indigenous students because "people do not learn the most significant things unless they are challenged" (p. 117). While MacIver"s (2012) study indicated that Indigenous students perceive high expectations from educators to be necessary for their success, the dominant idea of standard-based measurement is countered by Hampton (1995). Using a yardstick as a metaphor to describe the measurement of students against set standards, Hampton (1995) explained that, "the challenge is not higher standards on the yardstick that has give[n] us a world in chaos but the negotiation of multicultural yardsticks" (p. 37). Perhaps then, different yardsticks are required for educators to adequately measure Indigenous student success.

Educators and self-esteem. In addition to collectivity and limited mental capacities, St. Denis (2007) found that Indigenous students" self-esteem is also imagined by their non-Indigenous educators. Whitley (2014), who worked with non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students, found that the non-Indigenous educators believed that their Indigenous students had an inherently negative self-esteem. This conviction is constructed through perceived

attendance issues, absence of goals and future plans (Whitley, 2014), quiet and shy dispositions (Van Ingen & Halas, 2006) and the emotional and psychological needs of their Indigenous students (Whitley, 2014). St. Denis (2007) cautioned that diagnosing Indigenous students with low self-esteem contributes to blame. In fact, Indigenous students seek or have positive self-esteem, but Taylor (1995) claimed that non-Indigenous educators have the power within the school system to either affirm or deny positive self-esteem. Non-Indigenous educators" continued disrespect (Aikenhead, 2010; Van Ingen & Halas, 2006) and lack of care or advocacy (Cote-Meek, 2014; Dion, 2009; Macgill & Blanch, 2013; Whitley, 2014) for their Indigenous students contributes to non-participation by Indigenous students in the education system (R. Bishop, 2003) as a form of resistance (Hampton, 1995; Macgill & Blanch, 2013). Hampton (1995) expanded that, "the resistance and hostility of Native students is an assertion of Indian integrity" (p. 35) in a system that does not recognize the values of the Indigenous student. It is this resistance to the school system that non-Indigenous educators use to construct their Indigenous students" negative self-esteem (Whitley, 2014).

Educators and worth. H. Adams (1999) explained that the dominant narrative portrays Indigenous peoples as "suited only for … domination" (p. 29). Within this framework, non-Indigenous educators see their Indigenous students" experiences and values as deficits (Battiste, 2013; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010) rather than assets in the classroom (Lewthwaite et al., 2014). For example, when students are taught that Columbus "discovered" the Americas, they hear that their culture is not worthy or valued; a discovery entails something being found that was previously terra nullius (hooks, 2003). Students internalize the worth that their educators place on them and their knowledges (hooks, 2003) so that they may feel disrespected when their identity is ignored (Van Ingen & Halas, 2006; Whitley, 2014). L. T. Smith (2012) broadened the

concept of worth; historically, "Indigenous beliefs were considered shocking, abhorrent and barbaric, and were prime targets for the efforts of missionaries. Many of those beliefs still persist" (p. 45). In fact, they continue to persist in textbooks and history lessons (LaRocque, 2007). Conveying genuine respect towards students and their culture affirms self-worth (Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; MacIver, 2012) and leads to self-determination (hooks, 2003). Battiste (2013) explained;

> We must … understand Aboriginal learning and learners, their holistic theories of lifelong learning, how to nourish the learning spirit[12], and the epistemologies that provide a stronger foundation for learning. (p. 178)

Educators and family. Nam et al. (2013) found that non-Indigenous educators who are informed predominantly by the dominant narrative encouraged minimal to no Indigenous family support in their classrooms. Along with Indigenous students" collectivity, capabilities, self-esteem and worth, these educators profile the family relations that their Indigenous students experience (Janmohamed, 2005). Specifically, non-Indigenous educators perceived Indigenous parents as less interested in education (Riley & Ungerleider, 2012; Van Ingen & Halas, 2006) and alcohol dependent (King, 2003; Van Ingen & Halas, 2006). These educators blame Indigenous parents for their alienation from the school (Battiste, 2013), yet Indigenous parents have advocated for more than 45 years for their desire to have control in the education system (NIB, 1972). Taylor (1995) explained that Indigenous students are cognisant of how their non-Indigenous educators perceive their families and communities and they view the role of the educator as an extension of the school into the community. These educators, however, imagine that their Indigenous students have negative relations with their families (Riley & Ungerleider,

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[12] A learning spirit is conceptualized by Battiste (2013) and is defined as the influences that guide people through their life to become what the Creator has intended.

2012) and remain distant from community events (Taylor, 1995). Counter narratives oppose educators" negative perceptions of Indigenous families and disconnection from the community by insisting that positive non-Indigenous educator engagement in their Indigenous students" community is necessary to develop trust (Cherubini & Hodson, 2008) and relations (Oskineegish, 2015; Wotherspoon, 2006) between the educator and student. Further contradicting the dominant narrative, non-Indigenous researchers Wotherspoon (2006), Oskineegish and Berger (2013) and Aquash (2013) have expressed that Indigenous students respond well to family support and that these relations are integral to students" success. This was expressed in the NIB (1972); "If we are to avoid the conflict of values which in the past has led to withdrawal and failure, Indian parents must have control of education with the responsibility of setting goals" (p. 3) and was reiterated in TRC (2015) under the tenth call to action, section vi; "Enabling parents to fully participate in the education of their children" (p. 321).

Educators and authority. Van Ingen and Halas (2006) described "surveillance and policing" (p. 388) as the role that non-Indigenous educators take in their relationship with Indigenous students. Educators maintain control in the classroom (R. Bishop, 2003; Dion, 2009) and feel uncomfortable with the thought of transferring that control to community members (Aquash, 2013). Palmer (1993) concurred, because "the classes [she] was in revolved around the activity and authority of one person – the teacher" (p. 33). In an authoritarian role, the educator speaks rather than listens (Palmer, 1993). Although educators feel superior (Gray, 2011) and neglect to listen to their students (King, 2003), counter narratives resist by suggesting that authoritarian classrooms make learning repressive and oppressive (hooks, 2003). Studies have found that a non-confrontational approach[13] (Oskineegish, 2015) to educating is a counter story

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[13] Gina, an educator participant in Oskineegish"s (2015) study which focused on how educators work with Cree students in a northern Ontario First Nation described an example of a non-confrontational approach. Rather than use

that encourages non-Indigenous educators to listen to their Indigenous students (Palmer, 1993) rather than monitor them (Belczewski, 2009). Further, NIB (1972) recommended that educator behaviours and responses should respect the personal freedom of the child and in which case, surveillance is incompatible.

      Educators and knowledge transmission. When non-Indigenous educators choose to see their Indigenous students as empty vessels in which to bestow knowledge (hooks, 2003; Palmer, 1993), they distance themselves from their students through the knowledge producer and consumer dichotomy (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001). In a study that looked at pre-service teachers‟ engagement in Indigenous education out of the University of Victoria, Tanaka et al. (2007) found that educators overly relied on a singular direction of knowledge transmission. Further, Cherubini and Hodson (2008) expanded that this knowledge is privileged so that a student is successful when he or she adjusts his or her learning to that of the educator (R. Bishop, 2003). In contrast, "to educate" is to "speak words that draw out [students‟] understanding rather than impose [an educator‟s] own" (Palmer, 1993, pp. 81-82). Counter narratives explain the importance of reciprocal learning, where the educator and students engage in a co-constructed environment (Belczewski, 2009; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; Nam et al., 2013) so that knowledge is co-created (Battiste & Henderson, 2009; Munroe et al., 2013; Nicol & Korteweg, 2010) or learners can construct their own knowledge (R. Bishop, 2003; Taylor, 1995). When students and educators construct knowledge together, they develop layers of meaning (Battiste, 2013). Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) insisted that non-Indigenous educators can learn from their students so that learning becomes a two-way process. "A

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the words "don‟t" or "no," Gina would say, "When you run in the hallways, I‟m afraid that you‟ll get hurt, and I don‟t like seeing kids get hurt" (pp. 17-18). Gina expanded that non-confrontation requires listening and patience.

relationship is always two way" (Palmer, 1993, p. 54) so that "it is not only about the learner in the classroom but also about the learner in the teacher" (Palmer, 1993, p. 44).

Educators and Indigenous knowledges. Higgins et al. (2015) and Nam et al. (2013) found that non-Indigenous educators believed that they held and could teach Indigenous knowledges to Indigenous students. Wotherspoon (2006) also found that non-Indigenous educators believed they held an understanding of Indigenous knowledges even when omitting family and community involvement in the planning and implementation of lesson activities. This perceived "cultural authority" (Archibald, 2008, p. 151) was used as a shield by non-Indigenous educators and their deeply engrained fear of making mistakes (Nicol & Korteweg, 2010) or misinterpretation of the imaginary Indian as fact (Higgins et al., 2015). In resistance to the dominant narrative, the literature demonstrates that Indigenous communities do not expect non-Indigenous educators to be experts in the process of educating their Indigenous students (R. Bishop, 2003; Oskineegish, 2015; Oskineegish & Berger, 2013) and rather, must be capable of making mistakes, admitting to them and learning from them (Oskineegish & Berger, 2013). Coming to know is a verb rather than a noun (Brayboy & Maughan, 2009; Little Bear, 2000), so that an educator"s role is not and should never be that of an expert (Tanaka et al., 2007). Even as educators develop expertise, "non-Native people must recognize that they don"t have this cultural authority" (Archibald, 2008, p. 151).

Educators and difficult knowledge. Strong-Wilson et al. (2014) explained that an educator"s role in the dominant narrative is to celebrate diversity. Dion (2009) explained that it is also to care for students. Dion (2007), Kanu (2005) and Kovach (2013) further posited that teachers are discouraged to offend anyone so that "difficult knowledge"[14] (Britzman, 1998, p.

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[14] Difficult knowledge is defined as experiences from traumatic events and is associated with a desire for self-determination.

117) such as White privilege (Higgins et al., 2015), colonialism (Kovach, 2013) and racism (Cote-Meek, 2014) is avoided. For example, Dion (2009) explained how creating masks as a stand-in for Indigenous knowledges negates recognizing what Hampton (1995) quoted – the "world-shattering difference between the conquered and the conqueror" (p. 41) – learning about cultural artefacts is not enough to teach students how to transform the world (Hampton, 1995). When non-Indigenous educators engage students in dominating discourses, they affirm the dominant narrative and further marginalize their non-Indigenous students (Cote-Meek, 2014). Students who are not part of the dominant narrative have difficulty seeking support from their educators because the issues that these students may face are not acknowledged by their educators (Palmer, 1993; Van Ingen & Halas, 2006). Battiste (2013) insisted that it is "the ethical responsibility of educators to … challenge those power relations that continue to diminish or challenge students" thinking about themselves and their futures" (p. 180).

Counter stories resist the dominant plot, so that another storyline can be told. In the story of difficult knowledge, educators "shake things up, expose racism … [and] offer to tell another side of the story" (Kovach, 2013, p. 116). Rather than shy away from difficult knowledge, educators must hear the stories of their Indigenous students (Van Ingen & Halas, 2006). Along with the research that describes coming to know White privilege as difficult and uncomfortable, engaging in difficult knowledge feels unsafe (Pratt, 1991), awkward and even embarrassing (hooks, 2003). Iseke-Barnes (2005) said that even though it may be a complicated process, educators must learn to challenge dominant discourses and must teach their students to do the same. Counter stories problematize (Lewthwaite et al., 2014) or question what is being taught (Tupper & Cappello, 2008) to address power imbalances (R. Bishop, 2003) and offer alternative perspectives (Munroe et al., 2013) so that "serving students well is an act of critical resistance"

(hooks, 2003, p. 91). Alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (St. Denis, 2007) can form from remembering the past (Kovach, 2013) "and reconsidering what the relationship is today" (Dion, 2009, p. 113).

   Complicating the binaries. From the thematic analysis of the literature emerged themes (privilege, blame, profiling, authority and knowledge transmission) which each held opposing ideas of how non-Indigenous educators ought to relate with their Indigenous students and how they actually relate. To conclude that non-Indigenous educators do not relate in the way that they ought to would over-simplify the ideas (Lowman & Barker, 2015). King (2003) agreed that too quickly, we trust easy oppositions. For example, one theme that was discussed included non-Indigenous educators in the dominant narrative who view their Indigenous students as originating in and celebrating the same culture (Battiste, 2000; Higgins et al., 2015; Whitley, 2014). Rather, the literature opposed to this idea indicated that in order to develop relations with Indigenous students, non-Indigenous educators must not view their Indigenous students as a collective and homogeneous group but instead, as individuals (Aikenhead, 2010; Battiste, 2013; Lewthwaite & McMillan, 2010; Munroe et al., 2013).

   Referencing a new body of literature in light of the seemingly neatly opposing ideas of what educators in the dominant narrative do and should do is the piece that framed the purpose of this research. Although everything that we do or do not do, say or write indicates compliance to either dominant or counter narratives (Strega, 2005), we also know that "there are no closed systems, that every system has a gap and in that space is a place of possibility" (hooks, 2003, p. 23). Recall that dominant narratives are prevalent societal ideas which are influenced by Western tradition (Battiste, 2013) while counter narratives resist the dominant narrative (Andrews, 2004). The key here is that counter narratives are intended to resist but not oppose, as did the ideas from

this thematic analysis of the literature. Other researchers who work with counter narratives have agreed. Jones (2004) described how dominant and counter narratives are intertwined so that they may not be separated. This contradicts the way in which the themes in this review emerged because the fact that educators see their students as collective can be separated from the fact that educators must see their students as individuals. These ideas are not necessarily intertwined because they can be spoken of independently from one another and are still understood. Andrews (2004) wrote that dominant and counter narratives exist in tension and not as simple oppositions. This is also in contrast to the ideas which emerged in the themes because educators see students as collective, but counter stories indicate that educators should not see students as collective. The binary nature of the ways in which dominant and counter narratives of the relations between non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students emerge from the literature competes with the body of literature on counter narratives and also with Indigenous scholars who are untrusting of ideas as removed from the relations between the ideas (King, 2003; Wilson, 2008). Wilson (2008) has inspired the examination of relations between ideas. In this study, this idea of looking through relations is applied to the examination of the relationships between dominant and counter narratives. This is not the first time researchers have examined the binary ways in which ideas adhere to dominant and counter narratives. Bamberg (2004) advocated for an investigation of how participants negotiate between the dominant and counter narratives and Strega (2005) agreed that sites of contradiction, as in the space between dominant and counter narratives are the best places to reveal the "true" reality.

Opening space and decolonization. Palmer (1993) convinced her readers to treat ideas, such as dominant and counter narratives as "human sounds" (p. 64) so that we exist without claiming ownership over these ideas or a truth within ideas but rather, develop relations with and

in between those ideas. From an Indigenous worldview, Wilson (2008) described knowledge as relational and connected to all creation so that reality is interpreted in spaces of relations rather than in ideas and events themselves. When applied to dominant and counter narratives that express the relations between non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students, the dominant narrative or counter narratives are not as important as the relations between them. In his book, *Research is Ceremony* Wilson (2008) presented a visualization experience for his readers, which enables us to see life in a web of relations. He claimed that these relationships are reality and that the more relations one has to another, the greater capacity one has to understand another (Wilson, 2008). Lewis, a participant in Wilson"s (2008) study, explained that researchers are convinced to break research into chunks, severing their relationships in the process (Wilson, 2008). If this is the space in which reality is interpreted, then there exists a gap in the literature where new knowledge can be interpreted. As a non-Indigenous ally, I am attentive to Lowman and Barker (2015), who guide my understanding of non-Indigenous participation in decolonization. Because thinking relationally is the first step of decolonization, Lowman and Barker (2015) might suggest that decolonization could occupy the relationship between the dominant and counter narratives of non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students" relations.

Battiste (2002) explained that there are two pieces involved in decolonization. The first part is that educators must face the realization that the dominant society has internalized colonial patterns to benefit some individuals and subjugate others. This runs parallel to Britzman"s (1998) idea of engaging in difficult knowledge. In order to do this, educators will need to participate in "deconstructing the past by critically examining … the social, political, economic and emotional reasons for silencing … Aboriginal voices in Canadian history" (Battiste, 2002, p. 20). To engage in this critique of the dominant narrative and recognize the impact that it has on how

educators form relations with Indigenous students is not a way to find comfort (Lowman &

Barker, 2015) or innocence (Tuck & Young, 2012). Rather, it is to reject comfort in the dominant

narrative (Cote-Meek, 2014). For non-Indigenous educators, a celebration of cultural diversity is

not enough for students to be recognized and Indigenous values be fostered in the classroom (St.

Denis, 2007). The second piece involved in the concept of decolonization is to make space or

legitimize alternative forms of knowledge such as Indigenous knowledges (Battiste, 2002). In

order to engage in this part, educators need to "legitimiz[e] the voices and experiences of

Aboriginal people in the curriculum, recogniz[e] it as a dynamic context of knowledge and

knowing, and communicat[e] the emotional journey that such explorations will generate"

(Battiste, 2002, p. 20). In this regard, the process of decolonization is supported when educators

recognize and foster the values that their Indigenous students bring to the classroom from their

homes (Battiste, 2013). To acknowledge that decolonization is not a metaphor (Tuck & Yang,

2012), it is clarified that the purpose of this work is strictly for the right that Indigenous students

have to be educated in a way that is consistent with their values. This space does not serve non-

Indigenous educators so that questions of what decolonization looks like to the educator or how

the educator will be impacted are not appropriate (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Summary

The purpose of this literature review was to explore the areas of Indigenous and non-

Indigenous relations within Canada‴s education system that have been interpreted by both

Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers in the field so that non-Indigenous educators can

understand the context of their relations with Indigenous students. Indigenous knowledges and

education were discussed because as Battiste (1998) challenges, it is important for non-

Indigenous peoples to understand Indigenous knowledges. Next, the history of education for

Indigenous peoples in Canada was detailed because TRC (2015) necessitated that non-Indigenous peoples learn colonization as a historical and contemporary concept. Responding to contemporary colonization, the dominant narrative and how it is portrayed and preserved in the current education system was explained. Open to narratives that resist the dominant narrative, the concept of counter narratives was discussed within its own body of literature. In order to examine now non-Indigenous educators form relations with Indigenous students, a thematic analysis of the literature was undertaken. Themes produced contradicting, or binary, ideas of what educators should do and what they actually do. This binary account from the literature frames the thesis, in that its purpose is to search between the simple oppositional statements to explore how non-Indigenous educators form relations with their Indigenous students. The following methodology details how the dominant and counter narrative binary frames the analysis of non-Indigenous educators" stories of relation in order to open a space of possibility.

Chapter Three: The Methodological Process

The text of any study extends below its structure, like the roots of an evergreen, grounding the research in its worldview. Paradigms touch every inch of research like roots quench the thirst of their needles (Creswell, 2013). This worldview, occupying the boundaries of Indigenous and Eurocentric interpretivism, nourishes its research methodology from its ontological and epistemological assumptions. To explain these boundaries, I use a Eurocentric methodology but I work to understand the processes in research that are appropriate to interpret Indigenous concepts because I work with "research that touches the life and well-being of Aboriginal peoples" (Castellano, 2004, p. 99). The Indigenous concepts from which I work include relevance, responsibility, respect and reciprocity (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001). We see then, that qualitative methodology and its multitudinous worldviews or paradigms are most appropriately suited to water this rich evergreen of research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Qualitative Research

Qualitative, relative to quantitative research, seeks to understand the individual needles rather than predict and control their growth (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007); "its primary purpose … is to describe and clarify experience as it is lived and constituted in awareness" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 138). With the researcher as the instrument (Creswell, 2013), tensions and contradictions are explored in their natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) through reflexivity, holism and an emerging design (Creswell, 2013). Qualitative research opens space for diverse ontological and epistemological stances (Hollingsworth & Dybdahl, 2007). Extending from this qualitative "interpretive turn" – away from the assumption of an objective truth – is the "narrative turn" (Riessman, 2008b, p. 17), a turn in research towards "experience as expressed in lived and told stories" (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 5).

Narrative Inquiry

Taking the narrative turn is not only pervasive throughout a research text (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), it is a way of thinking about life itself (Craig & Huber, 2007; Lyons, 2007); narratives represent part of the world (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004) and mould the identities of those who live in it like modeling clay (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998). Its epistemological assumptions tell us that facts do not contribute to understanding as much as the meaning we accredit to those facts (Strega, 2005). We interpret knowledge by storying and re-storying our experiences (R. Bishop, 2003). Ontologically, truth is a verb so that it is in constant motion while we attribute meaning to our experiences (Andrews, 2007; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Potts & Brown, 2005). Narrative inquiry is thus committed to contextualized, complex and value-laden work (Gergen, 2004; Hendry, 2007) that cannot be explored through experiments, questionnaires or observations (Lieblich et al., 1998).

Along with Riessman (2008b) and Wells (2011), "story" and "narrative" are used interchangeably throughout this text. Defining a narrative is both contested (Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou, 2008) and discouraged (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) since there are no clear or simple instructions (Josselson, 2007; Lyons, 2007). Riessman (2008b) described narratives as linked events or ideas that exist on a spectrum, with the Labovian discourse (Labov, 1972) occupying one extreme of the spectrum and an entire life story occupying the other. In the middle, and familiar with the idea of narratives for this particular study, exist strands of contextualized talk (Riessman, 2008b) with a beginning, middle, end and a moral (Polkinghorne, 2005). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) conceptualized these mid-way narratives as living in a three-dimensional space. They are narratives that move temporally through the past, present and future (see also Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007), they are shaped by individual and social contexts

(see also Craig & Huber, 2007) and they are related to their physical location. Situated in this complex description of narrative, I locate narrative's possibilities for this research study in relation to Indigenous research (Wilson, 2008), the research question (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) and its agency for change (Chase, 2011).

Narrative and Indigenous research. This thesis interpreted the perspectives that non-Indigenous educators have of their relations with their Indigenous students for other non-Indigenous educators to learn how to mark their relations with their Indigenous students. Although Indigenous peoples are not involved in the data collection process, the concepts which are discussed come from Indigenous knowledges and as such, a methodology that is appropriate for non-Indigenous researchers to employ as well as appropriate to interpret Indigenous knowledges was sought. Wilson (2008) indicated that a researcher engaging in Indigenous knowledges must ask how the research methods build relations between the researcher and the topic, researcher and the participants and how the participants can relate to the research topic. Narrative, in its strength of existing within webs of relations (Kovach, 2005), is suitable to not only story these relations but to build on them as a continued process of learning, or as Battiste (2013) has written, through a learning journey; "Learning is both difficult and enjoyable, but ultimately it helps us shape the person we are" (p. 18). Young (2005) used narrative inquiry for her research because it was congruent with who she continued to become. As a non-Indigenous educator, narrative holds possibility for me to continue to understand what Barnhardt and Kawagely (2005) described as the process of learning layers of Indigenous knowledges. In this process of becoming, I continue to develop relations with Indigenous knowledges through relevance, responsibility, respect and reciprocity (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001). In relevance to my readers, this chapter will address researcher presence. In responsibility and respect for my

work and participants, this chapter will address ethical considerations as not only to do no harm, but also as a way to have a respectful ethical attitude. This chapter will also address the way in which reciprocity was offered to the participants. The purpose of narrative inquiry from both Indigenous (Wilson, 2008) and non-Indigenous perspectives (Craig & Huber, 2007) is to understand rather than critique. Through narrative, I attempt to understand the relations between non-Indigenous educators and their Indigenous students.

      Narrative and the research question. Narrative inquiry is befitting to interpret how non-Indigenous educators navigate the spaces in between the dominant narrative and counter narratives based on the study's exploration of educators' perceptions of relations with Indigenous students (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007) and narrative's ability to move between binaries (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). Young (2005) described in her study that narratives were in line with who she was, had become and would become. As such, I interpret that narratives are not fixed upon any particular conception but rather, they allow for movements across concepts. Phoenix (2008) assured us that educators' narratives are relational with their Indigenous students and Young (2005) acknowledged that narratives enable Anishinabe and non-Anishinabe peoples to walk in a good way. To walk in a good way is to live the Good Life, or mino bimaadiziwin (Seven Generations Education Institute, n.d.). Although as a non-Indigenous person, I cannot claim to understand the concept, I interpret it to involve a way of being that is rooted in Anishinaabe knowledges. Debassige (2010) reconceptualised mino bimaadiziwin within research methodology as a "unifying and transcendent concept that, when activated, contains the past, present, and future of Good and respectful approaches to all aspects of life" (p. 24).

      Globally, over the past 25 years, narratives have explored the relations between educators and students (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007; Rogan & de Kock, 2005) because "narrative inquiry has

emerged as the most compelling and appropriate way to study human interaction" (Pinnegar &
Daynes, 2007, p. 6). Educators' narratives allow us to examine the larger discourses, such as the
dominant narratives that shape these relations (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Tupper & Cappello,
2008). Rather than adhere to dominant or counter binaries, narrative inquiry searches for tensions
(Clandinin, Connelly, & Chan, 2002; Lieblich et al., 1998; Squire et al., 2008) and encourages
binary disruption (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Gemignani, 2014) by
problematizing that which is "familiar" (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007).

  Narrative for change. Narrative inquiry is reliant on sense-making (Riessman, 2008b);
when we give meaning to past experiences, we live into the future (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000;
Gergen, 2004). Stories promote transformation (Squire et al., 2008) because of the possibility
that they have to be retold (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). In these transformative retellings, we
build bridges (Chandler et al., 2004) that are rooted in experiences (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007) to
shift power relations (Potts & Brown, 2005; Sefa Dei, 2005) and imagine a world other than the
one we know (Andrews, 2007). In this world, Indigenous students and non-Indigenous educators
relate with one another (Gray, 2011). In Indigenous research, transformation is unique to each
researcher; Wilson's (2008) friend told him that "If research doesn"t change you as a person,
then you aren"t doing it right" (p. 83). Narrative inquiry touches the lives of everyone involved
(Lyons & LaBoskey, 2002), including its readers, who can envision their own application and
contribute to this new world we seek (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Wells, 2011).

The Researcher's Role

  As a narrative researcher, I recognize that I am "physically, ethically, morally and
spiritually [invested in my research] and not just a 'researcher' concerned with methodology" (R.
Bishop, 2003, p. 228). "Stories have the power to make our hearts, minds, bodies, and spirits

work together" (Archibald, 2008, p. 12) so that my whole self relates to my research participants, the general research community (Josselson, 2007) and the readers who choose to engage with this text (Wilson, 2008). As such, I address researcher presence, relationality and reflexivity.

Presence. "Narrative inquirers are always autobiographical. Our research interests come out of our own narratives of experience and shape our narrative inquiry plotlines" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 121); this study in particular stems from my own experience of not seeing my relations with my students represented in the research literature. Even throughout data collection, we make sense of stories through our own memories (Clandinin et al., 2002) so that a researcher requires a wealth of experiences in order to interpret narratives (Clandinin & Murphy, 2007). Not only are experiences integral, in Indigenous research, Wilson (2008) described that research is an extension of oneself because of the spiritual investment involved. Despite the personalized experiential and spiritual commitments that researchers have in their work (Craig & Huber, 2007), "narrative has a robust life beyond the individual" (Riessman, 2008b, p. 7); that is, in relation.

Relationality. "A narrative comes into existence as the facet of a relationship, not as a product of an individual" (Gergen, 2004, p. 280) because relationships move people to tell stories (Wells, 2011). Knowledge that is interpreted by educators is personal (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007) and its meaning is more diverse than what can be expressed with words so we need to access feelings and habits (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007) for insights only attainable in relation with our participants (Craig & Huber, 2007; Hollingsworth & Dybdahl, 2007). These relations are mutually negotiated (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) and are based in caring, curiosity, passion and change (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). The researcher's role in narrative inquiry is to fully engage with the participants but to also step back to see the relations between their stories, those

of their participants and the landscapes on which they exist (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Attentive to Indigenous research methodologies, I recognize the web of relations between myself, my participants, the students who I learn from and the concepts that I continue to interpret (Kovach, 2005). Stories connect researchers and participants because what we story become obligations to our own identities and relations (Caine & Estefan, 2011).

Power relations. Narrative inquirers work with people whom they exist in relation with and respect; they have a desire to work *with* their participants (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). As such, "the power of the researcher… needs to be tactfully and critically re-envisioned to respect the participant[s'] … interests in terms of … power relations" (Gemignani, 2014, p. 129). In Indigenous education, Wilson (2008) affirmed that to claim expert status is inappropriate. Despite this, a researcher is privileged due to his or her familiarity with academic texts, ability to write academically and the availability of time, energy and financial resources (T. E. Adams, 2008). One way to address this dichotomy (R. Bishop, 2003; Riessman, 1993) is for the researcher to listen without judgement (Hollingsworth & Dybdahl, 2007) and follow the participants down their trail (Riessman, 2008b).

Active listening. Relationships bloom from the interest researchers take in their participants' narratives (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007) because listening is anchored in humility and faithfulness (Hendry, 2007). Although we must actively listen to our participants (Archibald, 2008; Patton, 2015) with the possibility of hearing something new (Andrews, 2007), "western culture has privileged speaking, the word, we have no epistemology of listening" (Hendry, 2007, p. 494). The problem with privileging the spoken word is the risk of establishing a "hermeneutic of suspicion" (Gemignani, 2014, p. 131), where researchers hear what they expect rather than listen to what is being said (Hendry, 2007; Polkinghorne, 2007). This doubt forms a stance of

distrust but can be avoided when researchers "[attend] to the unexpected and unusual participant responses" (Polkinghorne, 2007, p. 482). As I listened to my participants' narratives on their own terms (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007), my intent was to acknowledge and value them as participants (T. E. Adams, 2008) and trust that they could form their own meaning (Josselson, 2007).

      Reflexivity. In order to be fully present to actively listen, Josselson (2007) reminded us to examine our own horizons of understanding and Archibald (1997) reified that storytelling creates "a framework for thinking critically about one's own historical, cultural, and current context in relation to the story being told" (p. 42). Within this Indigenous research context, narrative opens possibilities to reflect on my own relations with my Indigenous students. Non-Indigenous researchers, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) agreed; not only do narrative researchers explore a three-dimensional space of their participants, they also explore this space within themselves. Because reflexivity drives narrative inquiry forward (Lieblich et al., 1998; Zilber et al., 2008), I purposefully probed this introspective space (Franks, 2016) by writing personal reflective vignettes to explore the research process, my own decolonizing journey and re-storied memories that place me in relation with my Indigenous students.

Ethics

      In narrative inquiry, ethical matters are not only a concern during data collection and for ethics approval, but they also emerge when the researcher negotiates the research problem and continue even after research has been published (Andrews, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The required ethical concerns of this research study are described, followed by the more extensive ethical considerations specific to narrative research (Caine & Estefan, 2011).

      In this study, participants' wellbeing was and continues to be my primary concern (Polkinghorne, 2005). Participants had the right to informed consent prior to engaging in any

form of data collection. The consent form (see Appendix A) outlined the participants' right to confidentiality[15] (Lyons & LaBoskey, 2002), the right to withdraw from the study at any time and the assurance that participation was purely voluntary (Clandinin & Murphy, 2007). The consent form clearly defined the research interests (Josselson, 2007) and highlighted that there was no major foreseeable direct or indirect harm associated with participating in this study. Following interviews, participants were provided with their transcript for review (Rogan & de Kock, 2005; Squire, 2008) and following completion of the study, participants will be provided with a printed copy of the thesis at their request.

Despite the thorough research ethics procedures described above, to do no harm is only half of the ethical attitude; the other half of this pattern is to be respectful (Clandinin & Murphy, 2007). Relationality, reflexivity and reciprocity are three considerations listed within this pattern of respect. Ellis (2007) insisted that relationality is the best way to be ethical. Within relationality we protect the privacy and dignity of those we work with (Craig & Huber, 2007) because the narratives that they share are done so with a level of trust (Josselson, 2007). As such, analysing and reporting were most ethical while imagining that participants were reading my text as I produced it (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This ethic of relationality is paramount to Indigenous research, where webs of relations connect the researcher, participants and relevant concepts (Kovach, 2005). As such, being right or wrong about any individual concept is not as important as the researcher's accountability towards relations. In relation with participants, researchers interpret data for the purpose of fostering their connections (Wilson, 2008). Donald (2012),

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[15] To maintain confidentiality, care is taken not to identify the specific nation within the Nuu-chah-nulth territory that Waverly school is situated. Despite the fact that the fifteen nations within the Nuu-chah-nulth territory have diverse ways of knowing, they share some traditions, such as whaling (Cote, 2010). "Nuu-chah-nulth" refers to the peoples among the mountains, which indicates a communal relationship with the land that spans the west coast of Vancouver Island (Cote, 2010). In this thesis, references to Nuu-chah-nulth knowledges name the specific nation which the knowledge comes from but this is not to indicate that Waverly school is a part of that specific Nation.

influenced by both academics at the University of Alberta and Elders from the Cree and

Blackfoot Nations, explained this concept of "relational ethics" as a way to bring his teachings

together in a meaningful way; "Ethical relationality is an ecological understanding of human

relationality that does not deny difference, but rather seeks to more deeply understand how our

different histories and experiences position us in relation to one another" (p. 45). It is through an

understanding of differences that Donald (2012) saw the possibility for meaningful discussions

of educational interests. For the purpose of this study, relational ethics permeated the research

process since the intent was to narrate ways in which non-Indigenous educators and their

Indigenous students mark themselves as in relation.

Furthermore, reflexivity is considered under this ethical attitude. Josselson (2007) insists

that reflexivity is the most important to an ethical narrative research ethic. Absolute honesty

regarding motivations, positioning and context as well as full responsibility for written work

exists at the root of reflexivity (Josselson, 2007). To state my motivations and positioning in this

research as well as remain honest and push myself into a place of discomfort was to remain

cognizant of my ethical responsibilities to be reflexive (Andrews, 2007). In Indigenous research,

Archibald (2008) reinforced the concept of storying and re-storying her own experiences

according to the narratives of three Elders from the Sto:lo Nation. In an attempt to follow her

example, I included my own narratives in the data to be open to the possibility of storying and

re-storying interpretations of my relations with Indigenous students with whom I worked.

Finally, Indigenous and non-Indigenous narrative researchers alike indicated that the

researcher is required to reciprocate the openness sought from participants when they share their

narratives (Archibald, 2008; Wilson, 2008). Sharing narratives requires such a distinguished

level of trust so that reciprocity represents gratitude for the gift that the participants gave, and it

is an indication that the researcher intends to treat the gift with respect. In this particular study, a small non-monetary token of personal gratitude (coffee, candy and canned fish) was offered to the participants after their voluntary participation.

Data Collection

      Participants. Along with Oskineegish (2015), "relationships of trust and reciprocity were at the heart of the study as I … [asked] those who know me and with whom I have an established relationship" (p. 8). In order to obtain information-rich data (Polkinghorne, 2005), these participants were purposefully selected (Creswell, 2013) through homogeneous sampling (Polkinghorne, 2005). Sampling criteria included identification as a non-Indigenous educator, my respect for them as educators, three years of experience working with them, as well as an empirical relationship with their Indigenous students (categorized by adhering predominantly to counter narratives). The purpose of selecting three participants as well as my own narrative was to find a collective story (Creswell, 2013). This was not to generalize, but to deepen an understanding of the experience (Polkinghorne, 2005). Since set criteria is not recommended for narrative inquiry sample size (Patton, 2015) other than "few participants" (Lieblich et al., 1998, p. 9), the number of non-Indigenous educator-participants is not as important as the genuine connection I have seen them form with their Indigenous students (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Braiding my own narratives into the research as a participant contributed to my personal transformation of learning how to be attentive to what respect looks like in various contexts and the introspective research question of how I relate to my participants' stories of relations to benefit my Indigenous students (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). This was also to follow Potts and Brown (2005) to ensure I do not ask questions of others that I would not wish to answer myself.

In respect for participant anonymity and consistent with narrative inquiry, personal stories of relation introduce participants; including myself, rather than personal descriptions.

Fawn. To place Fawn in relation, I share a personal narrative that I recall from our time working together as educators at Waverly School. At an annual beginning of the year potluck, several students were causing a commotion; they were running in the gym when it was time to visit with the families. Fawn told me offhandedly that she would not reprimand these students because it would be inappropriate. Rather, their families were joining us so it was their choice if they wanted to discipline their children. Three years later, I recall witnessing a new educator to the school chiding a student in the hallway – away from the family function that was in progress in the gym. A parent walked by and took the child to the cultural room. She said, "this child needs (the approximate English translation of) „to learn with love and care,‟" (rather than the reprimand of a non-Indigenous educator). After both experiences, I reflected. I wondered where Fawn learned to not discipline students in the attendance of their families at special events. Wherever it was, I was grateful that she had passed the lesson on to me.

Lark. Lark often worked closely with Fox, one of the students in his class. While the students were lining up to leave the gym one day, I asked Fox if he would take a USB drive to Lark, who was locking the supply room across the gym. Fox decided to throw the USB to Lark, nearly hitting him. Lark remained his usual calm self, but I interjected harshly, "Fox, why did you throw that? You could have ruined the USB!" Weeks later, I thought again about what I had said. I communicated to the class that the USB drive was more important than Lark‟s safety. It disturbed me that I had been so disrespectful so while on a field trip, I explained to Lark that I reacted in a way that adults in my life would have when I was growing up. Since, I have had opportunities to react to students with calmness, compassion and care.

Sage. During my second year of teaching at Waverly, I remember crossing Sage‟s path in the large foyer of the school. Since it was the beginning of the year, she was excited to meet her new batch of students but also thrilled to see her previous students starting September with me. She told me a story about Orca when he was in third grade. Orca was a hockey player and his team had "player cards" printed. Orca gave a player card to his grade three teacher – Mo. When Mo left the school, she passed on the playing card to Sage, who kept the card and told me that she would be placing it in Orca‟s graduation folder. Sage kept all of the important pieces of work and mementos from her students.

Clementine. She wouldn't give it up. Her persistence was unexpected. Clementine ran up to me in the hallway and asked to borrow my truck to drive the students to Fresh Water First Nation for their annual festival. I knew she was serious because that road was dangerous and she, without a doubt would have felt uncomfortable driving there. Against the recommendation of the administration, without the support of other educators, she continued to find a way to bring her students to the festival. When I reflect on that encounter, I realize that she was looking beyond her comfort and acceptance by the school staff to her students and their family connections to Fresh Water First Nation. Administration saw Clementine as "difficult."

Setting. Creswell (2013) discusses the importance of the expected research setting. To contextualize this research setting, it is relevant to disclose that this study's participants reside in British Columbia; however, the significance in talking "side by side" (Craig & Huber, 2007, p. 271) to be in relation prompted me to travel from Ontario to British Columbia to conduct this study. Negotiating a time and location where the participants felt most comfortable was of utmost importance. Two of the interviews were conducted in the participants' homes while the

third interview took place at a local restaurant. Field notes (Wells, 2011) were collected and included as a preamble in the transcription documents.

Interviews. Although narrative inquiry can make use of several methods (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), or "strategies of inquiry" (Wilson, 2008, p. 40), interviews are the most common (Riessman, 2008b). The purpose of an interview is to gain an in-depth experience of a person's perspective (Patton, 2015; Polkinghorne, 2005; Wilson, 2008) so that the researcher may open his or her own view to something new (Palmer, 1993). Strategies of inquiry such as interviewing are not considered better or worse than any other, but are judged on their effectiveness for specific research (Rogan & de Kock, 2005; Wells, 2011). Interviews are an appropriate strategy for narrative inquiry because they both require and develop a relationship through trust, non-judgement and authenticity (Patton, 2015; Polkinghorne, 2005).

Prior to the interview for this study, participants were provided with the interview question for adequate reflection: "tell me about some memorable stories you have as an educator with your Indigenous students" (Oskineegish, 2015; Polkinghorne, 2007). Also prior to conducting the research interview, the participants were provided with a summary letter (see Appendix B) and were required to sign a consent form in order to participate, understanding their right to refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time (see Appendix A) (Creswell, 2013; Josselson, 2007). This consent form outlined the participant selection process, requirements of the study, foreseeable harm (Creswell, 2013) as well as the participants' rights to confidentiality (Christians, 2008). Following the interview, the participants had the opportunity to reflect on their experience (Josselson, 2007). In one situation where a more in-depth exploration was sought, I requested to return to the participant for a second interview

(Polkinghorne, 2007; Squire, 2008). Otherwise, only one interview was requested from each participant, ranging from 1 hour 10 minutes to 1 hour 30 minutes in length.

Interview question. Since it is important for the researcher to open space for the participants to share their stories (Riessman, 1993, 2008b), the thoughtful (Patton, 2015), specific (Chase, 2011), clear and non-value laden (Wells, 2011) interview question offered the opportunity for the researcher to trail the participants' "conversational threads" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 142). As the intent of the interview question was not to stimulate judgement within any particular thread, but rather be respectful of educators and their students, a non-value laden question would ask, "Tell me about…" rather than "What are the challenges of…" (Wells, 2011). Follow-up questions were flexible (Patton, 2015), unique to the participants (Polkinghorne, 2005) and explored meaning (Chase, 2011; Riessman, 1993, 2008b; Zilber et al., 2008) with their purpose being to "[guide] the conversation toward producing a full account of the experience under investigation" (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 142). As such, I followed Rogan and de Kock (2005) to establish informal conversational (Wells, 2011) interviews to reduce researcher and participant power relations by discussing shared and unique experiences. For example, I commented, "I remember the last name" in response to Fawn inquiring whether I remembered Salmon's family to discuss shared experiences. At another time, I asked Lark, "Do you mean they don't connect?" to gain a deeper understanding of his unique experiences.

Data Recording and Transcription

In narrative inquiry, taping and transcribing interviews is essential (Riessman, 1993). The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim rather than summarized (Riessman, 1993; Wells, 2011). In this process of creating a text document of the interviews, pseudonyms were applied to all names and places that could identify the participants, their students,

coworkers, the school and specific community in which they taught (Creswell, 2013). I began to transcribe directly after each interview but the transcriptions took several weeks to complete. The transcripts were then sent to the participants (through e-mail) to check for accuracy (Wells, 2011). Two of the participants did not have any changes to make to the documents while the third participant did not wish to review her transcript and said, "I trust you." These transcripts are stored according to the Lakehead University *Undergraduate Research Ethics Application Form* (n.d); they are securely and confidentially stored for five years, after which they are destroyed. During this time, transcripts are accessible by my supervisor and myself (see also Josselson, 2007). In addition to transcripts, field notes were collected before and after each interview in order to reflect and contextualize stories shared. Once these primary data were transcribed, compiled and the participants had the opportunity to check them for accuracy, they were uploaded into Atlas.ti (Qualitative Data Analysis Software) for analysis (Clandinin & Connelly).

Data Analysis

Despite Polkinghorne's (2007) explanation that some narratives exist with enough description to be reported as they are, an overwhelming number of narrative inquirers insist that narratives do not voice their own meanings and require systematic interpretation in order to find a larger meaning (Creswell, 2013). Interpretation, or narrative analysis refers to a family of methods to interpret storied texts (Riessman, 2008b) that are as diverse as the definition of narrative itself (Chandler et al., 2004). These may include structural, content, performance and/ or context analysis (Wells, 2011). Analysis is often braided with data collection and transcription so that its contained description represented here may be problematic (Lieblich et al., 1998). Furthermore, narrative analysis requires a certain level of flexibility (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004) since analytic processes are not often visible until data are transcribed and read fully (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2011). Of note, a single method of analysis generally cannot address the complexity of narratives due to their multiple layers of meaning (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). Informed by this literature, I engaged in a two-step analysis process which interpreted the text's context followed by the content of this contextual interpretation (Squire et al., 2008; Zilber et al., 2008).

      Context analysis. Stories are shared in context (Riessman, 2008b); they teach us through their meanings rather than their contents (Polkinghorne, 2005). Context analysis is significant among second-wave narrative inquirers (Phoenix, 2008) because of its respect for the meaning that narrators convey in their stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Riessman, 1993). Alternatively, initial content analysis serves to validate or invalidate the credibility of a narrative (Polkinghorne, 2007). Foucault (1990) expanded:

> if researchers expect observations, codes, or themes to magically emerge from their data, while disregarding what the participants did or could not say, … then inquiry runs the serious risk of reproducing dynamics of knowledge and orders of power that reproduce and reinforce the status quo, that ignore counter-narratives, and that limit the complexity of findings, observations, or conclusions. (As cited in Gemignani, 2014, p. 133)

With the intention to expose and explore the complexities in the data, context analysis was then an appropriate initial method of analysis for this study. The analysis followed Zilber et al.'s (2008) three contextual spheres – co-constructions, socio-political and dominant narratives – due to their application to the research question. The questions that the three spheres pose were answered by my interpretation of the participant's narratives and recorded within the text of the transcripts in a different colour from the transcription data. The spheres are loosely defined because one sphere may apply to the data independently from other spheres or the spheres may overlap in their analysis (Zilber et al., 2008).

Co-constructions. Narratives are interactive and performance-based because they are constructed for an audience (Gergen, 2004); narrators and listeners co-construct stories (Squire, 2008; Zilber et al., 2008). Narrators choose which stories to share (Lieblich et al., 1998), where to begin and where to end a story (Squire et al., 2008) so that appropriate questions that guided analysis within this sphere included: Why was this story chosen? What function did this story have in the narrator's life? (Zilber et al., 2008). Memories and experiences have purpose (Gemignani, 2014) so narrative inquirers enhance their understanding of a phenomenon by examining how stories are structured (Zilber et al., 2008).

Social-political. Humans are embedded in context (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007) so that our knowledge is constructed socially and politically (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004; Zilber et al., 2008). Narrators often take these contexts for granted so they are not explicitly included in stories (Riessman, 1993). In this study, this sphere concerned itself with the socio-political context of the original experiences and thus questioned: What historical events were mentioned? What social structures appeared? How did the participant relate to these contexts? (Zilber et al., 2008).

Dominant narrative. This sphere directly analyses the context of narratives in relation to the dominant narrative (see also Bamberg, 2004; Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). Zilber et al. (2008) defined these "meta-narratives" as "webs of meaning that reflect cultural themes and beliefs that give a local story its coherence and legitimacy" (p. 1054). Two questions that guided this analysis included: What systems gave sense to the narrative? What made this story sound plausible? (Zilber et al., 2008). Once Zilber et al.'s (2008) spheres were used to interpret the transcribed narratives within the text of the transcription, the context analyses (in addition to the participants' narratives) were coded according to their content in the second phase of analysis.

The following is an example of how participant narratives were interpreted through

Zilber et al.'s (2008) three spheres of contextualized interpretation:

Co-Constructions: Lark places himself in relation with Cub in the community

Social-Political: The sushi restaurant in Port Render was inside a little inn off of the

highway into town. It was a popular lunch restaurant and had an indoor and outdoor

space. One time, on a field trip, a boat captain asked me, "Oh! You"refrom Port Render?

Have you been to that sushi restaurant? It"s amazing, we always stop there."

Dominant Narrative: Cub as a great big sister – positive family interactions (counter

narrative). Students and teachers are eating at the same restaurants – their culture and

habits aren"t that different (counter narrative)

Content analysis. Content analysis is considered to be the most basic method of analysis

(Squire, 2008) but even within this method lay various interpretative processes (Lieblich et al.,

1998). In general, it is the process of placing text into categories that form a common idea

(Creswell, 2013). Content analysis has been widely challenged in narrative inquiry when it is

used as the sole method of analysis because it fragments and decontextualizes ideas (Riessman,

1993, 2008b; Wilson, 2008) and is said to impose the researcher's way of thinking about an

experience (Hendry, 2007). When paired with context analysis (Zilber et al., 2008), however,

content analysis has the ability to interpret experiences (Wells, 2011) that are shared by a

homogeneous group (Lieblich et al., 1998). The purpose of applying content analysis to this

particular study was to organize contextualized ideas and, in the process, expose ideas that did

not fit neatly into the emerging patterns (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). This was done to follow T.

E. Adams (2008), to open the possibility to say something new and to live with uncertainty.

Content in relation. This process involved interpreting one participant's contextualized text at a time by open coding the content (Riessman, 2008b). In my analysis, open coding produced 470 codes so to visualize patterns I printed individual codes on slips of paper and organized them based on their relationship between the parties involved (see Appendix C). Parties included Indigenous students, non-Indigenous educators, Indigenous families, local community, classroom, school, society and curriculum. For example, the code "Family quick to blame educator" was sorted in the relationship between Indigenous family and non-Indigenous educator. Each relationship contained between 4 and 90 codes so patterns were made visible and codes were merged based on redundancy (first the physical code slips then digitally in Atlas.ti).

Beyond surface content. Following an arduous process of merging, eliminating and renaming codes to be all-encompassing of their quotations, my research question prompted predominant focus on the codes dwelling in the space between non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students. I also determined that surface level content would not meaningfully contribute to the literature so I used a variety of interpretive methods to more deeply understand the narrative content in the student-educator relationship. First, I asked what purpose the codes served in the research (returning to Zilber et al.'s (2008) co-construction sphere). For example, 16 quotations were coded as "Student is intelligent." When I asked what purpose the code served, I renamed the code to, "Educators think highly of their students" and was able to merge quotations from the codes "Student is athletic" and "Student has strong work ethic," since these codes all represented the positive thoughts educators had of their students.

Another way that I found a deeper interpretation of the narrative content was by limiting my attention to each individual code to find additional patterns between the quotations. One example that led to a deeper interpretation was the code, "Educators and students conflict." Upon

further investigation into the individual quotations, I noticed that all conflicts occurred at times when the educators and students had not yet developed strong relationships; either the student or the educator had newly transitioned into or out of the school or class and they did not know each other prior to this transition. In the narratives, after these conflicts appeared, the students and educators developed lasting relations with one another. For this reason, I merged quotations from "Educators and students conflict" with the code, "Relations require effort" since effort was required at the beginning of each relationship. In these narratives, conflict masqueraded effort.

Binary framework. Seventy-nine codes remained after meaningful interpretations and these were then inputted into the study's framework, the seemingly dichotomous dominant and counter narratives which emerged from the literature review. See Appendix D for a copy of this organizer, where each theme from the literature review is written in opposing columns with one column placed in between these two. This middle column signifies the space in between the themes from the literature review and is where I recorded patterns in the data from this study that did not exclusively adhere to either the dominant or counter narrative. In order to be open to themes not present in the review of the literature, codes that were not included in this space were written at the bottom of the chart. Interpreting the patterns across this space is how the findings for this particular study transpired.

Transparency. Guided by lead researchers, I ensured that transparency between interpretations and findings was a priority (Lieblich et al., 1998; Polkinghorne, 2007; L. T. Smith, 2012). One way that I ensured transparency in the analytic process was by providing a description of each code to limit misinterpretations. For example, the code, "Students are calm" was not intended to describe a classroom composed of peace and Zen-like behaviour, but rather engagement in the learning process. Determining a definition for this code prompted me to edit

the code name to "Students are engaged." Furthermore, printing the codes on pieces of paper not only allowed me to manipulate them easily, their manipulations produced a detailed journal to document the analysis process (see Appendix E). Finally, although an explicit chapter devoted to detail the study's findings is not always included in qualitative research, following an ethic of transparency requires that I do so (Sandelowski & Leeman, 2012).

Chapter Four: Emergent Findings

This study was interested in how non-Indigenous educators story their relationships with Indigenous students in relation to dominant narratives and counter narratives. These relations were under-represented in the literature thus the purpose was to open the space to new interpretations of non-Indigenous educator and Indigenous student relations. By sharing memorable stories about their Indigenous students, non-Indigenous educators placed themselves in relation with their Indigenous students and these relations were interpreted according to the dominant and counter narrative binary framework. Patterns among the space in between the binary are preserved in this chapter so that their interpretation is accessible (Sandelowski & Leeman, 2012). Three emergent themes from the space in between are discussed in detail throughout this chapter. They include:

1. Family: Indigenous students" family entanglement in the Indigenous student – non-Indigenous educator relationship to produce a three way relationship (educator-student-family)

2. Non-Interference: An ethic of non-interference which leads to voluntary cooperation between Indigenous students and non-Indigenous educators

3. Love: The choice to love and hurt in the Indigenous student – non-Indigenous educator relationship

While the themes are categorized into separate sections, there is perhaps more overlap across concepts than there is distinction. The three-way relationship of the educator-student-family permeates both an ethic of non-interference and the choice to love and hurt. As such, non-interference and love are not only applicable to the educator – student relations but also the educator – family relations. Given this complexity, data segments were chosen to best represent

the given theme in order to produce a sharp and focused representation of the data (Sandelowski & Leeman, 2012).

Each theme is prefaced with excerpts from participant transcripts (Fawn, Lark, Sage and Clementine, who were introduced in Chapter 3) that are combined and arranged into found poetry. The poems are intended to read from top to bottom, depicting transition between relations over time. Their purpose is to narrate the theme as it emerged from the data.

Family

> *They"rea part of the education*
>
> *They entrust you with their children*
>
> *It might take a year or two ,til they"reready*
>
> *Then it all comes together*
>
> *There"s something about that piece that makes it all click*

Although the interview question prompted participants to narrate stories about their Indigenous students, excerpts from participant transcripts showed that there were significant references to their students" families; family permeated the space in between the dominant and counter narratives. Data indicated that family involvement is important because educator relations with families reinforce relations with students. Sage justified:

> *We were let in to their [(family"s)] circle … that did help ultimately – just in how the school ran and how the children perceived the school and education and being with me when their parents weren"t around.*

The opposite was also true; educator relations with students reinforced their relations with families. Lark noticed:

When you see [your student] at Walmart and he"swith his grandma or his mom or

anything and you run into each other and you just do this handshake and stuff then

whoever he"s with thinks, wow, no wonder my kid really likes him because he cares. He

has something with him. It"s a connection.

Educator relations with students were found to be intertwined in relations with the students"

families across the space in between dominant and counter narratives.

The binary framework arranged family involvement in education as one distinct theme

but in the findings of this study, family could not be so easily categorized. The data indicated

that students and their families participated in education but an important pattern is that families

chose to participate. This is not to say that educators were removed from the responsibility to

facilitate family participation, for purposeful effort was required.

Families choose. Rather than respond to direction from the educator, the data

demonstrated that families chose how and when to engage in their child"s education. Fawn

learned that it was her students who prompted families to attend her classroom potluck:

I asked the moms what the feedback was about me and I knew it had to be good because

every parent showed up … they were all like, Yeah we had to come and see who this

teacher was that everyone liked because they were always like, What do you like about

her? and [the children] would say, Just everything, just everything – they wouldn"t say

what they actually liked about you.

The families" participation in Fawn"s event stemmed from their children, not Fawn"s invitation.

Likewise, Sage organized a craft night for her students" families:

It was supposed to be six till nine [o"clock]. People would arrive at 6 or before. [They] would joke and laugh and [she] couldn"t get them out of the building at ten o"clock at night. People loved coming.

The families participated in the event beyond what Sage intended to facilitate, indicating that families chose, rather than were persuaded to be involved. In the data, families do not engage with school in response to the educator; Sage summarized family involvement in her themed classroom celebrations:

There was no obligation [from the educator] but wonderful response. … but I think we as teachers had to make it happen, otherwise it doesn"t happen.

Even though the families chose to attend the potluck and craft night, Sage insisted that educators had to facilitate the opportunity for involvement.

Educators facilitate choice. In the data, educators were discouraged from persuading families to engage in school but educators did display patterns to support family participation. Sage discussed how she created a climate of choice through non-judgement at her themed celebrations:

I would always have a few extra things so if someone didn"t bring something, they got to serve [her food]. Nobody felt badly. They"d say "Oh my mom didn"t shop this time" and I"d say, "It"s okay, maybe for the yellow party." And you know, they realized it wasn"t– it didn"t matter if you couldn"t but even the families who didn"t have a lot of money managed to do something for those parties so obviously it was really special and important. They were involved.

Fawn enabled choice when she accommodated how families chose to engage. Fawn"s student"s aunt:

> *Leila used to [go] and talk to [her] during Math class. She would come in and [Fawn*
>
> *would] always find something for the class to do and ... go outside and talk to her.*

Leila often interrupted Fawn‟s math class but Fawn created time to speak with her. Noted also is

Fawn‟s acceptance of the family as a non-nuclear entity – Salmon‟s aunt Leila was provided

with parental autonomy. In the data, educators were open to families‟ choice to engage but this

theme cannot be categorized as distinct from the themes of non-interference and love. Instead,

they were discussed as an overarching theme in the data – the permeability of families

throughout the non-Indigenous educator and Indigenous student relationship. Non-coercive

methods of family engagement were, in actuality, engrained in an ethic of non-interference.

Non-Interference

> *You‟re in charge today of yourself*
>
> *He‟ll tell you what he can do different. Most kids know*
>
> *Show a better side of humanity that you don‟t know better*
>
> *That‟s the part that made me want to stay forever*
>
> *Kid ends up picking me*

As in the poem, an ethic of non-interference was not explicitly referenced in the data. It

was only analysed through deep interpretation of quotations and the meaningful arrangement of

codes. Codes "Student /family don‟t respond to authority," "Student /family have self-

determination," "Educator is a learner (from student /family)," and "Educator isn‟t judgemental

(of student /family)" contributed to the sub-family[16] of "RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUALS‟

INDEPENDENCE," defined as "Students and families have space to make their own choices."

The second sub-family, "VOLUNTARY COOPERATION" encompassed codes, "Educator

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[16] Sub-family is a term used in Atlas.ti and conventionally, sub-families are written in all-caps. Sub-families are the
equivalent of sub-themes and their purpose is to organize codes into broader categories.

invited into community," "Student responds favourably to educator," "Student /family seek educator," and "Student /family give back to educator" and is defined by "Students and families make choices to the benefit of the educator." Both sub-families contribute to the analysis family of non-interference.

Respect for students' independence. The data indicated that students and families do not respond to authority in ways that are productive to the learning environment. Fawn recalled her first year of teaching at Waverly and insisted that she no longer saw benefit in such coercion:

I tried to pull his desk out into the hall because he wouldn"t do his journal so she was like "You"regoing out into the hall!" ... So he was like "I'm not going out into the hall!" So I'm pulling on his desk and he"spulling on the other side of his desk and we"reboth like "Whaaa!!!" Was right in there like I was 10. It was terrible.

Rather than exert authority, educators facilitated self-determination. Lark explained that he empowered his students to manage their own authority:

The older kids – everybody is looking up to them already and let"s put them in a position to – let"s empower them. Because the younger ones are going to be there soon too.

Even when Lark described how he *fix[ed] stuff* for his student, he meant to,

... throw the ball in his [student"s] court and you know, he"ll tell you what he can do different.

When educators embraced respect for others" independence, they became learners:

I mean there are always things that you think have to be the best way and not everyone sees it that way ... because it is. It"s a learning– on both parts I think. [Sage]

While seeing that it was *not my way or the highway [Sage]*, educators developed a non-judgemental approach to see reasons for behaviours rather than putting down the student or

family. Lark reasoned why his student had behavioural difficulties without faulting the
guardians:

> *Raised by grandparents. Like let the grandparent be a grandparent. Let them do the*
>
> *spoiling ... like the good cop bad cop kind of thing like usually parents will take turns.*
>
> *One will be initiating something and then the other one will be kind of supporting the kid*
>
> *through it and you kind of do it as a team - well grandparents shouldn"t bedoing any of*
>
> *that stuff. They should just be doing the spoiling so he was pretty spoiled as a result.*

The outcomes of respecting others" independence were more conducive to the learning
environment that Fawn intended: *You just want everyone to be calm and happy and get along.*

Voluntary cooperation. With respect for independence, the data demonstrated
reciprocity from students and families. Fawn"s student surprised her when she,

> *... came back to check on him a few minutes later and not only had he done it, he did all*
>
> *ten in printing that [she] didn"t even know he was capable of.*

Sage explained that not all educators at her school regarded the independence of others and so
were not reciprocated the same cooperation from parents:

> *Oh Annie, I just love Annie. She"s justso matter of fact, like that"s how comfortable she*
>
> *was with us. They included Rain and me in their group and that [other] teacher, not so.*

Another way that students and families reciprocated the educator"s respect was by seeking him
or her out. For example, Lark and his wife,

> *... went out for dinner with [his] wife"s boss. ... [They] had sushi and Cub was there at*
>
> *the restaurant and with all of her little siblings and she came right over to the table to say*
>
> *hi and [he] introduced her to everybody and of course [his] wife had already met her*

about five times (laughs). But she just talked to [him] about school and how things were going and wanted to know how work was going for [him].

Even further, students and families explicitly gave back to educators who respected their independence. Fawn‟s student, Salmon,

... decided he would swipe enough colouring books to give to everyone in the class. (*laughs) And it was like the nicest – all of a sudden – I know he stole them – but it was so nice! ... And he came in in the morning and he was proud and he did it for me right. He didn‟t do it for the kids, he did it for me.

Clementine remembered a student who gave back to her by complimenting her involvement in the students‟ cultural productions:

We had just come back from cultural studies and we had been doing some dancing and I was the tree, right and so she [(student)] complimented me on dancing the tree.

Even Sage‟s young students recognized that their lives held different experiences from their teacher so they reciprocated Sage‟s teachings by offering her their own. They,

... would pick wild strawberries for [her] from the edge of the school yard because this was something that they knew of and it was part of their culture. ... [I]t was something special that they could give back to [her].

The reciprocity that students and families offered educators originated from the educators‟ respect for student and family independence. Sage recalled Dog Fish‟s father, who gave back to her after she respected his independence. She did this by listening to his request to have Dog Fish join her classroom for an extra year:

Dad came back to me and we worked out that he [(Dog Fish)] would come back to me for half the day.

By the end of the year,

> *his dad made me a hand drum and brought it to the class because we were using the*
>
> *drumming so as Dog Fish went on to Grade Two I said to his dad, "He should have the*
>
> *drum to take to Grade Two" And he said, "No, that drum is for you. For all you did for*
>
> *our son" (*Tears) and if you"rea caring teacher, you love the children almost as much*
>
> *as the parent does.*

Sage"s respect for Dog Fish and his father"s independence led to voluntary cooperation, even gratitude, demonstrating non-interference. In this data, Sage went further to open a space for love in the relationship when she equated Dog Fish"s father"s reciprocity with a love for Dog Fish.

Love

> *It wasn"t so many times that I fell that far in love*
>
> *You love the children almost as much as the parent does*
>
> *And how hurt that means you can get*
>
> *I put my head down on that little round table and I sobbed*
>
> *It switches from a love-hate relationship to a love-love relationship and then they go*

Although the data above explicitly demonstrated the theme of love, the binary framework interpretation did not provide the opportunity for love to contribute to the space between the dominant and counter narrative. To be open to new themes is to search past that which is immediately apparent. Love manifested itself in the data as the choice to love as a parent loves a child and risk the hurt that love can cause.

Choice to love. Although Lark did not explicitly use the term "love," he shared in his interview that his students gave him the same feelings as those he held for his daughter:

It"s almost like my daughter. The same kind of feelings I have towards her. Like, when you see her do something, like hit a three pointer or extend their hand to help somebody off the floor. Like, that"snot as good as the three pointer but (*jokes/ laughs) It"s still a really nice thing.

In a pedagogical sense, Fawn knew that a loving environment, one in which children were loved by their educators, was the way that her Indigenous students learned best:

Just creating that environment where they know you love them like a mom or you love them like a dad – that"swhen they"regoing to learn.

To create this environment, Clementine used humour with her students. She pretended she needed to speak with each student individually and called them into the hallway:

When they saw me, I told them that I just wanted to give them an orange! I said to hide the orange until I had talked to everyone. I left Ocean until last and I entered back into the classroom. I told them that I had talked to everyone and now I had to talk to Ocean, but that I would tell him in front of everyone. Just at that moment, I pulled out the orange from the bag I was holding. The whole class exploded with laughter, including Ocean.

Likewise, when asked how he connects with his students, Lark responded that humour was a way that he showed love for his students:

What I try to do with every single kid is find a way to make them laugh. And that"s usually the in. And it"s diferent with all the kids – they"rea little bit different but I can usually find a way.

Fawn"s practical joke on Waverly"s administrator with her dearly loved student, Salmon strengthened their relationship:

We just started play acting and we yelled at each other, we screamed and I dragged him by the arm all the way through the main foyer and so all of the other teachers are coming out and all of the other kids are there and were like "What?!" And we were faking it so we were both just giving it and we"renot smiling or breaking character at all and then the principal comes out – Samantha … and she pulls our arms apart and she is like "What is going on? I"ve never seen either of you like this!" and I was like, "You know what, I"m not even going to tell you! You deal with this! I have had it!" and I shoved the form at her and I stormed away and then she was like "What? I don"t under… (*reads) „Student is to be recognized.."" andshe was reading out loud so everyone could hear and by the time she was done reading the one or two lines that I wrote, me and Salmon were just dying – just tears streaming down our faces and we were hugging and we just fell on the floor laughing and everyone else just – it took them so long, even after we were laughing for so long to figure out to relax because we put on such a show!

Fawn described a loving environment as *created* implying choice in whether it was offered. She also knew that this choice to engage in love with students broke the barriers of the dominant narrative:

It was just like a human unprofessional, unteacher-like relationship and I just threw my arms around him and I started to cry and he hugged me back too and he was just as happy to see me and that meant a lot to me because you know, he was a cool kid, right. And he was a kid. And I was his teacher.

Breaking those barriers exposed educators to pain when the relationship could not continue:

Especially when you have these stories and you have these relationships and they get so –

go on so long and get so close and when they end, it tends to be in a bad way. I was

inconsolable when Salmon left. I was inconsolable. I couldn"t even teach. [Fawn]

Love and hurt. Lark demonstrated his despair for a student, who had been taken from

his class, by purchasing passes and attending the local fair for three days in a row:

I was really sad when he left. You know and then he was gone for so long. I remember

going to the fall fair and went three days in a row because they told me he would be

there. And he was never there. I just wanted to see him just to say hi to him.

Lark"s actions indicated that love for his student opened him to hurt. Mike, Fawn"s co-worker,

taught Fawn that even experienced educators held their hearts to their students and experienced

the associated hurt:

He was like, "I felt so bad for how much love you put into your job and how much you

care about these kids and how hurt that means you can get in a school like where we

are." And he was like, "But on the other hand, a tear came to my eye when I saw Salmon

in that office this morning too." And that was really significant for me because I wore my

heart on my sleeve almost every day I went to that school.

What was perhaps most apparent across the themes was their cyclical and overlapping

relationship. Rather than severing these concepts from one another in distinguished categories,

they existed in relation. Family was involved in school through an ethic of non-interference,

reciprocity from non-interference opened the space to love and love was understood as that

experienced in a family bond. The themes, family, non-interference and love, were discussed

briefly in the literature review prior to conducting the research and they begin to fill the spaces of

relation between non-Indigenous educators and Indigenous students.

Chapter Five: Discussion of Implications

The findings from this study inform the space in between the dominant and counter narrative binary of Indigenous student and non-Indigenous educator relationships. In this chapter, returning to the literature situates the findings in order to critically assess their internal and external implications. First, family, non-interference and love are discussed in relation to traditional Indigenous values then they are defined and detailed within the context of the non-Indigenous educator – Indigenous student relationship in schooling practice and policy. The implications of this study go deeper than the values themselves. The ability that non-Indigenous educators have to learn about and work from the values of their Indigenous students follows Barnhardt and Kawagley"s (2005) two-way knowledge transmission. Their article is focused on explicit knowledges (curriculum) but the findings from this thesis are focused on the implicit knowledges (values) of the Indigenous students. As such, this discussion will reach from the epistemological focus of Barnhardt and Kawagley"s (2005) two-way knowledge transmission to an axiological focus[17] to show that educators can learn from both explicit and implicit Indigenous knowledges. Limitations of the study are discussed prior to concluding.

Indigenous Values

The purpose of traditional Indigenous education is to teach the values and attitudes in one"s culture (TRC, 2015). For example, Hampton (1995) explained that children learn about respect and how to meet challenges through oral storytelling. When Indigenous students have the opportunity to develop their values in a way that is compatible with Indigenous culture, education both roots and upholds a system of values (Battiste, 2013). I return to traditional

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[17] In a philosophical sense, I understand epistemology to refer to explicit knowledge and axiology to refer to implicit values. Despite this, I follow Little Bear (2009) who refers to Indigenous knowledges as the explicit content and the implicit values from and to which that content is taught. Battiste (2013) explains that in Indigenous knowledges, the implicit and explicit teachings are difficult to unravel. For the purpose of this thesis, I refer to Indigenous knowledges in this section as both the implicit and explicit teachings.

Indigenous values to contextualize the findings of this study because, although child rearing practices have changed due to the residential school system, Indigenous values continue to permeate all aspects of life (Battiste, 2013) and Indigenous peoples continue to advocate for an education system that is congruent with their values (TRC, 2015). NIB (1972) indicated that if Indigenous students are made completely aware of the values unique to Indigenous peoples, they will be proud of who they are. It is the pride and power within each individual that has been integral to Indigenous resistance (Hampton, 1995). It is true that Indigenous practices vary greatly across the land (Hampton, 1995; Little Bear, 2009), but the literature cites family involvement (NIB, 1972), non-interference (Hampton, 1995; McPherson & Rabb, 1993) and a deep love for all children (Little Bear, 2000) as three common Indigenous values within Indigenous education. Findings from this study, the emergence of family, non-interference and love, mirror these widely regarded Indigenous values and are thus discussed within their context. I draw on Little Bear (2000) to ensure that the meaning of traditional Indigenous values are embedded rather than simply named, which anthropologists have sufficiently accomplished.

Family. In the data, Fawn regarded Salmon''s Aunt Leila with the same stature as the immediate, nuclear family. Respect for this extended family is core to traditional Indigenous education and child-rearing; under Indigenous value systems, all adults – kin and community (Deacon et al., 2011) – participate in a child''s education (Kovach, 2013; Little Bear, 2009). When Fawn mirrored traditional Indigenous values and saw education as a collective responsibility (Little Bear, 2000), she was not alone; from a Native Hawaiian pre-school perspective that shares (post) colonial challenges with Canadian Indigenous peoples, Kaomea's (2012) study also found that parent involvement in Indigenous education needs to include the extended family. Kaomea (2012) expanded that although including the extended family may

seem disconnected to mainstream schools, it is a traditional practice in many Indigenous communities and her study "suggests that this seeming discontinuity can actually serve to support a school"s efforts if, rather than focusing exclusively on „parent" involvement, teachers are willing to acknowledge, invite and support the broader and more inclusive phenomenon of „family involvement"" (p. 11).

Within the binary framework, family was categorized as one theme but data indicated that it could not be constrained to an exclusive order. Family transpired across the Indigenous student – non-Indigenous educator relationship. Similarly, in traditional Indigenous education, family is involved in all aspects of education (NIB, 1972; TRC, 2015). In addition to an intentional knowledge transfer, as in the education of a nation"s specific skills, Restoule"s (2008) study interpreted that all families communicate the values of their nation. Research from Ball (2009) indicated that programs that not only involve the nuclear family but also the community have been shown to have significant positive impacts in early language learning. She reasoned that in the context of the community, children learn to take turns, to listen while they wait for adults to speak and to share their thoughts in ways that are specific to local social practices.

Furthermore, within the data, families of Indigenous students in Sage"s class participated in their child"s education in their own ways; families were not coerced to contribute in a uniform manner to class celebrations. Traditional Indigenous values replicate this choice; whether through "tak[ing] a young child under his or her wing" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 81) or engaging in "praise and recognition for the child" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 81), extended families choose to participate in a child"s education. As Fawn described, her Indigenous students" families participated in her class potluck for their own reasons. Observed from a cultural outsider, Good Tracks (1973) found that in traditional Indigenous education, "[i]f one is planning a gathering …

one does not urge people to come. This would be interfering with their right to free choice. If people wish to come, they will come" (p. 32). It was Fawn"s students who instigated their families" participation in her potluck. Berger"s (2009) research also found that Indigenous family engagement in education looks different from what non-Indigenous peoples would expect.

Under both traditional Indigenous values and non-Indigenous educators" relations with their Indigenous students, families are not nuclear but extended; they permeate all aspects of a child"s education and they participate in that education in their own ways. Inseparable from non-coercive family participation, an overarching ethic of non-interference roots non-Indigenous educators" relationships with their Indigenous students under traditional Indigenous values.

Non-interference. Under the ethic of non-interference, Lark enabled students to take ownership to solve their own problems, mirroring traditional Indigenous values since "[w]ays of knowing and learning in an Indigenous paradigm are … profoundly personal and spiritual, based upon a journey into the inner metaphysical and spiritual worlds of the self" (Madjidi & Restoule, 2008, p. 88). Rather than impose his expectations, Lark said that he threw the ball in his students" court, therefore trusting his students. To Indigenous value systems, trust in children is integral because only they can find their own path to self-discovery (Battiste, 2013). Underwood and Killoran's (2012) work confirmed the importance of trust between educators and students and their families. Parallel to Lark empowering his students to make their own decisions, Poonwassie and Charter's (2001) study encouraged helping professionals who work with Indigenous communities to examine their roles as experts.

Fawn recognized that holding authority over her Indigenous students was counter-productive because "in a hierarchical relationship, the significant task is to please the ‚boss." The relationship often becomes clouded with suspicion, mistrust and fear" (Grant, 1995, p. 221). The

relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is more harmonious when each recognizes the other as equal (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; NIB, 1972; TRC, 2015). This is probably because under traditional Indigenous values, the complete autonomy of the person is respected (McPherson & Rabb, 1993; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008). Brant (1990) explained that an attempt to know more than someone else establishes dominance.

In place of holding a sense of authority over her Indigenous students, Sage recognized that her relationships were categorized by "learning on both parts." When Sage was open to learn from her students, she did not see her knowledge as better. Like Lark and his student who was being raised by his grandparents, Sage withheld judgement about her students and their families. In traditional Indigenous education, comments on child development are never judgemental (Grant, 1995). The educator cannot be attached to any particular judgement; Piquemal and Nickels" (2005) study found that judgement in the non-Indigenous educator – Indigenous student relationship can encourage responses from the educator that harm the Indigenous student.

Sage was open to learn from her students when they offered her wild strawberries from their territory and when they brought unique contributions to her class events, such as edible flowers. The gifts were offered to her voluntarily; they were not coerced in any way. Traditional Indigenous values emphasize voluntary cooperation in reaching group goals or a consensus (Brant, 1990; Little Bear, 2009). Further, Atleo (2004) wrote about generosity as a way for Nuu-chah-nulth peoples to develop a sense of well-being so that Sage"s openness to learn from her students enabled a response originating from Indigenous values.

Across traditional Indigenous values and non-Indigenous educator – Indigenous student relations, children are trusted to make their own decisions. Authority and judgement are withheld from the relationship and through this ethic of non-interference, voluntary cooperation is

reciprocated. In addition to non-interference, love was an ethic that permeated the space between counter and dominant narratives in non-Indigenous educator – Indigenous student relations.

Love. Both Lark and Fawn expressed unconditional love for their students. Lark had the same feelings for Cub as he did his own daughter while Fawn seriously considered adopting Salmon as her own when he was unexpectedly pulled from the community. In traditional Indigenous education, the extended family, kin and community, love the children and consider them to be gifts from the Creator (Kirkness, 1993; Little Bear, 2000). Under an ethic of extended family, children contribute their individual skills and pass on local values; it is not only the nuclear family that receives the gift of a child, but the extended family (Little Bear, 2000). This love is an unconditional love; the love that a mother feels for her child; "a protective love, a nurturing love" (Restoule, 2008, p. 29).

Just as the extended family love the child in traditional Indigenous education, the non-Indigenous educators in this study broke the barriers of the dominant schooling narrative in order to love their Indigenous students. One way that they demonstrated love for their students was through humour. In the findings chapter, narratives from Lark, Clementine and Fawn detail how humour was used to demonstrate love for their students. This follows traditional Indigenous education, in that humour binds people together. For the Anishinaabe, Gross (2002b) explained that humour promotes solidarity, friendliness to outsiders, and respects the autonomy of another.

The non-Indigenous educators in this study loved their Indigenous students as the extended family loves the child in traditional Indigenous education. How they demonstrated this love was with humour throughout the relationship. Love, together with non-interference and family are traditional Indigenous values that uphold and are transmitted through Indigenous education.

Indigenous value transmission. It is important to note that the values discussed are not choices that one consciously makes. While interpreting experiences of urban-raised Indigenous males, Restoule (2008) recognized that Indigenous values are ingrained in the family; they are transmitted and absorbed without awareness. As such, he explained, "practicing culture does not require being aware that one is doing so. In fact, the culture is perhaps more secure when there is no explicit reflection on the activity as cultural" (p. 22). From an Alaska Native perspective, Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) shared a story from an Inupiq Elder who had learned how to hunt caribou from his father. What they interpreted is that the Elder's father, a highly respected hunter in the community, taught his sons both implicitly and explicitly (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). Further, McPherson and Rabb (1993) emphasized the permeability of values when they explained that values persist even through formal colonial policies and practices. Restoule (2008) reasoned that implicit culture communicates "the core of being Indigenous" (p. 21) and is integral to identity formation. Researchers have indicated that low student success rates are attributed to the school system's lack of recognition for Indigenous values (Battiste, 2013; TRC, 2015) and Indigenous peoples have advocated for their right to an education that teaches to and from their Indigenous values (Battiste, 2013; NIB, 1972).

Educators' knowledge transmission. Although schools are invested in the dominant narrative, thus excluding Indigenous values (Battiste, 2013; TRC, 2015), non-Indigenous educator participants' narratives indicated that they learned from their Indigenous students' conceptualization of values such as family, non-interference and love. Because the educators were able to learn and work from these values, I discuss the role of the non-Indigenous educator as a two-way knowledge interpreter. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) explained the concept of two-way knowledge transmission in Alaska Native education. They posited that research used to

focus on how Indigenous peoples could learn Western knowledge; "Canadians have tried to bring *their* Indians in from the wilderness" (Donald, 2012, p. 45) (emphasis in the original), while more recent works have considered the ability (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005) and, further, responsibility (Battiste, 2013; TRC, 2015) that non-Indigenous peoples have to learn diverse perspectives, as in Indigenous knowledges. Battiste (2002) also discussed the significance of legitimizing Indigenous knowledges within the dominant knowledge system; "Indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education" (p. 5). Non-Indigenous educators as two-way knowledge interpreters will frame the following discussion.

Barnhardt and Kawagley"s (2005) work focused on how non-Indigenous educators learned from Indigenous epistemology, explaining that Indigenous education can begin with curricular concepts that are familiar to students then Western approaches may be integrated; "[t]raditional processes for learning to hunt caribou by observation and meaningful participation can offer insights into how we create opportunities for students learning to operate a computer" (p. 20). In order to do this, non-Indigenous educators would need to learn about local Indigenous knowledges (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005). Parallel to learning about explicit scientific or mathematical concepts such as computer usage, the findings from this thesis indicate that non-Indigenous educators can also learn from the implicit values which their Indigenous students carry with them. Little Bear (2009) has discussed values as the axiology of Indigenous knowledges; "[i]n Indigenous terms, talking, negotiating, developing relationships, enlarging the circle" (p. 24). Attending to the implicit values inherent in Indigenous education opens as a space for mutual relations. I caution the separation of these ideas since explicit and implicit teachings within Indigenous knowledges are intertwined (Battiste, 2013). Within the context of non-Indigenous educators" responsibility to learn from their Indigenous students" implicit and explicit

knowledges, the implicitly transmitted values of family, non-interference and love are further detailed within the context of the school system to provide a summary of the ways in which the findings from this study can apply to non-Indigenous educators" relations with their Indigenous students in mainstream schooling.

Implications in the School System

      Family. Dating back to ICIE (NIB, 1972), much of the literature (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) cites the importance of extended family support in student success (Berger, 2009; Riley & Ungerleider, 2012; TRC, 2015). Fawn, Lark, Clementine and Sage recognized the value of the extended family in the school. During my time at Waverly, kin, community and the nuclear family were equally involved in the school. At graduation ceremonies and monthly recognition assemblies, extended relations frequently represented and celebrated the student being recognized. Regarding this extended family with the same level of respect as the nuclear family was integral to the educator – student relationship. There were explicit references to extended family within the school; such as, educators at Waverly signed contracts that required their participation in community events as well as the fact that students" extended family ties to influential community leaders were often a topic of discussion. Throughout, the data demonstrated the educators" respect for the extended family. For example, Lark explained, "When you see [your student] at Walmart and he"s with his grandma or his mom or anything"; he held the student"s mom and grandma on the same level. Fawn similarly provided Salmon"s aunt with the same level of autonomy as Salmon"s mom when Fawn consistently left her math class to talk to Aunt Leila. Sage agreed that it was not just parents who encouraged students to find comfort in school, but rather, the extended family when she referred to engaging with a student"s brother, mom, two aunts and grandma; "We were let in to their [family"s] circle … that

did help ultimately – just in how the school ran and how the children perceived the school." As two-way knowledge interpreters, the educator participants learned from their Indigenous students" value of extended family, contributing to mutual relations. Rather than use the term, "parents," non-Indigenous educators are encouraged to use the term "family" and with this term, recognize that it may encompass more to an Indigenous child than the nuclear family.

Further, in the review of the literature, studies demonstrated that non-Indigenous educators blamed Indigenous families for their lack of involvement in the school (Battiste, 2013) while NIB (1972) and TRC (2015) have clearly expressed the desire that Indigenous families have to engage in their children"s education. What the educator participants indicated was that they supported family participation in the school and they made sure to accommodate the ways in which Indigenous families chose to participate. For example, Sage invited families to share coloured foods as her students were learning about the various colours. With this choice, a family contributed local edible flowers as well as the traditional teachings of the flowers. Similarly, Fawn followed the desire of her student"s aunt to speak about his progress during the school day. These findings imply that non-Indigenous educators can and should give Indigenous families as much control and choice as possible to participate in their child"s education. Within the value of family, these findings confirm the importance of extended families in Indigenous education and they provide a narrative for other non-Indigenous educators to work from. In a narrative form that could be tucked in a back pocket, non-Indigenous educators, remember, "they"re a part of the education" [Sage].

Non-interference. Since the ICIE (NIB, 1972), student success literature (Indigenous and non-Indigenous research) cites the importance of autonomy in Indigenous education (Berger & Epp, 2006; Hampton, 1995; McPherson & Rabb, 1993; Oskineegish, 2015). Non-Indigenous

educator participants in this thesis understood the value of autonomy in the school. I recall Fawn telling me at a Waverly school-based family function that any student behaviours should not be given attention. Instead, if the families who were present wished to interfere, they would. It was a lesson that I carry with me and that holds relevance to this theme. The findings from this study demonstrated the educator participants" naturalized respect for the autonomy of their Indigenous students. For example, Lark"s student embraced Lark"s offering of autonomy when he explicitly told the student that he was in charge of himself. Fawn found that by not interfering with the work that her student was completing, the student had exceeded her expectations. These findings parallel Berger and Epp's (2006) study, where an Inuk student returned his work to a teacher who had ignored his previous behavioural outburst. Further, Sage recognized that her ways were not necessarily correct and she became a learner to understand her students" perspectives rather than apply her understanding; "It"s a learning – on both parts I think" [Sage]. As two-way knowledge interpreters, non-Indigenous educators in the study respected their students" autonomy and acted accordingly; they empowered their students to make their own decisions rather than apply a solution that they assumed was appropriate. This is in line with Hampton"s (1995) sixth standard for the redefinition of Indigenous education; "Indian education demands relationships of personal respect" (p. 31). The findings from this thesis indicate that non-Indigenous educators can learn from their Indigenous students to respect the personal autonomy of each Indigenous student. When tasked to resolve disputes or behaviours deemed as undesirable, non-Indigenous educators are encouraged to ask Indigenous students to make a choice that is right for them and the educator is encouraged to respect that decision.

McPherson and Rabb (1993) expressed that when someone with the authority of an educator imposes a law on an Indigenous child, autonomy is lost; and as such, the power in the

individual is disregarded. Rather, in Indigenous education, "*each* Indian is at the heart a king or queen who serves the people" (emphasis in the original) (Hampton, 1995, p. 31). Power is conceptualized here by Hampton (1995) as the positive sense of self developed when students feel valued for who they are. What I draw attention to is the last part of this quote, "who serves the people." The data indicated that when non-Indigenous educators respected the power within each Indigenous student, educators noticed that students offered reciprocity. A participant in Hampton"s (1995) study expanded that when conditions of personal autonomy are fostered, Indigenous students have a purpose; "they are here to help each other to share in the community setting" (p. 31). Further, in the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation, Atleo (2004) described how the act of generosity itself is part of the Tsawalk[18] worldview; "[t]he collective Nuu-chah-nulth experience teaches not only that a generous person is never without the necessities in life, but also that the art of giving generates a sense of personal well being, a sense of balance and harmony" (p. 130). Examples of how Indigenous students and families offered reciprocity to the non-Indigenous educators included Fawn"s student, who "swipe[d] enough colouring books to give to everyone in the class" and Sage"s Indigenous family group, who invited her into their circle. For Lark, his student Cub sought friendship and Clementine"s student complimented her dance. What the educators in the study indicated was that they respected their Indigenous students" autonomy and as a result, they observed instances where their Indigenous students and families demonstrated reciprocity. I caution that the form, time and place of offering were not uniform in any way. As such, these findings imply that non-Indigenous educators are encouraged to hold any form of reciprocity from their Indigenous students with a high regard, as it could indicate that the students feel valued for who they are and as such, deeper relations between educators and students are fostered. Within the value of non-interference, these findings demonstrate the

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[18] Tsawalk is described as a law of generosity among peoples of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation.

importance of non-Indigenous educators" respect for the autonomy of Indigenous students and their families. The findings also provide a narrative for other non-Indigenous educators to work from. As a back pocket narrative, non-Indigenous educators can remember this quote when learning from their Indigenous students, "You're in charge today of yourself" [Lark].

Love. Using the Ojibwe Good Life Teachings to guide her framework, Toulouse (2008) described the value of "love" as a commitment to students" learning styles. Love finds itself deeply rooted in traditional Indigenous education as a way to uphold communal law (Gross, 2002a; Little Bear, 2000); Wesley-Esquimaux and Calliou (2010) have said, "To know love is to know peace" (p. 18). Restoule (2008) found that love was one of the values that Indigenous families pass on. Even if Indigenous families did not explicitly teach Indigenous knowledges to the younger and urban-raised generation, "[t]he values are conveyed and subtly incorporated by the younger generation because the traits are well ingrained" (Restoule, 2008, p. 32). In Indigenous education, Little Bear (2000) described all aspects of education as saturated in a deep love for children. Despite the importance of love in traditional Indigenous education, the thematic analysis of the dominant narrative Indigenous student – non-Indigenous educator relations in the literature review did not produce accounts where non-Indigenous educators in dominant schooling practice openly expressed love for their students. When I began teaching at Waverly school, I had written a sign that I pinned above my filing cabinet. It said, "Dear students, I believe in you. I trust in you. You are cared for. You are important. You will succeed. Love, Ms. Doerksen." I remember feeling some discomfort when I looked at it. It was the "love" word. Was I allowed to love my students? Similarly, non-Indigenous researcher, hooks (2003) has described how educators in the dominant schooling system make strange with the concept of love. From the non-Indigenous educator participants, I interpret their naturalized love for their

students. Lark held the same feelings for Cub as he did for his daughter and Fawn intended to create an environment that she would for her own children. Just as Little Bear (2000) described love as it is traditionally expressed, "children are the objects of love and kindness from a large circle of relatives and friends" (p. 5), I interpret that the non-Indigenous educator participants formed part of this large circle which offered love to the Indigenous children. As two-way knowledge interpreters, educators loved their students as their own. Just as I remained within the discomfort of the "love" word on that sign for the three years that I worked at Waverly, non-Indigenous educators are encouraged to go against what mainstream teacher education programs teach; to make comfort with the word, "love." This requires teachers to dare to post the word in the classroom, say it out loud, feel it.

Further, in this study, humour emerged as a way for non-Indigenous educators to show love for their Indigenous students. Humour served to relate with students without imposing oneself, which is consistent with Gross (2002b), who explained that for the Anishinaabe, humour promotes solidarity, friendliness, comfort and non-interfering communication. For the educator participants, humour was expressed as practical jokes on the students; for example, Clementine pretended to exert authority by requesting to talk to the students individually in the hallway, only to offer each student an orange. What is interesting about this example is Clementine"s use of what dominant non-Indigenous educators predominantly exert in the relationship with their students, control and authority (R. Bishop, 2003; Dion, 2009), to integrate humour, which builds those relationships (Gross, 2002b). Humour also took a communal form, where Fawn and her student, Salmon, pretended to fight with one another in the school foyer to attract the attention of Waverly"s principal. Lark used different strategies to make his students laugh such as sarcasm and honesty; the purpose of the humour was to develop relations. As two-way knowledge

interpreters, the non-Indigenous educator participants learned that humour was integral to develop relations with their students. Recommended from these findings, non-Indigenous educators are encouraged to use humour with their Indigenous students in a way that is true to who they are. These findings provide a narrative for non-Indigenous educators to work from when developing relations with their Indigenous students. Engaging in humour, as a demonstration of love, is a space where non-Indigenous educators can develop relations with their Indigenous students. The narrative that non-Indigenous educators can slip into their back pocket for a time when it is needed: "You love the children almost as much as the [family] does" [Sage].

  Implication summary. To summarize the application of traditional Indigenous values to the school system within the context of the literature, the following statements mirror traditional Indigenous education and demonstrate how non-Indigenous educators can learn from their Indigenous students to work from these values. It is important to mention that the back pocket suggestions are not intended to be regarded out of the context that this text provides; but instead, they serve as a reminder of the context that they are situated in.

1. The importance of non-Indigenous educators" engagement with Indigenous families and acceptance of Indigenous families", as in extended families", support for student success in their own ways.

   - Educators are encouraged to use the term "family" rather than "parents" and understand it to encompass the extended family.

   - Educators are encouraged to give families control in the ways that they wish to participate. These choices are encouraged to be accepted without judgement.

   - "They"re a part of the education" [Sage].

2. The importance of non-Indigenous educators" respect for the autonomy of Indigenous students and their families as well as the acceptance of reciprocity that may follow.

- When tasked to resolve disputes or behaviours, educators are encouraged to ask students to make a choice that is right for them and the educator is encouraged to respect that decision.

- Educators are encouraged to hold any form of reciprocity from their students in high regard, as it could indicate that the students feel valued for who they are and as such, deeper relations between educators and students are fostered.

- "You"re in charge of yourself today" [Lark].

3. The importance of love in the non-Indigenous educator – Indigenous student relationship; love rooted in humour.

- Educators are encouraged to make comfort with the word, "love"; post it in the classroom, say it out loud, feel it.

- Educators are encouraged to use humour with their students in a way that is true to who they are. In doing so, deeper relations are fostered.

- "You love the children almost as much as the [family] does" [Sage].

These implications are anchored in the possibility that non-Indigenous educators have to learn from the implicit values of their Indigenous students and thus develop meaningful relations. In the literature review, Battiste"s (2013) two-part decolonization process was detailed. To engage in decolonization, the first part was to face the realization that the dominant society has internalized colonial patterns to benefit some individuals and subjugate others while the second part was to legitimize Indigenous knowledges. I interpret that a way in which this work serves to legitimize Indigenous knowledges is in its contribution of narratives that show how non-

Indigenous educators can learn from and work with the values that their Indigenous students bring to the classroom. When Indigenous students" values are respected, I see the legal right that Indigenous students have to an education that teaches to and through their values.

Centering Implicit Indigenous Knowledge

NIB (1972) stated in the ICIE policy paper, "we want education to provide the setting in which our children can develop the fundamental attitudes and values which have an honoured place in Indian tradition and culture" (p. 2), expressing the desire that Indigenous peoples have to transmit the implicit values inherent in Indigenous knowledges through Indigenous education. Recognizing the need to provide an education that is responsive to Indigenous knowledges, TRC (2015) called for legislation that would incorporate several principals. One of these principals was, "developing culturally appropriate curricula" (p. 321), which, I interpret, focuses on the transmission of explicit Indigenous knowledges. An example of this could be Barnhardt and Kawagley"s (2005) explanation that Indigenous concepts of currents, debris movement and fish behaviour could be taught with concepts of flow, velocity and resistance when engaging in physics curricula. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) discussed how non-Indigenous educators can participate in a two-way knowledge transmission to understand explicit Indigenous knowledges and integrate them into the curriculum. What differentiates this thesis study is its focus on the two-way knowledge transmission as explicitly applied to the implicit values inherent in Indigenous knowledges. This focus on value transmission in Indigenous education is not new; it was originally advocated by NIB (1972) in ICIE. As such, this study contributes narratives of how non-Indigenous educators can be responsive to the implicit values of their Indigenous students. In this way, the significance of both explicit and implicit Indigenous knowledges is recognized in Indigenous education.

Limitations

In turning to implicit and sometimes taboo structures such as love and values, I risk losing the attention of those who insist upon pedagogies of empirical thought. Limitations of this research remain in the language that we use. When engaging in narrative inquiry, it is an important consideration that words cannot describe the entirety of an experience (Absolon & Willett, 2005; Chase, 2011; Lincoln et al, 2011; Polkinghorne, 2005, 2007). I recognize that meanings are multilayered (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Lieblich et al., 1998; Squire, 2008) and in constant motion (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Gergen, 2004) so that we can never fully interpret our work (Zilber et al., 2008). In addition, interpretations are contextualized and subjective (Andrews, 2007; Clandinin et al., 2002). Perhaps then, as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) and Squire et al. (2008) have suggested, there is never really an ending in narrative research, but just more questions: "… narrative inquiry remains an unfinished and unfinishable business" (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2007, p. 375). I also see limits in conducting a narrative study because standardized procedures for narrative do not exist so that the process is highly individual (Rogan & de Kock, 2005; Wilson, 2008). Criteria for the study thus need to be assessed on their own terms rather than from the perspectives of outside paradigms (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

Further, Indigenous knowledges are as diverse as the lands with which they are tied (Battsite, 2013) so that the findings described an experience that may or may not inform other non-Indigenous educators in this setting or others. Discussing traditional Indigenous values leaves room for diverse interpretations from individual members of the multitudinous nations who identify as Indigenous as well as those non-Indigenous allies interested in this work. As the values are discussed as separate entities in this research, I recognize that they are, in fact, inseparable. Recognizing the values of Indigenous students, as this research has interpreted, is

not unknown to the work of present-day Canada's Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous allies. Rather, it provides a way for educators to see how Eurocentric knowledges [EK] can make room to legitimize Indigenous knowledges [IK]; "[c]ontemporary Canadian education systems will have to reconcile IK with EK. This is a constitutional requirement as well as promising practice" (Battiste & Henderson, 2009, p. 16). I do not claim to be an expert of any knowledges which I interpret (Francis, 2011; Wilson, 2008). In fact, I question my place to uncover the implicit values of my Indigenous students. I do not own any of these knowledges (Wilson, 2008) and instead, I am lovingly guided by Indigenous peoples and their non-Indigenous allies to come to interpret these knowledges (Battiste, 2013). As such, I take full responsibility for their interpretation.

Finally, I recognize that this interpretation is limited in that it is entirely based on non-Indigenous educator perceptions of their Indigenous students. Although these educator-participants have demonstrated genuine respect for their students, they also control and benefit from the dominant narrative so that their contributions are limited in their capacity to understand and engage in Indigenous education and research. While constructions of Indigenous peoples cannot lead to transformation (King, 2003) and answering questions for Indigenous peoples is inappropriate (Lowman & Barker, 2015), I look to the dynamic nature of relations (Whitley, 2014) to contribute to the literature rather than conclude it.

Chapter Six: Concluding, Rooting and Opening Space

The text of any study extends below its structure, like the roots of an evergreen,

grounding the research in its worldview (see p. 45).

When I first wrote this line in Chapter Three, I was thinking only from a methodological perspective. When I return to it, I see the evergreen and its roots in a new light, serving a larger purpose for this research. Like we see a trunk standing tall from the soil, we see beings walking together on the earth. In the evergreen, what remain hidden from the human eye are the roots that ground it. Perhaps then, these other beings also hold roots, metaphorical roots which ground them. Nurture them. These roots are not explicit, just like the values of family, non-interference and love, but to deny roots to an evergreen would ensure its slow and steady destruction. To water the roots, to feed the roots would ensure a rich and full life.

Throughout this narrative inquiry, I looked into and in between the stories that non-Indigenous educators shared to interpret how they navigate the spaces in between the dominant narrative and counter narratives to establish and maintain genuine relationships with their Indigenous students. I return to this central research interest to collect my interpretations. First, introspectively: How did I relate to these stories in order to benefit my Indigenous students? I learned that the ways in which I engaged in research follow the findings of this study. And next, extrospectively: How might other non-Indigenous educators engage in this interpretation in order to benefit their Indigenous students? The values of family, non-interference and love that non-Indigenous educators learned from their Indigenous students reiterate the values from which Indigenous peoples have advocated that their children be educated. The findings construct narratives for how non-Indigenous educators can work from the implicit values of their Indigenous students and each is summarized within this chapter. This discussion ensures that the

interpretations of the study are both meaningful and relatable. Last, I list areas for further research so that space may be opened for new possibilities rather than closed with a presumed certainty.

When I began my research, I read about the perfect stranger (Dion, 2009) and I had to ask myself how a perfect stranger could come to be so emotionally invested in her students. Recall from Chapter One,

> *you taught me … how to be myself. I have never been sillier, calmer, prouder, more spiritual, honest, emotional or outgoing, all at the same time, than when I was learning with you. ʔuusyak ši ii ʔic suu (and I hold my hands up to you) for facilitating the many stories that I carry with me.* (p. 7)

Of course, that relationship developed over three years but, as if frozen solid in time, the dominant narrative continues to inform non-Indigenous educator and Indigenous student relations (Battiste, 2013). Counter stories of relation (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005) and seminal documents (NIB, 1972) produced by Indigenous peoples peered through the fissures as brave warriors but just like warriors, they directly opposed the ideas of the other. Jones (2004) and Andrews (2004) guided resistance to the obvious, and instead, this study searched in between these contradictions. Using a binary framework, I interpreted that non-Indigenous educators recognize that their Indigenous students carry values of family, non-interference and love. To discuss each concept here would reiterate Chapter Five, but I lovingly encourage my readers, if you have just started here, to introduce yourself to its text. For an overview of this binary framework, please see Appendix D. These three themes were connected in that they are part of the Indigenous values of the students with whom educators situated themselves in relation. Learning and working from the traditional Indigenous values of their Indigenous students proved

to be a way that non-Indigenous educators developed meaningful relations with their students. The educator participants did not state that they work from these values, but their stories revealed that their relationships with their students were deeper and more intricate than they may have imagined. Interpreting decolonization as the process of deconstructing investment in the dominant narrative and legitimizing Indigenous knowledges (Battiste & Henderson, 2009), we see the embodiment by these four educator participants of something other than the perfect stranger (Dion, 2009).

Introspective

The introspective research question of how I relate to the findings ensures that I take responsibility for my interpretations and reflect upon their implications in my practice. What I learned is that the ways in which I research run parallel to the findings of this study; I believe that I worked from the values of family, non-interference and love. The following are excerpts from my own text. In the research, I first related to my readers as the extended family relates to their members,

> *I consider your needs, as well as my own in the relationship which I intend to develop with you (Wilson, 2008).* (p. 4)

As for the value of non-interference, my intention was never to speak for Indigenous peoples but to learn from both my relations with my Indigenous students as well as Indigenous scholars who have done much work in the field of Indigenous education. I did not wish to interfere with educational and relational initiatives which are and continue to be documented by Indigenous peoples,

> *I acknowledge that research from a non-Indigenous educator like my own has the capacity to harm Indigenous peoples (Absolon & Willett, 2005; Bradford, 2007; L. T.*

Smith, 2012) and is often considered inappropriate (H. Adams, 1999; Max, 2005). I understand that communities must initiate and engage in their own research (Archibald, 2008; L. T. Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008) because non-Indigenous constructions of Indigenous knowledges cannot lead to transformation (King, 2003). It is not my intention to speak for my Indigenous students or Indigenous peoples in general (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Wilson, 2008). (p. 13)

Under the value of love, I encouraged the emotional growth of my readers when I requested a joint learning venture,

It is my intention that through this text we may start our relationship on a common platform from which we will both continue to learn and grow (Wilson, 2008). (p. 4)

The overarching implication, the focus on how educators can learn from the implicit values of Indigenous students prompts me to return to the letter that I wrote to my students,

Ɂuusyak ši ii Ɂic suu (and I hold my hands up to you) for facilitating the many stories that I carry with me. I will continue to honour them in a way that I think you would say is best because you taught me that what I think is best isn"t always best for you. (p. 7)

What I interpret from this experience is that we learn more than we realize when we listen to our students. It may not be explicit at the time of communication but when we center the student in our relations, we may begin to learn from the underlying values that affirm their identities. When our students" values are taught and upheld in the relationship between the non-Indigenous educator and the Indigenous student, we see an education that Palmer (1993) may suggest would heal rather than wound our world.

Prior to this study, I thought hard about the perfect stranger (Dion, 2009), wondering whether I was one. What I learned is that teaching from the roots of Indigenous students,

decolonizing educational practice, responding to internal structures of the self – these are all implicit processes, making it difficult to recognize whether a perfect stranger or something else has been embodied. Three themes emerged from this research so that a place to start is at the values summarized in the next section. As educators, academics and other caring professionals, by questioning our engagement in values of family, non-interference and love in our relations (as accepted by our specific students or clients), we meet in the same space and continue to grow together. In this space, we center the values of the Indigenous students in our relations with them.

Extrospective

The extrospective research question of how others may relate to the findings ensures that this study contributes to the growing body of literature that centers and serves Indigenous students. The findings imply that non-Indigenous educators can work from the concepts of family, non-interference and love. This research narrates non-Indigenous educators" engagement with "family" as the use and recognition of the term "family" rather than "parents" as well as the place that non-Indigenous educators can have in recognizing families" choice and control when participating in their child"s education. Within the context that is written, non-Indigenous educators can remember, "They"re a part of the education" [Sage]. Caring professionals are asked to learn from their relationships with their clients" extended families.

This study narrates "non-interference" as an educator"s respect for the autonomy of a child and his or her extended family. When tasked to intervene, non-Indigenous educators are encouraged to respect the choices that students might suggest. Further, reciprocity from students and families, in any time, form or place should be held in high regard, as this contribution could indicate that Indigenous students are being recognized for who they are, fostering deeper

relations. Within this context, non-Indigenous educators are asked to remember, "You're in charge of yourself today" [Lark]. Through this work, caring professionals are asked to learn from their clients' embodiment of non-interference and reciprocity.

The study narrates "love" as an educator's comfort with the word in the classroom. To post the word, to say the word, to feel the word, to remain in discomfort with the word is how non-Indigenous educators may work from the values of their Indigenous students. Further, to love is to use humour with students. To work from the implicit value of love, non-Indigenous educators, "You love the children almost as much as the [family] does" [Sage]. Caring professionals are asked to learn from their clients' embodiment of love and humour.

We know that something other than the perfect stranger is possible in the Indigenous student – non-Indigenous educator relationship. We know that there are three values from which we may build a frame of reference. Although not an easy task since these values are implicit, reflecting on them in educational practice and research opens up as a space of possibility. Although the introspective and extrospective research questions are posed separately, their responses mirror one another. In responding to both questions, educators and academics are asked to learn from the values of their Indigenous students. "If schools are going to respond to the needs of [A]boriginal students, then teachers have to know something about their … Aboriginal students" (Little Bear, 2009, p. 16) and that "something" entails knowing the deeply engrained values that their Indigenous students bring to the classroom.

Aside from offering these values as a place to reflect on educational practice and research, I remain steadfast in my decision not to provide a formal conceptual framework from which to guide educators and academics. The narratives that demonstrate how non-Indigenous educators can teach from these values reinforce the significance of both implicit and explicit

Indigenous knowledges in Indigenous education. Following these narratives, I encourage non-Indigenous educators to deconstruct their investment in the dominant narrative and legitimize Indigenous knowledges in order to embody something other than the perfect stranger. To provide a conceptual framework from these themes and the ability that non-Indigenous educators have to work from them would take advantage of them as stagnant and self-contained. I recognize that if this research is to serve my Indigenous students, it needs to remain flexible and available for further research. This evergreen and its roots are not mine to claim. It grows wild for others to interpret.

Continuation

Rather than conclude, I look to continue this research. Rewriting and contributing these themes to the literature can only serve as far as ink can be seen from a page, unless my fellow academics can build upon them in their research and my fellow educators can embody them in the classroom. These findings introduce a story, one where the characters develop mutual relations. As King (2003) instructs listeners of his stories, "Take [it]. It's yours. Do with it what you will …. [b]ut don't say in the years to come that you would have lived your life differently if only you had heard this story. You've heard it now" (p. 29).

The story that you have heard is a call to search with and through the rooting values of Indigenous children. Are there other values which may inform this area of study? Certainly, the roots of an evergreen mature through the soil in great depth and breadth and in a way that is too broad to be interpreted in one study. For this particular evergreen, the roots have matured over 40,000 years and are so resilient that they continue to resist colonization so that a full and closed interpretation is impossible. On the topic of value systems, what potential do values have in other cross cultural research? Recognizing that they are not empirical, researchers are called to search

through narratives to uncover the values inherent in our relations. Moreover, I ask what the potential implications of searching through a binary to open spaces of possibility may have on other studies of relation. Is the binary framework an analytic tool for other narrative researchers to search in between? Certainly, the space in between the binary has supported my search for the non-Indigenous educator to embody a role other than the perfect stranger in the Indigenous student and non-Indigenous educator relationship, a role that learns from Indigenous values of family, non-interference and love.

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Appendix A: Consent Form

Lakehead
U N I V E R S I T Y

Dear Potential Participant,   June, 2016

    I am happy to extend an invitation to you to participate in a qualitative study, *Opening spaces: Indigenous student and non-Indigenous educator relations* because you identify as a non-Indigenous educator who I respect and who I have seen form genuine relations with your Indigenous students. Currently, I am a graduate student in the Master's of Education for Change program at Lakehead University. The purpose of this study is to explore how non-Indigenous educators relate to their Indigenous students. Should you choose to participate in this study, your participation would be voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study, you may refuse to answer any question(s) during this study and you may withdraw from this study at any time; all of these rights are without penalty and exist even after signing this letter of consent.

    All data will be collected between July and September 2016. Throughout this time, the commitment for this study involves engaging in 1-2 unstructured interviews, during which, I will ask you to share memorable stories that you have with your Indigenous students. Follow up questions are flexible and intended to develop a full description of your stories. These interview(s) should last 1-3 hours and will take place in person, at a location that is convenient for you. Interviews will be recorded with an audio device to ensure accurate transcription.

    There is no intended risk or harm associated with participating in the interview session(s), yet there is the potential for participants to recall negative or distressing memories with their students. The participant may have the option to speak with a professional support person or a crisis hotline. Participants and all persons or places named within the interviews will not be identified. Pseudonyms will be used in all transcripts and findings, including any potential publications and transcripts will be provided to you to identify any potentially identifying information to be removed. Potential benefits of the study include personal reflection on teaching practices and the societal benefit of findings which may contribute to bridging Indigenous student and non-Indigenous educator relations for the benefit of all Canadians. Data will be securely stored for five years, after which, they will be destroyed. Only my supervisor and I will have access to this stored data. Upon their successful completion, a bound copy of the results will be available from the Lakehead University Education Library as well as online within Theses Canada Portal. The results may also be used to write publications in peer-reviewed journals and conference presentations, as well as possible presentations within interested school boards and other sites of education. A summary of the report will be made available to you at your request. This study has been approved by the Lakehead University Research Ethics Board. If you have any questions related to the ethics of the research and would like to speak to someone outside of the research team, please contact Sue Wright from the Research Ethics Board at 1-807-343-8283 or research@lakeheadu.ca.

I look forward to your response. If you have any questions concerning this study, I am available through telephone (1-250-882-9980) and e-mail (rdoerksen@lakeheadu.ca). My supervisor, Dr. Joan Chambers is available through e-mail (joan.chambers@lakeheadu.ca).

Rose Doerksen

By signing this form, I have read and understand the above information, including potential harm and benefits, data storage, the availability of the study's findings and my right to anonymity. I agree to participate with the understanding that I am a volunteer and have the right to withdraw my participation at any time or I may refuse to answer any question.

_____
Printed Name (Participant)   Signature   Date

Furthermore, by signing below, I provide explicit consent to the use of an audio device to record the conversational interview(s) with the purpose of ensuring an accurate transcription.

_____
Printed Name (Participant)   Signature   Date

I have explained the nature of this study and believe that the participant has informed consent.

_____
Printed Name (Investigator)   Signature   Date

Appendix B: Summary Letter

Lakehead
U N I V E R S I T Y

Dear Potential Participant,   June, 2016

 I am happy to extend an invitation to you to participate in a qualitative study, *Opening spaces: Indigenous student and non-Indigenous educator relations* because you identify as a non-Indigenous educator who I respect and who I have seen form genuine relations with your Indigenous students. Currently, I am a graduate student in the Master's of Education for Change program at Lakehead University. The purpose of this study is to explore how non-Indigenous educators relate to their Indigenous students. Should you choose to participate in this study, your participation would be voluntary. You may refuse to participate in this study, you may refuse to answer any question(s) during this study and you may withdraw from this study at any time; all of these rights are without penalty and exist even after signing this letter of consent.

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Rose Doerksen

Appendix C: Analysis – Content in Relation
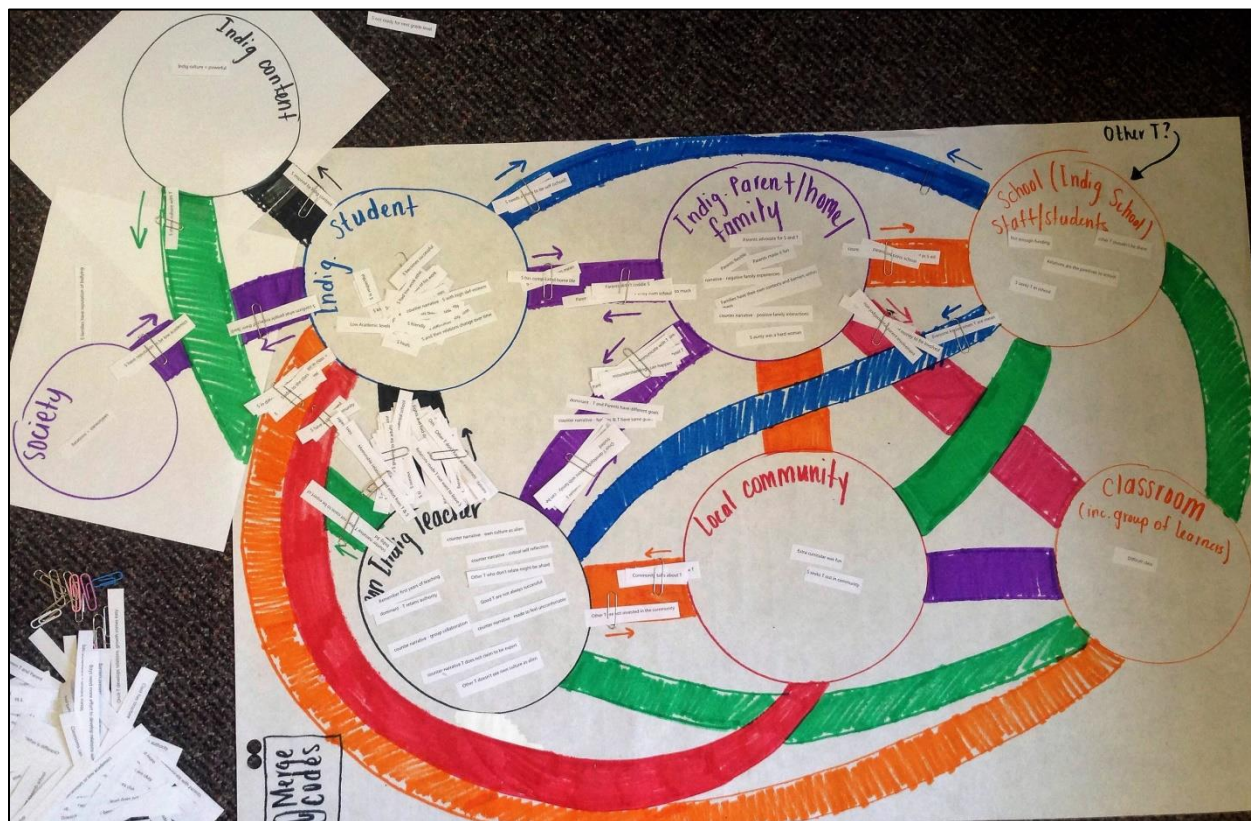
Hard copy code slips were placed between those parties involved

Appendix D: Analysis – Binary Framework

Dominant Narrative	Space in Between	Counter Narratives
White Privilege		
E do not draw attention to differences	S have autonomy to bring up differences - E responsive Relations > differences (F open up to E)	E recognize differences
E see themselves as perfect strangers – neutral and unmarked	Didn't come up much -- T can't tell white F what to do	E recognize power in adhering to the dominant society / Whiteness
E do not reflect	T change practice	E critically reflect
E remain comfortable	F make T feel uncomfortable (IRS) E / S vulnerable	E discomfort self
Blame		
E do not know S E blame S for lack of academic or social success	E do not blame systematic constraints but always give a reason for "unsuccessful" E never speak badly of S	E adapt to and understands S E don't blame others for their own fears
S do not have room to represent selves in the classroom E look through own worldview to "know" what S should look like	S / F have self-determination E attentive to learn from S / F	S have right to represent themselves in the classroom E look through S worldview rather than own
E lack genuine cultural understanding – see S as historic/ static/ imagined	E connect with F to erase any stereotypes E can break cultural barriers	E unravel stereotypes. Understanding the culture = care and connection
E have different goals from the community	E have same goals as community but they are sometimes misinterpreted, which leads to conflict with F	E and community have same goals
Profiling		
E see S as collective – from the same culture and learn in the same way	Data adheres to counter narratives	E see S as individuals and teach to their individual strengths
E think S have low mental capacities – set low expectations	E separates behaviours from intelligence Relations > intelligence / academics	E set high expectations
E think S have low self-esteem (quiet, low attendance, min. goals, emotional needs)	E do not blame, rather, contextualize	E do not blame S for attendance issues and emotional needs
E do not care or advocate for S	E assumes autonomy but has no autonomy in S / E turnover and transition	E care and advocate for S

	Self-determined S advocate for themselves	
S do not participate in school	F / S engaged in education but through voluntary participation, not coercion S responds favourably to E	S participate in school
E see S values as deficits	E learn S culture with them	E convey genuine respect to S and their culture
E do not have F support in the classroom E see F as not interested in education	F engaged in education but only through voluntary participation, not coercion	S need F involvement in the classroom F wants more say in education
E think S have negative F interactions	T relation with S / F reinforces relations with F / S Both positive and negative F interactions – not profiled but specific examples	S know how E perceives F interactions
E distant from community events	E / S / F in relation beyond time AND E / S / F in relation beyond space	E attend community events to build trust
Authority		
E have complete authority/ control	S / F do not respond to authority	E do not interfere or confront S – they do not have complete control
E speak rather than listen to S	E attentive to learn from S / F	E listen to S
Knowledge Transmission		
Single knowledge direction E think they hold cultural knowledge (when they do not)	S shares culture with E E learns alongside S E is not an expert	Two-way knowledge direction or S construct knowledge E not being experts of cultural knowledge
E avoid difficult knowledge	E takes time to hear S / F stories E teach beyond curriculum	E must bring up difficult knowledge
Data not part of a priori themes		
	Relations are hard Relations need purposeful effort E / S turnover – relations end badly T & F communication Love / E emotional investment Without relation = conflict Humour, consistent, honest, novelty	

E: Non-Indigenous educator   S: Indigenous student

F: Indigenous student's family   Family involvement   Non-interference   Love

Appendix E: Analysis – Coding Journal

→ Printed another set of codes to be manipulated in here.
- merged T teach virtues & T teach emotional intelligence
  to: T teach beyond curriculum

- Time helps relations develop — can this mean anything else? It's too obvious right now.

- small town / small community / family relations — Is this a limitation to teachers teaching in a larger city?

Teaches S who are related

Small community

Small class

] maybe beyond the research question.

T/S/F in relation beyond the school ▷ Implies some sort of seeking out

- [T/S/F remain in extended relation
    T & S remember former S & T] don't just teach S for a year then they move on — these relationships continue beyond the school and beyond the year of instruction.

SPACE? ★ Greenwood def. of space/place — same thing?
↳ In relation beyond time and space of the classroom.
  "teaching beyond the curriculum? — beyond the content? — Are these breaking barriers?

- "T & s conflict" and "s conflict with eachother" occur around transition and turnover — when there isn't relation.
  MERGE to "conflict" ◁ ADD "F quick to blame T"

& teacher has more conflict with parents — first time in school.

T/S/F conflict ◁———▷ T & S are calm] Δ to engaged (≠ always academic.)
  too much of a binary? No relations ◁—▷ relations.

- effort and hard — merge w̄ difficult class, S has difficulties.

- how you think and what you <u>do</u> as a teacher developing relations - framework.
  / how you <u>feel</u>?

- separated relations are hard and relations require effort.

Relations are hard

Relations need purposeful effort

all of these are at the begining of relations. I has to put in the work.

Is this related to conflict? It's almost like teachers <u>need to prove</u> <u>themselves</u> - to the S, F, Community.

Other people seeing the relationship builds the relationship ▷ TRUST?

- Look at which codes don't serve any purpose
  example: "S intelligent" → "I thinks highly of S"
  "S + T like I + S" → What about the relationship?
  does it reinforce relations w F, is it beyond the classroom.
  Putting a "so what?" to each code.

* <u>define codes</u>

TSS calm → what is meant by calm?
* engaged. There is also a code of parents engaged in the school. ◄ Merge

One finding - families seem to have same codes as teachers and parents - two connections - can't make exclusive categories because this isn't Indigenous worldviews and also shows prevelance of families in the relationship - can't talk about S/T relationship without talking about families

Is learning   T & S show vulnerability   * T helps S
Do you need to be vulnerable   So what — relationship
to be open to learning rather   has a purpose - in relation
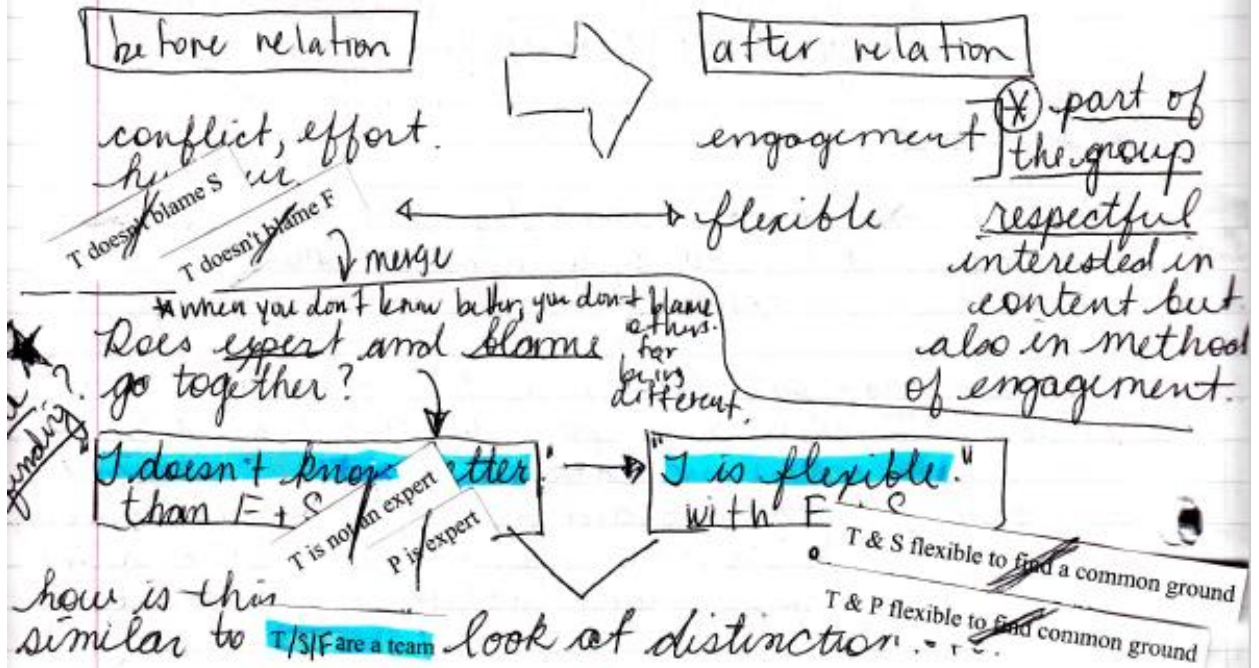than seeing self as an   everyone can grow?
expert?

⭐ Space and place and Time - review Greenwood's
work on how he defines space and place then
arrange to meet with him.

When you are in relation - stories come out. You have
to break the barrier, then the <u>stories</u> come out.

[P & T change over time   ] Can I omit these codes? <u>So what</u> —
                                      <u>what does the Δ mean?</u>
[T & S change over time]

Is Δ always for the better? - same as growth?

[S Relations = T & S growth   ] So what - what does the growth
                                  ] mean?
[T & F relation = F & T growth]

┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│ before relation │   ⇨   │ after relation │
└──────────────┘   └──────────────┘
                                              Ⓧ part of
conflict, effort.   engagement   the group
hurt etc
blame S / blame F   ←————→ flexible   <u>respectful</u>
T doesn't T doesn't   ↓ merge   interested in
                                              content but
⭐ when you don't know better, you don't blame   also in method
Does <u>expert</u> and <u>blame</u> others.   of engagement.
go together?   for
                            being
                            different.
┌─────────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│ T doesn't know better │ ──→ │ T is flexible │
│ than F + S   │   │ with F + S   │
└─────────────────┘   └──────────────┘
T is not an expert   P is expert
                                   T & S flexible to find a common ground
how is this   T & P flexible to find common ground
similar to T/S/F are a team look at distinction.

T is honest with S
T honest with P
) merge

asked: so what? Why are they crying?

T cries → Change to "T emotionally invested in S"
and merge with "∴ T crying leads to change in S
and merge with   T & S emotional to see S & T leave
and merge with   T & S check in with S & T emotions

finding

same as love?

When S is emotionally invested in T, it is after the relationship is formed. T needs to be emotionally invested fi

NOT SURE HOW TO DISTIN-GUISH

& S. checks for T's emotional involvement.

T & S love S & T like family/ friends

love make everything fine

T learns to become less emotionally involved

and merge with →
S look for how much T care
and merge with →

T in relation will always love
love = hurt

← even old teachers m love Student

First years T memorable ◁ More effort = more memories? T says she would do anything in her first years.

≠ good teacher

→ S have leadership skills.

≠ expert T / learner / S have credibility / S know what they need
non-judgement / sees "S" for who they are
asks parents / Separates S from their behaviour / Parents are a team
↑ follows P request = Listens to P   ↓ non-judgement

of P+S

Don't know if other S have the mindset that home affect school. ≠ pressure related to ≠ collectivizing.
≠ Authority   respect what individuals decide to do. ≠ blame for actions
Non-interference - A high degree of respect for every individuals
independence - voluntary cooperation ◁ giving ownership to others
▲ "Walking their own path. When others are involved voluntary, it
means the T ≠ authority, S-center accept other perspectives?