

**Educational Experience and Outcomes of Edmonton's Adult Urban Indigenous  
Community**

by

Roxanna Erenna Banksland

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Education

in

Indigenous Peoples Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies  
University of Alberta

© Roxanna Erenna Banksland, 2019

## **Abstract**

The main focus of this research on stereotype threat is how groups and individuals are harmed by negative stereotyping. Negative stereotyping can profoundly alter perceptions of persons stereotyped so they experience alienation, low self-esteem, and hopelessness. Individuals' achievement and success are affected, even when they do not believe the stereotype. They need only realize its relevance to society. Ultimately, stereotype threat becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure.

Stereotype threat is a worldwide phenomenon, which also affects Canadian Indigenous populations. Aboriginal individuals' academic achievement regularly falls behind non-Aboriginal counterparts. Most stereotype threat research addresses rural Indigenous populations in Canada. Much less research addresses urban Indigenous populations. My research includes participants of Edmonton's urban Aboriginal community. Of primary concern is how urban Indigenous persons are affected by stereotypes and associated social discourses, which claim that Indigenous people are unable to succeed. Strategies for effectively protecting Indigenous individuals from stereotype threat are also explored.

Research is conducted through the lens of Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM). IRM proponents advocate in-depth and detailed understanding of Indigenous participants' subjective experiences and their ties to their culture. Therefore, the current research used structured, semi-structured interviews and a talk circle.

This study identifies obstacles faced by urban Indigenous individuals in their quests for academic success, and how they develop and apply strategies to enhance beliefs and practices

that enable them to succeed.

For the purpose of this study, I focused on the racism aspect of stereotype threat.

## **Preface**

This thesis is an original work by Roxanna E. Banksland. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name “Educational Experience and Outcomes of Edmonton’s Adult Urban Indigenous Community”, PRO00079859, April 12, 2018.

## **Acknowledgements**

I thank God, our Heavenly Father, for granting me the strength and courage to complete this thesis. I thank my parents, who are my pillars. Their unwavering love, support and guidance sustained me on this journey.

A very special thanks goes to my unwavering supervisor, Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer, whose wisdom and insight guided me on this path. Also, a special thanks also goes to my committee members, Dr. Patsy Steinhauer and Dr. Trudy Cardinal for their support and assistance.

I also dedicate this thesis to my participants who gave their voice and wisdom to this research.

No one goes on this journey alone. Without any of these people, I would not have been able to fulfill this dream.

## Contents

<b>Chapter One: Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination .....	3
Indigenous versus Western Justice Systems .....	4
Effects of Stereotyping: Lowered Self-esteem and Self-fulfilling Prophecy of Failure.....	9
Stereotype Threat .....	12
Stereotypes, Racism and Stereotype Threat Diagram.....	17
Location of Researcher .....	20
Summary and Organization of Chapters.....	23
Limitations and Delimitations of the Study .....	24
Definition of Terms .....	25
<b>Chapter Two: History, Literature Review and Introduction of Concepts and Research</b>	
<b>Method .....</b>	<b>28</b>
Race and Racism.....	28
Stereotype Threat and Its Importance Within Education .....	32
Traditional Aboriginal Educational Practices and Residential Schools.....	37
Traditional Aboriginal Education in Canada Prior to European Contact.....	38
Aboriginal Education in Canada After European Contact.....	39
Intergenerational Trauma and Pain .....	41

Epigenetic Transmission of Trauma.....	42
Historical Trauma and Historical Trauma Response .....	43
Strengths-based Strategies and Narratives.....	44
Theories Underlying and Aligned with the Concept of Racial Stereotype Threat.....	45
Consequences of Racial Stereotype Threat.....	50
Racism, Stereotype Threat, and Related Challenges Unique to Urban Indigenous Persons ....	51
Review and Evaluation of Recent and Relevant Research of Stereotype Threat .....	54
Section 1: Research Addressing the Symptoms/Manifestations of Stereotype Threat .....	58
Section 2: Qualitative and Combined (Qualitative/Quantitative) Research Methods for Detecting and Reducing Stereotype Threat .....	60
Synthesis of Findings and Identification of Gaps in Research of Stereotype Threat .....	63
<b>Chapter Three: Methodology.....</b>	<b>65</b>
Indigenous Knowledge, How it Relates to Indigenous Research Methodology, and Conceptual Framework .....	65
Indigenous Relationality: Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing.....	65
Ways of Knowing.....	65
Ways of Being.....	68
Ways of Doing .....	68
Indigenous Languages .....	69

Cellular Memory.....	70
Protocol.....	72
Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM).....	73
Conceptual Framework and Trees.....	73
The Tree as Metaphor for my Personal Conceptual Framework.....	75
Indigenous Research Methodology: Application.....	80
Accepting the Responsibility of Conducting Indigenous Research.....	84
Data Collection.....	87
Cultural Protocol.....	91
Confidentiality and Consent.....	94
Community and Participant Selection.....	95
Ethical Issues.....	97
Interviews.....	98
Talking Circle.....	103
Analysis of Data.....	106
Dissemination of Findings.....	106
Summary of the Value of Indigenous Research Methodology for the Purposes of this Research .....	108



<b>Chapter Four: Participants and Findings .....</b>	<b>110</b>
Participants and Findings .....	110
Participant Vignettes .....	113
Faye.....	113
Iskwew .....	115
Lacey.....	116
Linda .....	117
Napew .....	118
Areas of Investigation.....	119
Codes.....	121
Themes .....	123
Interpretation of Findings .....	124
Section 1: Stereotype Threat and its Negative Effects on Edmonton’s Aboriginal People ....	124
Charles Camsell Hospital.....	127
Section 2: Negative Educational Biases, Stereotype Threat and Edmonton’s Aboriginal Community .....	133
Coping Approaches Recommended and Used by Participants .....	138
1.Returning to Traditional Aboriginal Culture and Teachings.....	139

Medicine Wheel and Traditional Aboriginal Teachings .....	140
Participants, Indigenous Teachings and Current Education.....	144
2. Religion and Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality .....	147
3.Support Systems.....	151
4. Various Self-Care Activities.....	155
Physical Exercise .....	155
Prayer / Meditation/Music .....	158
Self-Determination and Educational Strategies .....	160
Self-Determination, Stereotype Threat and Education .....	161
Educational Strategies Recommended by Participants.....	163
1. Education is our Buffalo .....	163
2. Teacher Preparedness and Teacher Quality Standards.....	166
3. Culturally Relevant Curriculum.....	168
<b>Chapter Five: Discussion and Analysis .....</b>	<b>172</b>
Discussions and Recommendations.....	172
Summary of the Findings.....	173
Coping Strategies .....	178
Recommendations.....	187

1. A study that would explore further research on stereotype threat and racism with Edmonton’s Aboriginal population .....	187
2. A study that would address differing needs of urban and rural indigenous populations ....	187
3. A study that would examination of biases in educational institutional policies .....	188
4. A study that would examine the importance and benefits of various support systems.....	188
5. A study that would explore activities that act as coping approaches to counter stereotype threat .....	189
6. A study that would examine the qualification of educators .....	189
7. A study that would explore the role society can play in reaching change .....	189
Conclusion .....	190
<b>References .....</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>Appendix A: Consent Form and Confidentiality Agreement .....</b>	<b>222</b>
<b>Appendix B: Confidentiality Agreement: Talking Circle.....</b>	<b>225</b>
<b>Appendix C: Email Guide .....</b>	<b>228</b>
<b>Appendix D: Interview Guide.....</b>	<b>235</b>
<b>Appendix E: Talking Circle Discussion Guide .....</b>	<b>236</b>
<b>Appendix F: Phone Guide and Introduction.....</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>Appendix G: Organizations for Aboriginal Emotional and Cultural Support:.....</b>	<b>240</b>

## Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis is a qualitative study of how stereotype threat has affected individuals from Edmonton's urban Indigenous community. My main research question was whether mainstream society's stereotypes about Indigenous people have affected urban Indigenous individuals' educational choices and achievements. This research has been conducted through the lens of Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM).

The concept of stereotype threat is essential for describing how groups and individuals have been affected by stereotyping. Stereotype threat is a social-psychological phenomenon. It occurs when people are or believe themselves to be at risk of confirming negative stereotypes. Stereotype threat may occur when the individual undergoes challenging situations. As a result, the individual may under-perform and or avoid the challenging activity. The fear of confirming negative stereotypes becomes so great, the individual's thought processes and behaviour becomes altered. Over time, these negative stereotypes become ingrained within their belief system.

Some examples of stereotyping may include: gender based stereotypes like the claim women are unable to understand mathematics, men are incapable of sensitivity, all African or Latin American people live in the ghetto, or people who are poor or overweight are lazy, etc. In other words, where ever a stereotype about a group of people exists, individuals may be at risk of suffering from stereotype threat. Those impacted by stereotype threat become vigilant or hyper-aware of the negative stereotype and this affects their belief systems of their abilities.

People who have suffered from stereotype threat have reacted to stereotyping by living

down to it, acting or (under)achieving in ways consistent with the stereotype. This is not a choice to act or perform to conform to ways they have been diminished by larger society: it is a process which when repeated, affects individual's identities by creating anxiety, self-doubt, lower self-esteem, and self-fulfilling prophecies. Stereotyping affects an individual's identity or identification (Gilovich et al., 2006).

When an individual or group experiences years of stereotype threat they can become caught in a cycle of lowered confidence, reduced performance, and reduced interest in critical areas of achievement.

Most societies display elements of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination. The research base for stereotype threat has grown steadily over 20 years. Stereotyping has been studied for more than 100 years, yet, as Nelson (2009) described, "the history of the empirical study of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination is a young one" (p 1.), and "the definitions of these phenomenon simplified over time" (Ibid, p. 2). Therefore, it is important to include definitions of these terms in order to understand how they lay the foundation of the study of racism and relate to the more recent concept of *stereotype threat*.

First this chapter provides definitions, discussion and examples of the more familiar concepts – prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination – clarifying how they form the basis of racism. Differences between Indigenous and dominant society approaches to justice have also been discussed in this context.

The chapter further elaborates on the effects of stereotyping on self-esteem, and self-fulfilling prophecy. I have expanded on the interrelationship of these experiences and their relationship to stereotype threat.

At the end of this chapter I have described the Indigenous Research Methodology followed in this research, located myself as a researcher, and discussed limitations and delimitations of this research study. Included is a chapter summary and outline of subsequent chapter topics. The final section contains definitions of less common terms used throughout the thesis.

### Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination

Just as with the *chicken-or-egg* causality dilemma, it is impossible to say which comes first: prejudice, stereotypes or discrimination. The concepts have often been used interchangeably.

Nelson (2009) defines prejudice as, “a negative attitude toward a group or toward members of the group” (pg. 2). Prejudice refers to preconceived, usually unfavorable, feelings or actions towards an individual or group.

Arriving at an accepted meaning for stereotype has been difficult. As Nelson (2009) stated, “defining stereotyping has been more problematic—there are tens, if not hundreds of definitions in the literature” (Ibid, pg. 2). Nelson (2009) explains stereotypes as, “traits that are viewed as characteristic of social groups, or of individual members of those groups, and particularly those that differentiate groups from one another” (pg. 2). Ultimately, these differentiations create division amongst groups of people, resulting in discrimination and racism.

The Canadian Human Rights Commission defines discrimination as, “an action or a decision that treats a person or a group badly for reasons such as their race, age or disability” (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2018). A United Nations commissioner noted that

discrimination is multifaceted and may have many different causes, which may affect people of different racial, national or social origins (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner 2018, p. 633).

I will show how these racist practices, as defined, have subordinated and deprived Indigenous persons in Edmonton, Alberta, the urban area where participants of this study live. By extension, included is an examination of how Indigenous individuals are disadvantaged by differences between Indigenous culture justice and the dominant Western justice system. Racism and stereotype threat are exacerbated from these differences due to the opposing world views of the Indigenous and Western justice systems.

### Indigenous versus Western Justice Systems

It is important to discuss the differences between Aboriginal and Western justice systems. Distinguishing between the two illustrates how Indigenous persons become vulnerable to criminal prosecution and were adjudicated in ways inconsistent with their culture. According to Ross (1992), social customs differ between cultures. A retired assistant Crown Attorney, Ross understood the major differences in law between Aboriginal and Western society. He believed it was important to distinguish between the two societies because each “see the other through its own rules, could only interpret behavior of others from within their own perspective” (Ibid, p. 3). In other words, the world views and expectations of what is appropriate conduct are often inconsistent between cultures. The justice system is no different. According to Ross (1992), Aboriginal law and justice has served Indigenous people well and originated many centuries before European contact.

Ross (1992) described five principles which form the foundation for the Aboriginal justice system and how these differ from its Western counterpart.

The first principle of the Aboriginal justice system is the *ethic of non-interference*. Ross (1992) writes that “an Indian will never interfere in any way with the rights, privileges and activities of another person” (Ibid, p. 12). Interference is “forbidden, rude and will not usually be done by the Indian person” (Ibid, p. 13). Confrontation is viewed as giving advice to another person, which is not acceptable within Indigenous culture. Therefore, jury members in the western justice system would be viewed as interfering with the rights of Aboriginal people. Being a jury member would violate the ethic of non-interference.

Regarded as a strength, confrontation is not only prized but encouraged within Western society. The Western justice system, “built courts dedicated to adversarial fact finding, the public allocation of blame, and the imposition of consequences, including punishment” (Ross 1992, p. 15). He added, “the more we insist they [Indigenous people] use our approaches and institutions, the more they conclude that we are trying to intentionally destroy their rules and ethics, their culture, by imposing our own” (Ibid, p. 15)

The second principle that forms Aboriginal justice is the *ethic that anger may not be shown*. According to Ross (1992) demonstration of anger was counter-productive and detrimental to the survival of pre-European contact Aboriginal communities. Traditional Aboriginal societies required cohesion and cooperation of members, in order to survive harsh conditions. “Indulgence of personal hostility would have threatened the viability of the group” (Ibid, p. 29). Anger and blame are prevalent within the western justice system and both are violations against the ethic that anger may not be shown.



Aboriginal culture also has “rules against criticism and advice giving, because it forbids the burdening of others” (Ibid, p. 33). Voicing one’s opinions and offering advice creates an “obligation on others to both share and respond” (Ibid, p. 33).

Western law is characterized by formality. In addition, “[Western] society is a society of strangers” (Ibid, p. 45). Harmony, balance and the interconnectedness of all life forms with the environment is less a part of the Western world view. Ross (1992) maintained that the Western world view is premised on the notion of ownership and dominance of man over the environment.

The *ethic of respecting praise and gratitude* is the third principle of the Indigenous justice. Ross (1992) described this principle as forming the foundation of the Aboriginal people’s traditional educational system. He asserts that “the expectation of, and obvious need for, excellence in all activities is tied to other attitudes essential in the survival context” (Ibid, 1992 p. 35). In other words, second and third chances to correctly perform an activity were not options in surviving harsh conditions. One had to execute activities correctly the first time. Traditional Aboriginal educational strategies centered on observation and modeling behaviours. Unlike Western society, for Indigenous people “the only opportunity for learning would be to watch things being done over and over, in their real-life context until the child came to thoroughly understand all aspects of a particular task” (Ibid, p. 35).

Indigenous children require cooperative learning environments with greater opportunities to observe and model expected behaviour. Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer added, “it is unnatural to place thirty-five children in a classroom and expect them to learn, it doesn’t work” (November 5, 2018). Traditional Aboriginal culture does not value the degree of confrontation, competition and individuality as seen within Western society.

The fourth principle of Aboriginal justice is the *conservation-withdrawal tactic*. Ross (1992) described this as, “the ability to retreat into positions of observation” (Ibid, p. 36). Akin to mental preparation, the traditional Indigenous person would stop and think things through before acting. Western society views this behavior as, “‘unresponsive’, ‘sullen’, ‘passive’” (Ibid, p. 36). Whereas, Aboriginal people recognize this type of behavior to be an, “intentional slowing down to conserve both physical and psychic energy, and to carefully consider all aspects of the new situation before acting” (Ibid, p. 36). Those in Western society tend to respond in an impetuous manner, with less thought given to taking time to assess a situation.

Aboriginal justice’s final principle relates to the *notion of time*. Ross (1992) described Aboriginal people’s perception of time as, “until each person’s, mental or spiritual state has been addressed, the time cannot be right to begin the day’s particular activity” (Ibid, p. 40). Moreover, the clock does not dictate a person’s readiness. Time is necessary to free one from any negative energy. On the other hand, Western society values punctuality, as opposed to an individual’s readiness to meet a situation.

There are other crucial differences between the Western and Aboriginal justice systems. Western courts, “focus primarily on the preservation of public peace” (ibid, p. 46). The Western legal system focuses on the activity the person did as opposed to the individual themselves. Aboriginal culture, “ignores what was done and concentrates instead upon personal or interpersonal dysfunctions which caused the problems in the first place” (Ibid, p. 46). Within the traditional Indigenous world view, behaviors can be altered when one examines the root of the problem as opposed to viewing the problem alone. Western justice systems focus on the negative.

As previously mentioned, Aboriginal culture focuses on the creation and maintenance of harmony and relationality (Battiste, 2013; Ermine, 1995; Lightening, 1992; Ross, 1992; Ross, 2018; Steinhauer, 2002; Steinhauer, 2018; Weber-Pillwax, 1999).

Finally, the Western justice system is premised on the scientific method as opposed to the laws found in nature. According to Ermine (1995), “the Western world has capitulated to a dogmatic fixation on power and control at the expense of authentic insights into the nature and origins of knowledge as truth” (p. 102). Power, ownership and control are dominant features of Western society.

Ermine (1995) described Aboriginal justice and world view as emerging from within, or the inner space. “This inner space is that the universe of being within each person that is synonymous with the soul, the spirit the self of the being” (p. 103). In other words, the Indigenous world view is holistic and relational. All life is interconnected, with no one life form superior to another (Ross, 2018).

Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer added, “the Aboriginal population is very interested in the Canadian legal system, but the Western legal system does not resonate with the Aboriginal world view” (Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer, August 31, 2018). Furthermore, the clash between the two world views fosters prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination, fueling racism.

Discrimination and racism give rise to stereotypes. A vast amount of research has shown how negative stereotyping has disparaged and subordinated individuals and groups of people, based on a distinguishing characteristic or affiliation. Examples of these studies include findings from: Steele (1997), Parthenis et al. (2016) and Fischer (2011) Rubie et al. (2004). The findings demonstrated a universal connection of stereotyping with racism. Common within this massive

collection of studies is a representative definition where stereotyping is understood as "commonly held public beliefs about specific social groups or types of individuals" (Simon, 2011).

I turn next to the effects of stereotyping as an act of racism and how these effects interact with stereotype threat.

### Effects of Stereotyping: Lowered Self-esteem and Self-fulfilling Prophecy of Failure

As I described in the introduction, when individuals have been negatively stereotyped in society, there is a strong risk they will be harmed by the widespread, dominant beliefs. One way of being harmed is behaving and/or underachieving in ways that are consistent with the stereotype.

Lowered self-esteem and self-fulfilling prophecy are constructs that have been also studied as they relate to how individuals feel, behave and think in ways that may interfere with achievements and successes in areas including academics. I will discuss how these concepts have been defined and how they relate to stereotype.

Prejudice and discrimination [have] negative effects for disadvantaged groups...people in stigmatized groups often have lower self-concepts. People who interact with them may assume lower performance and react to foster that belief, resulting in a 'self-fulfilling prophecy'" (Crocker et al. 1989, p. 608).

*Self-esteem* and *self-fulfilling prophecy* are central issues when discussing stereotype threat.

Widely used to describe a person's general perceptions and outlook, it is important to define self-esteem and self-fulfilling prophecy. Within this section, I provide definitions of these terms, and demonstrate how both interconnect with *stereotype threat*.

In 1892, psychologist William James, said self-esteem "equals success divided by

pretensions” (Osborne, 2016). In other words, self-esteem refers to:

a person’s overall sense of his or her value or worth. It can be considered a sort of measure of how much a person ‘values, approves of, appreciates, prizes or likes him or herself’ (Positive Psychology Program, 2018).

Simply put, self-esteem is one’s positive or negative attitude toward oneself. Osborne (2016), also maintained that a person is likely to exhibit behaviors consistent with the attitude formed by their self-esteem.

According to Osborne (2016), once lowered self-esteem has developed, it is very difficult to change, and it will, “perpetuate itself into a cycle” (Ibid). “[T]he term ‘self-fulfilling prophecy’ (SFP) was coined in 1948 by Robert Merton to describe ‘a false definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the originally false conception *true*’” (Hedstrom et al., 2011, p. 294, italics by author). In other words, self-fulfilling prophecies are self-imposed expectations one holds about a future event, based on one’s perceived abilities. These expectations influence one’s behaviour (Positive Psychology Program, 2018).

Self-fulfilling prophecies may be either positive or negative. A positive self-fulfilling prophecy occurs when an individual receives positive feedback, thereby positively affecting the individual’s belief and is reflected in their behaviour, whereas negative self-fulfilling prophecies may occur when an individual receives negative feedback (Hedstrom et al., 2011). Self-fulfilling prophecies have been correlated with self-esteem and can impact an individual’s life.

Specific environments or behaviours of others impact self-fulfilling prophecy. Merton found, “people with prejudices about individuals of other races were likely to treat them in such a way that these individuals were actually encouraged to behave in ways that confirmed the prejudices” (Ibid, 2018). Members of the urban Indigenous community may encounter such

prejudice about their behaviours within the urban environment, including depictions of them in media. Media coverage “still perpetuates damaging stereotypes [and] is unsympathetic to the concerns of Aboriginal people” (Harding 2005, p.324).

Within the field of education, research has shown that teacher attitudes or expectations, based on stereotypes, can also negatively influence children’s educational achievement. Steinhauer (2007) stated, “research has revealed that, generally, non-Native teaching staff have lower expectations of Aboriginal students than they do of non-Aboriginal students” (p. 130). She found that within the public-school systems, academic expectations of Indigenous children are lowered.

Steinhauer (2007) added that teachers’ lowered expectations stemmed from how “many non-Native teachers have low prejudicial beliefs about the Aboriginal students they teach” (Ibid, p. 132). Steinhauer (2007) concluded that the higher drop-out rate for Aboriginal students stemmed from these negative attitudes of educational staff.

Ball’s (2010) research also found that “there is too little acceptance of the capacity of Indigenous children to achieve as well as other students, and as a result, Indigenous children frequently are taught in an environment of low expectations” (Ibid, p. 8). When a group of people are viewed by and treated in a negative manner by dominant society, there will be a greater chance that this group will begin to believe they will not be successful.

In addition, “studies suggest that teachers’ stereotypes regarding gender, ethnic group membership, and socio-economic status may lead to lowered expectations which could trigger self-fulfilling prophecies or perpetual biases that could potentially influence student’s academic success” (Riley et al. 2011, p. 305). As a result, a negative cycle ensues where a lowered self-

esteem is reinforced. Ultimately, this negative cycle triggers the formation of a negative self-fulfilling prophecy.

There are many examples of the long-lasting harmful consequences and perseverance of stereotyping and racism. For instance, a study by Plous & Williams (1995) describes the consequence and perseverance of stereotyping and racism. They showed that a substantial number of Connecticut residents continue to hold negative intellectual and anatomical impressions of Black people. This type of negative stereotyping originated with the days of slavery and continues today.

### Stereotype Threat

Before I expand on the definition of stereotype threat and its importance in education, I will describe stereotype threat. In recent years, researchers in the field of stereotype threat have stressed the importance of identity when discussing subject of stereotype threat. A brief definition of stereotype threat is crucial to this current study.

According to Steele (2010), one's personal identity is shaped in large part by one's society. Identities are formed within the "conditions of life [and] come from the way a society, at a given time, is organized... that organization reflects the history of a place, as well as the ongoing individual and group competition for opportunity and the good life" (Ibid, p. 3). Social identities are important because they "influence us, in big part, through the conditions we get exposed to because we have the identity" (Ibid, p. 63). In other words, society and culture shape how we commonly perceive and function within the world.

Expectations and ideals vary from one society to another, and society reflects the history

and culture of a particular time. An example that depicts differing ideals relates to women in math and science-based occupations. In North America, a current stereotype faced by women is their alleged lack of ability in math/science-based occupations, whereas in Poland, women occupy math/science-based occupations in higher numbers and are accepted within these fields. Therefore, Polish women are not negatively stereotyped for their math/science abilities as are their North American counterparts.

As previously stated, stereotypes are defined as, “traits that are viewed as characteristic of social groups, or of individual members of those groups, and particularly those that differentiate groups from one another” (Nelson 2009, p. 2). These differentiations feed division and discrimination amongst and between groups of people. According to Steele (2010), discrimination is related to the self-esteem of an individual and the social groups we form. Groups are formed when people share commonalities. People tend to “favor members of [their] own group over members of other groups – the need for self-esteem driving in-group favoritism” (p. 78). Stereotypes impact one’s identity, based on the social group to which one belongs. If one is not originally from, or is otherwise different from the original group, one is often stereotyped, shunned and prevented from identifying with the ‘in-group’. In this way one is prevented from gaining self-esteem and opportunities to succeed, or even interact with that group. One’s identity is devalued.

Stereotypes are spread like myths, most often with a focus on deficiencies of an individual/group. One result is an internalization and acceptance of the stereotype by either the group or the individual. “This internalization damages ‘character’ by causing low-self-esteem, low expectations, low motivations, self-doubt” (Steele 2010, p. 46).



In his research on the effect of stereotyping of Indigenous Canadians, Harding (2005) cites work demonstrating that behaviour and identity changes as a consequence of stereotyping, and this may involve a conscious decision to surrender to the stereotype. As he stated:

*Labelling theory* suggests that stereotypes may become "self-fulfilling prophecies" for those individuals and groups that are subject to them. A well-known example is that of the "drunken Indian." Aboriginal people who have consistent long-term exposure to this stereotype may "feel that they have a certain license to imbibe to excess because it is expected of them by non-Natives, giving themselves permission to conform to a stereotype" (p. 326).

Research on stereotype threat reveals that reacting consistent with a stereotype is not usually a conscious choice. For example, Steele (2010) points out that women with as much demonstrated math skill as men will perform worse than men on the same tests of math until stereotype threat is removed, and then their scores are the same. The women made no conscious choice to achieve at lower levels.

By whatever psychological process, stereotype threat impacts identity. It is important to note that not all stereotypes are based on race. Steele (2010) has found the effects of stereotype threat:

has been observed in women, African Americans, Asian American students, European males aspiring to be clinical psychologists (under the threat of negative stereotypes about men's ability to understand feelings), French college students, German grade school girls, U.S. soldiers on army bases in Italy, women business school students, white and black athletes, older Americans, and so on. It has been shown to affect many performances: math, verbal, analytic, and I.Q. test performance, language usage, aggressiveness in negotiations, memory performance, the height of athletic jumping, and so on (p. 97- 98).

Again, it is important to stress that any stereotype may result in stereotype threat. All members of society may fall victim to its negative effects, thereby negatively impacting their lives. Often an individual/ group fears confirming the stereotype, which can result in stereotype

threat. There is an under-performance of the affected individual / group. Steele (2010) defines under-performance as an imposition of certain conditions on one's life and social identities.

Under-performance may:

strongly affect things as important as our performances in the classroom and on standardized tests, our memory capacity, our athletic performance, the pressure we feel to prove ourselves, even the comfort level we have with people of different groups - all things we typically think of as being determined by individual talents, motivations and preferences" (p. 4).

In what is referred to as an *under-performance phenomenon*, the individual or group feels the weight of added pressure and will not be able to perform. Furthermore, "the person must care about the performance in question" (Ibid, p. 98). Confirming the stereotype impacts the individual to the degree they will be unable to perform and, in some cases will not even attempt the activity.

Stereotypes are discriminatory perceptions directed towards an individual or group, thus reflect the behaviours and attitudes of those who stereotype. Conversely, stereotype threat/identity threat are the feelings and perceptions, often subconsciously, that are felt by individuals or groups who are being stereotyped. The focus is placed on how one is being affected by the stereotypes. According to Steele (2015), under-performance and under-achievement of an individual/group is the primary feature of stereotype threat/identity threat. Steele (2015) explained that when an individual's/group's abilities are negatively stereotyped by members in the dominant society, those who are stereotyped feel the pressure to confirm the negative stereotype.

As previously stated, for the purpose of this thesis, I focus on racism and how it impacts the individual / group. Stereotype threat is the harmful consequence of racism and stereotyping.

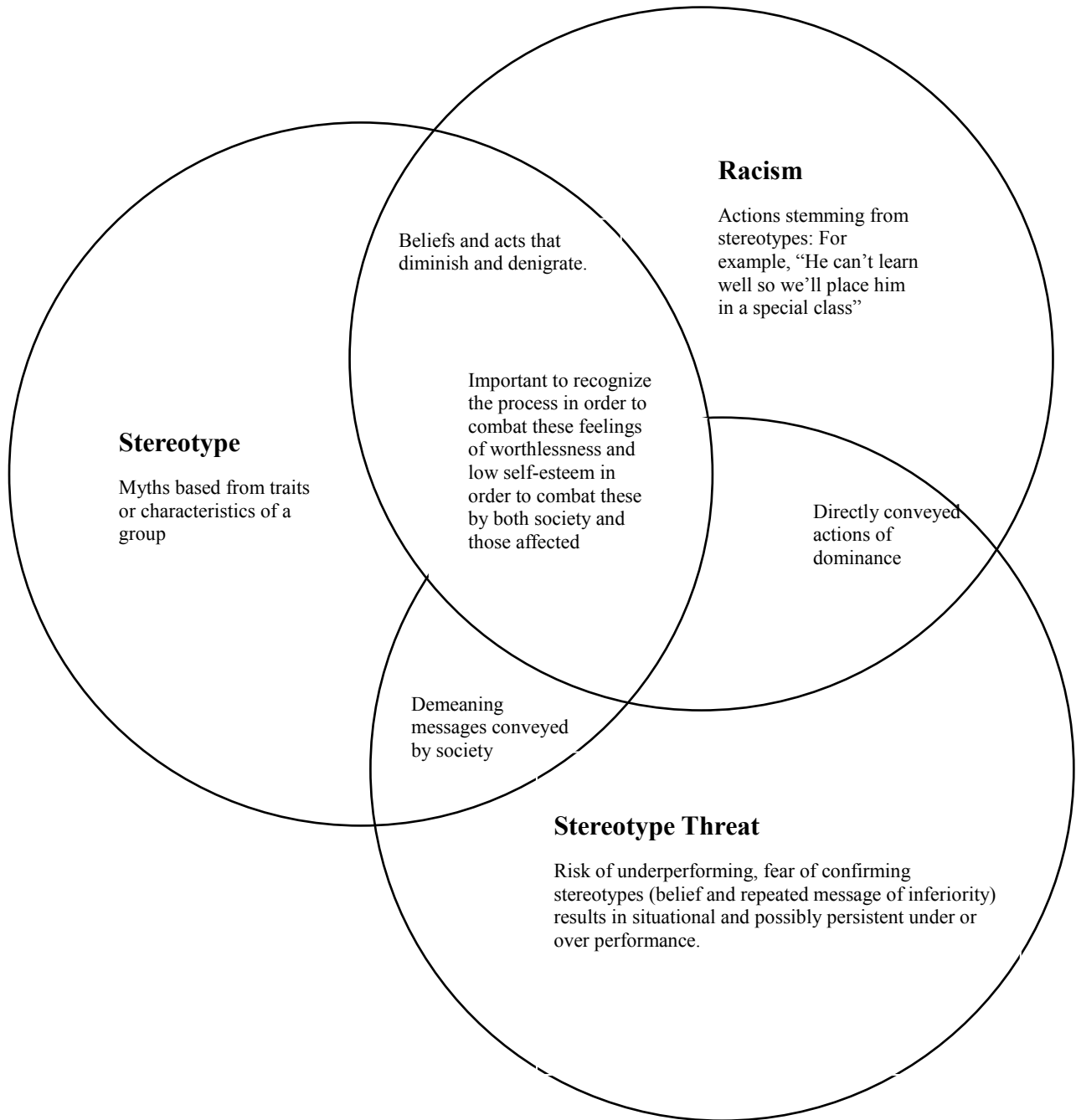
Individuals and groups affected by repeated stereotyping have been more prone to experience a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure, wherein they believed the broader society's stereotype that the group to which they identified was more likely to fail. Stereotype threat that stems from racism is akin to propaganda. As a result, the individual develops a doubting, restricting inner voice that replays a message of not being good enough, feeling useless and or even unlovable. Steele & Aronson (1995) were among the first to define stereotype threat as a:

social-psychological predicament that can arise from widely-known negative stereotypes about one's group...anything one does or any of one's features that conform to make the stereotype more plausible as a self-characterization in the eyes of others, and perhaps even in one's own eyes (p. 797).

The act of stereotyping maintains emphasis on the attitudes and actions of those who stereotype or discriminate, while stereotype threat focuses more on how individuals and groups are affected. Stereotype threat is particularly caustic in that one does not have to believe the stereotype. One just needs to realize that the stereotype about oneself is held by the dominant society.

Below is a diagram that depicts the fluidity and relationships between stereotypes, racism and stereotype threat. This diagram also illustrates that race is not the only cause of stereotype threat. Stereotypes are prevalent in all societies. Therefore, any stereotypes that exist which lead an individual to fear confirming a stereotype, stereotype threat may result. The diagram illustrates how racism intersects with stereotype threat.

## Stereotypes, Racism and Stereotype Threat Diagram



It is important to note, once individuals recognize the process of the origin of their negative internal voice, they will be able to develop coping mechanisms that may lessen the negative impacts of stereotype threat.

A common stereotype of Canadian Aboriginal students is that they will academically underperform. Indeed, stereotype threat affects intellectual evaluations, academic achievement and success of various stereotyped groups. Aboriginal students in Canada fall behind their non-Aboriginal counterparts in academic achievement, including literacy (Ball, 2010). According to Ferguson et al. (2017), the most recent 2011 Government of Canada statistics reflect that the educational achievement of Canadian Aboriginal people significantly fall behind their Euro-Canadian counterparts.

Similar research, most predominately by Gorringer et al. (2011), have studied Aboriginal populations elsewhere in the world. Gorringer et al. (2011) focused mainly on the academic achievements of Indigenous Australians. They described the socio-cultural notion of stereotype threat as denoting broadly-held- negative societal beliefs about Australian Aboriginal students. Members of this group have believed that, based on their identity and the group's perceived lack of ability, they were unable to learn or succeed. Ultimately, this has negatively affected their academic success.

The Saskatchewan School Boards Association has included strategies within curriculum intended to refute and replace negative stereotyping (Farrell-Racette et al., 1996; Lawrence 2004). Within the *Saskatchewan Teacher's Perspective on Curriculum Renewal*, Indigenous Ways of Knowing are infused within the curricular foundations, frameworks, structures and

processes and are seen, “throughout all aspects of curriculum renewal and the educational system” (2016, p. 9). Addressed within the curriculum outcomes, ethical relationality as well as engagement of the student are both stressed. Ethical relationality is:

an ecological understanding of human relationality that does not deny difference, but rather seeks to more deeply understand how our histories and experiences position us in relation to each other. This form of relationality is ethical because it does not overlook or invisibilize the particular historical, cultural, and social context from which a particular person understands and experiences living in the world. (Concentus Curriculum Outcomes 2016, p. 40).

In other words, a deeper understanding of different histories and experiences are explored, which help students learn and accept cultural variations.

Another example of remedying stereotyping and stereotype threat was contained in a study by Denham (2008) who emphasized the importance of countering negative ideas of a stereotyped group and replacing them with narratives of strength.

Current research on stereotype threat tends to be quantitatively or empirically oriented. In other words, findings were gathered from a comparison of different groups. Data, based on averages of responses to standard questions, have been transformed for statistical comparisons. There has been limited qualitative research done on individuals experiencing stereotype threat.

Qualitative research allows more thorough exploration of an individual’s experience in a defined aspect of life. In a qualitative study, subjectively-based life experiences of participants are collected, providing for deeper participant involvement. It was natural to apply Indigenous Research Methodology in the current study, a qualitative strategy to which my participants were most accepting and compatible.

My research study addressed the following question: Do the negative stereotypes that

mainstream society holds about Indigenous people have an impact on the educational outcomes of urban Indigenous individuals?

Using *Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM)* allowed in-depth and unrestricted understanding of the subjective experiences of Edmonton's urban Aboriginal participants and was a clear choice for research in an Indigenous community. IRM provides a holistic approach, allowing recognition of spiritual, cultural, intellectual, emotional, and sensory effects upon a participant. IRM also permitted exploration of solutions stemming from an Aboriginal world view, as well as from the perspective of the Aboriginal community.

Oral tradition and its connected narratives are encouraged and embraced within IRM. In this study, participants provided narratives, counter-narratives and discourse that revealed their experiences with stereotype threat.

#### Location of Researcher

I am of Inuit descent and have always lived in an urban setting. Being the only Aboriginal student in my classes throughout primary and secondary school, I felt estranged from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. These feelings of alienation amplified the challenges I experienced in learning, especially with literacy. Dion et al. (2010) described this same alienation felt by urban Aboriginal students within the Toronto school system.

I learned that I was different from others when I was very young. Some family members made their disparaging views about my mixed heritage well known. I found the ideas of Gorringer et al. (2011) enlightening as they explained that the destructive nature of stereotype threat works both ways. Gorringer et al. (2011) described incidents where non-Indigenous

populations disparage Indigenous communities. However, they added that some members of Aboriginal populations could be just as cruel to members of their own people.

My early academic experience left me believing that learning wasn't a part of my world. As an Inuit, I felt that my teachers overlooked my ability. As an adult, reflecting back to my childhood, I now realize that I suffered the negative effects of stereotype threat. I had low self-esteem and under-performed in school. I came to believe that I would not do well in school and this fuelled a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. While growing up, I did not like reading and was a poor writer. This had a negative impact on my success in other subjects.

I believed I was unable to succeed in school and maintain that my teachers had the same opinion. According to Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer, teacher expectations are reflected in how the Indigenous population are socialized. The impact of residential schools still affects the Aboriginal community. The message of "Aboriginal people being lesser than" continues to prevail in today's society (November 5, 2018).

My belief ultimately affected my ability to learn. It did not matter whether my teachers believed this stereotype, it was very real to me. Only after my parents intervened did I find pathways to success. Both of my parents valued reading. Countless times we drove to the library. As we walked down the aisles, my parents encouraged me to choose books. Once we got home, we read together and shared what we learned. Through their actions and positive attitudes, I developed a love for history and classical literature. My world opened up. Reading helped me become a better writer and student. Their encouragement and proactive interventions transformed my beliefs from a negative discourse to a narrative of strength.

Sadly, stereotype threat and stereotypes continue to be felt by many members of the



urban Aboriginal population. Educational institutions such as the University of Alberta are not immune to such acts of intolerance. In 2017, a pumpkin was left on the steps outside of the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta. It was carved in a caricature that depicted a negative stereotypical image of the Aboriginal population (Boyd, Oct. 30, 2017). The image expressed an attitude of racism. I believe this example is important because all educational institutions must address racism, educate their institution, and implement strategies that would be effectively counter stereotype threat, racism and intolerance.

The University of Alberta quickly denounced the act and reiterated its own vision, mission statement and motto of ensuring respect and tolerance. David Turpin, President and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Alberta, stressed that targeting and marginalizing individuals or groups would not be tolerated. The university promised to create a vibrant and supportive learning environment, disseminate and apply new knowledge, and advance community involvement while establishing partnerships amongst all cultures (The Quad @ UAlberta, 2017).

The global community is marked by a rejuvenation of bigotry and oppressive politics. Stereotype threat has been accentuated. Society has regressed after more than a century of more humane and thoughtful advances; power tribalism is growing in popularity, and fascist leaders are proliferating. The foundation of justice and equality created by Lincoln's legacy of a democratic society, "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men [and women] are created equal" (Gettysburg Address, 1863) has been eroding. Our society is becoming numb to these injustices, apathetically accepting stereotyping and other forms of racism, resulting in stereotype threat seemingly becoming the norm.

Consequently, incidents of intolerance persist, especially within our educational institutions. It is vital to address and combat stereotype threat. It is vital to empower individuals with knowledge of how they are affected and how they may be unshackled. Research in this area will aid to develop strategies that can eliminate stereotype threat

### Summary and Organization of Chapters

The following thesis is guided by a research focus on stereotype threat, and how it affects participants who identify as ethnic minorities. This research study consists of five chapters. In this first chapter, I introduced stereotype threat and related effects of stereotyping, discussed the importance of studying this subject, located myself as a researcher, and briefly addressed the research methodological approach I employed for this current study.

Chapter Two contains the literature review. It provides an overview and evaluation of the current research on stereotype threat. The scope of stereotype threat is examined, defined, and then its importance within the field of education is reviewed. Various theories and causes of stereotype threat are explored. A discussion of stereotype threat and how it affects the urban Aboriginal population is also examined.

The deleterious effects of stereotype threat are discussed, along with possible interventions recommended within the studies. I will synthesize the findings, demonstrate any research gaps and examine how these gaps could be addressed and incorporated into my research.

Chapter Three explores the Indigenous Research Methodology which I used in my research. In the literature review, I elaborate why this methodological approach was best suited

for this topic. I provide a succinct summary of the more relevant elements revealed in the literature review. Finally, I explain my conceptual framework, which formed the basis of my methodological approach.

In Chapter Four, I introduce the participants and provide some of the results of the findings from the interviews, as well as analysis from the interview data. My personal stories and relevant literature have been interwoven within the findings.

Chapter Five provides the findings, summary and discussion of the analysis results. Included are recommendations for future research. Finally, I conclude with thoughts about self-determination and hopes for the future.

This study will further advance research with the intention to clarify obstacles faced by urban Canadian Aboriginal adults in their quest for academic success and for the realization of their personal goals. Various strategies will be explored that would best assist combatting stereotype threat. Results will contribute to the development and application of methods that will enhance urban Canadian Aboriginal adults' beliefs about their ability to succeed academically.

#### Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

My research asked members of Edmonton's urban Aboriginal community to discuss how they were affected by stereotype threat, and by the associated negative social discourses that claim Aboriginal people are unable to succeed. As with all studies, limitations and delimitations affected or restricted research methods and the analysis of the data.

Limitations encompass the “matters and occurrences that arise in a study which are out of the researcher's control” (Simon et al. 2013, p. 1)—the characteristics or methodology that

influenced the interpretation of the findings. The time constraints of exploration with the qualitative method imposed a limit on the number of interviewees who participated, as well as resources needed to interview the participants. Only participants who considered themselves members of Edmonton's urban Aboriginal community were involved within this study.

Delimitation refers to “those characteristics that arise from limitations in the scope of the study (defining boundaries) and by the conscious exclusionary and inclusionary decisions made during the development of the study plan” (Simon et al. 2013, p. 3) factors that the researcher cannot control and that narrow the scope of the study. My research was delimited by its location, Edmonton's urban First Nation community as well as the impact race has on stereotype threat. As previously stated, scant research addresses the impacts of stereotype threat and the urban Indigenous population. It is of vital importance the urban Indigenous community, herein specifically Edmonton, be included in research on stereotype threat.

### Definition of Terms

The following terms are used within this thesis. The terms used most frequently to designate the original inhabitants of Canada include *Aboriginal*, *First Nations peoples* and *Indigenous*. *Indigenous* and *Aboriginal* are used internationally, depending on the locale.

It should be noted that there are variations of definitions for the following terms. However, for the purpose of this thesis, I obtained most of the definitions from Alberta Education. As an Alberta teacher, I use these terms within my classes.

**Aboriginal Peoples:** “The descendants of the original inhabitants of North America, First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples have unique heritages, languages, cultural practices and spiritual beliefs” (Alberta Education, Program of Studies, 2018).

**Euro-Canadian People:** European Canadians (also known as Euro-Canadians) are Canadians with ancestry from Europe. They form the largest pan-ethnic group within Canada. The term "European Canadian" implies there's a commonality and a bond between those who trace their ancestry to Ukraine, Portugal, Greece, Finland, Germany, Romania, Turkey, Switzerland, Estonia, and England, to name just 10 of those countries. However, the country's largest self-reported ethnic origin is "Canadian". (accounting for 11,135,965 of the population) (Duchesne, 2017).

**First Nation peoples:** “Used by persons or group of people whose ancestors inhabited this land prior to the arrival of Europeans; a political term in Canada used by Aboriginal people to identify themselves as distinct nations apart from Canada; organizations that are owned and operated by First Nations people or governments. Sometimes used interchangeably with Aboriginal, Indigenous, Indian, Cree, or Native. First Nation is preferred to the terms, Indian, tribe and band, which the federal, provincial and territorial governments in Canada have formally adopted and frequently use. There are over 600 First Nations across Canada and 46 in Alberta” (Steinhauer 2007, pg. 33).

**Indigenous:** “Indigenous” has a number of usages that differ from “to be born in a specific place,” which is how the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it. These usages tend to define Indigenous (Indigeneity) by the experiences shared by a group of people who have inhabited a country for thousands of years, which often contrast with those of other groups of people who reside in the same country for a few hundred years. A number of alternative terms are preferred to indigenous. For example, in Australia, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander are appropriate and acceptable. In Canada and the United States, the term First Nations is used to describe the Indian, Métis, and Inuit populations. Many groups prefer their own language (Cunningham et.al 2003, p. 403).

**Inuit:** Inuit, “which means *people* in the Inuktitut language, is most frequently used to refer to some Indigenous peoples of northern Canada, Alaska, Greenland and Siberia. The Inuit have a distinct culture from other First Nations people in Canada” (Canadian Studies Program, Canadian Heritage, 2007).

**Métis:** “People of mixed First Nations and European ancestry who identify themselves as Métis people. They are distinct from First Nations, Inuit and non-Aboriginal peoples. The Métis history and culture draws on diverse ancestral origins, such as Scottish, Irish, French, Ojibway and Cree” (Alberta Education, Program of Studies, 2018).

**Non-status Indian:** “This term commonly refers to people who identify themselves as Indians but who are not entitled to registration on the Indian Register according to the Indian Act. Some may be members of a First Nation band” (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada – INAC, 2018).

**Qualitative Research:** Qualitative research, “arising out of the post-positivist rejection of a single, static or objective truth, has concerned itself with the meanings and personal experience of individuals, groups and sub-cultures. 'Reality' in qualitative research is concerned with the

negotiation of 'truths' through a series of subjective accounts... qualitative researchers denying one's role within research also threatens the validity of the research” (Winter, 2000, p. 9).

**Quantitative Research:** This type of research has, “roots in a positivist tradition, and to an extent, positivism has been defined by and bolstered along by a systematic theory of 'validity'. Within the positivist terminology, 'validity' resided amongst, and was the result and culmination of other empirical conceptions: universal laws, evidence, objectivity, truth, actuality, deduction, reason, fact and mathematical data to name just a few... For quantitative researchers this involvement would greatly reduce the validity of a test” (Winter, 2000, p. 9).

**Reserve:** “An area of land that is protected and set aside by the federal government for Aboriginal peoples in accordance with treaties” (Alberta Education, Program of Studies, 2018).

**Self-Determination:** Self-determination applies to peoples entitled to determine their status without external interference. “In February 1992, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples released a statement on self-government entitled *The Right of Aboriginal Self-Government and the Constitution: A Commentary*.<sup>47</sup> The Royal Commission outlined six criteria that are essential to satisfy the Aboriginal desire for self-government. They state that the right of self-government should be:

*inherent* in nature, *circumscribed* in extent, and sovereign within its sphere... The provision should be adopted with the *consent* of the Aboriginal peoples and should be *consistent* with the view that Section 35 may already recognize a right of self-government.... [I]t should be *justiciable* immediately” [emphasis in original] (Issac 1992, p. 13).

**Status Indian:** “As defined by Canada’s *Indian Act*, a Status Indian is a person who is registered Indian. Known as registered Indians, they may be eligible for a range of benefits, rights, programs and services offered by the federal, provincial or territorial governments” (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada – INAC, 2018 and Indigenous Foundations.arts.ubc.ca, 2009).

**Treaties:** Legal documents between a government and a First Nation that confer rights and obligations on both parties. To First Nations peoples, the treaties are sacred documents made by the parties and often sealed by a pipe ceremony (Alberta Education, Program of Studies, 2018).

**Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):** The TRC was created to address abuse resulting from the Indian Residential Schools (IRS) system, “The TRC is like other truth and reconciliation commissions in that it is an official, temporary, non-judicial fact-finding body set up to investigate a pattern of abuses of human rights committed over a number of years. That is, it is a government-sponsored commission, with a five-year mandate, intended to investigate the IRS system and its legacy. Like other truth commissions, the TRC mandate includes the creation of a historical record and the making of recommendations. The TRC is distinctive in that it is the only truth commission to be created out of litigation” (Stanton 2011, p. 4).

## Chapter Two: History, Literature Review and Introduction of Concepts and Research Method

### Race and Racism

Race and racism are contentious topics that evoke strong opinions and high levels of discomfort. Claims are routinely made of people to the effect that they described as, “racist” or their actions are claimed to be demonstrating “racism”. Racism is considered rife within our society. However, what do *race*, and *racism* mean? It is important to define these terms in order to discuss the issues, or to arrive at possible strategies necessary to counter consequences such as stereotype threat.

In this chapter, I define and discuss how the construct of *race* has been used to justify universal discriminations and fuel widespread racism. I also explore racism faced by Indigenous populations. In the previous chapter, I defined stereotype threat. However, within Chapter Two, I delve deeper into the various causes and theories of stereotype threat, and; describe why this topic is important to the urban Canadian Indigenous population. I review and evaluate recent relevant research of stereotype threat, and explore symptoms or manifestations, along with possible strategies recommended within the literature to lessen the impact of stereotype threat. Finally, I synthesize the findings and identify gaps within the research of this topic.

As previously stated, definitions of race and racism are one facet at the core of stereotype threat. It is difficult to come to a common understanding of the notion of race. Its meaning is not universal, it has been defined variously, and definitions have altered over time.

Lowe (2010) defines race as having three dimensions that have evolved over time. These

include:

(1)“The lineage of a family, or continued series of descendants from a parent who is called the stock” in 1828; (2) “[t]he descendants of a common ancestor; a family, tribe, people, or nation, believed or presumed to belong to the same stock; a lineage; a breed” in 1913; finally, the 2006 version, (3) “a class or kind of people unified by community of interests, habits, or characteristics.” (pg. 1115).

Research has described race as being an unstable social construct, always shifting.

“[Race] is socially constructed through human interaction and relationship between people and institutions, as a social force”, according to Cole (2018). The meaning of race, in the view of Spawn (2008) “is not the same anywhere at any given time due to the different constructs set up within a society and the personal translation of that construct.” In other words, race is a social construct, based on human physical characteristics, created to differentiate and often validate a professed superiority of one group of people over another. Race is only given power when people assign meaning and validation (Solorzano et al. 2001).

Stemming from the notion of race, racism is defined by the belief that, “race is the primary determinant of human traits and capabilities and that racial differences produce inherent superiority of a particular group” (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2018). From this, it is clear that racism is reflected in political doctrines and is commonly included within educational policy.

A powerful example of racism within educational policy is the implementation of standardized testing (Croizet et al. 2011; Ryan et al. 2013). Proponents of standardized tests argue, “that testing is the only way to accurately assess the education system and promote reforms” (Bhattacharyya et al. 2013, p. 663). The scores are used to validate placement of



students into courses, ultimately affecting an individual's schooling, academic standing and future employment opportunities. However, reliability and validity of these tests have been questioned:

Standards and commonalities within a state are used to develop standardized tests. The culturally diverse areas and common biases in a region are not considered. Even when using statistical tools to reduce bias, guarantees of bias-free test form or content is not assured (Bhattacharyya et al. 2013, p. 635).

A consequence of racism may occur when an individual internalizes its harmful effects. Nittle-Kareem (2017) described this as internalized racism. Members of the minority group begin to believe and internalize the negative racist messages from the dominant group. Some minority group members will try to alter their appearance, so they look more like those of the dominant society. In extreme cases of internal racism, the person loathes them self for being different. Gorringer et al. (2010) refer to this as lateral violence.

Aboriginal people experience racism to strike at the very core of our being, affecting our ontology and epistemology (Wilson, 2008). Our reality or ontology becomes poisoned with negative experiences stemming from racism. How we view ourselves within society becomes skewed. Reflected in lowered self-esteem and deeply internalized beliefs, our ontology can transform into a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. Likewise, our epistemology, or how we think or know the world, becomes coloured through a lens of anger, shame and, sadly, compliance. This is reflected by poor school and workplace performance.

In most educational institutions, adherence to *deficit theory* has been the prevalent mode of addressing student needs, where the focus is on negative perceptions of an individual or group (Prete, 2018). Deficit theory “stemmed from beliefs that, although some individuals functioned

in ways considered ‘subnormal’, they were humans and deserve to be educated” (Trent et al. 2005, p. 277). “Beliefs emanating from deficit thinking contributed to beliefs about race and intelligence” (Trent et al. 2005, pg. 279). Deficit theory focusses on weaknesses, assuming poor performance and wide underachievement can be attributed to the socio-economic status and familial origin of the students.

However, the term racism itself originates from a deficit source. Calling an individual “racist” immediately creates an adversarial relationship, while at the same time diminishing the power of those affected by racism. As a result, proposed strategies have been marred with blame and lead to resignation that solutions cannot be found (Gorringe et al. 2010).

In order to initiate changes with society’s negative discourses, empowerment is necessary. The current study will emphasize strategies recommended by participants, which are predicated on empowerment. IRM ensures that Indigenous voices are heard and that strategies which are crucial to counter racism, prejudice and stereotype threat stem from the Indigenous world view (Gorringe et al. 2010, Steele, 1997). Underscoring values of strength and equality, the ontology of our ancestors was built on the relationship of the interconnection of all forms of life. The following studies suggest that by highlighting our strengths and adopting a positive discourse, Indigenous people can alter the negative epistemology, or how we know our world (Alam, 2018; Aronson et al. 2009; Ball, 2010; Gorringe et al., 2011; Harper et al. 2016), Knockwood 2004; Moore-Callahan, 2010; Parthenis et al. 2016; Picho, 2016; Robinson 2014; Ross 2018; Rubie et al. 2004; Seelau et al. 2014-15; Senk 2014; Stroud 2014; Walton et al. 2011).

In the following section, I briefly summarize stereotype threat. Included are the reported

emotional and physical impacts experienced by those suffering from stereotype threat. I then demonstrate how stereotyped threats five features, outlined by Steele (1997), can negatively impact the educational system.

### Stereotype Threat and Its Importance Within Education

Allport (1954) described how children, as early as the age of five, are capable of understanding whether they are a member of a group. By this age, ethnic identification is established. Children comprehend whether they are accepted members of the *in-group*, or dominant society, or are relegated to the marginal roles of a community. Marginal group members find themselves in situations where they are pressured to conform to the dominant society. Negative stereotypes imposed by the dominant group are effective tools which reinforce the marginal group's lowered status.

Stereotype threat arises from negative stereotypes that are broadly conveyed in society about a group. It is the perception and related concern of those stereotyped that their performance or actions are seen through the lens of a negative stereotype. The likelihood of undermining performance is increased, which verifies the stereotype. Stereotype threat is unique in that one does not have to believe in the actual stereotype for it to affect one's performance (Steele & Aronson 1995; Goringe et al. 2010). For example, an Aboriginal person doesn't have to believe the stereotype they are less likely to succeed academically, they only have to be aware the stereotype exists for their success to be undermined.

Fischer (2010) explains that minorities are negatively affected by stereotype threat because they become hyper-aware of their race/ethnicity. This places them in a position where

their performance could be judged as confirming or disconfirming a negative stereotype. Fischer (2010) explains that the threat component within stereotype threat stems from the anxiety felt of not wanting to conform to the negative stereotype. The stereotype and threat of confirming it or not becomes a dominant part of the minority group's identity.

An important feature of stereotype threat is that the more a minority student identifies with the domain or sphere of activity/knowledge important to them, for example, achievement in math, the higher the incidence of stereotype threat (Jaramillio et al. 2015; Fischer 2010; Osborne & Walker 2006; Steele 1997). In other words, caring more about the outcome would increase the conflict. Self-fulfilling prophecy follows. Individuals do not perform to their full potential or attain desired academic achievement. Their self-determination is undermined.

Physiological symptoms linked to the experiences of stereotype threat correspond with changes in cognitive and behavioural performance (Mendes et al., 2011). Various physiological changes can be seen in a *flight or fight* anxiety response experienced when taking tests (Croizet 2004, et al.) In addition, Croizet et al. (2004) state that stereotype threat undermines intellectual performance by triggering a disruptive mental load. Due to an increase in anxiety and fear, the individual freezes and is unable to successfully complete the test. These physiological changes can also intensify into a long-term chronic stress response, negatively affecting academic achievement and personal well-being.

Steele (1997) identifies five features typically seen in stereotype threat. These include:

1. *Commonly held negative stereotypes of a group may result in a generalized threat to members of that group.*

By recognizing a widespread, negative stereotype in society, members of the

marginalized group are afflicted by a threat to their thinking and behaviour. As a teacher, I worked one-to-one with my Aboriginal students. Many confided to me that they believed studying was pointless because Aboriginal people will never do well or succeed. Nothing I would say or do could change their minds.

2. *Negative stereotypes about one's group become relevant to interpreting oneself or one's behaviour in an identified setting.*

By identifying with the minority group, for example in a setting like a school, the stereotype becomes strongly felt by these group members. Jaramillo et al. (2015) found that greater ethnic identity directly corresponds with stereotype threat. In addition, Osborne et al. (2006) found that students adversely affected by stereotype threat were highly invested in and strongly identified with their ethnic, academic or intellectual domain. It should be noted that *academic or intellectual domain* refers to the realm with which the individuals strongly identify for example, ethnic group or gender, or strongly positive in realm of academics. This in turn places increased pressure on them to perform.

As a result, these students experience the negative effects of the stereotypes. They place more pressure on themselves not to conform to the negative stereotype, resulting in the creation of a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. Students affected by stereotype threat are more likely to withdraw from school.

3. *Types and degrees of stereotypes vary across the settings.*

As reported by James (2012), negative stereotypes commonly directed at male, African-Canadian youth limit their opportunities. Prevalent stereotypes of this group have included the view that African-Canadian males are underachievers due to their lack of discipline and

judgement. Members of this group are viewed as not valuing education as much as mainstream youth in Canadian society. Moreover, this group is perceived to be prone to delinquency due to the lack of positive male role models. Media play a strong role in supporting these stereotypes.

Indigenous students are bombarded with stories on social media depicting the Aboriginal population as lazy, on social assistance, and receiving huge payouts of money from the Federal Government only to waste the money on trucks and drugs (Butler, 2018; Sylvester, 2016; Palmater, 2015). Narratives such as these have lowered their self-esteem (Graham, 2015). As previously stated, stereotypes may impact teacher expectations of student's abilities and lower their educational outcomes (Riley et al. 2011).

4. *Observed within stereotype threat is "it is sufficient to be identified enough with a domain to be threatened by the possibility of limited prospects...making [the individual] aware of a stereotype that predicts lower performance for their group" (Aronson et al. 1998, p.43).*

As I mentioned in a previous section, one does not need to believe the stereotype is true. Even if the individual does not personally believe in the stereotype, but is aware that many in society do, then the stereotype becomes a threat (Riley et al. 2011). Studies have shown that "as negative stereotypes permeate our mass-media culture, members of stigmatized groups will be more susceptible to the insidious effects of stereotype threat" (Davies et al., 2002, p. 1627).

5. *Stereotypes are prevalent and widespread within society.*

Members of the group feel compelled to continually disprove stereotypes about them, creating more stress and adding to its threat. Inzlicht et al. (2011) found stereotype threat to be a worldwide phenomenon. They explain that stereotype threat is a creation of an environment that threatens one's intellectual performance. Inzlicht et al. (2011) rejected the nature and nurture

theories that are commonly utilized to explain differences in abilities. Instead, they chose to focus on situations which can be corrected by employing pro-active interventions such as positive self-affirmation and physical exercise. Inzlicht et al. (2011) regard these pro-active interventions to be a more effective measure to improve performance than merely labelling the phenomenon in those affected.

One might expect that as societies become more ethnically diverse, there would be more tolerance of difference, and stereotype threat would diminish. However, the rise of globalization creates new forms of authority and competitiveness. There is an erosion of cohesion in the national identity which threatens those who consider themselves dominant society members. The result is a perception of risk to members of the dominant society. This results in increasing the tendency for some members identifying with the dominant culture to disparage minority cultures and this, in turn, increases the incidence of stereotype threat. Ethnic and racial differences become accentuated, heightening the sensitivities of those who are not a part of the dominant group. Furthermore, due to stereotype threat, the marginalized group will either become an economic threat or burden to society (Parthenis & Fragoulis 2016; Brown et al. 2011). Stereotype threat becomes a never-ending cycle.

As previously mentioned in Chapter One, numerous minorities and targeted groups of individuals experience stereotype threat (Inzlicht et al., 2011; Steele, 2010). For example, stereotype threat may also be seen in individuals who have mental disorders (such as bipolar disorder), those who have seizures, physically disabled people, LGBTQ2S people, women, elderly people (questions of memory and capacity), youth (perceived inexperience), and individuals with foreign accents.

Finally, Shapiro (2010) describes stereotype threat to occur within a *Multi-Threat*

*Framework*. In other words, stereotype threat:

[contains] six core stereotype threats that emerge from a consideration of two dimensions—the target of the stereotype (who does this action reflect upon: the self or one’s group) and the source of the stereotype threat (who will draw conclusions regarding this action: the self, outgroup others, or ingroup others). The intersection of these dimensions results in stereotype-based threats to one’s personal self-concept ...to one’s group concept, to one’s personal reputation in the eyes of outgroup others...to one’s personal reputation in eyes of ingroup others...to one’s group’s reputation in the eyes of outgroup others...and to one’s group’s reputation in the eyes of ingroup others (p 3).

Shapiro (2010) examines how stereotype threat can affect an individual and group with a minority status. The minority group/individual suffers from self-sabotage. As a result, a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure ensues.

How the Indigenous population was affected by the residential school system in Canada represents an example of how groups and individuals with minority status are affected by stereotype threat. Next, I explore the effects residential school systems had on the Indigenous population. I describe the traditional Aboriginal education system as it was prior to European contact. I then discuss how it changed after European contact. The purpose of the following section is to illustrate that with the advent of residential schools, Indigenous people began to suffer from the negative impacts of stereotype threat, reinforced by the residential school system.

#### [Traditional Aboriginal Educational Practices and Residential Schools](#)

A discussion of the effects of the Canadian residential school system requires a comparison of traditional Aboriginal education before and after European contact. Because the Canadian residential school system has had unique, long-term harmful effects on the Indigenous population, it is also discussed in this section. Information of this topic was obtained from past



literature and other sources. I examine *inter-generational pain, epigenetic changes, historical trauma* and *historical trauma response*. The importance of strength-based narratives, as one approach used to assist Indigenous individuals to cope with the negative impacts of the residential school system, is also explored in this section.

#### Traditional Aboriginal Education in Canada Prior to European Contact

Prior to European contact, the Indigenous population had a “highly developed system of education” (Neegan 2005, p. 5). Education was not considered a separate activity. All community members were involved teaching skills and ways of life to the children. According to Ross (1992), modelling was used as an educational strategy. In other words, children were expected to “learn on their own, by watching, and by emulating what they see” (p. 16). Unlike the European system of education, there was “no cajolery, no praise, no punishment, no withholding of privileges or promising of rewards” (Ibid, p. 16). Children were expected take responsibility and learn.

Aboriginal culture, along with survival skills, were meshed within the traditional Aboriginal educational systems. An integration of social, economic and spiritual skills was an important component of traditional Indigenous education. Education was an “informal, experiential process” (Neegan 2005, p. 5). Traditional Aboriginal education was practical and natural, where focus was placed on survival, incorporating all facets of the person: emotional, spiritual, and physical. Relationality and the interconnection of all forms of life was central in Traditional Aboriginal education (Ross, 2018). Unlike European-based education, traditional Aboriginal teachings stressed an approach to education that, “relied on looking, listening and

learning” (Neegan 2005, p. 5).

Traditional Indigenous educational practices remained unscathed when the fur trade first began. During the 1500s, the fur trade was one of the earliest and most important industries in North America. The initial relationship between fur traders and the Indigenous population was one of cooperation and mutual respect.

### Aboriginal Education in Canada After European Contact

However, due to the success of the fur trades, Euro-Canadians migrated en masse to western Canada. The result heralded a change to traditional Aboriginal culture, negatively impacting traditional Aboriginal educational practices (Choquette, 1995). Land was taken by Euro-Canadians to settle. The Indigenous population was viewed as inferior to that of Euro-centric, Western society and as an impediment to western settlement. Aboriginal people were displaced from their traditional lands.

“In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Canadian government believed it was responsible for educating and caring for the Aboriginal people” (CBC Radio-Canada, 2016). Prior to 1883, First Nations people were placed in government-funded, individual-church-led schools. Due to the massive influx of Euro-Canadians, in 1883 John A. Macdonald “authorized the creation of three residential schools in the Canadian west” (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012, p. 6).

Run by missionaries, residential schools began operating in the 1870s and “while the residential school system had largely wound down during the 1980s, the last residences...did not close until the mid-1990s” (Ibid, p. 20). It is estimated that approximately 120, 000 First Nations,

Inuit and Métis children were placed into the residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

Residential schools were created for the purpose of evangelization and assimilation of the Indigenous population into Euro-Canadian society. Aboriginal people were “to be assimilated: they were to become functioning members of Canadian society” (Milloy 1999, p.6). These schools were intended to “civilize and Christianize Aboriginal children” (Truth and Reconciliation 2012, p. 10). Imposition of “religious beliefs upon the Indigenous peoples [were imposed] in their plight to ‘save souls’ (Prete 2018, p. 26). The belief of the government leaders was that “Aboriginal culture was unable to adapt to a rapidly modernizing society... native children could be successful if they assimilated into mainstream Canadian society” (CBC Radio-Canada, 2016; Prete, 2018).

Government officials claimed the goal was to ensure success of Aboriginal people within Euro-Canadian society. However, they did not consider that success should include equality with the dominant society. In settings and by people steeped in racist beliefs about Indigenous culture, Indigenous children were “trained as workers and servants at the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder” (MacDonald 2007, p. 1001). Trades-related activities were viewed as the only occupations Aboriginal people could learn. Racism and stereotypes formed the foundation for residential school educational policies and were reflected in the curriculum (Prete, 2018).

Residential schools were “deliberately located away from reserves” (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2012, p. 5), thereby forcing children to be separated from their families. The main “thrust of the colonial system’s assimilative strategy had concentrated on the young” (Milloy 1999, p. 9). Backed by the religious leaders of the time, the government’s

goal was to place Aboriginal children in residential schools by the age of six since “The Archbishop of St. Boniface stated, ‘they had to be caught young to be saved from what is on the whole the degenerating influence of their home environment’” (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012 p. 10-11). They believed children would be malleable and would quickly adapt to Euro-Canadian society. The consequence was the intentional breakdown of family structure and destruction of Aboriginal culture (Prete, 2018).

Residential schools prohibited children from speaking their traditional Aboriginal languages. “It was forbidden to speak anything other than English or French. Children were severely punished if they spoke their native language” (Neegan 2005, p. 7). This was devastating as Indigenous people view language as alive, a part of their culture and ways of being (Weber-Pillwax, 2004).

The underlying message behind residential school educational practices was that Aboriginal culture was inferior to the European culture. A repercussion of the residential school system is reflected in current teachers’ lowered expectation of Aboriginal students. “If Aboriginal students do not do well in school, it’s because nobody expects them to do well” (Neegan 2005, p. 11). Aboriginal and Western world views clashed.

### Intergenerational Trauma and Pain

Survivors of the residential school systems describe having suffered years of physical and emotional abuse. In addition to destroying the Indigenous cultures, residential schools caused the children and grandchildren of survivors to continue to feel pain and loss. In this phenomenon of *inter-generational pain or trauma*, traumatic events can result in an “enormous psychological

and physical toll on survivors, and often have ramifications that must be endured for decades” (Bombay et al. 2009, p. 6). Emotional scars can stem from personal trauma (such as rape, physical abuse or emotional scarring) or collective trauma (cultural erasure, genocide). Both horrific effects are reported by residential school survivors.

Feir (2016) found that “residential schooling has negative intergenerational consequences on children’s educational experiences, such as suspension and expulsion...[Indigenous children] are less likely to look forward to school and are less likely to get along with their teachers” (p. 29). She adds that these children are less likely to speak an Aboriginal language and more often live off reserve. Feir (2016) concluded that parental mental health, attitudes towards education, or parenting style shaped from residential school experiences all contribute to their children’s negative academic experiences.

### Epigenetic Transmission of Trauma

Bombay et al. (2009) cite evidence showing that damage from severe trauma can impact future generations genetically. “The effects of trauma experiences are often transmitted across generations, affecting the children and grandchildren of those who were initially victimized” (Ibid, p. 6). As a result, the emotional, physical and spiritual well-being of the subsequent generations suffer. Referred to as *epigenetics*, these changes “alter the expression of a gene without producing changes in the DNA sequence” (ScienceDaily, 2018). Therefore, exposure to extreme stress can be passed on to the offspring. Symptoms have been found in the adult children of Holocaust survivors and Indigenous populations (Ibid). Researchers and clinicians have observed the following symptoms which have been reportedly passed down to subsequent

generations:

higher levels of depression, withdrawal, various forms of anxiety, suicidal ideation and behavior, substance abuse, anger, violence, guilt behavior and adopting a victim identity. Researchers have also noted that descendants may have difficulty in inter-personal relationships, reduced energy, pathological expression of mourning, nightmares about traumatic experiences, insomnia, social isolation, exaggerated dependence or independence, concern over betraying ancestors for being excluded from the suffering (a sort of inter-generational survivor guilt), an obligation to share ancestral pain and a collection of other psychological or mental disorders” (Denham, 2008 p. 397).

No doubt, residential schools were founded with a misguided, cruel attempt at assimilation that had disastrous effects on many Aboriginal people. The effects seen today are suffered by survivors and their families. The survivors suffered the direct effect, whereas inter-generational pain is experienced in subsequent generations. However, some residential school survivors have been able to counter the negative impacts of blatant racism.

This has invoked obvious questions about the resiliency of some residential school survivors, including: How were those residential school survivors able to reduce the negative effects of the residential schools? How were they able to assist their children and grandchildren in order to reduce the impacts of inter-generational pain? What has allowed residential school survivors to emerge with more personal power?

### Historical Trauma and Historical Trauma Response

Denham (2008) addressed these questions and researched various strategies that survivors of trauma employed to remedy inter-generational pain. He found that inter-generational pain, as well as healing from trauma, can be reflected within the collective memory of a group of people, and, in order for healing to occur, historical *trauma* must be met with a particular *historical trauma response*. Denham (2008) defines historical trauma as: “the suffering of various ethnic

groups, for example, Aboriginal people subjected to colonialism, decedents of Holocaust survivors” (p. 396). In other words, any grand-scale traumatic situation, directed towards a group of people, will negatively impact that group.

However, *historical trauma response* is, “the pattern of diverse responses that may result from exposure to historical trauma” (Ibid, p. 391). In other words, historical trauma responses are the ways the survivors and families have reacted to the trauma. Certain activities may lessen the negative impact of historical trauma.

### Strengths-based Strategies and Narratives

Denham (2008) found that healing is more likely when strengths-based strategies are implemented. He writes that strengths-based strategies include narratives that are “grounded within a strengths-based perspective [and] emphasize how family members are successful at overcoming difficulties and remaining strong in the face of traumatic circumstances” (Ibid, p. 405). These strengths-based approaches and their accompanying narratives may involve activities such as returning to traditional Aboriginal culture and adopting a positive lifestyle.

Denham (2008) stresses the importance of the “family, as well as the greater community, [who] transmit(s) cultural identity and collective memories to their children, who in turn transmit it to their children” (Ibid, p398). Furthermore, healing from inter-generational trauma is possible when changing from a deficit-based or negative discourse into one that is focused on strength. A negative discourse simply adds to the trauma, through processes such as stereotyping or identity threat and to lateral and symbolic violence.

After discussing the history of the residential school system and its impact on the

Indigenous population, I return to the topic of stereotype threat. I will examine various causes and theories of this phenomenon as described in the literature.

### Theories Underlying and Aligned with the Concept of Racial Stereotype Threat

Current research explores various causes of stereotype threat. The causes may be considered interrelated and, when combined, the result can be devastating to the affected group. As previously mentioned, Allport (1954), from a social development standpoint, described how ethnic identity is formed early in a child's life. At a very early age, children recognize whether they are accepted members of an in-group or dominant society. Walton et al. (2016) and Murphy et al. (2015) refer to this as *social belonging*. This is the level at which an individual feels valued or respected within a setting. Social belonging is the extent one feels connected and accepted by one's peers. Negative stereotyping that contributes to stereotype threat threatens one's social identity. This results in diminishing one's motivation, participation and level of achievement (Pennington et al. 2016).

From a socio-cultural perspective, Dandy et al. (2015) and Ryan et al. (2013) add that the threat to an individuals' social identity is reinforced by the dominant group's attitudes towards the minority group. Educational systems bolster stereotype threat through the implementation of biased standardized tests.

Ryan et al. (2013) employ Michel Foucault's *Theory of Power* to describe how educational institutions are effective tools to rationalize colonialization and reinforce the dominant groups' superiority (Coloma, 2011). Educational policy and curriculum reflect the values of the dominant group (Gorman, 1999).



Michel Foucault was a philosophical historian, best known for his criticisms of social institutions. According to Foucault, “each society has its regime of truth, and its general politics of truth” (Coloma, 2011, p. 184). In other words, whoever has power has the ability to decide what is truth. Foucault asserted that those who had power were able to make and remake history to best suit their needs or agendas. The goal of those in power, namely the government, was to regulate society. Through education, the government was able to erase histories of the oppressed, reframing them as irrelevant. In this way, the dominant society, through government and education, maintained control. Foucault believed that education was the method of repressing a culture.

By perpetuating the perception that Canadian Aboriginal people were savages who needed to be acculturated and assimilated, Euro-Canadians used the institution of education as a method to subjugate and control Indigenous population. Governmental officials were “a part of a generation that believed that the future would be better than the past, that Canada was a decent and progressive country, that education and training were keys to a better way of life” (Goldring, 2010 pg. 1).

Euro-Canadians believed that their ways of life were superior to those of the Aboriginal community. Aboriginal populations were forced into Residential Schools largely because their traditional ways of life were deemed wrong. Also, the colonial powers’ growing greed for fur pelts and land, fed by an influx of settlers, accentuated their need for control of the land and its people.

According to Ball (2015), Foucault described how schools became “an apparatus of uninterrupted examination” (p. 299). Examinations became pivotal for evaluation and

comparison of students. These were “woven into the school through a constantly repeated ritual of power. The learner is made visible and calculable, but power is rendered invisible” (Ibid, p. 299). The results of examinations determine the rank and categorize the student. These techniques of measuring and monitoring “play a particular role within the contemporary relationship between truth and power and the self” (Ibid, p. 299). Numerical measurements became powerful in dictating student’s futures.

Standardized testing implemented by the government further subjugated the Aboriginal community. Ryan et al. (2013) describe how the government was able to, “influence, in the name of accountability, the prospects and focus of FN [First Nations] student learning” (p. 167). The government is able to dictate the content taught in the schools. Since the officials chose the topics which were to be tested, the assimilation process was accelerated. Results from standardized tests erroneously verified the inferiority of Aboriginal students, confirming the opinions of officials and broader society, ultimately validating the power of the dominant group, and culminating in stereotype threat, as the minority group believed they were seen to be inferior.

Standardized tests have given children from privileged societies distinct advantages over their working class or underprivileged counterparts. Underprivileged students from subordinated classes have believed they are incapable of learning and dropped out of school. Their beliefs have been reinforced by broadly-accepted norms and negative stereotypes, causing them anxiety, diminished self-worth and lowered self-esteem. Conversely, privileged students have not been adversely affected by the school system, because the language, academic attitudes and curriculum have been modeled after the dominant society (Crozier et al. 2017; Brown et al. 2011).

For the underprivileged, such as the Aboriginal population, the vicious circle of negative stereotypes evolved into stereotype threat which was reinforced and validated through the educational institutions. This resulted in a self-fulfilling prophecy of low self-esteem, little self-worth and the acceptance that success was unattainable (Crozier et al. 2017).

Ledlow (1992) added that historical and structural forces of the educational system have supported the dominant group's belief. Encouraging the minority groups' success was of minimal importance. Indigenous groups were left feeling powerless and deemed to be a part of a lower caste in a caste-like society. This is significant to Indigenous people because their culture was stripped away by the dominant society, resulting in the loss of status, further limiting their ability to attain success. Ledlow (1992) elaborated that the stripping away a culture by imposing a caste-like societal system was reinforced by educational institutions. She referred to this as *structured inequality*.

Moreover, Gorringer et al. (2011) explained that by focusing identity on perceptions of deficits, negative stereotypes are used by the Aboriginal population against other Aboriginal people. The result has been a cementing of stereotype threat. Referred to as *lateral violence*, "it describes a range of damaging behaviours expressed by those of a minority oppressed group towards others of that group rather than towards the system of oppression" (Gorringer et al. 2011, pg. 8). These perceptions of deficits framed Aboriginal people's identity in a negative manner.

It has been postulated that lateral violence originated from colonialism where:

colonised groups attempt to mimic the oppressor and take on the behaviours as well as the values of the oppressors and in turn adopt violent behaviours that can be used amongst members of their own group" (Clark et al., 2015, p. 20).

Clark et al. (2015) explain that the term 'lateral violence' may be misinterpreted by the

general population. They argue that violence is often defined only as “physical violence rather than in its covert forms” (p. 22). However, individuals suffering from lateral violence may suffer negative impacts emotionally, socially, economically and spiritually (Ibid).

Gorringer et al. (2011) provides the example of lateral violence wherein some Indigenous Australian Aborigines would refuse to support other Australian Aborigines whose skin tone was lighter. They were not perceived to be a true Aboriginal. Ultimately, this created a foundation of strong stereotype threat, resulting in a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure, with beliefs such as ‘I’m not worthy as either Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal’. Lateral violence evolves into cultural norms that contribute to expand social inequality. The resulting ideology of inferiority or inequality naturalizes and legitimizes the status quo.

*Symbolic violence* has also been a construct describing harm done by society toward minority groups. Weigmann (2013), described symbolic violence as “physical domination that is replaced or made purposeless because the individual sees the existing social order as natural and appropriate” (p. 11). As a result, cultural norms become so deeply entrenched within society, subordinate groups do not question its legitimacy. The result is lowered self-esteem and self-worth of these subordinated groups. Again, the outcome is often a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure (Crozier et al. 2011; Crozier et al. 2017).

According to Crozier et al. (2017), educational systems are not based on meritocracy; rather they reproduce a social class hierarchy. They operate on a system where success is achieved through symbolic violence that imposes the ideology that the dominant group is superior. Crozier et al. (2017) explained that educational institutions have also functioned to replicate and support the separation of middle and upper classes of society.

Lange et al. (2010) explained the effects of symbolic violence for minority students are at work when:

an educational institution selects the discourses and behaviours that have authority and discounts others as vulgar, uneducated or undisciplined. Through such labelling, students are deselected from merit and hence social mobility, becoming marginalized as adults. As adults, they are fearful of reengaging in systems that have failed them yet by choosing to withhold their learning power, they turn their backs on the essential tools which would enable them to develop intellectual capacities and a self-consciousness of their social position (p. 209).

### Consequences of Racial Stereotype Threat

Stereotype threat is a global phenomenon (Inzlicht et al. 2011; Parthesis et al. 2016). According to Foucault (Kelly, 2017), diversity is frequently taken as a threat to the security, social cohesion and well-being of dominant groups. From this dominant point of view, minority groups must be regulated into submission, including by educational systems replicating dominant hierarchies.

Also, as previously stated, stereotype threat affects many different groups of people: African American men, Latinos/as (standardized test scores), women (poor at math), the elderly (poor memory), Caucasians (performance in athletics), and Asians (the suggestion they excel at mathematics) (Inzlicht et al. 2011; James 2011; Jaramillo et al. 2015; Rubie 2004).

Baysu et al. (2016) explained that teens and individuals who enter early adulthood are the most affected by stereotype threat. It is during this stage of life that ethnic identity develops, along with moral reasoning and ideals of fairness and equality. However, it is important to note that stereotype threat can occur at any age in an individual's life.

## Racism, Stereotype Threat, and Related Challenges Unique to Urban Indigenous Persons

There is a paucity of studies completed of the urban Canadian Aboriginal community and how its members are affected by stereotype threat. The most recent survey from Statistics Canada (2011) indicated that graduation rates from high school for Aboriginal peoples in Canada are on the rise. However, they significantly lag behind their non-Aboriginal counterparts (Ferguson et al. 2017). Educational statistics do not consider whether the Indigenous people counted reside in rural or urban settings. In fact, most Canadian statistics pertaining to Indigenous education survey only Status Indians or those who have a residence on a reserve. Métis, Non-Status Indians and Inuit are not included. This is referred to as *nominal roll results*. (Chiefs Assembly on Education 2012; Gorman 1999).

According to the 2011 Canadian census, off-reserve Aboriginal peoples constitute the fastest growing segment of Canadian society, with 56% of the Canadian Aboriginal population residing in urban areas. In Canada, Edmonton has the second-highest population rate of urban Indigenous people in Canada (Winnipeg has the highest urban Aboriginal population).

Despite the perceived historical advantages of migrating to a metropolitan area, urban Canadian Aboriginal communities face four perceived challenges. First, due to the widening schism in Aboriginal identity, urban Canadian Aboriginal populations are not readily accepted in rural Aboriginal areas. Viewed as losing their aboriginality/indigeneity, they tend to be shunned by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. Those alienated by Indigenous others, by definition, have been subjected to lateral violence. Many urban Indigenous individuals reported they “don’t identify with life on the reserve” (Thurston, 2013, p. 30). As a result, relocating back

to their reserve home communities is not a viable option.

Second, the vastly different conditions between rural and urban Aboriginal communities dictate different needs. There is an increased incidence of racism, physical and substance abuse in urban areas. “Urban Aboriginal people are more likely to experience domestic violence” (Hanslemann 2001, p. 4). There are greater numbers of bi-racial Aboriginal children in urban settings, and they face further challenges based on their identity. Social and psychological adjustments are taxing. Assimilation is enforced when residing within an urban setting (Ibid).

Third, educational systems marginalize urban Aboriginal children by enrolling them into non-matriculated courses. “Many Native students report being counselled against mathematics because it has been perceived as too difficult for them or as unnecessary to their future” (Hampton, 1995, p. 7). Placement is primarily based on the results of standardized test scores, a form of scientific racism, which exacerbate pre-conceived educational biases, further limiting the urban Aboriginal child’s future opportunities. (Ryan et al., 2013). Until recently, the educational system placed little value on traditional values and teachings (Hanselmann, 2001). Edmonton Indigenous people’s academic achievements have been impeded by stereotype threat, for example from self-fulfilling beliefs they are unable to succeed, but challenges in this area have not been studied.

Finally, an increase is seen in poverty levels among single parents or female-headed households. Urban Aboriginal people face higher unemployment rates and lower incomes than their non-Indigenous counterparts. Urban Aboriginal populations receive little or no collaboration from their reserve when assistance is requested, which also may be considered lateral violence. Rural Aboriginal communities are reluctant to assist members of their

communities who reside in the city because resources would be “taken away from people who were currently living on reserve, who would be a more present priority” (Thurston et al. 2013, p. 20). In addition, “band politics affected who would be helped [obtain assistance from the reserve community] or not” (Ibid, p. 20).

Poverty is prevalent due to the Federal Government opposing funding programs for urban Aboriginal communities. “Public policy discussions about Aboriginal people tend to focus on the reserve-based population” (Hanselmann 2001, p. 1). Government leaders rationalize that once Aboriginal people leave the reserve, they cease to be the Federal government’s responsibility (Taylor, 2000; Hanselmann, 2001; Gorringer et al. 2010; Lawrence 2004; Thurston et al.; 2013; Williams, 1997).

Again, it should be noted that the above perceived challenges were found with Status Indians. Incomplete enumeration has resulted in inaccurate statistical findings. According to Statistics Canada in 2011, fourteen Aboriginal communities were incompletely enumerated. This was due to “band councils denying census takers permission to enter their communities” (The Globe and Mail, 2017). “Many community members simply don’t believe they are part of Canada and therefore didn’t feel comfortable participating in a Canadian census” (Ibid). In addition, Non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit are not included in the findings.

I have chosen to focus my research of stereotype threat with the Edmonton-based urban Canadian Aboriginal community for the following reasons: perceived shunning of urban Aboriginal individuals who relocate to urban areas by members of their reserve communities; high levels of racism, physical and substance abuse, as well as forced assimilation within urban areas experienced by members of the urban Aboriginal population; marginalization of urban



Aboriginal children within the school systems; and finally, lack of financial and housing assistance resulting from Federal government policies, as well as band politics from participant's reserve communities.

I included people who self-selected themselves as members of the urban Indigenous community. Members of any Canadian Indigenous group were encouraged to partake in this research study: Status Indian, Non-Status Indian, Métis and Inuit were included.

### [Review and Evaluation of Recent and Relevant Research of Stereotype Threat](#)

The following section includes a review and evaluation of recent and relevant research on stereotype threat. In order to simplify the findings, this segment has been divided into two sections.

The first section addresses the symptoms/manifestations of stereotype threat as described by the urban Aboriginal participants. The second section details strategies recommended by participants to counter stereotype threat. Contradictions within the data and evaluation of recommendations in the literature are also discussed.

Most of the studies on stereotype threat are with African American participants (Carl, 2012; Picho, 2016; and Stroud, 2014). Furthermore, most research done on stereotype threat has employed empirically-based, experimental studies. In other words, findings are converted into statistical data. These studies tend to rely on controlled, manipulated conditions and draw data from the administration of surveys, and/ or obtain results from standardized tests.

Serious limitations of empirically-based studies have included misrepresentations occurring with some authors' reported findings. An important development in empirically-based

research on stereotype threat has been criticism of the reporting findings of the original experiments done by Steele and Aronson (1995). They have been criticized for how the data was statistically analysed and presented. (Sakett, Hardison, & Cullen, 2004; Nomura, 2007; Jussim et al., 2016).

The experiments of Steele and Aronson (1995) indicated that by changing an instruction prior to testing, from describing a test as diagnostic to not diagnostic of intelligence, African-American students had scores comparable to the scores of White students. When the role of race was emphasized as an instruction before the tests, African-American student's performance suffered. If race was not emphasized the groups' performances were the same.

According to Sackett et al. (2004):

this research is widely misinterpreted in both popular and scholarly publications as showing that eliminating stereotype threat eliminates the African American-White difference in test performance. In fact, scores were statistically adjusted for differences in students' prior SAT performance, and thus, Steele and Aronson's findings actually showed that absent stereotype threat, the two groups differ to the degree that would be expected based on differences in prior SAT scores. The authors caution against interpreting the Steele and Aronson experiment as evidence that stereotype threat is the primary cause of African American-White differences in test performance (p. 7).

The criticism was based on the fact Steele and Aronson (1995) failed to highlight that the differences claimed between African-American and White students may have been due to how the scores were controlled for SAT scores. Steele and Aronson (2004) later agreed with the criticism, admitting that the gap between African-American and white student achievements was not reduced as much as they had reported.

Brown and Day (2006) answered the criticism by conducting an experiment similar to that of Steele and Aronson (1995) but employing statistical analysis which claimed to correct for

the errors in the Steele and Aronson (1995) experiments. They reported stereotype threat was responsible for differences between African Americans and whites on cognitive ability scores. When given instructions considered standard or high threat (related to stereotyping) African American students underperformed Whites. They performed as well as Whites when low threat instructions were given.

Nomura (2007) has elaborated on the criticisms of stereotype threat research and theory as it has pertained to standardized test performance and conducting an experiment with African-American and Caucasian-American students, similar to that done by Brown and Day (2006). He reported the difference between groups could not be accounted for when testing for stereotype threat. Differences were not taken into account when reviewing SAT scores. Nomura (2007) reviewed former studies of stereotype threat which were based on statistical analyses, theory, and considerations of bias. He claimed that experimenter biases had influenced results of past research on stereotype threat as it related to standardized test scores. Future research on racial differences in standardized test scores may help clarify the factors that contribute to racial inequities.

The review made by Jussim et al. (2016) is not suggesting that, “stereotype threat research is ‘invalid’ or that the effects are unimportant” [but] “focused on the “unjustified (pre-Sackett et al. 2004) and misleading (post-Sackett et al. 2004) claims routinely made specifically regarding the original findings (Steele & Aronson 1995)” (p. 121).

Extending the criticisms of Sackett et al. (2004), Jussim et.al (2016) suggested that, although Steele and Aronson (2004) admitted the misrepresentation by reporting the finding that the test instructions eliminated stereotype threat, Jussim et al. believed (2016) Steele & Aronson

(1995) were “shooting for a Wow Effect” (p. 131). Jussim et.al (2016) conceded that “threatening conditions clearly exacerbated the pre-existing racial differences in the Steele & Aronson (1995) studies but they maintained that the reporting was misleading. (p. 121).

Jussim et al. (2016) took issue mainly with Steele and Aronson’s lack of transparency and cited Harackiewicz model as a more valid description of stereotype threat research findings, and they stated:

Harackiewicz et al. (2014, p. 376), provide this model:

Numerous laboratory experiments have shown that minority group members (or women in math and science contexts) perform more poorly when told that a test is diagnostic of ability, or when stereotypes about their group are made salient, relative to nonevaluative, nondiagnostic, controls...” (which includes a long list of citations, including Steele & Aronson, 1995). This is simple, clear, and valid, and devoid of misleading claims about eliminating the gap “controlling for prior differences (p. 122).

Jussim et al. (2016) asserted that giving misleading research reports could take away from conducting research that might contribute to improving the educational quality minority students receive. Jussim et al. (2016) included a *Personal Use Checklist* that could aid researchers to “limit their potential for motivated research and confirmation biases” (p. 130).

This controversy about racial differences in standardized test score, and statistical differences between races, highlights problems interpreting these empirically-based studies. Questions arise in each study as to whether the populations sampled were appropriate. Were the statistics applied fairly? Were the tests valid and reliable? And were the researchers exaggerating claims of effects?

The main concerns about interpreting studies on stereotype threat have been about experiments using standardized tests. However, most of the more than 300 studies, quantitative

and qualitative, have supported an effect of stereotype threat on individuals and groups who have been stereotyped. The controversy supports the need for qualitative, subjective reports of individual's experiences of stereotyping in real life situations, the threats imposed, how to prevent or reduce the threats and effects, and how to change all conditions to improve education achievement successes of those who have been stereotyped and affected by stereotype threat.

Most of the studies on stereotype threat have included African-American participants (Carl, 2012; Picho, 2016; and Stroud, 2014). Furthermore, most research done on stereotype threat has employed empirically-based studies. Limited research has been done with a primary focus on data gathered from participant's subjective experiences. However, within the area of stereotype threat, studies utilizing a qualitative approach are growing in number. Qualitative researchers collect data using semi-structured and structured interviews, narratives, and writing exercises.

### Section 1: Research Addressing the Symptoms/Manifestations of Stereotype Threat

Appel et al. (2015) utilized a worldwide review to examine if and how stereotype threat affected immigrants. They noted that research reported academic underachievement of certain immigrant students. This underachievement appeared to be due to a lack of success, frequently associated with stereotype threat.

From an analysis of 19 experiments, Appel et al. (2015) confirmed significant numbers of Turkish European immigrants and American Hispanic students experienced stereotype threat. The results indicated stereotype threat may prevent undergraduates from performing to their full capabilities.

Regner et al. (2014) completed a study which examined stereotype threat in French children from kindergarten to grade eight. Data was obtained from standardized math scores and the results of neuro-psychological assessments which reflected memory recall. The kindergarten participants were also asked to colour their response to the question, “Who does better in math, boys or girls?” Children coloured their responses. Blue indicated boys, whereas pink indicated girls. Findings revealed that identity of genderized stereotypes begin as early as kindergarten. Results indicated both genders identified boys as better at math.

It should be noted that these children were not asked their rationale for choosing their responses. The memory and standardized achievement results revealed that girls were affected by stereotype threat. This study indicated that stereotype threat begins early, when children start school

Other research has reported contradictory findings when the conclusions alluded to the harmful effects of stereotype threat, social belonging and ethnic identity. Although they both employed similar statistical methods, conclusions of Osborne et al. (2006) and Jaramillo et al. (2015) differed. Osborne et al. (2006) found that individuals with a high ethnic identity and the belief that their actions controlled their futures, experienced a higher degree of stereotype threat than those individuals with a lowered ethnic identity and an increased belief that factors outside of their control, such as luck and societal beliefs determine their future (Rubie et al., 2004)

Jaramillo et al. (2015) found that individuals who maintained a higher degree of social belonging or group cohesion experienced less of the negative effects of stereotype threat, despite the level of their ethnic identity.

Although the findings are persuasive for research from Appel et al. (2015); Regner et al.

(2014); Fischer (2010); Brady (1996); Ledlow (1992); Jaramillo et al. (2015) and Osborne et al. (2006), for example, there were limitations to the data. Stereotype threat reflects subjective, deeply-felt experiences and numbers can be misleading when interpreting human experience.

Nevertheless, statistical data can assist theory testing and provide a foundation on which to build further studies. The studies reviewed were valuable in that they corroborated previous results and theoretical assumptions underlying the notion of stereotype threat. Researchers were able to identify reactions of those affected by stereotype threat and support these predictions that stereotype threat is experienced amongst many stereotyped groups.

## Section 2: Qualitative and Combined (Qualitative/Quantitative) Research Methods for Detecting and Reducing Stereotype Threat

The following studies gathered objective and subjective data from a variety of combined quantitative and qualitative methods. Included strategies were: semi-structured interviews, structured interviews, narratives and writing exercises. Several researchers combined their qualitative findings with statistical data. These were mostly obtained from questionnaires and test scores.

Research on stereotype threat from Aronson et al. (2009), and Wasserberg et al. (2009) centered on studies of school-aged children. Participants for the Aronson et al. (2009) research included middle school, urban African-American boys. Findings were obtained from readings scores and written narratives from the boys about positive personal values they held to be important. Results indicated that their academic performance improved after they wrote about positive values. Moreover, the writing activity increased their perceptions of personal self-worth.

Wasserberg et al. (2009) also included African-American urban elementary school aged

boys as participants in a study. Data was obtained from academic standardized testing, classroom observations, and interviews. The boys were asked a series of questions: their feelings about school, their thoughts and feelings when taking tests, and how they feel others perceive them. Findings revealed that the boys felt considerable stress and anxiety when taking tests, and that they were concerned about what others thought about them. Their personal reports of how they felt while taking tests was validated by the lowered scores on the standardized tests.

Parthenis et al. (2011) studied the social and educational exclusion of the Roma (“gypsies”) in Greece. Twenty-three structured interviews were conducted with primary school-aged students and their parents of Roma descent. Teaching administrators were also interviewed. Findings indicated that when teachers and administration maintained positive attitudes towards Roma, school attendance increased. Subsequent recommendations encompassed the maintenance of an inclusive school culture, as well as intensive in-service training for the staff. The parents were reported to be encouraged and receptive when working with the school staff.

Woolf et al. (2008) and Robinson et al. (2014) examined stereotype threat of adults in post-secondary institutions. In the former, Woolf et al. (2008) had Asian and East Indian medical students participate, whereas Robinson et al. (2014) examined student teachers. Both studies used face-to-face interviews and focus groups. Participants were also asked to write their reflections. Robinson et al. (2014) asked African-American participants to complete self-affirmation writing exercises.

Both studies found that instructor relationship was an important factor in decreasing stereotype threat. Similar to findings from Aronson et al. (2009), the Robinson et al. (2014) findings revealed that positive affirmations helped to counter stereotype threat. Findings from



Woolf et al. (2014) replicated findings from Parthenis et al. (2016). When teaching staff created an inclusive environment, student perceptions of stereotype threat decreased, resulting in a conducive learning environment.

Hickey (2016) examined how race and racism affected the ontological security of Australian Aborigines. In other words, did participants feel secure with their personal reality? (Wilson, 2008). Data was obtained from interviews. Hickey (2016) found that in order to cope with overt racism, participants actively changed their lifestyles by abstaining from alcohol. All were acutely aware of the “alcoholic Aboriginal” stereotypes.

Stroud (2014) explored African-American spirituality as a response to stereotype threat. Participants included African-American undergraduates located at predominately white institutions. Through semi-structured and structured interviews, Stroud (2014) found that spirituality greatly eased the negative feelings found within stereotype threat. This study was interesting in that it was the only one to explore a relationship between spirituality and reducing the effects of stereotype threat.

Gorringe et al. (2011) explored stereotype threat as it pertains to Australian Aborigines, using an approach similar to IRM. Data compiled from interviews exposed the fact that stereotype threat was perpetuated by discourse amongst the stereotyped. In other words, the colonized became the colonizer. Australian Aborigine people would stereotype one another, thus accentuating the stereotypes and increasing racism. This was a noteworthy dynamic, not explored in the previous studies.

As seen in the above studies, statistical data alone does not reflect the subjective depth of experience. When researchers concentrate on statistical data alone, knowledge of the variety,

breadth and depth of emotional experiences that participants may disclose when discussing stereotype threat is lost. However, when used in combination with subjective personal disclosures and observations, statistical results can reciprocally enhance the findings.

For my research, I will be employing the methodological approach as seen in IRM and will elaborate on the rationale for my choice in Chapter Three.

### Synthesis of Findings and Identification of Gaps in Research of Stereotype Threat

In this section, I synthesized findings, explore gaps or shortcomings within the literature and demonstrate how these gaps could be addressed by my research. There are several overreaching gaps within the literature.

First, some studies have included elementary-school-aged children as participants. The majority of studies engaged adults attending post-secondary institutions. However, participants ranged in ages from children in kindergarten to individuals in later adulthood. Examining issues and interventions of stereotype threat with more adult participants would enhance understanding of the process and its effects with this group.

Second, very few of the stereotype threat studies include Canadians or urban Aboriginal people. This is especially disconcerting since urban and rural Canadian Indigenous people are a rapidly growing population. An important issue is that the urban Canadian Indigenous population is ignored. Researchers tend to include them as if they have the same challenges as those from rural Aboriginal communities. As discussed, Urban Indigenous people have differing needs, and these must be addressed.

Finally, there are very few studies which examine the likely effects of stereotype threat on

educational outcomes. Many studies focus on the effects of stereotype threat and its impact on mathematics and science learning but much less, if at all, on reading competency and literacy, or other facets of education. It would be beneficial if research examined the impacts stereotype threat has on the whole individual, and on their goals and motivation, as well as on their educational outcomes, not just focusing on math and science. This would provide a clear picture of stereotype threat, allowing for the development of strategies that may counter the negative impacts.

## Chapter Three: Methodology

### Indigenous Knowledge, How it Relates to Indigenous Research Methodology, and Conceptual Framework

Indigenous knowledge is central to Indigenous Research Methodology. Indigenous and Western-based knowledges stem from contrasting world views. Until recently, Indigenous knowledge and world view carried the weight of, “relentless subjugation... and discounting of their [Indigenous people’s] ideas” (Ermine 1995, p. 101) As a result, Indigenous knowledge has been viewed as inferior to that of Western-based knowledge. In order to comprehend the complexity of Indigenous Research Methodology, it is important to explore the various dimensions and elements of Indigenous knowledge.

In this chapter, I describe and examine the following concepts: *relationality*; *ways of knowing, being and doing*; *cellular memory*; *language* and *protocols* – to demonstrate how they shape Indigenous knowledge. I have also discussed the conceptual framework of this study and how it relates to ways of knowing, being and doing. Finally, I have explained how Indigenous knowledge forms the basis of Indigenous Research Methodology.

#### Indigenous Relationality: Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing

Martin (2003) explains relationality as consisting of three components. These include *ways of knowing, being and doing*.

#### Ways of Knowing

Formally educated in an urban setting, I have been well instructed from the viewpoint of Western-based knowledge system. Within Western society, most knowledge is obtained and

validated by employing the scientific method. When I was first introduced to Indigenous knowledge, I grappled with the concept. However, with my professors' guidance, in and outside of classes taken in Indigenous Peoples Education, sharing Indigenous rituals, reflecting on an Indigenous world view, and from considerable reading of Indigenous literature and connection with Indigenous literature, I am gaining a deeper understanding and connection with Indigenous knowledge.

Indigenous knowledges come from many different sources which include, “traditional teachings, empirical observations and revelations” (Steinhauer, 2002, p.74). Revelations originate from dreams, visions, intuition and cellular memory (Ibid).

According to Steinhauer (2002), it is important to note that these sources are interdependent, interconnected and are equally important when exploring Indigenous knowledge. I will discuss each source and describe how they form Indigenous knowledge.

The first source of Indigenous knowledge is traditional teachings. Traditional knowledge is “something that has been handed down from earlier generations, often through creation stories, the treaties, and all the events that occurred throughout history” (Ibid, p. 74). Elders have been considered the esteemed vessels for transmitting oral traditions and knowledge.

Empirical knowledge is the second source that forms Indigenous knowledge. Western knowledge systems may not be aware that Indigenous knowledge derived from Indigenous empiricism. As opposed to the Western knowledge system which “identifies schooling with the three Rs – reading, writing, and arithmetic” (Papert, 1993), Indigenous empirical knowledge is “gained through watching and listening” (Steinhauer 2002, p. 74). Within the traditional Aboriginal education system, empirical knowledge was obtained through the “three Ls [of]

education – looking, listening and learning” (Ibid, p.74).

At the core of Indigenous epistemology is thought, subjectivity, and introspection. The bedrock of Indigenous epistemology is “congruent with holism and the beneficial transformation of total human knowledge” (Ermine, 1995, p. 104). Traditional Aboriginal education was natural, organic and built upon, or layered, from previous knowledge skills. The processing of knowledge in traditional education is a “constant loop in which new information was interpreted in the context of existing information, and revisions to the state of knowledge concerning a particular phenomenon are made when necessary” (Ibid, p. 74).

Finally, Indigenous knowledge is acquired from revelations that can occur “through dreams, visions and intuitions that are understood to be spiritual in origin” (Ibid, p. 74). Ermine added that visions were one of the primary ways of knowing. The spiritual realm is interconnected with Indigenous knowledge and “dreams were and [an] important vehicle for understanding” (Ibid, p. 74). Indigenous knowledge “integrates those areas of knowledges so that science is both religious and aesthetic...for Indigenous people, knowledge is also approached through the senses and intuition” (Wilson 2003, p. 171).

Knowledge is purposeful. No one person knows everything, “but each has sets of knowledges to fulfil particular roles” (Martin 2003, p. 9). Our lives have a purpose. Everyone has a mission that must be fulfilled. Indigenous ontology, or reality, is learned and transmitted using all of our senses (p. 9). These are interactive and based according to “social, political, historical and spatial dimensions of individuals, the group and interactions with outsiders” (p. 9). In other words, *Ways of Knowing* form an important part of Indigenous knowledge because they enable Indigenous voices to be expressed and heard.

## Ways of Being

*Ways of Being* is the second component of relationality defined by Martin (2003). An important concept of Indigenous knowledge, “Aboriginal world views assume that all forms are interconnected, that the survival of each life form is dependent on the survival of others” (p. 77). Interconnectedness evolves from the spiritual realm. Furthermore, “the spiritual permeates all aspects of Native life” (Hanohano 1999, p. 210). Martin (2003), describes spirituality infusing relationality, adding, “we are apart [sic] of the world as much as it is apart [sic] of us, existing within a network of relations amongst Entities that are reciprocal and occur in certain contexts” (p. 10). We are all related or interconnected, cannot be separated, and must be respected.

Rupert Ross (2012) explained interconnectedness by contrasting the Western and Indigenous world views. Although both world views have maintained that there is a hierarchy of importance, they vastly differ. The Western world view has regarded man as the most important or master of the animals, plants and Mother Earth. External power, control and the validity of the scientific method have been hallmarks of the Western world view.

The Indigenous world view regards Mother Earth as being the most important, followed by plants, animals, then humans. Mother Earth is the most important and man is dependent on her to survive. She is not to be dominated but respected.

By recognizing that knowledge is purposeful, Indigenous research will maintain balance and harmony and Ways of Being will be attained.

## Ways of Doing

*Ways of Doing* is the final component of relationality. Martin (2003) has explained Ways

of Doing as, “a synthesis and an articulation of our Ways of Knowing and Ways of Being” (p. 11). This is realized in our “languages, art, imagery, technology, traditions and ceremony, land management practices, social organization and social control” (p. 11).

Language reflects relationality and is manifested within in the Indigenous world view. Language is “the road map to who we are, our soul” (Sockbeson, 2009 p. 363). My father, an Inuit Elder, explains why this is an important distinction. “Nouns are things that denote ownership, a hallmark of Western society, whereas verbs are actions which Indigenous communities do to keep culture and the earth alive” (George Banksland, March 7, 2017).

This important distinction between Indigenous and English languages signify how they have fundamental differences in world views, not just different words for the same things. Fluency and understanding between the two cultures may be weakened when this distinction is ignored. Misunderstandings are revealed when an English based speaker attempts to literally translate Indigenous languages.

### Indigenous Languages

Indigenous knowledge transmission is pure when it is transmitted using traditional Indigenous languages. Korzybski (1941) described this as, “a map is not the territory, but if correct, it has a similar structure to the territory, which accounts for its usefulness” (p. 58). According to Korzybski (1941), maps do not represent land, but a map is a metaphor to highlight the differences between belief and reality. As a result, when describing Indigenous knowledge from a non-Aboriginal point of view, the intended, deeper meaning is diminished.

For centuries, Indigenous scholars have cautioned non-Aboriginal populations about



explaining or describing Aboriginal world views. The language, culture and perspectives of the Aboriginal populations vastly differ from Western perceptions of knowing, being and doing. Consequently, many misrepresentations have occurred. Colonization was done by European cultures who disparaged the Aboriginal world view. Subsequently, opportunities to learn and benefit from the Indigenous population were diminished. Degradation of the Aboriginal culture resulted when it was defined, judged and labeled through European eyes.

Most researchers who employ the scientific method with Indigenous populations fail to account for their language or the culture of a people. Aboriginal language and culture, which form Indigenous ontology, are at the core of Indigenous knowledge.

### Cellular Memory

The concept of *cellular memory* is central to Indigenous epistemology. It is the knowledge passed on from our ancestors since time immemorial. Located within every cell of our body, embedded within our DNA, it is, “the sphere of Indigenous intelligence, the mind, body, spirit and heart of our people” (Steinhauer 14 February 2017). Wilson (1995) adds, ancestral memories, “come[s] out of the molecular structure of our being” (p. 65).

I struggled with taking an Indigenous Language Revitalization class in the winter of 2016. My father assisted me with an assignment. Relevant to the story was the fact that he spoke Inuktitut, an Inuit language, until he was placed in the residential school system at the age of four. After age four, English was the only means of communication, and he was not allowed to converse in his mother tongue. He remained in the residential school system until the age of seventeen. He believed that all traces of Inuktitut had been erased.

While working on a project for the class, I attempted to explain in my project how the Inuit culture and land were deeply rooted in Inuktitut language. Since English is my mother tongue, I struggled with this assignment. Trying to find the right words left me frustrated. The night before the assignment was due, my father surprised us both by recalling the Inuktitut words for snow, the Arctic environment and igloos. He hadn't been in his Indigenous environment since he was four. The only explanation I can offer is cellular memory. My father is proof that language and culture cannot be extracted from one's DNA or soul.

The Western world is beginning to recognize cellular memory. Studies have shown that the children of holocaust survivors genetically transmit their trauma to their unborn child. As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, this is referred to as epigenetics. Studies have suggested that genes are, "modified by the environment all the time, through chemical tags that attach themselves to our DNA...and these tags might somehow be passed through generations" (Birney, 2018). In other words, the survivor's experience can be passed down to the children by genetic changes resulting from the trauma. Therefore, the environment and life experiences of one generation affect subsequent generations.

Interestingly, Jung (1960) theorized that there is an inter-generation transmission of knowledge. He referred to this as the *collective unconsciousness*. "The collective unconsciousness contains the whole spiritual heritage of mankind's evolution, born anew in the brain structure of every individual" (Jung et al. 1960, par. 342).

Jung described the primary contents of collective unconsciousness, akin to cellular memory, as *archetypes*. He suggested that within all cultures, the same archetypes or themes are "psychic elements surviving in the human mind from ages long ago" (Jung et al. 1964, p.47) and

may be expressed in oral traditions, myths, fairy tales, and religious traditions (Ibid).

It has been theorized that the collective unconsciousness was stored in energy that was revealed in dreams, prayers and ceremonial rituals (Kovach 2009). In this sense, Jungian psychology appears aligned with the notion of cellular memory. As stated previously, cellular memory and language have had a direct relationship to culture, and all derive from relationality. Indigenous and Western-based knowledge adhere to very different protocols.

### Protocol

Indigenous knowledge maintains a strict adherence to protocol. According to Lightning (1992), “protocol refers to anyone number of culturally ordained actions and statements, established by ancient tradition, that an individual completes to establish a relationship with another person from whom the individual makes a request” (p. 216). Protocols or social mores can differ according to the nature of the request and people involved.

Protocols are used to guide traditional knowledges and practices. They are not just the actions of offering tobacco. Protocol must be individualized. Each culture has different ways to communicate. Therefore, respect requires an understanding of their perspectives, values and methods in which they express themselves (Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Childcare, SNAICC, 2018). It is vital to note that protocols differ with First Nations, Métis and Inuit. Additionally, differences in protocols can be seen within these groups. Therefore, the researcher must learn which protocols are appropriate for specific Indigenous groups. Adherence to protocol demonstrates our true intentions, reflects our humbleness for the gift of knowledge that we are about to receive. Protocols are always given out of respect.

Lightning (1992) stressed that for knowledge be shared, one must adhere to protocols when researching within Indigenous communities. Protocols allow one to demonstrate an “effort to think mutually with the Elder” (p. 230). The action of following and offering protocol establishes humility for both the hearer and Elder. In a different manner from Western-based practice, Indigenous protocol shows respect and views knowledge as a gift. Elders make themselves vulnerable when asked to share knowledge because “she or he has the responsibility to speak the truth; the ethos is self-enforcing” (Lightning, 1992 p. 230). When asked, they assume a great responsibility.

Western society does not fully comprehend the seriousness of seeking guidance from an Elder. My father stated, “It is not akin to reading a book to find answers. It is sacred” (George Banksland, March 22, 2017). Humility is necessary when seeking guidance. Members of Western society seek accumulation and ownership of all things, often including knowledge. However, knowledge cannot be owned, but must be shared with humility and respect.

Indigenous knowledge is multi-faceted, elaborate and complex. Due to the opposing world views, many Euro-Canadians view Indigenous knowledge as inferior because they believe it cannot be proven using scientific testing. However, there are many ways of knowing and studying within the research community, and there is one which reflects Indigenous knowledge values. In the next section, I will discuss the features of Indigenous Research Methodology and why it is best suited for my research on stereotype threat.

## Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM)

### Conceptual Framework and Trees

It is imperative that research involving Aboriginal people be grounded in Indigenous

epistemology, ontology and axiology. A researcher's conceptual framework or their philosophy/theory behind Indigenous research must reflect the Indigenous world view (Lavalee, 2009).

Akin to blueprints, conceptual frameworks are comprised of systems of ideas and objectives that lead to the creation of research. Sandoval et al. (2016), assert that the purpose of a conceptual framework is to guide the research process by, "linking all the elements [together]: researcher disposition, interest and positionality; literature; and theory and methods" (p. 19). Furthermore, data analysis and collection should be consistent with the researcher's conceptual framework. The positioning or personal reflexivity of the researcher is essential. The relationship of the researcher's social and political context to the study is a key component of the conceptual framework of a study (Ibid).

According to Ravitch and Riggan (2012), conceptual frameworks encompass five elements: the researcher's personal interests and goals; identity and positionality; literature review; topical research, and theoretical frameworks.

My position and goal of this research was to address stereotype threat, and to seek strategies that could be used to ameliorate the negative impacts of this phenomenon.

Participants were members of Edmonton's urban Aboriginal community. I believe this study was important because stereotype threat is prevalent within every level of society, and there has been limited research with urban Indigenous participants.

The specific approaches I employed for gathering information from participants were structured and semi-structured interviews and a talk circle.

An outline of the premises and conceptual framework I employed is:

- A. 1. Racism and stereotyping exist within Edmonton.
  - 2. Racism and stereotyping are inflicted based on a presumption of the targets' inferiority. The presumption is a fallacy. From the Indigenous life view, no group, indeed, no life form, is inherently inferior or superior to others. In IRM, all life is interconnected, and all forms maintain equal value with one another (Wilson,2008; Weber-Pillwax, 2004).
  - 3. The Canadian urban Aboriginal population has less academic success than their non-Aboriginal counterparts (Ferguson et al., 2011).
- B. It has been found that stereotypes and associated negative discourses can impact a group/individual in that group, even when they do not believe in the stereotype.
- C. Self-fulfilling prophecies of failure contribute to the wounding of the individual or group and result in an imbalance that has a negative impact on the lives of the individuals/group affected (Fischer, 2010; Gorringer, et al., 2011; Inzlicht et al., 2011; Steele, 1997; Steele et al. 1995; Steinhauer, 2002).
- D. Individuals and groups who have experienced racism are resilient.
- E. All living things are interconnected, have an inherent value and reflect a relationality with one another (Ermine,1995; Lightning, 1992).

### The Tree as Metaphor for my Personal Conceptual Framework

I wanted to share my personal conceptual framework for this study because it allowed me to situate myself within this research. Within my research, I believe trees best represent my personal conceptual framework for this study. Within this next section, I discuss my thoughts of my conceptual framework and demonstrate how trees fit with IRM. As my conceptual framework, the metaphor of a tree allowed me to have a more holistic understanding of connections of Indigenous Research Methodology with my participants and stereotype threat.

As metaphors for Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing, trees are in perfect balance and harmony with all forms of life with which they have direct or indirect contact (Martin, 2003).

Within Ways of Knowing, knowledge is purposeful: “no one person, or Entity knows all, but each has sets of knowledges to fulfill particular roles” (Ibid, p. 9). It is not a coincidence that

non-Indigenous cultures also revered trees, using them to symbolize all knowledge.

Ways of Being “serve as guides for establishing relations amongst all Entities” (Ibid, p. 10). In other words, all life forms are related. Trees adapt and enhance the needs of all life forms within their specific environment. As environments differ for people, so do environments differ for trees. Some trees can be seen thriving as they grow from cliff or rock faces. Some Indigenous people also thrive out of their ideal elements.

Finally, Ways of Doing “are a synthesis and an articulation of our Ways of Knowing and Ways of Being” (Ibid, p. 11). Simply put, respect is demonstrated within the research process. Trees are in harmony and at one with all life.

In order to demonstrate how I incorporated Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing within this current study, I used an analogy to trees to represent my conceptual framework. I’ve always been drawn to trees. Some have lived for centuries; I imagine trees as having a natural and integral existence. I cannot begin to fathom what they must have witnessed over the span of their lives, silent gentle giants beholding the world change over many millennia.

Living in an urban setting all my life, I grappled with the concept of Indigenous Knowledge. After reading Dr. Patsy Steinhauer’s thesis, I began to understand Indigenous knowledge. What follows is how I compared Indigenous knowledge to a tree and how I was able to apply this knowledge to the current study.

The physical parts of a tree: the roots, trunk, branches and leaves interconnect and together, give life to a tree. This can be compared to the, “overall physical, social, emotional and spiritual being” (Steinhauer 1999, p.83) of the participants.

Anchored to the ground, the roots provide foundation and means to nourishment to survive. Ancestral Indigenous knowledge is represented by the roots. Within this study, participants are rooted in and obtain ancestral knowledge and relationality, assisting them to adapt and have resiliency resilience to cope with repeated challenges such as stereotype threat.

The trunk reflects the tree's strength, providing protection against the harsh seasons. Dr. Patsy Steinhauer observed, "I took note of all the physical attributes; its marks, causing me to think of how much pain it had endured over the years" (Ibid, p. 35). The trunk is akin to my participants' strength and endurance, although they too, have marks that show their wounds.

In addition, "ancestral knowledge and wisdom continue throughout the tree extending to the trunk, to each branch, and eventually to each leaf" (Ibid, p. 83). As people do, trees adapt to changing conditions – weathering harsh seasons, pests, diseases, droughts and fires. In the current study, participants were able to cope with stereotype threat, sometimes bending but holding form, tapping into their internal strength, coping with and adapting to challenges. I'm reminded of the quote from an anonymous source, "oh listen to the earth my friend, it will bend your heart, not break it".

Trees represent interconnectedness with all living beings, maintaining a balance, harmony and "wholeness" (Ibid, p. 35) with the environment. Giving back to all life, branches and leaves reach out towards the sun, supplying oxygen, allowing life to flourish. Through their personal lived experiences, participants in my study were able to offer strategies to thrive within their urban environments. In each case their coping mechanisms nurtured and give life to this study, as oxygen gives life to the earth. This research process allowed a place to relay their stories, while being acknowledged and valued.



While the roots are a means of transporting nutrients, they also represented the foundation for the theoretical basis of the IRM methodological approach. I likened intertwined roots to the truths, stories, thoughts, feelings and actions of my participants, having weaved of Indigenous Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing.

The trunk of the tree represents the profound strength and overall flexibility of IRM. Participants were encouraged to share their words, stories, and genuine in-depth experiences that illustrated the very essence and strengths of my Indigenous participants.

The trunk contains IRM's strength of enduring elements and core of Indigenous ontology, "or the way we view reality" (Wilson, 2008, p. 13); epistemology, "how we think about or know this reality" (Wilson 2008, p. 13), and axiology, or "our ethics and morals" (Wilson 2008, p. 13). These three components are crucial when employing IRM.

I was moved by reading Dr. Patsy Steinhauer's thesis. Her words resonated with me when she spoke of the wholeness and interconnectedness trees had with her research (Steinhauer 1999). Throughout my research process, my strong relationship between my participants and me intensified. How my participants and I first weathered the caustic effects of stereotype threat are seen as tree bark — the tough exterior protecting our inner core.

The branches correspond to the knowledge of participants, as well as methods used to gather data. I saw each participants' knowledge and experiences as "branches [that] carry[ied] specific family knowledge to each leaf" (Ibid, p. 83). In order to draw knowledge from participants, more than one method of gathering their subjective life experiences were necessary. As there are many branches in a tree, there were many methods of data collection that I used to

explore stereotype threat. Like most tree branches, Indigenous Research Methods can be flexible, and adapted to better acknowledge and reflect participants' ideas.

Research, especially with Indigenous participants, must be built on trust between the community members and the researcher before any research may commence (Weber-Pillwax, 2004, p. 81). As previously mentioned, methods I utilized in this current study included structured and semi-structured interviews and talk circles. The branches or methods which I employed, elicited in-depth and rich qualitative findings.

The leaves also symbolized the participant's experiences and ideas, and most active growth. Each leaf represents a wealth of knowledge. As the leaves supply oxygen to the earth, participant's views give life to understanding stereotype threat. The relationship that resulted between myself and my participants was symbiotic, forming a partnership. Like the tree and all life forms on earth, my participants and I breathed as one, exchanging gifts of knowledge.

As I contemplated the power of trees, I was drawn to a scene from one of my favourite movies, *Lucy* (2014). After a life changing event, the main character, Lucy, leaves a hospital and stops in front of a huge tree. As she gazed at it, she was surprised and began to see the tree in a new light. Its life force surged from the tips of the leaves, racing down to its deepest roots. The tree was connected to the planet Earth. "The tree provides key elements to sustain life just as the tree is reliant on the environment for life. The rebirth contributes with each new seed and provides life for new generations" (Ibid, p. 84). Indigenous people are resilient. Their strength and knowledge are conveyed to new generations through cellular memory. Just as with trees, "rebirth continues with each new seed and provides life for new generations" (Ibid, p. 84).

Finally, like Dr. Steinhauer, I began to view trees as the Elders in my research: stalwart and strong, surging with life and knowledge, and deeply connected with the earth. Elders demonstrate the ways of knowing, being and doing.

It is through this analogy I was able to develop my research. IRM gave me strength to fulfil my research goals. What began as research on stereotype threat became much more. IRM inspired me on a personal journey, allowing me to connect with my Aboriginality, opening my eyes so I could see the world through an Aboriginal existence.

### Indigenous Research Methodology: Application

While preparing to begin research for stereotype threat and the urban Aboriginal community, I began to question what makes research valid. As I gathered studies for my literature review, I saw that quantitative research approaches had value. The methods provided a framework for future research. Nonetheless, I realized that quantitative methodology, findings gathered from statistics, would never capture subjective, lived experiences. Furthermore, with subjective matters such as personal experiences and feelings, a different methodological approach was necessary. I needed a research approach that allowed me “to capture the reality of the subjects” (Lancy, 1993, p. 9).

As a graduate student, I had been introduced to Indigenous Research Methodology (IRM). This approach seeks knowledge about an individual’s subjective experience with utmost respect for their Indigenous ontology, epistemology and axiology. For me, this was revolutionary. My primary education is Western-based, where validity of research is gathered from the application of the scientific method, whereas, IRM ensures that the voices from Indigenous

peoples are heard and their integrity is maintained.

Shawn Wilson (2008) defined research paradigms as “the beliefs that guide our actions as researchers. These beliefs include the way we view reality (ontology), how we think about this reality (epistemology), our ethics and morals (axiology) and how we go about gaining more knowledge about reality (methodology)” (p. 13). IRM represents essential elements of Indigenous ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology (Ibid).

Leroy Little Bear (2000) describes Indigenous ontology as anchored in concepts whereby “all things are animate, imbued with spirit, and in constant motion” (p. 77-78), thus reflecting a “holistic and cyclical view of the world” (p. 78). Simpson (2014) also reported on Indigenous meanings and conceptualizations of reality. He described such meaning as transforming over time and space, within both the individual and collective consciousness (p. 7). Reality is profoundly spiritual.

Indigenous ontology emphasizes *relationality*; everything is interconnected. As previously stated, Martin (2003) describes relationality in terms of *ways of knowing, being and doing*. From her view, in *ways of knowing*, knowledge is purposeful. *Ways of being* encompasses the interconnectedness we share with all life forms. Balance and harmony must be maintained. *Ways of doing* ensure that our research maintains balance and harmony.

Simpson (2014) further describes Indigenous ontology as a theory, generated and regenerated continually through embodied practice and within each family, community and generation of people. ‘Theory’ is generated and regenerated continually through embodied practice and within each family, community and generation of people. ‘Theory’ isn’t just an intellectual pursuit – it is woven within kinetics, spiritual presence and emotion, it is contextual and relational (p. 7).

In other words, it is intimate and personal, as well as being integral to the universe.

IRM “draws upon the inherent wisdom, morals and beliefs of Indigenous [culture]” (Steinhauer, 2007, p. 64). Imbued by the natural laws of love, respect, courage, honesty, humility, wisdom and truth, IRM ensures a vision of unity (Ibid). IRM is not constrained by Western theories:

Indigenous knowledge has always existed. The recognition and intellectual activation of Indigenous knowledge today is an act of empowerment by Indigenous people. The task for Indigenous academics has been to affirm and activate the holistic paradigm of Indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2002 p. 4).

Based on Weber-Pillwax’s (1999) studies, she detailed seven principles that form the foundation of IRM. First, there is an interconnectedness of all living things. This means, “believing and living that relationship with all forms of life and conducting all interactions in a spirit of kindness and honesty” (p. 41). As discussed in class, all forms of life must be in balance. Absolon (2011) elaborates, “we are spiritual beings having human experiences...our original teachers are the plants, animals, and sacred ones in creation. Our philosophers are earth centered, and we originally looked to the animals and earth for our teachings. “(p. 57).

Second, according to Weber-Pillwax (1999) the motives and intentions of the researcher must, “result in benefits to the Indigenous community” (p. 42). Scientific research done in the past has resulted in harm to our Indigenous peoples. Weber-Pillwax (1999) states, “checking your heart is a critical element in the research process” (p. 42). This ensures that the community benefits from the research.

Third, she states, “the foundation of Indigenous research must lie within the reality of the lived Indigenous experience” (1999, p. 42). IRM immerses into the experiences and lives of the people. Unlike western scientific methodology, it does not focus on the world of ideas.

Fourth, she says regarding IRM, “theories developed or proposed will be grounded in and supported by Indigenous epistemology as it is lived out and given form within the community” (1999, p. 42). Indigenous theories originate from time immemorial. Every generation has, “carefully pulled together the threads that compose our epistemology, our ways of knowing, our science of knowledge” (1999, p. 43). Indigenous ways of being must be respected.

Fifth, she points out that by its very nature, IRM is transformative. The outcome of research directly affects the community and the researcher. The IRM researchers, “assume a certain responsibility for the transformations and outcomes of the research project(s)” (1999, p. 43). Similarly, Absolon (2011) stated that IRM is, “liberatory, emancipatory and critical” (p. 55). The knowledge advanced will impact the community and researcher.

Sixth, from Weber-Pillwax’s, (1999) analysis there is a sacredness and responsibility to maintain both personal and community integrity. Indigenous philosophy, according to McKay (2013) is imbued with, “relationship and being true to one’s spoken word” (p. 33). Our identity or who we are as a people are reflected in our words and actions.

Finally, “the languages and cultures of Indigenous people are living processes” (1999, p. 43). Language is central to Indigenous identity and culture. As a living entity, Indigenous language must be respected. IRM has a, “responsibility to maintain and constantly renew the connections with our ancestors and our people” (Weber-Pillwax 1999, p. 44). Language is much more than verbs and nouns. Little Bear (2000) states that Indigenous, “languages are verb-rich, and process or action related” (p. 81). In other words, languages are purposeful unlike English which focuses on nouns and relations based on power. Language has a direct relation to the land and is embedded within our cellular memory or DNA. Dr. Patsy Steinhauer added, “it is our

blood memory...the soul that carries memory into the next life” (Education Policy Studies 535 class on February 14, 2017).

Recognizing Indigenous knowledge empowers Indigenous people. Kovach (2005) describes the process of IRM as a form of decolonization. Aboriginal researchers resume control of research. In addition, IRM ensures research stems from Indigenous knowledges. “Indigenous peoples’ perspectives have been silenced, misrepresented, ridiculed, and even condemned in academic as well as popular discourses” (Kapyrka et al. 2012, p. 102). Using IRM assures Indigenous voices are heard and in turn, understood. IRM ensures Indigenous knowledges are valued and validated, alongside Western-based knowledges.

Using Indigenous methodologies does not mean that Indigenous researchers dismiss other theories and methodologies. Rather it means that we as Indigenous researchers are engaged in the process of developing theoretical understandings and practices that arise out of our own Indigenous knowledges (Steinhauer 2007, p. 68).

Holistic in nature, IRM embraces the entire person’s subjective personal lived experiences. IRM guided me when conducting this research within the urban Indigenous community. It allowed me the opportunity to ensure that the Indigenous community was valued, and any misrepresentations were not repeated.

### [Accepting the Responsibility of Conducting Indigenous Research](#)

As a researcher, I am aware of the privilege of doing research with the urban Aboriginal community. However, with this privilege comes tremendous responsibility. Throughout the research process, I was mindful of my actions, questions and conduct with participants. I did not want to cause harm or distress to my participants. Former scientific research had resulted in harm to Aboriginal people. Research topics and findings focused on deficits and gave little or no

thought to benefiting the community. As a result, now when researching Aboriginal communities, the motives and intentions of the researcher must “result in benefits to the indigenous community” (Weber-Pillwax 1999, p. 42). It was my responsibility that this research did not in any way, harm my participants or this community. IRM ensured that research for this current study was, “grounded in integrity” (Ibid, p. 43).

I was conscious of my status within the research process. Although I am an urban Inuit, I was aware of, “ethical, cultural, political and personal issues that can present special difficulties for indigenous researchers” (Tuhiwai Smith 2001, p. 5). My Western lifestyle and education placed me at a disadvantage. Unlike my participants, I have never lived on a reserve or in the Arctic. I questioned my ability to effectively complete research using IRM. Was I able to offer proper protocol to Elders within this research? I have had no experience in this area. It was a humbling and daunting experience.

Hanohano (2001) designed guidelines which, “convey[ed] humility and humility is a key ingredient in Indigenous research” (Steinhauer 2007, p. 71). As individuals and researchers, our actions have impact on other people as well as all life forms. As Indigenous researchers, we must never lose sight of our relationality and interconnectedness. “Everything we do, every decision we make, affects our family, our community, it affects the air we breathe, the animals, the plants the water in some way” (Steinhauer 2002, p. 77). I had to trust myself, and went on this journey with, “a good heart, and good motives” (Weber-Pillwax 1999, p. 42). I took solace in Stan Wilson’s words “when you are asked to do something, even something you might be uncomfortable with, you need to do it, and do it to the best way you know how” (Steinhauer 2002, p. 69).



As a researcher, I am “accountable for the effects of the research project on the lives of the participants and the purpose of the research is to benefit the community and the people of the community” (Weber-Pillwax 2004, p. 80). To ensure no harm came to the participants or community, I adhered to the natural laws or principles of ethics that guided my research. “These natural laws or principles of ethics are simply stated: kindness, caring, sharing, and respect” (Weber-Pillwax 2004, p.80).

I abided by these natural laws in several ways. First, I developed a relationship to foster trust between myself and participants. Over a period of time, we met informally and were able to get to know one another.

Second, research methods of data collection demonstrated the ways of knowing, being and doing. In other words, “the natural laws of love/kindness, honesty, sharing and determination /strength [helped me as a researcher] to understand the importance, validity, and sacredness of the information being shared” (Steinhauer 2002, p. 79). I undertook this research with an open and honest heart. It was crucial that all findings benefit the participants and community.

I ensured that all participants were respected, and their voices heard. Respect was accorded through active listening. According to Steinhauer (2002), “respect means you listen intently to others’ ideas, that you do not insist that your idea prevails. By listening intently, you show honor, consider the well-being of others and treat others with kindness and courtesy” (Ibid, p. 73). I used an interview guide that included structured and semi-structured questions. I found that during the personal interviews, the structured questions acted as prompts. Unstructured questions assured that participants were able to express their thoughts, ideas and subjective experiences with greater freedom.

While recognizing and valuing Indigenous knowledges, IRM is holistic in nature and embraces the entire person's subjective personal lived experiences. By celebrating Indigenous knowledge, IRM ensured my participants' voices were heard and not misrepresented.

IRM aligned with the goals and objectives of my proposed research methods for several reasons. The associated methodology and methods encouraged the descriptions and gave increased clarity to the subjective experiences of participants. The research question addressed the effect of negative racial discourses faced by this community and approaches for overcoming racial stereotyping.

My goal was to ask urban Edmonton Indigenous adults about their experiences and perceptions of stereotyping of their own group's, or society's perceptions of their group's deficits, in relation to education. By using IRM, I was able to address issues of power and racism and offered the opportunity to explore possible solutions.

### Data Collection

Centered on Indigenous knowledge, IRM ensures an in-depth and detailed understanding of the subjective experiences of participants. In this "flexible approach, participants in the study are the subjects of their experience and not the objects of this research" (Clark et al. 2015, p. 23). By providing narratives, participants of the current study offered insights about their personal experiences with stereotype threat.

I employed two data collection tools in this research, interviews and talking circles. The interviews were first structured and then semi-structured. The aim of structured interviewing is to measure by seeking facts, attitudes, and knowledge. Interviewees are presented with the same

questions, in the same order. The role of the interviewer is to lead the process and maintain strict control over the interview. Within qualitative research, structured interviews are considered to be formal. I was concerned because “it can conjure up a rather formalized and intimidating picture” (Steinhauer 2007, p. 83). As a result, it was vital that participants felt comfortable. Trust relationships, “were guided by the principles of respect, responsibility and reciprocity” (Steinhauer 2007, p. 84). Throughout the research process, I maintained personal reflexivity of the effects of the research, and its benefits to participants and the community (Weber-Pillwax, 2004).

For the structured interviews, questions were created prior to the interview; each participant was asked the same series of questions, and I was neutral by not inserting an opinion in the interview. The benefit of structured interviews in research is that they can be administered quickly, and responses can be immediately clarified. Structured questions used in this research are located in Appendix D.

Within data collection, I also used semi-structured interviews. Considered to be informal, semi-structured interviews do not reflect any preconceived theories or ideas. Comprised of both prepared pre-determined and open-ended questions, semi-structured interviews contain more flexibility by encouraging discussions that can explore particular themes or responses. As the facilitator, I modified the wording of the questions, provided explanations for clarification, and qualified meanings of the questions and replies. The benefit of this approach allowed for exploration of participant views on a topic. Semi-structured questions used in this research are located in Appendix D.

The semi-structured interviews were informal, and many took place in participant’s

homes or at various restaurants / coffee shops. When at participant's homes, I provided beverages and snacks. When at restaurants / coffee shops, I purchased meals. I began with structured interview questions. To elaborate on participant's responses, I asked informal questions. As I listened, participants felt free to share their ideas and life experiences. There was no time limit during this phase of data collection. The details of the interviews will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Talking circles was the second method I used to collect data within this research study. Lowe et al. (2016) describe talking circles as a qualitative approach, seen within Aboriginal populations, where "individuals come together, and each person is given the opportunity to share experiences concerning a topic of interest" (p. 283). McBride et al. (2015) added that talking circles, founded within Aboriginal culture, "focus on exploring real life, understanding the effects of interaction, and a shift away from attention to objective knowledge towards context and relationships" (p.12). Talking circles align with IRM in that the premise behind talking circles is equality and empowerment of all participants without hierarchies or experts.

My role of the facilitator was to be "responsible for organizational aspects such as planning, inviting participants, preparing the informal setting, ensuring that the values... are respected and maintained" (McBride et al. 2016, p. 13). In other words, the facilitator is not in a leadership role, but guides the talking circle toward its goal. The facilitator ensures the environment is informal and comfortable. Open-ended questions marked by listening provide the foundation for respect and acceptance. Seating participants in a circle is significant because it represents a holistic interconnectedness, thereby creating balance.

Elders who were participants played a key role as knowledge holders and teachers in my

research. “Ceremony and symbolic objects set the stage for non-threatening, non-confrontational, and respectful interaction in the circle where everyone gets a voice” (Ibid, p. 15). The benefit of a talking circle is that participants were treated with respect, with the goal of understanding and connecting with one another.

According to Steinhauer (1999), “a talking circle is a tool that embraces the traditional values of respect, care and non-interference in research work” (p. 37). The procedure I used within the talking circle included the following: participants were seated in a circle, ground rules were agreed upon, a stone was passed to each participant signifying their turn to talk without interruption, and other participants listened in a non-judgmental manner. The details of the talking circle are discussed later in this section.

The talking circle generated collective views of the participants. Group discussions addressed stereotype threat. Discussions were guided by, and given perspective with, open-ended questions. Meetings were informal, and this allowed for participants to develop trust. For the current study, due to scheduling conflicts, there were only four participants in the talking circle. Questions moved from the general to more specific. Included were the following:

- How do you think society views the urban Aboriginal population?
- Describe a situation where you felt that non-Aboriginal people held a negative view of you.
- Why do you think non-Aboriginal people felt or treated you in that manner?
- Describe a situation where you felt that Aboriginal people held a negative view of you.
- Why do you think Aboriginal people felt or treated you in that manner?
- Do you think this treatment / attitude can be influenced or changed? If so, how?

The talking circle discussion guide used in this research is in Appendix E.

## Cultural Protocol

Cultural protocol is essential when conducting research with Indigenous communities. I discuss its importance in order to frame the context of the interviews and talking circle in this study.

Protocols, including rituals and ceremonies, are integral and form the foundation for initiating research with Aboriginal peoples. Rocky Morin (February 14, 2017) described the importance of protocols. He stated they are not just the actions of offering tobacco but are critical when sharing teachings and knowledge. Adherence to protocol demonstrates our true intentions, reflecting our humble thanks for the gift of knowledge that we are about to receive. Always given with respect, protocols encourage ethical conduct and promote interactions based on good faith (Heiss, 2002).

There are many examples of protocols. It should be noted that the examples I list are not limited to three. Some examples of protocols may include ceremonies such as smudges; giving tobacco and/or other gifts or preparing meals. It should be noted that protocols also involve other activities such as active listening and location of oneself as a researcher. Research is a ceremony (Wilson, 2008). It must include respect, reciprocity and relationality. Respect is:

a basic law of life...means you listen intently to others' ideas, that you do not insist that your idea prevails. By listening intently you show honor, consider the well-being of others, and treat others with kindness and courtesy" (Steinhauer, 2002, p. 73).

Likewise, it is essential that the researcher locate themselves when employing IRM.

"Location as a cultural protocol provides us [researchers] with an important opportunity to revise our self-concept and the way in which we present ourselves" (Abolson et al. 2005, p. 112).

Location of the researcher is important for the following reasons. First, location of researcher

informs Aboriginal Community. By locating oneself, the researcher informs the Aboriginal community of his/her identity. As mentioned previously, past research has viewed Aboriginal people as “passive objects in ‘scientific study’” (Ibid, p. 107).

Second, participants are included in research process. Location of the researcher “helps offset existing unbalanced scholarship about Aboriginal peoples” (Ibid, p. 107). In other words, Aboriginal people are included in the research process. It becomes easier to “distinguish between authors who have a vested interest in the research and those who do not” (Ibid, p. 107).

Third, location of researcher assists in eradicating ethnocentric writing when the researcher “reveals his or her epistemological location at the onset through a brief introductory autobiography” (Ibid, p. 107).

Finally, location of researcher ensures the Aboriginal community is involved with the research process. “It is in the process of conducting research that the researcher engages the community to share knowledge, recreation and work” (Ibid, p. 107).

According to Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer (February 13, 2018), protocol involves careful, thoughtful preparation and must be specific to each individual. It is important not to assume all Indigenous people are the same. Each is unique. Gifts must be specific to Elders. According to Weber-Pillwax (2004), this is “an event in the stages of respectful adherence to protocols in establishing significant relationships with teachers and guides for one’s spiritual journey towards individual growth” (p. 87).

Heiss (2002) lays out four reasons why protocols are important. First, as previously mentioned, offering protocols denote respect. Indigenous worldviews are, “living knowledges and representative of ancient relationships that characterize the distinctiveness of these peoples

and the deep connectivity to the environments / lands in which they live. Indigenous worldviews are alive and dynamic” (Kapyrka et al., 2012 p. 101). That is to say, stories, traditional knowledge, and life experiences of Aboriginal people are living entities. Respectful offerings are paramount.

Second, the use of protocols ensures Indigenous control. Aboriginal peoples have the right to self-determination with regard to the expression of their personal experiences and cultural material (Heiss, 2002). As previously stated, Aboriginal communities must be involved in each stage of the research process. Past research has resulted in harm to communities, and with a focus “on negative aspects of life, as identified by outside researchers” (Wilson, 2008, p. 16). The consequence has been proliferation of negative stereotypes of Aboriginal communities.

Third, protocols ensure that consent, consultation, and direct communication with Indigenous peoples are maintained. It is vital that the researcher provide regular updates and represent the rights of participants. Protocols enhance participants’ confidence that their story is represented.

Finally, protocols are practices carried out to value participants’ integrity. The researcher is responsible to ensure that interpretation of the interviews is accurate. The very act of conducting protocols ensures authenticity of the information. Indigenous participants regard protocols as a sacred act (Heiss, 2002).

Dr. Weber-Pillwax disclosed her own experience of nervousness when offering protocol for Elders, yet she proceeded with pure and serious intentions. While preparing a meal for Elders, due to her trepidation, she was unable to eat. Nevertheless, the gift of the meal demonstrated respect towards the Elders, establishing trust (p. 83). Most important, her active



listening with an open heart communicated respect.

Participants make a gift to the researcher of their voices, ideas and thoughts. As a researcher with Indigenous persons, I believed it was protocol that I brought food and beverages to the interviews and talk circle. This established a welcoming and safe environment. Once the research ended, small gifts such as Tim Horton coffee shop and restaurant gift cards were offered to participants. These small gifts were my way of thanking them for their time and participation.

### Confidentiality and Consent

Confidentiality has been essential within any research study with Indigenous peoples. I ensured that pseudonyms were given to participants in order to protect their anonymity. The following forms gave participants the option to remain anonymous: *Consent Form and Confidentiality Agreement*, *Confidentiality Agreement: Talking Circle*, *Email Guide*, and the *Talking Circle Discussion Guide*. See Appendices A, B, C, E.

Prior to the interviews and talking circle, I reviewed with each participant their rights as outlined in the *Consent Form and Confidentiality Agreement* and the *Confidentiality Agreement: Talking Circle*. Participants were asked if they understood each of their rights listed on these forms. Once they agreed to participate, the participant and I went through each of their rights as indicated on the consent form. They were asked to place a check mark indicating if they agreed. It is important to note that I assured participants that, at any time during the interviews or talking circle, they were able to withdraw their consent, and their words would not be used in this research study.

## Community and Participant Selection

When employed as an inner-city teacher, I witnessed many of my Aboriginal students struggle in school. Their main obstacles to academic success stemmed from the deeper roots of stereotype threat and racism, were reflected in difficulties in literacy. These issues in literacy were symptoms of larger societal issues. As an urban Inuit, I also experienced difficulties with reading. I had believed that by becoming a teacher, I could assist Indigenous students and they wouldn't suffer as I did. However, current curricula do not address their needs, and recommended strategies are ineffective. Frustrated by the lack of research and attention addressing urban First Nations people, I concluded that research with this population could draw educational policy and practice attention to the needs of Edmonton's urban Indigenous community.

An urban Elder described to me that urban Aboriginal peoples are fluid in nature. He added that these communities do not have the same physical or tribal boundaries as their rural counterparts. However, common interests — such as spirituality — can bring this group together. For this reason, I chose participants who had a connection to *Sacred Heart Church of the First Peoples*, a Christian church that is home to an Edmonton urban Aboriginal community.

Sacred Heart Church of the First Peoples is located in the McCauley area of Edmonton and ministers to an urban Aboriginal community. This Roman Catholic Church is unique in that it unites Christian beliefs with Aboriginal practices and teachings into a blending of these beliefs and teachings. Sacred Heart Church is extremely popular with urban Status and non-Status First Nations, Métis and Inuit Aboriginal peoples.

The local parish priest, Father Susai Jesu O.M.I., has a pre-existing relationship with this urban Aboriginal community and agreed to help find participants for the current study. He introduced me to the church secretary who in turn, offered suggestions of people who may be interested in participating.

Participant selection consisted of a *snowball* sampling. In other words, potential participants were recruited by other people from among their acquaintances. Prospective participants were asked if they were interested in being interviewed and taking part in a talking circle. Five people agreed to participate in the interviews and four took part in the talking circle.

Being invited to the talking circle by a trusted acquaintance created a supportive and safe space for participants to share their personal stories and experiences. All participants deemed themselves to be a part of the urban Aboriginal community. Potential participants were contacted either by phone or in person. The phone guide and my introduction are outlined in Appendix F.

Once contacted, participants were informed of the scope and process of the research and they were given the opportunity to ask any questions before participating in the audio-recorded interviews and talking circle. In addition, three Elders were asked for protocol advice, and for their guidance regarding proper procedure and ethics during the implementation of the talking circle and interviews. Protocol ensures that the intent of the research is clear and offers opportunity for Elders and participants to ask any questions regarding the research. This established a relationship of mutual respect and trust.

For the purpose of this study, it was preferred that the interviews were completed in-person. However, as per the University of Alberta Research Ethics Office Protocol, I made provisions for any participants who wished to be involved in the research study but could not

meet in-person. Opportunities were provided for them to respond by email. It should be noted that all participants were able to meet with me in-person. The email guide is outlined in Appendix C.

### Ethical Issues

Prior to beginning this research, the proposal was submitted for ethical review to the University of Alberta. The main ethical considerations for this research involved working with Aboriginal peoples, including Elders, and discussing topics that may be culturally and personally sensitive. I was aware that discussion of these topics may have opened emotional wounds. Therefore, I ensured that participants were provided information where they could seek emotional and related assistance if needed. Participants were made aware of several organizations which provided free cultural, emotional and professional counseling. All organizations were specifically equipped to assist Aboriginal people. Organizations are listed in Appendix G. It should be noted that the participant who cried during her interview sought help from her counsellor.

Elders within the research were respectfully requested to give opinion regarding protocol and offer guidance about ethics necessary when conducting the talking circle. Informed consent was requested orally and in writing, then signed to ensure it has been given and obtained appropriately. Consent also offered participants the option of anonymity, to forego anonymity, if they did wish to have their names associated with the information they have shared.

I intended and ensured that there was a safe space created when conducting the talking circle and interviews. It was crucial that participants felt supported and encouraged to share their

opinions and stories. A smudge was conducted, and this helped to create a safe space. Transcriptions of audio recordings of the talking circle and interviews were reviewed by participants to clarify any confusion and to discuss any changes. This ensured that participants maintain authority over their words.

## Interviews

Five participants took part in this research study. All were asked to complete a consent form before the initial work began. Individual interviews were conducted with each participant. Interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed verbatim onto an encrypted flash drive. Before the first interview began, each participant was made aware of his/her right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Participants were also made aware that the audio tapes would be available to only my supervisor and myself. These recordings would be destroyed after I transcribed the recordings onto an encrypted flash drive. However, the encrypted flash drive would be kept in a locked cabinet for five years, as per University of Alberta protocol. Although three participants did not want to conceal their identities, two did. Just as Dr. Steinhauer discussed in her 2007 dissertation, I had to ensure that the wishes of the two participants were respected. I decided to keep the anonymity consistent. Therefore, pseudonyms were given to each participant.

All interviews were conducted in varied, informal settings: some at local coffee shops or restaurants, others at participants' homes. The interviews and talking circle were conversational, with structured and unstructured questions acting as a guide. This approach facilitated a context where participants had a high degree of control, ensuring that their information was free-flowing

and rich in detail from their experiences.

The interviews were substantially longer than the scheduled hour. When following Indigenous Research Methodology, interviews cannot be restrained or dictated by the clock. “[T]he traditional Native conviction that until each person’s mental or spiritual state has been addressed, the time cannot be right to begin the day’s particular activity” (Ross 1992, p. 40). Participants decided when they were prepared to meet. They chose the time and length of the interviews. In honour of IRM, the Indigenous Ways of Knowing, Being and Doing, as well as out of respect for participants, I did not impose a time limit for the interviews. Based on my experience, gaining trust takes time. It was of vital importance that each participant felt at ease and free to express themselves.

Throughout the interviews, I applied the Ways of Knowing, by listening, sensing, watching, waiting and observing the participants (Martin, 2003, p.9). Ways of Being were reflected in the participants and my interconnectedness. I ensured that the Elders who participated within this research guided the “proper forms of conduct” (Ibid, p. 11). Finally, within the research process, I ensured that my behavior and actions were respectful in accordance to Ways of Doing (Ibid, p.11). Locating myself as a researcher, active listening, and researching with an open heart are all a part of that respect.

During my first interview, I was acutely aware of the time constraint imposed by the University of Alberta Research Ethics and Management Committee. I explained to my participant, an Elder, that we would be together for an hour. Surprised, he smiled and then explained the differences between the Indigenous and Western world concept of time.

“Aboriginal time is based on nature, but Westerners put artificial constraints on it. Hours,

minutes, seconds, that's not how nature planned it" (Ross, 1992, p. 40). My Western-based world view was painfully obvious. I then added that he should take as much time as he wished during each interview.

Learning from my mistake, I ensured that all participants had as much time as they wished. I met with each participant three times. Interviews were conducted over a period of a month. This period allowed me time to transcribe interviews so that any questions or issues which required clarification could be addressed. As participants generated ideas and addressed issues, I made notes to return to that topic and then compare them with the information gathered in the talking circle.

Prior to conducting the interviews, I met informally with each participant. We met at a local coffee shop and were able to talk and get to know one another. These initial visits gave participants the opportunity to relax and become comfortable with me and with the research topic. This stage of facilitating and building trust was the most important phase of data collection. It is during this initial stage of research that a deeper connection with participants was established (Weber-Pillwax, 2001).

As they shared their experiences and lives with me, participants and I became interconnected. For me, participants were more than just participants in a study. Together, we were on a journey. Relationship-building allowed me to complete this research by enabling me to enrich and deepen my understanding of their lived experiences. In this way, I was connected to each participant.

The interview guide previously outlined allowed me to maintain clear parameters of the data, to me and the participants. Serving as a template, the interview guide allowed the dialogue

from participants to flow naturally, ensuring an authentic engagement. All questions in the interview guide (Appendix D) received answers and elaborations. The responses were rich in detail due to my reliance on an open-ended and unstructured approach to the interviews. I was struck when reading Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer's (2007) thesis how she and her participants learned from one another. She spoke of the "participants who contributed and entrusted me with the stories of their own pasts, their own and their children's presents, and essentially, the futures of both" (p. 86). I felt the same connection, which deepened my sense of responsibility.

I would like to share an experience I had during one of the interviews. A question I had asked brought a participant to tears. I felt mortified, helpless, and reproachable. My question had brought her discomfort. It was like ripping open an old wound. Unsure if it was appropriate to hug her, I held her hand. We sat together in silence. Her soft sobs brought me to tears. She proceeded to hug me. We were united and interconnected. I relayed this episode to my supervisor, Dr. Steinhauer (August 31, 2018). She stated that the roles of a researcher can be fluid. When I held the participant's hand, I was trying to comfort her. And yet, the roles reversed when she comforted me. IRM allows for the participant to fully express subjective and, at times, raw experiences. This would not have been possible had I employed another methodological approach.

Validation or trustworthiness of the findings was enhanced by several methods:

*1. The protocols we undertook were sacred.*

Gifts such as tobacco, tea, or sage are connected to the universe and Creator. Therefore, they are considered to be spiritual, and trust is established. It is important to stress that protocols are, "much more than just handing over a package of tobacco or the presentation of material



gifts” (Steinhauer 2007, p. 99). Protocols are a,

“process that acknowledges and recognized the *mana* [italicized by author] (spiritual essence or power) or the being or entity at hand. To ignore those steps reflects badly upon the individuals [sic] upbringing and parentage and diminishes the sacredness of the person’s status and being” (Hanohano, 2001, p. 62).

Protocols signify the researcher has an open mind and heart, and all research is done for the benefit of the community. Steinhauer (2007) elaborated that as a researcher “anticipating issues of trustworthiness and credibility [of participants] go against the Cree worldview” (p. 102). Protocols are sacred commitments made between participants and the researcher.

Many non-Indigenous people view protocols as being unrelated to trustworthiness. They have difficulty comprehending the seriousness and sacredness of protocols, as these are not a part of the Western world view. Furthermore, Ross (1992) stressed truth-telling is central to the Indigenous worldview and protocols are sacred procedures.

## *2. Multiple meetings with participants*

I met with each participant several times before the interviews began. The very nature of IRM validates and values trustworthiness. In addition, each participant took these interviews seriously, as this was about them and future generations. Each participant was determined that their voice be heard. Indigenous people want their voices to be heard. They view, “their input was rewarding to them personally” (Steinhauer 2007, p. 102).

## *3. Trustworthiness of interviews*

Finally, I employed several methods to ensure trustworthiness of the interviews. Heale et al. (2013) stress the importance of using more than one approach within research. “The objective is to increase confidence in the findings through confirmation of a proposition using two or more

independent measures” (p. 1). In other words, the researcher applies different methodological approaches to the study. Trustworthiness “combines data drawn from different sources and at different times, in different places or from different people” (Flick et al., 2004 p. 178).

Peer-debriefing is a culturally appropriate tool I used during my study. Described by Steinhauer (2007), it is a technique that involved, “member checks by engaging the research participants in analyzing their own contributed data and confirming the data” (p. 102). I was able to meet with each participant multiple times to peer de-brief. Peer-debriefing had the goal of “maximiz[ing] the validity of field efforts” (p. 179).

Furthermore, all participants in this study were, “deemed to be credible sources by the community” (Steinhauer 2007, p. 102). Each were recommended by members of the community. To question their trustworthiness would be considered as an “insult to the individuals, but also to those people who referred them to me, and ultimately, to the community” (Ibid, p. 102).

The final form of trustworthiness for qualitative research involved other various data collection tools such as interviews, field notes, previous studies, and documents. Each method measures the same construct (Oliver-Hoyo et al. (2006). Within this study, I also used structured and unstructured questions along with a talking circle to ensure cross-validation and validity.

### Talking Circle

All participants were invited to partake in the talk circle. However, due to scheduling difficulties, only four participated. As with the interviews, the talking circle was conducted in an informal setting, this time in the kitchen of the Sacred Heart Church of the First Peoples.

An Elder was asked for guidance regarding proper protocol and ethics prior to the talking

circle. I presented her with a gift of tobacco and tea. A participant, an Elder, advised me how to prepare for the talk circle. She described items which were required in order to proceed with the initial ceremony. These included: blankets, a shell, an eagle feather, and sage. Four blankets of different colours, each representing the four races of human kind, were placed in the middle of a table. A shell was positioned at the centre and was filled with sage. The participant, an Elder, explained the shell is used to attract the heartbeat of Mother Earth, further connecting us to the universe. It should be noted that not all Aboriginal people use a shell when conducting a smudge. The procedure for smudging differs amongst Indigenous groups (Steinhauer, December 19, 2018).

We then arranged the chairs in a circle around the kitchen table. The Elder explained that energy travels in a circle, thereby interconnecting us. She added that everything travels in cycles and sitting in a circle honours the unity of Christian beliefs with Aboriginal practices and teachings.

I offered the participants protocol by offering tobacco after smudging. However, I did so after confirming that tobacco was acceptable to each participant. Tobacco is important within Aboriginal cultures. It is used “to give thanks for taking what we [Aboriginal people] took” (Absolon, 2011, p. 59). Tobacco links the individuals to the spiritual world and is a sacred medicine. (Bird-Naytowhow, 2017). Offering tobacco “ensured that meaningful and respectful ceremonies of relationships were fostered, and that cultural protocols and ethical guidelines were upheld” (Ibid, p. 8). While offering tobacco to each participant, I stated that the tobacco was a gift in thanks for the knowledge they were about to give to me.

The Talking Circle then proceeded. As a group we reviewed their signed consent form.

We began by having tea and snacks. The Talking Circle took place in a kitchen at the table, which happened to be circular. We smudged prior to the talking circle. “Smudging is utilized as a preparation for individuals and groups to enter into a sacred communication, to receive spiritual knowledge, and when entering processes of collaborative learning” (Ibid, pg. 8). Smudging allowed for the participants and me to begin the talking circle with open hearts. In addition, smudging ensures that “individuals and groups are cleansed by prayer and prepared to co-construct communication with the creator and ancestors” (Ibid, p. 8). Following the smudge, I reviewed the guidelines and procedure of the talking circle. Participants agreed to the conditions and confidentiality requirement as outlined on the consent forms.

I began, using my talking circle questions as a guide. Due to my nervousness, I could not set my phone to record properly, so I asked the participants’ permission if I could write while they spoke. However, I found that writing while they were speaking was distracting and disrespectful. I felt I was not actively listening and chose to stop writing so I was able to give participants my full attention. We passed a blue stone from person to person to signify their turn to speak. No interruptions occurred. Once the talking circle was completed, and participants had left, I wrote what I could recall. I was able to member-check my notes when I individually met with participants for their personal interviews. I was able to review notes of what they shared in the talking circle by stating, “when you mentioned [this topic], did you mean this?”

Within this study, all participants were able to meet with me for the interviews. However, as per University of Alberta Research Ethics Office Protocol, I made provisions for any participants who wished to be involved in the research study but could not meet during the scheduled times. Opportunities were provided for them to respond by email. The email guide is

outlined in Appendix C. It should be noted this was not needed during this research study.

### Analysis of Data

To ensure its accuracy, data was analyzed in three ways. As previously stated, I began by performing a thematic analysis of the data. This involved grouping or categorizing concepts. Second, before transcribing audio recordings, I listened to them again to ensure that the specific themes were appropriately identified. Through the process of triangulation or cross-validation, I was able to ensure that answers were complete.

As previously mentioned, trustworthiness “combines data drawn from different sources and at different times, in different places or from different people” (Flick et al., 2004 p. 178). The goal is to, “maximize the validity of field efforts” (Ibid, p. 179). Data collection methods of qualitative research commonly includes interviews, field notes, previous studies and documents. Each method measures the same construct (Oliver-Hoyo et al. (2006). Within this study, I utilized structured and unstructured questions along with a talking circle to ensure cross-validation and validity. Finally, relevant literature for stereotype threat was also used to compare and contrast with the obtained data.

### Dissemination of Findings

Knowledge gained from the research may be published as an academic article, as well as this thesis. The information will be important for the development and implementation of policies addressing stereotype threat, with possible strategies that may be effective in combatting this phenomenon. Resulting knowledge can also be used to clarify obstacles faced by urban Canadian Indigenous students in personally achieving academic success. It is vital that urban

Canadian First Nation communities are directly included in the development of strategies to effectively combat stereotype threat.

Publishing urban Aboriginal participants' knowledge in peer-reviewed articles will ensure that the research may be accessed by other researchers, scholars as well as the non-academic community. During his interview, Napew stressed that real change occurs from education at the grass roots. Ross (1992) found that traditional Indigenous education centers around "sharing and the expectation of both effort and excellence" (p. 35). In other words, sharing of knowledge will result in the greater good of the community, ensuring not only survival of the Indigenous population but demonstrate their resiliency to thrive in the harsh conditions found within the urban community.

Furthermore, the knowledge will allow for the development of workshops, such as those developed by Gorringer et al. (2011), as well as conversations that may include educational administration personnel, educators, policy makers and other Indigenous and non-Indigenous community members. This strategy of disseminating the findings is important to ensure that knowledge from this research is accessible to benefit both the urban Indigenous populations and the Canadian educational systems.

Possible benefits include increasing awareness to the negative impacts of stereotype threat; the education of society and the role they play in continuing stereotype threat; a better understanding of stereotype threat and racism among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

Participants will be contacted and asked if they wish to have a copy of the final thesis and submitted/published article. If they request a copy, one will be made available. This is to ensure that participants are kept informed about the progress of the research and the use of their

responses.

In conclusion, it is anticipated that this research will contribute to a deeper understanding of the individual and cultural harm resulting from stereotype threat. It is paramount that urban Aboriginal people be directly involved when developing strategies used to combat stereotype threat and racism. Their direct consultation is crucial so that their recommended strategies may be used to enhance this population's belief in their ability to succeed.

It is also vital that mainstream society become educated about their role in perpetuating stereotype threat. The goal is to make society aware of their actions, so they will be able to stop this negative cycle.

#### [Summary of the Value of Indigenous Research Methodology for the Purposes of this Research](#)

I believe it is crucial that my participants have a voice in this research. Their narratives ensured their truths are heard and valued. Unlike in much of the former research with Indigenous individuals, participants in this study were encouraged to speak freely and express their subjective experiences with stereotype threat in the urban setting. The pain felt by this community is deep and continuous.

It is important that the public be educated about the impact of stereotype threat. Individuals within all educational institutions and systems must have an open heart when researching Indigenous communities. Currently, Aboriginal scholars are demonstrating the strength of Indigenous Research Methodology. "Gaining control of the research process has been pivotal for Indigenous peoples in decolonization" (Kovac 2005, p. 23). Findings and recommendations provided by the TRC show the need for researchers who are cognizant of the

needs of all Indigenous communities. The lived experiences of Aboriginal people, along with their personal experiences and the stories they offer in order to cope with stereotype threat, are necessary in order for healing to occur. Indigenous people “need to take back control of research so that it is relevant and useful” (Ibid, p. 33). For this reason, Indigenous Research Methodology was best suited to launch research in the current topic.

The research question of interest asked about the effects racial stereotyping had on urban Indigenous people, with attention to their educational outcomes. My research goal was to ask urban Aboriginal adults to speak about their experiences and perceptions about racism and of deficit thinking, in relation to education identity affected their educational outcomes.

The research process involved interviews along with talking circles (Parthenis et al. 2011). Thematic analysis of data allowed for the creation themes, gathered from the personal reflections from participants.

In conclusion, qualitative methodology, as seen within Indigenous Research Methodology, was best suited for my proposed research on stereotype threat. IRM was the best research methodology that provided the description of subjective experiences, the truths of participants.



## Chapter Four: Participants and Findings

### Participants and Findings

In this chapter, I introduce the participants from Edmonton's Aboriginal community and present findings from my research on stereotype threat. Ranging from the ages of twenty-four to seventy-five, all participants had considered themselves to be members of Edmonton's urban Indigenous community.

It should be noted that participants were unfamiliar with the term *stereotype threat*. However, all were aware of and had experienced racism, stemming from stereotypes. All participants were able to describe the negative impacts racism and stereotypes had on their identity, as well as on their educational outcomes. When I first broached the topic of stereotype threat with the participants, I described the term as racism, stemming from stereotyping. My main areas of exploration of their lived experiences were threefold.

First, I enquired through unstructured and structured interviews what these Edmonton Aboriginal adults thought and how they felt about societal beliefs, possible stereotyping, and stereotype threat, of them and other Indigenous peoples in Edmonton.

Within this line of questioning and discussion, they were asked their thoughts and feelings regarding widespread societal beliefs (stereotypes) and about a corresponding discourse that Indigenous people are less able to achieve than their non-Aboriginal counterparts.

Second, I explored their views on whether stereotype threat affected their thoughts and feelings about the educational success of other members of the urban Aboriginal community. I sought to know if they expected that persons like themselves, of the urban Indigenous

community, would have inferior academic achievements, and if so, did these expectations interfere with their academic success.

Finally, participants were invited to offer recommendations that they found effective in transforming the negative effects of this phenomenon with this population. I examined with them various interventions they recommended that assisted them to counter the effects of stereotype threat.

Primary themes were uncovered in the findings based on the stories, expressions and experiences of the participants in this research. The general themes identified were:

- A. Stereotype threat negatively affects Edmonton's Indigenous adults and,
- B. Negative educational biases exist which stem from stereotype threat.

Likewise, several themes emerged when participants described various coping strategies that they had employed to combat stereotype threat. The main themes identified were: importance of returning to traditional Aboriginal culture, spirituality and religion; use of various support systems; the importance of maintaining a healthy lifestyle, and with positive self-affirmation.

During my journey into research, several issues weighed heavily upon me. Due to the small sample size and gender of participants (all but one of the five participants who took part in my study were female), I questioned as to whether the findings from so few people accurately reflected the beliefs of the community. The gravity of my project hit me. This was a thesis that involved the feelings, experiences and opinions of real people, and it was crucial to understand their subjective realities. I felt the added pressure of ensuring that my research was accurately done to the best of my ability.

IRM has developed as a qualitative method to examine subjective and personal experiences of a limited and selected group of Indigenous participants. Utilizing IRM, I examined and explored the causes of powerlessness and racism. Strategies that participants employed for dealing with stereotype threat were considered through an Indigenous lens (Wilson, 2008).

My intent was to explain, describe, and interpret participant experiences resulting from stereotype threat. The richness of the information was of key importance. I sought to ensure that participants were able to relate their experiences, emotions and thoughts. None of this would have been possible had I assumed an empirically-based methodological approach, where response choices would have been imposed, measures taken, and then data averaged.

I limited the numbers of participants to five, a number considered appropriate for qualitative research studies (Guetterman, 2015). My goal was to have an equal gender mix. However, prospective male participants were reluctant to take part in this study. This may be explained by differences between the genders and how they are socialized, influencing if and how they communicate.

Women regard questions as a way to maintain conversations, when men see them as requests for information. Women connect what they (sic) conversation partner says and what they have to say, men do not follow this...women are more likely to share feelings and secrets, while men prefer less intimate topics (Beck 1989, p. 4-5).

In other words, the topic of racism and stereotype threat may be too painful and personal for more men than women to discuss.

Throughout the research process, I maintained personal reflexivity by continually assessing and exploring participant group size. Reflexivity is essential, “potentially facilitating

understanding in both the phenomenon under study and the research process itself' (Watt 2007, p. 82). Through reflection, I became aware of the findings. Reviewing the transcripts of the interviews enabled me to check if my assumptions and behaviour were biasing the study. Reviewing enabled me to code and place the findings into themes, without including any personal bias.

It is important to note that the interviews were discontinued at the point when no new knowledge was forthcoming, and themes related to stereotype threat were well developed and remained constant (Mason, 2010).

I sought to provide a picture of my participants that reflected their culturally rich communities and unique sets of values and beliefs. It was important to disguise their identities, so each participant was given a pseudonym. What follows is a brief composite vignette of each participant in this study. The vignettes provide context from which to understand the data gathered.

It is important to note, contrary to initial expectations, that not all participants were members of Sacred Heart Church of the First Peoples. However, all consider themselves to be members of Edmonton's urban Indigenous population.

### Participant Vignettes

#### Faye

Faye has a welcoming personality. Approximately 55 years old and originally from Yukon Territory, Canada, she has been well-travelled. She has toured throughout Canada and Europe. Fay was denied her official Aboriginal status by the Canadian government after her

mother married her Polish father.

At the age of seven, Faye's mother was placed in a residential school. At that time, the government had a program which took children from their family of origin, ostensibly to facilitate their assimilation into the broader, dominant society. Faye explained that her grandparents felt tremendous guilt for placing her mother in the residential school system, and as a result, she stated, "inter-generational pain was passed down." Her grandparents and mother became alcoholics. After experiencing the family's pain from their alcoholism, Faye, by age twelve, made the decision not to drink alcohol in front of her children.

When Faye's mother was in her early thirties, she was placed in Edmonton's Charles Camsell Hospital for treatment of tuberculosis and sterilized without her permission. This procedure haunted her mother until the day she passed away. According to Faye, this was a very dark time in her family's life. Sterilization without consent left Faye and her family with a deep sense of loss. The choice and ability to have more children was taken away from her and her family, without their consent. The Charles Camsell Hospital will be discussed later in this section.

Faye's mother never spoke about her time at the residential school, but she stressed to her children the importance of education. Faye obtained her education on an off-reserve, public school. Even though Faye's mother had suffered in the residential school system, she ensured that her children had the best education. After graduating high school, Faye entered the workforce and continues to work full-time. Throughout her career, she has completed many post-secondary courses.

Crediting her mother as being a major influence in her life, Faye is, likewise, a strong

woman who has strived to ensure that her children had the best education in Edmonton. She is very proud of her children, two of whom are currently working on post-secondary degrees. Moving to Edmonton five years ago, Faye has become an ardent advocate for the urban Indigenous community. It is important to her that support systems are established to benefit this community.

### Iskwew

Iskwew stated, “I was born to a Métis settlement” in northern Saskatchewan. Her family relocated to a northern Alberta reserve when she was two years old. An outspoken Elder, Iskwew advocates for the education of traditional Aboriginal ways. She is fiercely proud of her Métis heritage. Iskwew has a large extended family and she stated it was crucial to her that her children, grand and great-grandchildren know and take pride in their culture.

Iskwew’s parents were students at a residential school. As a result, her childhood was marred with inter-generational pain. Although she had a violent upbringing, Iskwew credits her parents for teaching her the traditional Aboriginal ways of living. She stresses that these teachings grounded and sustained her during difficult times. Iskwew did not begin school until she was eleven years old. Her parents did not want her to suffer as they had, and it was at that time she first experienced racism.

In her mid-teens, Iskwew moved to Edmonton to seek employment. Describing herself as “bushed”, Iskwew stated, “We didn’t have running water, indoor plumbing, we lived in the bush. Coming to the city was a culture shock.” As a result, she struggled to adapt to city life. Although Iskwew suffered from years of alcoholism, she maintains that she is grateful for the lessons she

learned once she achieved sobriety. An active member in recovery, Iskwew describes her sobriety as “the Creator put[ting] us on this path which gives us certification of health”. With pride, Iskwew stated, “I have been sober for over 40 years.”

Currently, Iskwew devotes her time developing and teaching programs with Edmonton’s school boards, focusing on traditional Aboriginal ways of living. She also educates organizations that assist disadvantaged youth, as well as those who are incarcerated. Iskwew is in the process of writing a book that focuses on the importance of healing through traditional ways of living.

### Lacey

Lacey is a vibrant, twenty-four-year-old young mother who hails from Saskatchewan. Lacey’s upbringing was filled with violence, abuse and alcoholism. Her family suffered from inter-generational pain resulting from her father attending residential school. Her mother attended a non-Aboriginal, on-reserve school.

Her mother pushed her to attend school, but Lacey stated, “I skipped school to be with friends.” Lacey fondly recalled a school counsellor who became her mentor and she attributed her counselor’s interventions as the reason she was able to graduate from high school. The counsellor ensured Lacey was able to graduate by driving Lacey to school, helping her with her homework, and providing emotional support. Sadly, Lacey added that none of her friends graduated from high school.

Lacey was upset that her high-school administrators had automatically placed her in a remedial math class. She recalled how this class made her feel intellectually inadequate and, ultimately, limited future employment opportunities. She vowed that this would never happen to

her daughter. Seeing no future living on her reserve, Lacey moved to Edmonton to begin anew. She has been upgrading her schooling so that she can attend a post-secondary institution in the fall.

Urban life has also had challenges. Recently, Lacey removed her daughter from an Edmonton school when she learned that the principal wanted to place her daughter into an all-Indigenous setting. Lacey advocates that integration, not segregation, of all cultures is necessary for a society to be healthy. Lacey described integration as “everyone, every culture living together, learning from one another, all treating one another with respect and kindness”, and segregation as “groups [of different ethnicities] not mixing with the rest of society”. Lacey’s views of integration and segregation will be explored further in the Findings section.

She has since placed her daughter in a mixed public school and is pleased with her daughter’s progress and its multiculturally based curriculum. Lacey views urban life as filled with opportunities and has been encouraging her siblings to join her in Edmonton.

#### Linda

A Status Indian, Linda is a sixty-year old woman who grew up on a reserve located in the Northwest Territories. Both parents attended residential schools. However, they were determined that Linda should obtain her schooling from the public-school system. The youngest of ten siblings, Linda had a difficult relationship with her mother but is grateful that she was able to reconcile with her mother before her mother died.

Linda suffered from inter-generational pain inflicted by the residential school system. She described how alcoholism and violence were a part of her childhood. Although both parents were



spiritual, she credits her father’s lessons for instilling traditional Indigenous spirituality into her life. It wasn’t until she became older that Linda reconnected with traditional Native spirituality. It continues to give her strength and is a cornerstone in her life.

When she was fourteen years old, Linda said, she “was expelled from school by a racist and abusive principal—he was not Aboriginal”. Raised to respect Elders, Linda recalled the incident as one where she confronted a person in authority. She had a dispute with the principal and believed this incident taught her that negative situations can be transformed into positive life lessons. After being expelled, Linda promptly found employment washing dishes at a local hospital and maintains that this job instilled, “discipline and a positive work ethic of getting up in the morning and going to work every day”, thereby increasing her self-esteem. After obtaining her GED, Linda attended and graduated from a post-secondary institution.

A mother of a two children and grandmother of three grandchildren, Linda struggled with addiction but abstained after witnessing her son follow her into addiction. She is proud that she was able to help him attain sobriety.

Two years ago, Linda moved to Edmonton to provide emotional support to her daughter who attends a post-secondary institution. Seeing first-hand the challenges faced by rural Aboriginal people who move into urban areas, Linda believes support systems are vital for survival. Currently, Linda works at a local medical boarding home, assisting northern First Nations community members who travel to Edmonton for medical treatment.

## Napew

Born in central Alberta, Napew is a seventy-five-year-old retired Non-Status Cree man,

with a previous history of addiction. He is proud to have completed his schooling and credited his sobriety for this accomplishment. Napew had three siblings and all attended a residential school. Napew credits his father as the most influential teacher in his life. His father believed that the world was changing, and that these changes would have a negative impact on traditional ways of life. In order to survive in an ever-changing world, Napew's father advised him that it was crucial to learn the new ways.

Napew stated that just like everything in life, there were positives and negatives, including his experiences in residential school. He did not wish to elaborate on the negative experiences he faced. However, he did state that, for him, residential school had the positive benefit of introducing him to other Aboriginal cultures, as well as their ways of doing things.

When in his thirties, Napew moved to Edmonton to secure employment. His greatest accomplishment was reconnecting with his older brother and sister. An avid runner, Napew believes it is crucial that both the mind and body are fit. Napew became a member of the Sacred Heart Church community and still attends the services.

### Areas of Investigation

Within my research, as detailed in previous sections of this thesis, I examined three main questions. I sought to discover participants' personal perceptions of stereotype threat on educational success. Included were: What contributed to the education of participants? How did stereotype threat affect education? What coping mechanisms/strategies were employed to counter the negative effects of stereotype threat?

Participant's lived experiences, thoughts and feelings were explored. I gathered

information using structured and unstructured questions during a series of interviews and a talking circle.

1. *I began by asking participants to discuss any mainstream societal beliefs, possible stereotyping, and stereotype threat directed towards them or other First Nations people in Edmonton.*

Participants were then asked if they believed dominant society held negative stereotypes of them as urban Indigenous people. If participants believed this to be true, they were asked to describe situations where they experienced stereotypes which depicted Aboriginal people as less able to achieve than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. I also explored whether participants felt the need to prove whether they were as good as members from dominant society. Did participants view integration / segregation as a need to prove whether they were 'lesser than' or inferior to members in mainstream society?

2. *The second area of exploration pertained to education, academic success and stereotype threat. I explored if / how stereotype threat might have affected educational success for them, as well as for other urban Aboriginal people.*

In other words, based on their experiences, did participants believe that mainstream society held expectations that they, as First Nations peoples, would be perceived as having inferior academic achievements? If so, had this expectation interfered with their personal academic achievement?

3. *The final area of exploration related to possible strategies participants used to counter stereotype threat.*

Specific questions addressed: What did they do? How did they cope? Did they have ideas about interventions that might have assisted them to counter stereotype threat?

Finally, six common educational strategies, as recommended by participants, were

explored.

This journey has led me on a fascinating path. I believe that by opening a dialogue, sharing feelings and ideas, wounds can begin to heal. Negative discourses can be transformed into positive narratives.

Consistent with IRM, this research counters deficit narratives as described by my participants and myself (Wilson, 2008). It is through understanding and a willingness to listen that beneficial changes can occur.

Participants within my study share this belief within their stories and want positive change. Offering their wisdom, they recommended many strategies that could benefit our community. It is my hope their voices are heard.

What follows are their stories, ideas and solutions.

The following section addresses how codes resulted in the themes found within this research. I define both codes and themes and demonstrate how these were employed within this research.

## Codes

When interpreting qualitative data, it is important to establish codes that will assist in determining themes found within the study. Codes are used to organize and sort data, allowing the researcher to summarize and synthesize what is occurring within the data. This is important because organization and interpretation of data develops the analysis where themes of the study are explored (Center for Evaluation and Research Tobacco Control Evaluation Center, 23 August 2018).

The predominant codes of topics for each participant are discussed, from those that occurred most frequently to the least frequently. The codes naturally reflect the questions and topics posed for this study. Included are childhood and family experiences with education, stereotyping, racism and stereotyping as impediments to educational achievement. Finally, childhood experiences with education and academic achievement are explored.

Participant narratives based from their lived experiences are the primary source of data utilized in IRM. According to Solorzano et al. (2002), data is interpreted from *theoretical sensitivity* and *cultural intuition*. Theoretical sensitivity refers to:

a personal quality of the researcher. It indicates an awareness of the subtleties of meaning of data... [It] refers to the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't" (Hoepfl 1997, p. 50)

From this standpoint I had unique advantage of being a member of Edmonton's urban Indigenous community. Being familiar in the urban setting allowed me to conduct research of stereotype threat utilizing an *emic* perspective. Steinhauer, (1999) defines *emic* perspective "a researcher's ability to experience and see things from an insider's point of view" (p. 4). Living in an urban setting as well as suffering the negative impacts of stereotype threat has afforded me an insider's perspective of understanding urban Indigenous life.

Cultural intuition differs from theoretical sensitivity. It is the exploration of the "collective experience and community memory, and points to the importance of participants' engaging in the analysis of data" (Solozano et al. 2002, pg. 33-34). Therefore, during the research process it is crucial that the researcher have a sense of the participant's culture. Furthermore, the researcher must have sensitivity and personal reflexivity within IRM. Codes are

identified from a foundation of theoretical sensitivity and cultural intuition and, in turn, result in development of themes within IRM.

As an urban Indigenous woman, I was able to draw from my personal experiences as an urban resident and understand the participants' Indigenous culture. These abilities allowed me to maintain personal reflexivity within the current study.

## Themes

At the core of qualitative data analysis is discovering themes within the findings of a study. Stemming from codes, themes are the “already agreed-upon professional definitions from local common-sense constructs, and from the researchers' values, theoretical orientation, and personal experience with the subject matter (Ryan & Bernard, 23 August 2018).

Consistent with IRM, the themes developed here were based on my interpretation of the meanings, thoughts and feelings of participants from the discussion of topics. Guiding my interpretations were my personal experiences with the urban Aboriginal educational experience, and with unique views on stereotyping and stereotype threat.

Based on the stories, expressions and experiences of the participants in this research, many themes were identified. What follows is an outline of the primary themes derived from the questions posed and discussions arising with the participants:

- Exposure to Racism
- Stereotyping and Stereotype Threat
- Personal and Educational Adaptations and Coping Strategies for Stereotype Threat.

To summarize, five participants took part in my study: four were female and one male. A qualitative research approach, IRM allows for the examination of subjective and personal experiences of a limited and selected group of participants. By examining and understanding the causes of powerlessness and racism, solutions have been explored.

## Interpretation of Findings

### Section 1: Stereotype Threat and its Negative Effects on Edmonton's Aboriginal People

Stereotype threat is a reality for Edmonton's Aboriginal community. There are two main sources of its destructive effects. The first is lateral violence where Indigenous peoples view and disparage their fellow Indigenous people. The second source pertains to racist perceptions of the Indigenous community by non-Aboriginal people. Participants in the current study have described the influence on their lives from both sources that contribute to stereotype threat.

Gorringer et al. (2010) and Dyson (2018), detailed how some Indigenous people undermine Aboriginal community members' identities and authenticity, their very connections to Aboriginality. Dyson (2018), provided an example of members from a minority culture undermining other members of their own culture, including this sentiment from an African-American: "When you hear about slavery for 400 years. For 400 years? That sounds like a choice—Kanye West" (p. 24). Dyson (2018) explains West's comments as: "we are not the majority, our social vulnerabilities wear on us, our existence still provokes wonder and fear...[the] so-called Black pathology and moral deficiency are explained by our supposed lack of intelligence and humanity" (p. 24-5). In other words, based on their ethnicity, members of the African American population fear they are inferior to others. West's comments can be interpreted

as describing the impact of slavery as being the problem of the African-American population's unwillingness to accept the past and not get over it. His comment applies blame to members of his ethnicity. West's statement has undermined members of his ethnicity.

A parallel of West's dismissive statement exists in Canadian society. Some media outlets have reported: "pundits, politicians, journalists and citizens tell us [Aboriginal people] to 'get over it' without having even a basic understanding of what 'it' is" (Vowel, 2013). Indigenous people who espouse this belief risk discounting the effects of past atrocities and the impact of residential schools. As a result, the messages within the Indigenous population can be to accept the past and move on, and not address the issue. Not considered is that, "Canada's colonial history, the racist attitudes and assumptions" (Schiffer 2016, p.7) continue to be a part of Canadian society.

Gorringer et al. (2010) described negative, disparaging, stereotype-perpetuating dialogue between Aboriginal individuals, meant to exclude members from the community, as *lateral violence*. Iskwew succinctly described this as "the colonized becomes the colonizer". Winegard (2010) further described lateral violence as creating disharmony in Aboriginal groups. Faye said, "it [lateral violence] breaks the spirit of our people." Particularly divisive, lateral violence be directed toward those with the inability to speak the community's Indigenous language, or those who seek further education.

According to Bennett (2015), Aboriginal individuals who do not speak their community's Indigenous language or seek further education, may discover "arguments about who is a 'real' Aboriginal [that] are based on perceived traditional behaviour or customs, language, law, social aspects and physical features" (p. 18). It is also found that Aboriginal people themselves have



“internalised the values of the oppressive society, escalating identity issues further” (Ibid, p. 18). Bennett (2015) concludes that these Indigenous people do not “fit into ‘traditional’ categories...[they] are now both the coloniser and colonised” (Ibid, p. 18-19).

Another facet of lateral violence is “oppressed groups/individuals [who] internalise feelings such as anger and rage and manifest their feelings through behaviours such as gossip, jealousy, putdowns and blaming” (Ibid, p. 54). Bennett (2015) describes these behaviours, which can occur at workplaces, as including, “verbal affront(s), undermining activities, withholding information, sabotage, infighting, scapegoating, backstabbing” (p. 54).

Linda recounted her experiences at her workplace. Several male Aboriginal co-workers had bullied her. She described male co-workers sabotaging her work and instigating conflict through gossiping. Due to her experiences, Linda believed her only recourse was “to leave that place”. The experience left Linda feeling traumatized.

Faye recounted several examples of how fellow urban Aboriginal people negatively viewed her. She stated, “Urban Aboriginal community members are not seen as ‘Aboriginal’ enough by those at home [her rural home community] and not seen as white enough by the urban population.” Leaving members of the urban Aboriginal community disillusioned, lateral violence can undermine a sense of belonging, lowering self-esteem and ultimately resulting in self-destructive behaviours. While discussing lateral violence, Faye recounted a tragic incident of an Aboriginal man who left his reserve to live in the city. His experiences illustrated how one suffers from lateral violence and the extent to which one cannot adapt and survive in the urban area,

He came from a reserve close to Edmonton, wanting a better life. He could be such a

devil but had a good heart. He would come and play the piano. He could really play. He had a gift. But his life here was hard. He wasn't accepted and had no support and turned to drinking. He would return to the reserve but didn't feel welcome, so he came back to the city. I stopped seeing him and wondered if he had died. Soon after, I saw his obituary in the paper.

In the above story, Faye believed the Aboriginal man did not feel a sense of belonging with others in either the rural or urban setting. "The need for social belonging — for seeing oneself as socially connected — is a basic motivation. Sense of belonging is a fundamental drive to obtain long-lasting, positive relationships. Belonging is synonymous with relatedness" (Thompson 2017, p. 17). Feeling connected with others is a basic human need. Lack of a connection leaves the individual, "question[ing] their inclusion and value" (Ibid, p. 17). As seen in Faye's story, a repercussion of lateral violence can be suicide.

### Charles Camsell Hospital

A second example of governmental patriarchal control of the Indigenous population, after residential schools, can be seen with the Charles Camsell Hospital. As previously stated, Faye's mother was a patient at the Charles Camsell Hospital, formally located in Edmonton. In order to understand how the Federal Government exercised medical control over the Indigenous population, I provide a brief history of the hospital. The information that provided the historical background of the Charles Camsell Hospital was obtained from previous studies and media reports. I also demonstrate how lateral violence towards the Canadian Indigenous population occurred in this facility.

Between 1871-1877, the Canadian Crown and various First Nations groups signed Treaty 6. Included in this treaty was a clause referred to as the *Medicine Chest*. It has been interpreted to

include health care for the Aboriginal population by the federal government.

That in the event hereafter of the Indians comprised with this treaty being overtaken by any pestilence...the Queen, on being satisfied and certified thereof, or by Her Indian Agent or Agents, will grant to the Indians assistance of such character and to such extent as Her Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs shall deem necessary and sufficient to relieve the Indians from the calamity that shall have befallen them” (Copy of Treaty No. 6, 1876, pg. 5).

Tuberculosis (TB) is an easily transmitted disease. When people are in close contact, the bacilli could be passed from one person to the next through coughing. The outbreak of TB within Aboriginal communities spread across Canada. In addition, residential schools were, “a particular breeding ground for [tuberculosis]” (CBC Radio-Canada, 2018). Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer stated that the reality of the TB outbreak was that many Aboriginal people were infected by this disease due to living in close quarters to one another (August 31, 2018). In addition, those infected with TB had no resistance to the disease.

In 1945, the Charles Camsell hospital was converted into a TB sanatorium for Aboriginal people. Previously, the facility housed a Jesuit college, and later provided health care for World War II non-Indigenous veterans. Indigenous peoples including Inuit and First Nations people from Alberta, Yukon and parts of the Northwest Territories were transported to Edmonton for treatment (Charles Camsell History Committee, 1985).

Indigenous people infected with TB were sent to the Charles Camsell Hospital. At the time, no Northern hospitals existed for any patients with serious illnesses or injuries. Hospitals funded by Indian Affairs (as it was then known) were built in southern Canada. A form of patriarchal control was exercised by the Canadian government. Sultana (2010-2011) defines patriarchy as the “manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance” (p. 3). At that time,

the Canadian government deemed it necessary to remove adults and children from their home communities to these hospitals when they were ill. There is still controversy about the wisdom and motivation of these decisions, including within the Indigenous community.

Napew stated that he knew people from his community who were treated at the Charles Camsell Hospital. He recounted, “The whites [non-Aboriginal people] who had TB were sent to the Aberhart TB Clinic in South Edmonton; no Aboriginal people were at the Aberhart.”

Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations were segregated (in part because the Charles Camsell was federally funded by Indian Affairs and the TB Clinic at the Aberhart was a provincially-funded Alberta hospital).

The Charles Camsell Hospital offered those infected with TB the “standard medical treatment regime for tuberculosis” (Drees 2010, p.173). Patriarchal control was justified under Treaty 6 and the Indian Act (1876 and onward) as providing the agreed-upon medical treatment. There are allegations of a “possible burial site of unmarked graves located on the southeast corner of the hospital” (Morin, 2017) and of medical experimentation, mass sterilization, abuse and medical negligence (Huncar, 2018).

Faye’s mother was sterilized at this hospital without her permission. Faye spoke about the pain her family endured after learning about her mother’s sterilization, adding, “It was a very dark time for us.” Sterilization without consent, resulted in a deep sense of loss for Faye’s family. As a result, Faye’s family suffered because of such patriarchal control.

Further, the government subjugated, segregated and controlled the Aboriginal population. Since there were no centers of treatment within the Aboriginal communities, patients were removed from their homes and placed at the Camsell Hospital. Aboriginal individuals had to

leave their families, sometimes for months or years at a time, and were placed in southern cities to undergo medical procedures. The result was traumatic for many patients, isolated from their families, culture and language.

The act of being removed from the community, once diagnosed with TB, was described as a traumatic event. Many...did not understand the disease and therefore did not understand why they were being confined to a sanatorium [*sic*]" (Moffatt et al., 2013 p. 4).

Dr. Cora Weber-Pillwax spoke of people within her community who saw their loved ones taken away, and of never seeing them alive again. "Coffins, small coffins would be sent back [to the community], they were of the children. It was very sad" (October, 2017).

In addition, governmental patriarchal control was perpetuated by outlawing traditional Aboriginal activities. "Smudging, healing circles or other group healing practices were not permitted within the sanatorium [*sic*]" (Ibid, p. 4). As a result, Aboriginal patients were negatively affected during their time at the Charles Camsell Hospital. This was reflected in loss of culture, language, as well as absence from support systems. Other patients report finding community within the hospital; these conflicting narratives still arouse strong feelings among Indigenous people.

Iskwew and Linda also described how other institutions that exhibit patriarchal control have had harmful effects on Aboriginal women. Iskwew and Linda referred to this behaviour as lateral violence. According to Linda, a consequence of the divisive actions of those in power is that Indigenous community members fight amongst one another. Thurston et al. (2013), discussed how politics from band councillors affects the community. Linda stated, "It's really bad; Aboriginal women are pitted against other Aboriginal women and Aboriginal men watch.

They encourage it.” Various undermining activities such as sabotage and infighting are used to inflict lateral violence.

As the first female chief of her community, Linda recalls being bullied by several male councillors. Since no one would intervene on her behalf, Linda had to step down. Although her life has improved, Linda has found the same divisive practices operating in Edmonton.

Life in the city can be difficult for urban Aboriginal individuals. Faye discussed racial profiling and how it negatively impacts Edmonton’s urban Aboriginal population. Racial profiling occurs when, “members of certain racial or ethnic groups become subject to greater levels of criminal justice surveillance than others” (Wortley et al. 2004, p. 198). Faye recounted her numerous experiences of being followed by security while shopping. She stated, “It happens when I’m not dressed well. They [store security] think I am going to steal”. Describing further incidents of racial profiling that occur within Edmonton’s Aboriginal community, Faye spoke of friends who would complain of having to pay cab fares before being taken to their destinations, and restaurant staff demanding meals be paid in full in advance.

According to Dr. E. Steinhauer, society has a belief that all Aboriginal people drink (November 5, 2018). Lacey recounted that during an interview for a new job, her employer asked if she drank alcohol. Unnerved by the episode, Lacey stated that she abstains from alcohol and drugs. Her employer’s assumptions about Aboriginal people, stemming from stereotypes, left her feeling demeaned.

Lacey described another incident where a customer loudly announced that he “loves all Natives.” Although she didn’t believe his statement was intended to be derogatory, Lacey felt his statement contained racial undertones. She stated, “it was silly. Who ‘loves’ all people from one

race?” Another way to analyze the customer’s comments is to view them through the lens of symbolic violence.

Symbolic racism entails unintentional and covert behaviours that are used to justify racism. People are often unaware of the harmful outcomes of these behaviours and deny they are racist (Nittle-Kareem, 2017). Perhaps the customer may have believed that proclamation of his feelings towards Aboriginal people wasn’t racist, but by publicly announcing it, he drew attention to Lacey’s ethnicity, resulting in her discomfort.

It was Lacey’s opinion that some stereotypes Indigenous community members face have been justified by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people who validate the stereotypes. While working at a store, Lacey witnessed an inebriated Aboriginal friend steal merchandise. When she confronted him, he proceeded to berate her in front of customers. Feeling the disapproving stares from those around her, Lacey was left feeling humiliated. She had tried to “do the right thing and it backfired”. The situation upset her because she saw her friend’s actions play into the stereotype of “drunk Indians who do nothing but steal”.

This incident exhibited the multi-faceted layers of stereotype threat, lateral violence and possibly, internalized racism. Lateral violence involves, “harmful practices that members of an oppressed group engage in towards members of their own group” (Bennett 2015, p. 53). Lacey’s friend may have perceived Lacey’s behaviour as being traitorous to the Aboriginal community. By calling attention to his actions, Lacey did not publicly defend him.

In addition, Lacey’s actions can be viewed through the lens of Ross’ (1992) description of *the ethic of non-interference*. As stated previously, Indigenous people, “will never interfere in any way with the rights, privileges and activities of another person” (Ibid, p. 12). It could be

interpreted that Lacey's Indigenous world view was not strong since she confronted her friend. Ross (1992) states that all people must learn through trial and error. From this Indigenous perspective, Lacey's actions went against the traditional Aboriginal worldview and according to the ethic of non-interference, she should not have done anything. It was up to her friend to learn from the situation he created.

Finally, this situation is also an example of stereotype threat. Lacey believed her friend's action validated the stereotype. Furthermore, internalized racism may be seen in Lacey's friend's actions. As previously stated, the minority group begins to believe and internalize the negative racist messages. Lacey's friend was inebriated and stole, engaging in the stereotype that Aboriginal people drink to excess and steal. In conclusion, Lacey's situation demonstrates the insidious cycles and intricacies which occur with stereotype threat.

Stereotype threat has been damaging to the everyday lives of each participant. Urban Aboriginal people not only have to contend with the effects of stereotype threat from their home community, but also from the urban Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population. In the next section, participants describe how stereotype threat affected their education.

## Section 2: Negative Educational Biases, Stereotype Threat and Edmonton's Aboriginal Community

Originating from stereotypes, stereotype threat entails deeply-embedded negative-preconceptions of the stereotyped group. Stereotype threat affects Edmonton's Aboriginal population in all aspects of life, especially in the domain of education. The broad societal belief that Aboriginal students are poor and are inferior academic achievers contributes to a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure (Steele, 1997; Ball, 2010; Steinhauer, 2007; Jaramillo et al., 2015;



Osborne et al. 2015). In other words, stereotypes become legitimized, and both rural and urban First Nation communities accept them to be true (Croizet et al., 2017).

Educational systems in Edmonton appear to perpetuate stereotype threat in Edmonton's Aboriginal community, as urban Indigenous children tend to drop out of school in high numbers (Anderson, 2009)

Negative perceptions made by teachers affect education of Aboriginal individuals. Faye, Lacey and Linda offered several examples of how these perceptions have affected their education. Faye believed that Indigenous children tend to be viewed as lazy and having little intellectual ability. The Aboriginal community is "constantly fed messages about their worthlessness, laziness, dependence and lack of 'higher' order human qualities" (Tuhiwai Smith 2001, p. 4). A consequence of these perceptions is lowered teacher expectations. (Steinhauer, 2007; Ball, 2010).

Lacey offered a second example of negative perceptions from employees in the educational system and how it affected her education. She described her automatic placement into a remedial math class. Lacey stated this was a regular practice with all Aboriginal children at her school. Lacey added, "Some teachers believe that Aboriginals can't do school work."

Finally, Linda stressed how Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures clash with educational practices. "Non-Aboriginal people do not take into account that Aboriginal people speak from the heart and this comes from a place of knowing." In other words, the traditional Aboriginal education and Western educational systems differ (Ross, 1992). Traditional Aboriginal teachings may be seen in medicine wheel, a metaphor of Indigenous teachings, that may be used by some Indigenous people. The medicine wheel will be elaborated in the

Recommendations section later in this chapter.

Institutional biases have also been evidenced within school boards' hiring practices (Brady, 1999; Dandy et al. 2015; St. Denis et al. 2002). The Alberta Teacher's Association (ATA) (2006) has endorsed the implementation of instructional programs supporting Aboriginal students. As outlined in the teacher's resource manual, learning outcomes are directed to ensuring that teachers "become more aware of prejudice toward, stereotyping of and outright discrimination toward Aboriginal peoples in society" (2006, p. vii). Although the ATA expects teachers to understand and address these issues, sadly, they often do not. Institutions perpetuate negative preconceptions by hiring teachers who may not have the knowledge of how to reach urban Aboriginal children within the classroom.

Faye maintained that school boards have held preconceived ideas about Indigenous children. In her small town, in a school with primarily Indigenous students:

[the teachers] used this as a stepping stone and would leave (for schools that catered to non-Aboriginal children) as soon as they could. They (non-Aboriginal people) have many preconceived ideas about us. Some teachers who came up north think our kids are savages because they weren't clean, and their clothes were dirty. They would see them as stupid. Kids pick up on this and it lowers their self-esteem.

Steinhauer (2007) found many instances where educational staff, "had low prejudicial beliefs about the Aboriginal students they teach...Native students are often prejudged, even before the teachers know them" (p. 132). As a result, Aboriginal children would begin to believe the opinions of educational staff or self-doubt their abilities, doubts that remain well into adulthood. Steinhauer (2002) shared a story of an Aboriginal graduate student who still suffers because the negative "messages that she had received in school left a permanent imprint on her mind" (p. 128).

Lacey also described ongoing institutional biases of the educational system. She cited an example when she learned that her daughter was to be transferred to an all-Aboriginal school. Upset because the principal had not obtained her consent, Lacey confronted him. Steinhauer (2007) described this common procedure as “streaming students into the nonacademic [sic] route” (p. 125). To Lacey, the episode reminded her of how she was placed into a remedial math class, also done without consent from her parents.

Lacey believed her daughter would not receive the same education as non-Aboriginal children and removed her daughter from this school. After researching Edmonton’s school programs and their policies for Indigenous students, Lacey was able to find a school that best met her daughter’s needs.

Substandard educational practices, originating from lowered teacher expectations, can be anticipated in places where institutional biases exist (Steinhauer, 1999; Steinhauer, 2007; Ball 2010; Aronson et al. 2009; Dandy et al. 2015). Faye described treatment her children received:

I had to fight for my kids. They had a teacher who had been teaching for years. He became bored and lost interest. He wasn’t able to teach math and my kids were failing. Finally, out of frustration, I got a scholastic math book and taught myself math. I was able to teach my kids and they ended up doing really well. Their teacher asked why they had done so well. I showed him the scholastic book and he used it, teaching himself math. He ended up using that book to teach subsequent classes.

Napew asserted that curricula must be relevant and practical. He recalled that, while in residential school, he wanted to learn activities such as building houses, repairing items and painting, “to do practical things so I could survive in the world”. However, his pleas were ignored, and he was told “We’re not here to help you get a job but give you an education.” Napew maintained that current educational practices have been slow to change.

Faye related another example of her children subjected to substandard teachers in an Edmonton school. Her son received a poor report card. His teacher was always yelling at the students, frightening them into submission. Angered, Faye went to see the teacher and principal.

In her own words:

She kept yelling at the kids, I had enough. I was very upset. My son had done well in his classes and yet, she gave him low grades. When I saw her, I tore up the report card in front of her. She was shocked. I then asked her why she gave my son such poor grades in spite of him doing well in class. She said she felt he didn't do things as good as he could have but, she agreed that he was a good student. She was nitpicking. I told her to give the grades he earned and then told her and the principal that they must give these kids positive reinforcement. Tell them they are good and are doing well, not demean them. I told her not to yell at the kids. They were afraid to come to school. No one could learn like that.

Faye later learned that this teacher didn't realize that she was constantly yelling and was going through difficult times herself. She told the teacher, "That's not right, teachers have to think about the kids and if their home life isn't going well, they need to get help. Not take it out on the kids."

In summary, the participants shared their experiences of racist stereotyping and stereotype threat within the city, including within the educational systems. As described by the participants, individuals affected by racism are impacted at deep levels. Racism "is a form of oppression" (Banks et al. 2018, p. 93). Dominance and privilege are justified and upheld based on racial designation (Ibid, p. 93). Individuals targeted by racism are bombarded with "negative messages, beliefs about inferiority, and related manifestations of internalized racial oppression" (Ibid, p. 93). Within this study, participants described numerous examples of being subjected to negative messages associated with racism.

Furthermore, "racism is conceptualized as a biopsychosocial stressor with biological,

psychological, and social factors that contribute to how individuals perceive, cope and navigate racism” (Ibid, p. 93). Individuals who are affected exhibit “a variety of behaviors and practices that are associated with psychological and physiological stress responses” (Ibid, p. 93). Within this study, participants described a gamut of manifestations they experienced in response to racism. Included were feelings of inferiority, issues with anger, depression, biological symptoms such as illness, and substance abuse.

Racism, stereotyping, and consequences such as stereotype threat can have devastating effects on the urban Indigenous community. Deeply ingrained within the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, stereotyping and stereotype threat becomes normalized. In some cases, people become resigned and accept these beliefs to be true. In the next section, various coping mechanisms, utilized by participants will be examined.

#### Coping Approaches Recommended and Used by Participants

Stereotype threat is the “threat of confirming a negative stereotype about one’s group [that] may induce a perseverant way of thinking in those who experience it, interfering with their ability to replace old strategies [of coping] with more successful ones” (Carr et al. 2009). In other words, in order to manage the negative impact of stereotype threat, coping mechanisms must be altered, adapted to the situation and reflect individual preferences.

As previously stated, Steele (2015) describes identity contingencies as “conditions one has to deal with in a setting in order to function in it” (2010, p. 68). Research conducted by Steele (2015) and others has indicated that negative identity conditions or situations that increase stereotype threat “can become irrelevant; and identities can be seen as positively and uniquely

contributing to complex and diverse societies” (Call 2011, p. 113). Research is demonstrating that various countermeasures or strategies have been found to be effective in lessening the negative effects of stereotype threat.

Participants in this study offered various coping methods they employed in order to manage stereotype threat in the urban environment. Racism is a societal issue that is bigger than anticipated within this study. However, participants recognized that they had to learn to cope. Some coping mechanisms reoccurred and were related to each other. Therefore, I have divided them into the following four subheadings. Each will be examined:

1. Return to traditional Aboriginal culture
2. Traditional spirituality and religion
3. Support systems
4. Various activities

#### 1. Returning to Traditional Aboriginal Culture and Teachings

Current publications discussing stereotype threat offer strategies that may be effective to cope with stereotype threat. These coping mechanisms are described as providing strength, increasing the sense of social belonging, and providing emotional support to the individual affected. However, it is vital that coping mechanisms are “specifically designed to allow them [members of the urban Aboriginal community] to succeed in school without having to give up their racial identities” (Osborne et al 2006, p. 573).

Identity is linked to culture. It unifies a group of people by representing their views of reality and how they think about their reality (Wilson, 2008). In other words, culture represents how a group of people are perceived and understood in their world.

As discussed in earlier chapters, residential schools had a devastating impact on

Aboriginal culture, systematically stripping away culture from the Aboriginal population. Morcom et al. (2018) found that for members of the Aboriginal community to achieve reconciliation, the educational system “must have access to Indigenous knowledge” (p. 813). Participants in this study stated that opportunities to learn about and return to traditional Aboriginal teachings were neglected in urban settings.

### Medicine Wheel and Traditional Aboriginal Teachings

Faye, Iskwew and Linda expressed beliefs that education in traditional Aboriginal culture is essential for Indigenous people to survive in urban areas. They stated that traditional Aboriginal teachings come from the medicine wheel. In order to understand the relationship between the medicine wheel and traditional Aboriginal culture, in this section I have provided a brief description of the medicine wheel, how it relates to traditional Aboriginal teachings, and why these participants believe it must be incorporated into the current educational system.

Medicine wheels are “common on the Northern Plains and associated with Native Americans” (Meissler 1991, p. 1). A sacred North American Indian symbol, the medicine wheel is a “three-dimensional sacred cosmology involving the four directions, the sky, the earth and the centre. The teachings provide ethical guidance” (Morcom et al. 2018, p. 816). The medicine wheel provides a “focus on inter-relatedness and connectedness between various aspects of the person, time, and of creation. As such, it represents a sacred cosmology that connects one’s internal and external worlds meaningfully” (Ibid, p. 816). According to Ermine (1995), the medicine wheel gives “insight into our common humanity and our connectedness” (p. 106). Teachings from the medicine wheel “focus on positioning oneself within the world in a relational

way and walking a good path” (Morcom et al. 2018, p. 816). The medicine wheel provides a guide for how one should live one’s life.

According to Nabigon et al. (2012), the medicine wheel is recognized as essential in education and healing. “It conveys the principle therapeutic goal of [promoting] balance and harmony within individuals and groups of people, including communities, and to assist in taking action to relieve pain in the communities and nations of the world” (p. 48). The medicine wheel is divided into four quadrants covering:

the aspects of human life - feelings (vision) relationships, time, respect (cognition), and caring (action; physical; spiritual) (p. 23). around the core “fire” of the person, or what is considered the central location of healing in the heart. Treatment processes need to consider emotional, cognitive, social and physical functioning in a spiritual context. (Ibid. p. 48).

It is important to note that not all Indigenous people ascribe to teachings from the medicine wheel. Interrelatedness, relationality, harmony and balance can be taught without incorporating the medicine wheel.

For some Indigenous people, the medicine wheel is a part of Indigenous knowledge. Indigenous teachings “assist in the collaboration of the heart and brain” (Kapyrka 2012, p. 105). Therefore, teachings based on the Medicine Wheel are holistic, and focus on developing the child emotionally, physically, spiritually and intellectually. Moreover, interconnection and relationality are central to teachings from the Medicine Wheel (Chartrand, 2016).

In other words, teachings from the medicine wheel encompass, *Ways of Knowing*; “Knowledge is purposeful.” (Martin 2003, p. 9); *Ways of Being*, “We are part of the world as much as it is part of us, existing in a network of relations amongst Entities that are reciprocal.” (Ibid, p. 10), and *Ways of Doing*, “What we are able to show (Do), respectfully and rightfully



(Being) and what we know (Knowing)” (Ibid, p. 11). The medicine wheel is one of many metaphors, that is used to help one understand an Indigenous worldview. Aboriginal teachings, using such metaphors as the medicine wheel, have been used to pass on traditional teachings over the years.

Participants discussed the importance of teaching about Aboriginal peoples and their culture. They believed it is crucial that the educational system recognize, adopt and develop programs that transmit traditional Aboriginal teachings to students. Teachers must incorporate Indigenous knowledge into their classes. According to Morcom et al. (2018), teachers must have:

strong knowledge bases and understandings of why this education is necessary, who are confident and well-informed enough to develop appropriate content to bring Indigenous concepts into their classrooms in partnership with families and communities, and who have the pedagogical skills to teach about them in an appropriate way (Morcom et al. 2018, p. 813).

Indigenous knowledge-based understandings develop cultural identity and focus on the wellness of the Aboriginal community. “Cultural values, teachings and knowledge [allow Aboriginal people to] heal themselves, their families, and their communities” (Wilson 2004, p. 1).

In addition, traditional Indigenous teachings also lead to “an understanding of the importance of traditional teachings and how those translated into a way of being in the world... traditional teachings foster ‘respect, responsibility, reverence, relationships, and reciprocity’” (Reicken et al. 2006, p. 281). According to Iskwew, “Education must be holistic and built on teachings from the medicine wheel.” Faye believes that the medicine wheel “focusses on harmony and balance”, adding, “Sacred Heart Church does this, and this is seen in smudge rituals and respect for all nations. Everyone is equal and welcomed in the church.”

Participants asserted beliefs that it is imperative for non-Aboriginal community members to learn about Aboriginal peoples. “We must have teachers of diverse heritages who have strong knowledge bases and understandings” (Morcom et al. 2018, p. 813). All of society must be educated. According to Iskwew, “the educational system must have a global view of culture. We must be more open, and this will lead to less discrimination and builds relationships.” UNESCO defines *global culture* as “A group of human beings whose members identify with each other, on the basis of distinctiveness measured by combinations of cultural, linguistic, religious, behavioral and/or biological traits” (IGI Global, 2018). Iskwew believes that when cultures learn about one another, they will begin to understand, respect and celebrate human similarities and differences.

Faye described a discussion she had with a priest from another congregation. Angered and saddened, she described his beliefs about Aboriginal culture and Sacred Heart Church.

He told me that he believes that Sacred Heart Church practices shamanism and black magic. He thought that our church did not practice real religion because the people honoured trees and animals, but not God. This was horrible because he [the priest] is teaching this to his congregation and they believe it. They tell others [ non-Aboriginal people] and they believe it. This has to stop.

The discussion Faye had with the priest demonstrates the importance of educating the public about Aboriginal people and their culture. Statements made by the priest had the potential to fuel racism and increases division. It appeared that he did not have a good understanding of Indigenous people. In addition, the priest’s statements can erode Aboriginal people’s sense of belonging to the community and threaten their well-being. Knowing that this priest is perpetuating myths about Aboriginal people can erode their self-worth, igniting feelings of being devalued.

## Participants, Indigenous Teachings and Current Education

All participants recommended that incorporating Indigenous teachings into the curriculum would make the educational experience richer. In addition, non-Aboriginal population would also benefit. Participants in my study suggested that negative biases would be lessened in the educational system by implementing the following methods. Linda suggested that by incorporating Elder teachings into the curriculum, the educational system would become “powerful in its simplicity”. The teachings from the medicine wheel address a person’s “emotional, physical, spiritual, and intellectual self” (Morcom 2018, p. 816).

Likewise, integrating traditional teachings into the curriculum would address the roles of women and highlight their importance in Aboriginal culture. Iskwew and Linda emphasized that women are the teachers, who build strong cultural ties. Iskwew stated:

When we return to traditional teachings, our women and the planet will be respected. Women are very powerful and looked over the family. We must return to this teaching, to the old way of teaching, and turn to the medicine wheel.

Linda added, “Yes, women are strong. We are mothers, sisters, grandmothers and teachers. It’s important we educate ourselves. We need our culture.” Furthermore, Ledlow (1992) added “a strong sense of traditional cultural identity (as defined by speaking the native language fluently and engaging in traditional religious and social activities) provides a student with an advantage in school” (p. 34).

Napew offered a different view. Although he has viewed traditional culture as important, Napew asserted that schools should not make courses in this area compulsory. He maintained that Indigenous students must be given the choice whether they wish to learn Aboriginal

traditions.

Yes, our people must learn their own culture, but if they are forced to, they will focus on untrue aspects because they are forced. I was forced to take French for years and to this day, I can't speak French. I fought it. I think the same applies to learning Aboriginal culture. We need to have the choice.

Ross (1992) offers a way to interpret Napew's ideas. The Western educational system has set up specific standards which must be upheld by all schools. Included are the core classes which are mandatory, such as language, math, science, social studies and art. When examining the Western-based educational system through a traditional Aboriginal lens, making classes mandatory may interpreted as "giving advice" (p. 20).

These core courses did not recognize Indigenous knowledge or culture because such knowledge was deemed to be inferior. Recently, there is a resurgence and acceptance of Indigenous knowledge and culture. Napew, an Elder, believes "[in the principle of withholding] criticism and advice-giving, [because the spirit of the principle] forbids the burdening of others" (p. 33). Ross (1992), stresses that choice is an important feature within traditional Aboriginal way of life.

Regardless of how his belief is interpreted, Napew's beliefs are reflected within the findings from a 2013 study completed by University of Calgary. The study addressed issues faced by Calgary's urban Aboriginal community. It reported that "not all Aboriginal [people] wanted access to cultural ceremonies or practices and that choice needed to be left with the [person]" (Thurston et al. 2013, p. 22).

Napew had also added that it is the responsibility of parents to teach their children. "Traditional Aboriginal culture is best taught by parents and when the child is young." As

described by Ross (1992), in the *ethic of respecting praise and gratitude*, parents play a vital role within their child's education. Napew's beliefs adhere to the modelling approach of education, where the child learns through observation. This is a central feature of traditional Indigenous education.

Lacey agreed with Napew. She recounted that as a child, she wasn't interested in traditional culture. However, as an adult Lacey feels ready to explore her heritage. Without realizing it, Lacey is adhering to the traditional Aboriginal ethic, the *notion that the time must be right*. According to Ross (1992), there is a spiritual observance of time which must be heeded. "Attention to the spirit world requires that each person examine their own state of mind before embarking on particular tasks" (p. 39). In Lacey's situation, she feels emotionally ready to embark on this next journey in her life. According to Ross (1992), she has found "the right time" (p. 39) in her life and is ready to explore her Indigeneity and traditional culture.

Furthermore, Lacey added, it is important that she instruct her young daughter about traditional Aboriginal culture, rather than relying on the educational system. The Western educational system has harmed Aboriginal people by diminishing the importance of traditional Aboriginal culture and knowledge. All participants in this study stated they believed parental involvement is crucial to their children's education.

In summary, Kavanagh (2005) described the central role Aboriginal families play in their children's education: "In Indian tradition each adult is personally responsible for each child, to see that he learns all he needs to know in order to live a good life" (p. 6).

## 2. Religion and Traditional Aboriginal Spirituality

All participants stated prayer, religion and traditional Aboriginal spirituality were important in their lives. Four participants stated they relied on either spirituality, religion or a combination of both in order to cope with the impact of stereotype threat. The remaining one participant was exploring religion and traditional Aboriginal spirituality. Although various types of spirituality exist, for the purposes of this study and thesis I focused on traditional Aboriginal spirituality.

Religion and spirituality are terms often used interchangeably. However, according to the participants, there are differences between the two and their views have been supported in the literature, religion represents an organized belief system, wherein individuals often endorse a relationship with God. On the other hand, spirituality refers to “the immaterial aspect of one’s personhood that connects with *otherness*, including for some a life force or immanence, especially with the Creator or God” (Doige 2003, p. 144). Religion can bring meaning, comfort and purpose to people’s lives. Spirituality allows the individual freedom over the interpretation of one’s soul or spirit (Berkel et al. 2004). “Spirituality is the heart of values and morals and at the heart of education for Aboriginal students” (Doige, 2003, p. 149). Spirituality and prayer help form the Indigenous worldview or ontology (Wilson, 2008).

Research has shown that both religion and spirituality have positive effects on mental and physical health (Stroud 2014). TheHealthSite (2017) lists several benefits of spirituality and prayer. Included are prevention of depression, lowered suicide rates, experience of better well-being, relaxation of the nervous system, boost to the immune system, and longer life. This is

important because Mendes et al. (2011) found neuro-biological manifestations of “stress arousal and vigilance...[when] negative stereotypes affect performance via brain and bodily mechanisms” (p. 2). Activities such as prayer and meditation increase the blood flow to the brain and body, thereby relaxing the individual and assisting in coping with stereotype threat. Moreover, Krysinika et al. (2018) found the positive “effects of religion and spirituality may be related to the productive effect of religious social networks and social support...against stressful life events” (p. 7).

Participants in the current study differed in their views of spirituality and religion. Nonetheless, four participants stressed the importance of both, whether combined or used alone, as effective countermeasures to stereotype threat. With regards to spirituality and religion, participant responses can be divided into three areas. These include participants who rely on:

- Traditional Aboriginal spirituality alone
- A blend of traditional Aboriginal spirituality with non-Aboriginal, organized religion
- Non-Aboriginal religion alone as a support system.

Adherence to traditional Aboriginal spirituality has been integral to Iskwew. She asserted that spirituality is linked to culture, land, mind, body and spirit. “I have learned to journey in a spiritual way.” Iskwew believed it is essential that all Indigenous people acknowledge their culture. Iskwew stated:

I read books by Rupert Ross, and I like what he says. He understands us [Aboriginal people]. Spirituality is connected to the land. It helps us to return to Aboriginal culture. Traditional spirituality is a part Aboriginal peoples’ lives.

Faye and Linda expressed belief that traditional Aboriginal spirituality and non-Aboriginal religion can co-exist. For them, blending is an effective coping mechanism, lessening

the negative impacts of stereotype threat. Faye described a local priest who has given spiritual guidance and strength to the incarcerated Indigenous population. Faye stated, “Father goes to the Remand Centre to give Mass to the inmates. They have lost their way, and this gives them strength.” In conjunction with Correctional Service Canada, the local priest has found it beneficial to combine Christian religion with Aboriginal teachings. Research has reported that Elders have played a crucial role in decreasing recidivism. According to Waldram, (1993):

Most Aboriginal offenders found great value in the spirituality programs they received in prison. The cultural knowledge that they received was greatly appreciated, and for many (particularly those with little or no knowledge of an Aboriginal culture) this was the first such knowledge they had obtained, and it clearly played a role in helping them resolve their identity conflicts (Waldram 1993, p. 358).

Faye maintained that by merging religion and traditional Aboriginal spirituality, there is a greater opportunity for rehabilitation of the First Nation inmate population (Correctional Services Canada 2015).

Religion has also helped Faye and Linda face difficult times. Both identified themselves as Christian. As previously mentioned, Faye described Sacred Heart Church’s philosophy of integrating traditional Aboriginal spirituality with Christianity. She believes the two can complement one another to provide support to Indigenous persons. “I honour God / Creator, there is no difference”. Further, Linda added “our people can be helped by either traditional spirituality or Christianity, whatever works for the person.” Her life has been enriched by embracing her father’s teachings of traditional spirituality.

Faye and Linda stated that they found personal strength when they united the two forms of prayer. Likewise, Ross (1992) describes the *Ethic of Non-Interference* as, “never interfere [ing] in any way with the rights, privileges and activities of another person” (p. 12). It is not up



to me, as a researcher, “to judge the motives, goals and desires of people” (p. 18). It is the choice of the participants of how and where they seek strength and solace when faced with the effects of stereotype threat.

Lacey has begun to explore religion and traditional Aboriginal spirituality. However, she believes one must be ready to explore traditional Aboriginal spirituality and/or religion, to buffer against the toxic effects of stereotype threat. Describing her feelings, Lacey stated:

Growing up, I wasn't religious and didn't do traditional things. I wasn't interested, and I didn't care about it. As I got older, I think they are good things. I want my daughter to know religion and traditional spirituality. I have a friend who is a Christian and she knows a lot about the Bible and stuff. She tells me about God. She prays a lot too and is teaching me. It's cool, I'm ready now. I want to know more about God and traditional spirituality. My reserve has Sun Dances and other stuff. I also want to know more about that. I want to know both and show my daughter.

Lacey concluded that the Indigenous community must be given a choice of whether they wish to accept traditional spirituality or Western religion into their lives. Again, Ross's (1992) *Notion that the Time Must be Right* is a part of the traditional Aboriginal world view. Ross (1992) stated one must take the, “time to walk through possible courses of action in advance ...[and] also prepare one's self emotionally, and spiritually, for the course chosen” (p. 38-39). In other words, the individual must be mentally and emotionally prepared before beginning new stages within their lives.

In Lacey's situation, when she was younger, she wasn't ready to embark on a religious or spiritual journey. However, now that she is older, she believes in incorporating prayer and religion into her life. In addition, she is currently reading about traditional Aboriginal spirituality.

Finally, Napew credits Christianity with being an effective method to counter stereotype threat. He has not incorporated traditional Aboriginal spirituality into his life. However, he said,

“I respect it [traditional Aboriginal spirituality] as I respect all religions. I grew up in the church. For me religion works best.” Agreeing with Lacey, Napew believes that Aboriginal peoples must be given the individual choice to choose the path most suitable for them.

### 3.Support Systems

Using various available support systems was the third coping mechanism recommended by participants. All participants believed that support systems have given them the strength to manage the impacts of stereotype threat. Moreover, support systems have given some a sense of belonging and, for some participants, supportive individuals may also be considered as positive role models.

Support systems also increase a person’s sense of belonging to a group. Steele (2010) reported that when university students were able to meet and talk about their negative experiences, they found they were not alone and were able to support one another to weather the negative impacts of stereotype threat. Steinhauer (2007) described the positive social impact of Indigenous children whose schooling took place in their home communities: “It is important to feel that sense of belonging, to be in a place where it is possible to be happy and comfortable, to be truly understood by friends” (p. 189).

Participants in this study described various support systems they have found effective. These included: parental support for children, friends, counselling and healthcare. Faye, Linda and Napew stressed parental support as the foundation for building strength and resiliency for First Nations children. Faye maintained that children flourish when they have their parents’ support, giving them the fortitude to counter corrosive effects of stereotype threat. She has

credited her success to her mother who tirelessly crusaded to ensure that Faye and her siblings had the best education. Likewise, Faye saw to it that her children had the best education.

However, Faye and Linda pointed out also that parents must provide emotional support for their children even when they are older (Woolf et al. 2008). Faye recounted proudly how her son overcame a difficult time when he left his community to attend the University of Alberta:

It was especially overwhelming for him. He was so sad when he called, and he would ask to come home on the weekends and he was always welcome. But he found he wasn't prepared for life in the city and took a year off, and when he returned, he did so well, he was able to complete his degree!

Linda faced a similar situation with her daughter. At her daughter's request, Linda relocated to Edmonton to provide her with emotional support. Linda is delighted because, since her move, her daughter is successfully completing her education at a post-secondary institution.

Napew highlighted the importance of parental involvement in their children's lives. He highlighted the fact that children model their parent's behaviours and actions. Parents, "who have been successful in the domain carry the message that stereotype threat is not an insurmountable barrier" (Steele 1997, p. 625). In addition, Ross (1992) added that learning occurs when the child had the "opportunity to watch things done over and over, in real life context" (p. 35). Therefore, it is a parent's responsibility to demonstrate support and encouragement for their children. Parents' actions may provide a powerful tool for children, reinforcing that they too, may become strong and resourceful members of society.

Lacey spoke about her experience with a school counsellor who became her mentor while she was in high school (Rubie et al. 2004). Ensuring that Lacey attended school, her mentor would assist with school work and, more important, provide emotional support during her many

difficult times while growing up. Crediting her mentor as the reason for she graduated high school, Lacey is evaluating programs she might take so as to get education in a field in which she can in turn assist First Nations youth

Friends and family may also offer support to urban Indigenous community members.

Faye recounted how her close friends helped her seek medical attention when she first came to the city:

I was able to get better because of her (a close friend). She made sure I got out of the house. She wasn't the type one could say, 'no' to. She helped me find a doctor who put me on medication. She helped me through my black times.

Iskwew strongly advocated in favour of support groups. A member of the, "Kohkom Kisewatisiwin Society", Iskwew believes that women can lead the community into healing. A Cree term, *Kohkom kisewatisiwin* translates to, "Grandmother's place of unconditional love, kindness and open-ness." Women are central characters/persons within Indigenous culture, as reflected in this support group. Notwithstanding the traditional valuing of women in Indigenous culture, and recent formation of a group like the Kohkom Kisewatisiwin Society, the traditional roles of women have been negatively impacted by colonization. According to Elias et al. (2012):

The experiences of Indigenous peoples has [sic] been ongoing, and always present, making historical trauma [from assimilative practices by the Canadian Federal Government] a part of a common experience, subtly shaping the lives and futures of individual, families and communities" (Elias et al. 2012, p. 1560).

The legacy from these traumatic events altered the traditional roles of Aboriginal women within the family structure. In order to help and heal the community, Iskwew believes that it is important that mothers and grandmothers return to their traditional Indigenous roles. Iskwew adds, "we need to change what was done to us. Women are very powerful and looked over the

family.”

The mandate of the Kohkom Kisewatsiwin Society is to work in conjunction with other agencies to better assist urban Aboriginal community members, in collaboration with various agencies such as: Child Welfare (Alberta Children’s Services); Correctional Service of Canada; Alberta Correctional Services; Alberta Health Services, Mental Health and Addictions, Alberta Seniors Advocate, and Alberta Elder Abuse Awareness Council.

The final support system used by several participants is health care, mainly counselling. Faye, Linda and Lacey sought counselling for inter-generation pain. Faye also sought medical attention. The *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC) made provisions for counselling for those who are suffering inter-generational pain resulting from the residential school system. Currently, Linda is using the counselling services offered by the TRC, as well as requesting guidance from Elders. She finds both effective and advises her friends how important it is to solicit mental health services when needed.

Due to inter-generational trauma, Lacey and her partner underwent anger management counselling. In addition, both have sought treatment for substance abuse. Lacey is very proud of these accomplishments. She believed that due to counselling, she is demonstrating a healthy lifestyle for her daughter. As previously stated, Ross (1992) described the “modelling approach to education” (p. 35) as the traditional way of Indigenous education. Furthermore, “children must learn on their own, by watching and by emulating what they see” (Ibid, p. 16). Lacey and her partner are modelling or demonstrating positive ways of living to their daughter.

#### 4. Various Self-Care Activities

Taking care of one's body, mind and spirit bolsters one's tenacity to face any ordeal. Stereotype threat negatively impacts an individual emotionally and physiologically (Aronson et al. 2009; Aronson et al. 2002; Cadinu et al. 2006; Gorringer et al. 2011; James 2012; Mendes et al. 2011; Shapiro 2011; Steele 1997; Steele 2013; Steele 2015; Steele et al. 1995; Watson et al 2017). However, "a paucity of studies link [sic] neurobiological changes and the performance outcomes" resulting from stereotype threat (Mendes et al. 2011, p. 3). Participants in this study discussed how racism and stereotype threat impacted them physiologically and emotionally.

According to Mendes et al. (2011) and Ledlow (1992), activities that increase blood flow to the brain will decrease stress levels, and result in an increase in cognitive performance, as well as provide emotional well-being. Examples of activities can include:

- physical exercise
- prayer/meditation
- listening to music.

Participants indicated that they have incorporated some of these activities into their lives and found them to be effective coping self-care activities. Following are the various activities participants used and found to be effective for racism and stereotype threat.

#### Physical Exercise

"Exercise is beneficial for physical and mental health; there is also reason to believe that exercise is beneficial for cognitive performance" (Ibid, p. 17). Ledlow (1992) found "participation in sports" (p. 27) as well as "a strong sense of cultural identity" (Ibid, p. 34) were effective for coping with and reducing the impact of stereotype threat. Various types of exercise

have been found to decrease elevated stress levels that accompany stereotype threat (Cadinu et al. 2006). Mendes et al. (2011) and Ledlow (1992) have recommended that physical education be incorporated in school programs. “Participation in sports was found to be a positive force” (Ibid, p. 27).

Faye, Napew, and Linda have incorporated a daily regime of exercise. All three participants emphasized the importance of maintaining an active lifestyle. Faye stated, “Before I had surgery on my back, I cycled in the city every day. It’s something that I really like doing. As soon as my doctor tells me it’s OK, I’ll begin again. It helps me feel good”. Napew, an avid runner, maintains, “Running helps me feel good. I don’t feel stressed after I run. It’s important that we keep our mind and body fit.” Linda, who is fit and physically strong, stated “I had both hips replaced and today, I walk everywhere and as much as I can. Being active makes me feel better about myself. I felt awful when I couldn’t walk.” According to Mendes et al. (2011), during stressful situations,

epinephrine is released from the adrenal medulla, which contributes to several changes in the body such as increasing heart rate, dilating pupils, and inhibiting the gastrointestinal tract (p.4).

Predictable physiological changes, also referred to as ‘fight or flight’, become triggered when individuals experience stressful situations. Individuals experience anxiety, fear and panic. If the stressful situation becomes chronic, as seen with racism and stereotype threat, the brain releases cortisol. Over time, increased release of cortisol into the brain leads to “psychological disengagement in stereotyped academic domains seen among stigmatized group members.” (Ibid, p. 5). That is to say, one cannot think clearly. The individual may experience symptoms such as: impaired memory, decreased cognitive abilities and continuous increased levels of

anxiety. When blood flow to the brain is increased, carbon dioxide is released into the blood, which quiets the brain, decreasing the levels of cortisol and decreasing anxiety (Hasler et al. 2007).

Edmonton's first Aboriginal police officer, Alex Decoteau, was a Cree track and field athlete and soldier in the First World War. Decoteau inspired my father, George Banksland, to exercise. Decoteau continues to inspire Aboriginal youth. In 2017, the Edmonton Police hosted a run for over 200 children to “commemorate [him as] Canada's first Aboriginal police officer, as a part of National Aboriginal History Month... [they want to encourage youth to have the same dedication and healthy lifestyle as Alex Decoteau]” (Kornik, 2015). But Western-based exercises do not appeal to all members of the Urban Aboriginal community.

Exercise, sports and physical activity are not new to the Indigenous population. For example, traditional Aboriginal activities performed today have included Round Dances, Sweat Ceremonies, and Smudge Ceremonies.

Traditional Aboriginal activities stem from Medicine Wheel teachings, which are considered by some, central to Indigenous knowledge. Indigenous teachings “assist in the collaboration of the heart and brain” (Kapyrka 2012, p. 105). For instance, teachings based on the Medicine Wheel are holistic and focus on encouraging a child to develop emotionally, physically, spiritually and intellectually. As reflected in pre-European contact, traditional Aboriginal communities had developed physical activities or games, such as Mesoamerican ball games or traditional Inuit games. These activities were aerobic and reinforced cultural values. As previously stated, community activities such as Round Dances are aerobic exercise which reflect traditional Aboriginal activities.



## Prayer / Meditation/Music

Interestingly, activities such as prayer/meditation, listening to music and altering one's diet may have the same effect of decreasing cortisol and increasing blood flow to the brain. These activities within the Aboriginal community may include adhering to a traditional Indigenous diet of living off the land, listening to drumming and smudging. Iskwew stated "even good thoughts are medicine". Robinson (2014) found that positive thoughts "promote[d] a positive and realistic self-concept. [The person] feels encouraged and valued through their own inner speech" (p. 28). Avoiding or escaping a negative or toxic situation also decreases one's anxiety.

Iskwew spoke about a teaching activity with children that she believes delivers the lesson and effect that "good thoughts are good medicine". She is often asked to speak at schools, and often uses an exercise she calls "the tee-pee/snowflake game". Students are seated in a circle. They fold a paper into the shape of a tee-pee. While making cuts into the tee-pee, Iskwew asks each child to describe a quality they want to possess. As the child states a quality they value, they make a cut into the paper. Each cut represents a positive quality. Each child participates. Iskwew asks the group if they agree about the positive quality, why they think the quality is important, and how the children could obtain / develop the qualities described. After all children have participated, she tells them to open their snowflake. Each child then sees that each snowflake is different. Iskwew adds that as each snowflake is different, all are beautiful. She concludes the activity by stressing that each child is beautiful, strong and has purpose in life. However, their purpose will only be achieved if the children believe in each quality they described.

The tee-pee exercise is compelling for several reasons. First, the use of the symbol of a tee-pee is universally recognized as Indigenous, and the activity is based on valuing traditional Aboriginal values. Second, the activity ensures children participate, sharing their ideas. Sharing and not dominance is central within Aboriginal culture. Finally, this exercise is combined with a kinaesthetic activity and positive discourse. “Educators have found that kinesthetic involvement in an experiment or demonstration can engage students in a powerful way” (Mylott et al. 2014, p. 525). Combining physical movement with interactive activities is also a traditional learning activity. As previously stated, Ross (1992) described this teaching tool as modelling.

Iskwew, Faye and Linda are strong proponents of smudging. Iskwew begins her day with smudging. She stated, “It clears my mind. I pray to the Creator to help me see, hear and do good things.” Faye added, “Smudging is a part of Sacred Heart Church’s Mass. If they want, parishioners can smudge as they enter the church.” According to Linda, smudging and Sweat Ceremonies are crucial to the Aboriginal people. “They heal us, bring us back to our culture. They help us live a good life.”

Music is found within all cultures. Research has shown that “many people experience a particularly intense, euphoric response to music...because of its frequent accompaniment by an automatic or psychophysiological component” (Blood et al. 2001). In other words, there is a link between the effects of music and biology. As previously stated, research has shown that music can increase blood flow to the brain, thereby relaxing the individual and increasing their ability to cope with stress (Mendes et al. 2011).

Participants in this study shared their thoughts of music. Participants preferences of musical genres ranged from traditional Aboriginal drumming and singing, country to classical

music. All participants agreed that music provided a powerful coping mechanism against the impacts of racism and stereotype threat. In addition, for Iskwew, Linda and Faye, their choice of music reflected their traditional Aboriginal cultural ties. Iskwew stated, “Drumming is like a heartbeat. It is soothing.” Linda and Faye attend Round Dances, finding them exhilarating. Linda adds, “We [my family and I] get back to our culture at them [Round Dances]. We like dancing, being with friends. And we also go to the Round Dances that are at Poundmaker’s Lodge.” Faye stated, “Sacred Heart Church has held Round Dances in the church basement. It’s a wonderful time. We [friends and parishioners] get together.”

Napew has preferred classical music. He has experienced this genre to be an effective way to improve coping. Napew concluded, “I respect traditional Aboriginal music, but for me, classical music helps me.” He added,

I found solace with music. I found it to be non-judgemental, its notes to be firm and true and clear. It was my dipping well of strength. Once I hear a piece, I could play it in my mind’s eyes and strings, in the dark, in the middle of the night without fear; no one would ever hear the rhythm, only solace.

In summary, participants discussed various activities they used as ways of coping to decrease the effects of stereotype threat and racism within an urban setting. These included: physical activities, prayer / meditation, and music. Several participants incorporated traditional Aboriginal culture within these activities. Physical activities included round dances. Prayer / meditation incorporated Sweat Ceremonies and smudge ceremonies. Finally, music was reflected within activities that involved drumming.

### Self-Determination and Educational Strategies

In this section, I discuss various educational strategies as recommended by participants

that may improve the educational system. Each participant believed that the current educational system (kindergarten to grade twelve) requires changes in order to better assist urban Aboriginal students cope with stereotype threat and racism. Self-determination is an important outcome of education. I will discuss self-determination and how it relates to education. I then examine three recommendations made by participants that they believed would improve education for the urban Aboriginal population.

### Self-Determination, Stereotype Threat and Education

“All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development” (Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 16 December 1966). Within *The Charter of the United Nations*, a global policy was created, recognizing that all people have the fundamental right to enjoy civil, political, economic, social and cultural freedom. From this agreement, ratified in 1966 and enforced in 1976, the Western world acknowledged the importance of self-determination. However, prior to European contact, Aboriginal populations enjoyed self-determination.

Self-determination is at the core of Indigenous culture and is reflected in its epistemology and ontology. According to Ponting (1997):

Aboriginal conceptions of aboriginal rights and of aboriginal government tend to place much emphasis upon **spirituality** [emphasis added by Ponting] and the role of the Creator...for many First Nation people, self-government is profoundly spiritual and is intimately tied to First Nations' relation to the Creator, to the land and to the living creatures on the land (p. 356-357).

In other words, the Aboriginal concept of self-determination is “seen by aboriginal people both as part of natural law and as inalienable (Ibid, p. 357). Self-determination is based

on Indigenous epistemology, or how we know what is real. Relationality and the interconnectedness of all forms of life are central to Indigenous epistemology” (Martin, 2003). Furthermore, the Aboriginal concept of self-determination is also based on Aboriginal ontology, or world view. A focus is placed on balance and harmony of all forms within Aboriginal ontology (Ross, 2012).

Respect and equality ensure that Aboriginal populations were able to learn from Mother Earth. Aboriginal epistemology and ontology establish a way of life wherein Aboriginal people were able to determine their future, set their own goals and make decisions necessary to transform visions and goals into reality (Seelau et al. 2014-2015).

With colonization came assimilation and the destruction of Aboriginal self-determination. The *Indian Act*, turned strong peoples into wards of the state, controlling every aspect of their lives (Lawrence, 2003). Imposed legal and political obstacles have continued to diminish the ability for Aboriginal populations to exercise self-determination. Rife with marginalization, dependence and poverty, Aboriginal communities have been fighting back and taking control of their lives. “First Nations people maintain that past problems must be remedied, and similar problems avoided in the future” (Cockerill et al. 1997 p. 383).

Education is crucial for the development of self-determination. Knowledge and understanding can lessen the harm created by stereotype threat and racism. Non-Aboriginal people must learn from past atrocities committed on Aboriginal populations. Learning from the past can help to facilitate a dialogue among groups. By working together and fostering a discourse based on strength, non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal populations can establish ways to ensure Aboriginal populations achieve and maintain self-determination (Gorringer et al. 2010,

Parthenis et al. 2016, Robinson 2014, Geddes 2018). What follows are the participant's suggestions that may positively impact current educational systems.

### Educational Strategies Recommended by Participants

Education is vital for the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community. All participants in this study stated, that for racism and stereotype threat to decrease, issues must be addressed, and subsequent changes be made in the current educational system. It should be noted that these educational changes are suggested for children from kindergarten to grade twelve. Participants recommended three areas that must be changed. In order to instil the importance of education, I will further discuss:

- Instilling the importance of education
- Teacher education and qualifications
- School Curriculum to include Aboriginal culture / language

#### 1. Education is our Buffalo

During our second interview, Lacey described to me a song which inspired her to make changes to her life. Hearing it at her daughter's school, she did not know the title. 'My son' and 'education' were the only words she could recall. She asked if I could locate it, adding, "Its meaning is what I believe, it's what we should do." Overjoyed when I found the song, I sent her the link. "Go My Son" is empowering and inspirational. Its message captured the essence of the three strategies, which the participants recommended to improve the current educational system. Included is a section of the lyrics.

*Go my son, go and climb the ladder/Go my son, go and earn your feather/Go my son, make your people proud of you/Work, my son, get an education/Climb my, son/Go and take a lofty view/And reach my son and lift your people up with you.*

- "Go My Son" Nofchissey-Williams & Burson (1967)

Each participant regarded education as an essential countermeasure to racism and stereotype threat. Education has enabled Indigenous people to have fulfilling lives. According to Faye, "Education is crucial. It is the solution for our people. Education will get them jobs, where they can be effective, and go into management positions where changes can be made." Education will ensure that the Aboriginal population is able to realize self-determination and have control over their lives. The Alberta Teachers' Association (2006) has incorporated the phrase *Education is our Buffalo* to signify the importance of education, as well as collaboration with Indigenous people.

All participants emphasized involvement of community members where Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people work together (Jaramillo et al. 2015). "We, as educators, must listen to Aboriginal concerns about education" (Ryan et al. 2013, p. 165). Parents and educators must unite (Knockwood, 2004; Parthenis et al., 2016; Steinhauer, 2007). When all community members come together to reach a common goal, all feel valued. Trust must be developed between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities.

A sense of belonging within the classroom is crucial for Aboriginal students. Unlike their non-Aboriginal counter-parts, Aboriginal students "are not seen to automatically 'fit' with educational settings and because [Aboriginal students] are often the targets of negative stereotypes that impugn their intellectual abilities, feelings of 'fit' and belonging might be more meaningful or informative to these groups" (Murphy et al. 2015, p. 28). The educational system must find ways to ensure Aboriginal students feel at ease and welcome within schools. An effective way to increase the sense of belonging is to ensure Aboriginal culture is a part of the

curriculum. Aboriginal cultural identity must “be respected and ... they [the Aboriginal community] must be included in society without losing their culture” (Ibid, p. 49).

When culture is viewed as essential within the educational system, other positive actions follow. Negative discourses become replaced with a narrative of strengths (Gorringer et al., 2011). Faye, Iskwew, and Lacey have worked with educators to ensure their children’s educational needs are addressed. As previously stated, Iskwew has worked with schools, teaching Aboriginal culture. In addition, Iskwew believes it is important that “teachers not be dictators but be teachers.” Iskwew has been witness to educational staff who are not receptive to cultural differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community. (Ross, 1992). Lacey has been actively involved with her daughter’s school and maintains regular contact with her daughter’s teacher; when her children were younger, she worked with their teachers to assist them with subject content.

Research has found that some teachers and educational staff believe that the problem lies with the parents of minorities. “They do not keep basic rules of sanitation...they don’t care about their children ... they do not enrol them in school because they think they can survive without education” (Parthesis et al. 2016, p. 48). Earlier in this chapter, Faye related her experience where in her home community, teachers upheld the belief that Aboriginal children were unclean, therefore unintelligent. Where educators have placed blame onto the parents, as opposed to reflecting on the biases within the educational system, it is even more crucial that educational staff be exposed to cultural education. All participants maintained that it is vital that educators see that Aboriginal parents want the best for their children.



## 2. Teacher Preparedness and Teacher Quality Standards

Teacher qualification was also emphasized by participants in this study as paramount to improving education. Faye, Iskwew and Linda described instances where teachers were not adequately prepared to teach Aboriginal content. In 1997, Alberta became the first province to introduce the *Teacher Qualification Standard (TQS)*, agency. The TQS now, “identifies six competencies that teachers are required to meet in order to hold and maintain an Alberta teaching certificate” (Alberta Education 2018, p. 1). Included under one of those major competencies is “applying foundational knowledge about First Nations, Métis and Inuit” (Ibid, p.6). Teachers must be qualified to teach Aboriginal history. To meet this criterion a teacher must demonstrate competency in the following areas:

- (a) understanding [sic] the historical, social economic and political implications of treaties, legislation and agreements negotiated with Métis and residential schools and their legacy;
- (b) support student achievement by engaging in collaborative, whole school approaches to capacity building in First Nations, Métis and Inuit education;
- (c) use the program of study to provide opportunities for all students to develop a knowledge and understanding of, and respect for, the histories, cultures, languages, contributions, perspectives, experiences and contemporary contexts of First Nations, Métis and Inuit and;
- (d) supporting the learning experiences of all students by using resources that accurately reflect and demonstrate the strength and diversity of First Nations, Métis and Inuit (Ibid, p. 6).

Faye stated, “We have to teach the teachers.” Effective teachers understand and incorporate Indigenous knowledge. As previously mentioned, Faye believed negative stereotypes of the Indigenous population are perpetuated by teachers themselves. “Non-Aboriginal people can learn that not all Aboriginals are addicts and drunks.” As a teacher and graduate from the

Faculty of Education, it is my opinion that the faculty should apply and stress these standards within the course structure. However, I am heartened to see more attention is now being given to this topic.

More attention is required so that all educational staff are aware of and adhere to these policies. According to Parthenis et al. (2016), trust may be forged when attitudes of educational personal are changed. “The priority must be given to question the myth of the socially neutral school” (p. 53). In other words, incorporating Aboriginal cultural identity into the curriculum benefits both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. Teaching must be aimed at the individual student’s needs. As previously indicated by Ryan et al. (2016), “[t]he evaluative control function of testing is the choosing of topics that are to be tested. It is a more subtle [sic] way of influencing the assimilation process” (p. 170), resulting in standardized test scores being used to marginalize Aboriginal students.

Research has verified the importance of Aboriginal educators for Aboriginal students (Steinhauer, 2007). However, Napew does not agree with this belief. He stated that teachers should not be selected by their ethnicity. Bradley (2015) referred to the primary reason for recruitment being ethnicity of educators as *authenticity*. He discussed the problems that result when educational institutions recruit teachers based on ethnicity. During our last interview, Napew brought a newspaper clipping from the *Edmonton Journal*. The article described how some educational institutions espouse the belief that only Aboriginal teachers can effectively teach Aboriginal topics to Aboriginal students. Disagreeing with that philosophy, Napew stated, “Good teachers are those who take the time to understand. Their heart should be a factor with their qualification, not their skin colour or whether they’re Aboriginal or not.”

One might wonder why Napew maintains this belief. His beliefs may have been influenced from his time spent in a residential school. Its policies were directed to assimilate the Indigenous population. Euro-Canadian settlers regarded Aboriginal people as inferior (Choquette, 1995). However, all participants stressed that Euro-Canadians and Aboriginal people are here to stay, and as Iskwew stated, “We need to find ways to work together, make us healthy.” Nonetheless, there is a need for more Indigenous teachers to teach all students. As stated by Steinhauer (2002):

whether their [Aboriginal] children attended school on-reserve or off-reserve, all parents wanted their children to have an affirmative school experience and asserted that this could be accomplished only if their children were given the opportunity to develop and build positive relationships with all those around them — teachers, staff, relatives and peers” (Steinhauer 2002, p. 206).

All participants stressed that teachers should have a strong foundation and knowledge with core subject material and understand the needs of the urban milieu and all Indigenous communities. All participants relayed incidents where teachers did not have a command of either core subjects or Indigenous-related material. In addition, participants suggested educational staff must be willing and open to find solutions. As Napew indicated, “they [educational staff] must think outside of the box in order for change to happen”.

As previously mentioned, Napew holds the view that teachers should not be selected by their ethnicity. Rather, their qualifications should include their passion for teaching and willingness to respect all people and their cultures.

### 3. Culturally Relevant Curriculum

The third theme in the realm of recommendation made by my participants relates to the

topic of curricular content (Crozier et al. 2017). Participants viewed curricula as being central to the problem of stereotype threat leading to educational underachievement. This was addressed also by Bradley (2015). All the participants claimed that a revised curriculum would improve success for the urban Aboriginal population, and each offered insight to improve this area. Suggested curriculum changes were threefold.

Participants stated First Nations, Métis and Inuit information content must be better incorporated into the program of studies. Faye, Linda and Iskwew believe this would involve integrating teachings based on the medicine wheel into core subjects. As explained, central to the Indigenous way of life, the medicine wheel symbolizes the sacredness of the circle, a representation of Mother Earth and the interconnectedness of life. By adhering to its values, respect, harmony and balance become a part of one's life.

Incorporating Aboriginal cultural values impacts an individual's "morals, with your ways of being brought up, your values. Instead of getting values from outside and bringing them in, we need to bring them back" (Steinhauer 2007, p. 272). Faye, Linda and Iskwew have adhered to this belief. All stressed the importance of living by traditional Indigenous teachings.

Ensuring curriculum relevancy is the second recommendation suggested by participants in the current study. Literature addressing culturally relevant curriculum is controversial.

According to Prete (2018):

restructuring of the school curriculum was intended to meet three goals: (a) to validate minority students' cultural knowledge and history by examining their lived experiences (b) to validate the worldview of minorities by incorporating the epistemological principles of minority peoples, and (c) to reduce cultural conflict and increase minority students' academic success" (p. 58).

The goal is for increased self-confidence in minority students, enhancement of cognitive growth, retention of cultural identity, decreased dissonance and alienation in schools, increased academic achievement, and improvement of future employment opportunities.

Prete (2018) has offered a different opinion of culturally-appropriate curriculum. “Culturally relevant curriculum is considered ineffective in solving the challenges that Indigenous students face in school because it does not eliminate the root of the problem; rather, it treats only the symptoms of the problem that Indigenous students face” (p. 61).

Linda is a strong proponent of learning from history or a culture’s past, and so believes Elder involvement is essential. Linda stated, “We must talk about our history. Talking leads to healing. Go into detail about residential schools. We have to teach about colonization and how it creates lateral violence.” According to Steinhauer (2007), participants in her research stressed the importance of learning about Aboriginal history. “We need to teach our children about their history” (p. 271). Traditional values, ways of living, as well as colonialism and the impacts of residential school must be included in the curriculum.

Many students at the University of Alberta Faculty of Education have never had contact with members of the Aboriginal community. For them, the only knowledge they have about Aboriginal people stem from media reports. The media tends not to focus on the positive aspects of this community but rather, negative stories such as violence and crime, thereby colouring student’s opinions. For this reason, as a requirement to graduate from the Faculty of Education, all Faculty of Education students complete a compulsory course, *EDU 211 - Aboriginal Education and Contexts for Professional and Personal Engagement*. This course addresses Aboriginal history, issues within educational experiences and exposes students to Indigenous

knowledge systems.

Additionally, included within the EDU 211 course, Aboriginal guest speakers are invited to speak at the *Aboriginal Education and Contexts for Professional and Personal Engagement* for first- and second-year education students. This has been an important step towards educating non-Aboriginal education students about the Aboriginal community.

Edmonton has the second-fastest-growing urban Aboriginal population. These students are the future teachers who will have Indigenous students in their classrooms. As Faye stated, “We need to teach the teachers”. It should be noted that even if these new teachers do not have Indigenous students in their classrooms, knowledge of Indigenous history, educational experiences and knowledge systems are important within our society.

In summary, participants offered coping approaches or practices they have utilized to help decrease the impacts of racism and stereotype threat. These included: returning to traditional aboriginal culture, embracing traditional spirituality / religion, and incorporating various self-care activities into their lives. Participants have recognized that the current educational system has not always met the needs of the Aboriginal community. The participants offered recommendations in three main categories that would improve the educational system: instilling the importance of education, incorporate culturally relevant curriculum and ensure teacher preparedness with adherence to teacher qualification standards.

In the final chapter, I will discuss my conclusions and offer recommendations for future research.

## Chapter Five: Discussion and Analysis

### Discussions and Recommendations

When I began this research process, my goal was to examine stereotype threat with individuals in Edmonton's Indigenous community. From personal experience, I knew racism and stereotyping existed in the city. However, I wanted to determine if Edmonton's urban Aboriginal population experienced stereotype threat and discover what strategies they used in order to cope with this phenomenon. I decided to approach the questions with an Indigenous Research Methodology.

In order to study stereotype threat, I divided my study into three sections. First, I attempted to identify whether members of Edmonton's Indigenous community were affected by stereotype threat, societal and stereotyped beliefs that claim that members of this group are unable to achieve as well as their non-Aboriginal counterparts. Second, did stereotype threat affect the urban Indigenous individual's educational achievements? Finally, I sought to identify any countermeasures that might be implemented to alter the negative effects of this phenomenon with urban Aboriginal individuals.

Limited research has addressed stereotype threat with urban Indigenous individuals. I thought it neglectful to this group, considering off-reserve Aboriginal people constitute the fastest growing segment of Canadian society. Therefore, it is essential that more research be directed to this topic. According to Statistics Canada (2016), fifty-six percent of the Canadian Aboriginal population reside in urban areas and Edmonton has the second-highest population rate of urban Indigenous people. Having experienced the limitations and other destructive effects

of stereotype threat within their home communities, all participants in this study had relocated to Edmonton in order to seek new opportunities and ways to manage their lives.

My findings supported the premises that the urban Indigenous community is subjected to racism, including stereotypes, and it suffers negative effects from stereotype threat (Steele, 1997; Fischer, 2010; Gorringer et al., 2011). Acts of overt and covert racism have been directed by members of dominant society to my participants, members of this community. Furthermore, stereotyping and resulting stereotype threat have been perpetuated by members of the Aboriginal population on one another. Participants described how experiences of stereotype threat contributed to a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure.

In this final chapter, I present a summary of the findings, and provide recommendations that may foster hope for urban Aboriginal people who experience stereotype threat. Finally, I offer my hopes for the future. By recounting the participant's stories and words, my hope is to highlight the courage, determination and vitality of urban Indigenous persons.

### Summary of the Findings

A number of themes, which supported the current literature on stereotype threat, emerged throughout the course of meetings and interviews with participants. I believe these findings are vital, considering the limited number of studies done within this community.

Racism and stereotype threat were experienced by my participants in multiple settings and over many years, having profound, lifelong and intergenerational consequences. The experiences were more complex than suggested by the experiments reported on situational effects, for example, by Steele and Aronson (1995), where stereotype threat could be removed by



a simple instruction prior to a standardized test. The consequences of stereotyping, which resulted in stereotype threat, altered beliefs and made Aboriginal persons vulnerable to harm throughout their life spans. The solutions are as complex, and participants have made lifestyle changes; for instance, some were guided by the medicine wheel, in all realms, including physical, spiritual, social and emotional, while all participants maintained that they have been on pathways to healing.

The first section of my research found that stereotype threat exists within Edmonton's urban Aboriginal community. The literature of this topic has confirmed this phenomenon exists globally. Despite the limited number of participants within this study, I can conclude that stereotype threat may be seen within some segments of Edmonton's urban population. Furthermore, I can conclude that societal prejudice, a stereotyped discourse, and the toxic effects of stereotype threat and racism are felt by Aboriginal community members. Participants discussed how this phenomenon affected their lives, and how they altered and eased its effects after leaving their home communities.

Participants described instances where members of the dominant society, and also other Aboriginal groups and individuals, have disparaged them and the Aboriginal community. Originating with racism and long-standing stereotyping of First Nation people, behaviours such as verbal affront(s), undermining activities, withholding information, sabotage, infighting, scapegoating, and backstabbing had become so ingrained, some Indigenous community members discriminated against one another. Put differently, the colonized became the colonizer. Research has identified and corroborated 'Aboriginal to Aboriginal' racism, including stereotyping, to be widespread, and discussed it as a form of internalized racism (Banks et al. 2018; Steinhauer

2002). Urban communities have not been immune.

Although participants were not familiar with the phrase *stereotype threat* at first, all were cognizant of *lateral violence*, a consequence of stereotype threat. All were aware of their feelings after being stereotyped: feelings of inadequacy, lowered self-esteem, and a negative self- image which led to self-fulfilling prophecy of failure. The result for all participants was early academic under-performance with a decreased educational outcome. Several examples that participants relayed included:

Lacey wanted to complete a post-secondary program but believed she would not succeed. Her experience of being placed in remedial classes while in high school continued to haunt her. Lacey incorporated various coping skills which enabled to graduate from her post-secondary institution. It should be noted that Lacey's actions did not eradicate stereotype threat from her life. Rather, her actions gave her a foundation of strength so that she was able to live a happier, more fulfilling life.

Initially, Faye's son did not feel comfortable when he first moved from his home community to Edmonton. Not used to city life, his initial experience at the University of Alberta was overwhelming. Faye's son was able to return to his home community where he was able to develop emotional strength and maturity. In addition, from Faye's support and encouragement, he also successfully completed his program.

Finally, Napew believed that he would never be able to stop drinking. During the time he drank, he believed he lived up to the mainstream societal stereotype of Aboriginal people and alcohol. By implementing lifestyle changes, Napew was able to cope and negotiate the negative effects of stereotype threat. As with the other participants, Napew's actions did not eradicate

stereotype threat. Rather, his actions gave him a foundation of strength so that he also was able to live a happier, more fulfilling life.

The second area of my research found stereotype threat affected the participants' educational outcomes. Each participant described the current educational system as perpetuating racism. As elaborated by Croizet et al. (2017):

education is an institution that actively contributes to the reproduction of the social class structure of society. First, it achieves this function by negating the cultural arbitrariness of educational material and practices that favor certain groups of students. Second, it locates performance not as the outcome of social inequities and power differentials but as the product of individual differences in talent and merit. Through these two processes, education perpetuates a form of *symbolic violence* that locates the cause of failure of lower-class students on their personal limitations (p. 10).

An example of reproducing the social class structure in the case of Aboriginal students is the practice of culturally-biased and therefore unfair testing. Test scores have been used to limit Indigenous students' educational outcomes, and then to attribute their lack of success to personal failures. Croizet et al. (2011) added, "research on stereotype threat and social class would benefit from questioning the so-called neutrality of testing situations" (Ibid, p. 11). Two participants within this current study detailed how exam scores were used to validate their placement into remedial classes.

The stereotype threat and racism experienced by participants in this study is perpetuated by teachers and educational administrators. Participants described biases, such as teachers who lacked knowledge about Aboriginal history and the residential school system. In some cases, their school's curriculum was inadequate, making it difficult for participants and their children to learn. Lorraine recounted how her daughter's teacher lacked the knowledge and empathy to teach about residential schools, and, in addition, used an outdated teaching module as her primary

source of information. As a result, the teacher spread gross inaccuracies about a serious time in Aboriginal history. In addition, this teacher lacked the emotional sensitivity to effectively teach this topic. Educators must not only have knowledge of Indigenous residential schools, but also have an emotional connection to the topic and their students. This subject must be broached with knowledge and sensitivity.

Standardized tests had been used to corroborate low student achievement, in turn validating low teacher expectations. Educational institutions control the academic subjects and material for the standardized tests. Furthermore, educational personnel place inordinate emphasis on the test scores. Aboriginal students have been placed at a disadvantage (Ryan et al., 2013). The outcome is a high drop-out rate of Aboriginal students.

Lacey and Napew described situations where standardized test scores altered their lives. Lacey was placed in remedial math classes. Napew described the unforgiving nature of standardized test scores. He stated, ‘It didn’t matter if you did well all year, if you failed that one test [year-end departmental exam], you failed the class. Passing or failing the class was based on that one day of the year.’”

Sadly, participants had internalized their lack of success. They attributed their failures to personal faults, and an early self-fulfilling prophecy of failure followed. Several examples: participants recounted feelings of worthlessness and failure when they were expelled from school, they succumbed to substance abuse, they felt abandoned by members of their home community, and they were subjected to lateral violence from members of their home communities.

Participants described how their educational opportunities were negatively affected by

racism. As a teacher at an inner-city school, I too witnessed administrative staff place an inordinate value on standardized test scores. The scores were used to categorize students into groups. For example, using scores from reading tests, educational administrators justified their attitudes towards Aboriginal students. In addition, these scores were used to validate placement of Indigenous students into remedial classes.

Several participants viewed the educational curricula as substandard and impractical. In addition, they believed some teachers should not be teaching Aboriginal students. Participants cited the following examples: teachers having inadequate knowledge of the basics for core subjects such as mathematics, and improperly recounting Aboriginal history and culture. All participants were actively involved in their children's schooling. The urban Indigenous community has been resilient and are using their experiences to voice change.

The final section of my research examined coping approaches participants used to negotiate stereotype threat. These findings were enlightening. Most strategies were supported by the literature. However, some participants' suggestions were unexpected. Recommended strategies included: returning to traditional Aboriginal culture; obtaining solace and strength through spirituality and religion and participating in various physical activities. I will discuss how these strategies have coincided with, or deviated from, findings in the literature research.

### Coping Strategies

Participants recommended return to traditional Aboriginal culture as important and this was aligned with the literature. However, several participants indicated this strategy should be an individual choice and not be made mandatory. This was especially evident when participants

discussed educational strategies.

I found it interesting that the literature did not address considerations of personal choice versus automatic return to traditional Aboriginal culture. Past researchers have not taken into consideration that some members of the urban Aboriginal community may never have been exposed to traditional Aboriginal culture.

However, reflected within my findings was a concern from participants about Aboriginal people lacking knowledge of their own culture. Some participants were hesitant to reconnect with their culture, because they did not know where to begin. Internalized racism or fear stemming from religious teachings may have contributed to their indecision. On the other hand (or perhaps, in addition to internalized racism as an explanation) — their uncertainty may reflect an avoidance of identifying with the Indigenous group/culture, as a reaction to stereotype threat.

Ponting (1997) adds, “many First Nation individuals have grown up in the city and because of artificial barriers imposed by the government...do not know where their origins or even how to pursue their origins” (p. 225). This was evident my situation; I did not have the opportunity that would have assisted me to begin to explore my traditional Inuit culture.

*Edmontonmuit*, an Inuit Culture Centre, was formed in 2015 and only recently did I become aware of it.

Previous studies on Indigenous communities have seldom recognized the differences between rural and urban Indigenous communities. As mentioned in Chapter One, urban/rural differences need to be addressed. There is a rapid shift occurring with more Indigenous people locating to urban communities all the time. In this study, participants expressed the importance of valuing their culture, yet living within a multi-ethnic city.

It can be argued that there is no difference between urban and rural Indigenous people. As previously stated, the urban Indigenous population can be characterized by five elements: urban Indigenous individuals tend to be shunned by both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous community members; unlike rural communities where boundaries of the community are set, within urban areas, boundaries are fluid in nature; residing in urban centres can increase the possibility of assimilation; there is a greater chance of Indigenous students being placed into non-matriculate courses, and; households tend to be female-led, where financial assistance tend to be denied from both the home community as well as from agencies located in urban areas. Participants had varied reasons for relocating to urban areas. Perhaps because they live in an environment where harmony and balance are lacking, they seek, value, and try to maintain Aboriginal culture.

I have always lived in an urban setting and this has dominated my worldview. It was only when I began attending university that I discovered the Indigenous ontology, epistemology, and the importance of protocols. Even today, there are times when I struggle to view the world through an Indigenous lens. Some Indigenous classmates do not understand how I can “be so white”. Western society has dominated my world view, and only lately have I begun to explore my Indigeneity. I can understand that some of the participants may have experienced similar feelings.

Napew stated urban Aboriginal communities are fluid in nature. Such fluidity may be an advantage for the urban Indigenous population. According to Napew, “We have an opportunity to learn from other Aboriginal groups, learn from our own members. It’s a good thing.”

Community can be defined as having geographical and relational dimensions. The

geographical dimension is the “territorial and geographical notion of community — neighborhood, town, city. Whereas, the relational dimension of a community is concerned with ‘quality of character of human relationships, without reference to location’” (McMillan et al. 1986, p. 8). Participants in the current study stated that for them, Edmonton fulfilled both dimensions of community.

When defining relational community, it is important to examine its four elements. At the core of community is membership, “the feeling of belonging or of sharing, a sense of personal relatedness” (Ibid, p. 9). All participants stated that they have been a part of, and believed they have belonged in, Edmonton as a community.

The second element of a community is “influence, a sense of mattering, of making a difference to the group and of the group mattering to its members” (Ibid, p. 9). Participants in the current study maintained they had formed satisfying relationships with other people in Edmonton. Lacey and Napew indicated that they no longer believe they had anything in common with members from their home communities. Several participants indicated that they were subjected to lateral violence by members of their original community. Furthermore, they may not wish to find commonality with their home communities.

Reinforcement, or “integration and fulfilment of needs” (Ibid, p. 9), is the third element of a community. In other words, “members’s [sic] needs will be met by the resources received through membership of that group” (Ibid, p. 9). Participants had varied reasons they relocated to Edmonton, but all believed their needs were met in the city.

The final element of a community is “shared emotional connection, the commitment and belief that members have shared and will share history, common places, time together and



similar experiences” (Ibid p. 9). Participants were able to describe family and friends in the city with whom they have shared experiences of life in the city. Faye, Linda and Iskwew had family members who live in Edmonton.

Importantly, all participants within the current study insisted they were members of Edmonton’s urban Aboriginal community. Although some made visits to their home communities, all participants stressed that Edmonton is their home and they considered themselves to be urban Indigenous people. Two participants, Lacey and Napew, made conscious decisions never to return to their home communities.

Participants recommended spirituality and religion as effective countermeasures to stereotype threat. Literature in this area was scarce and did not differentiate between spirituality and religion. Participants offered distinctions to clarify the differences. They described that religion represented an organized assembly, whereas spirituality was more informal and individually-based.

Participant’s opinions varied when they discussed spirituality and/or religion as means to lessen the effects of stereotype threat. One participant maintained that spirituality alone was an effective countermeasure. Three participants believed that when combined, spirituality and religion constituted a powerful strategy. Finally, the remaining participant stated religion alone was the best method to tackle stereotype threat. For the participants, religion and spirituality confirmed their personal value, self-worth, and right to peace, regardless of judgements by others.

It might be argued that those participants who chose to blend traditional spirituality with Christianity or even rely on Christianity alone, are exhibiting a form of internalized racism.

However, there is no conclusive evidence to support this claim. Their choices could be viewed as not regarding traditional Aboriginal spirituality as fulfilling. Perhaps they can be seen as rejecting their Indigenous heritage. However, these participants did not view traditional spirituality as inferior. Instead, they maintained they found personal strength when uniting the two forms of prayer.

As previously stated, Ross (1992) has described the *Ethic of Non-Interference* as, “never interfer[ing] in any way with the rights, privileges and activities of another person” (p. 12). It is not up to me as a researcher “to judge the motives, goals and desires of people” (p. 18). It is the choice of the participants of how and where they seek strength and solace when faced with the effects of stereotype threat.

Lacey stated that one must be ready to explore traditional Aboriginal spirituality and/or religion, to buffer against the toxic effects of racism. She concluded that Indigenous community members must be given a choice of whether they wish to accept religion or traditional spirituality into their lives. Again, Ross (1992) stressed that the *Notion that the Time Must be Right* is a part of the traditional Aboriginal world view. Individuals must be mentally and emotionally prepared before beginning new stages within their lives.

I was intrigued that participants chose religion as an effective countermeasure to stereotype threat. All had suffered from the effects of inter-generational pain which resulted from the residential school system. Ironically, residential schools used religion as tool to control and assimilate the Indigenous population.

Stroud (2014) and Mendes et al. (2011) reported that spiritual activities, such as attending ceremonies, prayer, and meditation, are among those activities that increase blood flow to the

brain and body, resulting a calmer emotional state. Spiritual rituals lead to an increased sense of belonging, and to relaxation, thereby helping decrease the negative impacts of stereotype threat. As a result, spirituality for my participants appeared to be an effective strategy. More research in this area would be beneficial. In addition, more research is needed to address why some Aboriginal individuals reject either religion or traditional Aboriginal spirituality, or both.

Participants advocated the importance of using various support systems. These included: seeking medical attention, seeking counselling, joining local agencies for assistance, and developing friendships. Literature that has addressed the importance of support systems to help deal with stereotype threat was sparse. Nonetheless, several studies did acknowledge the benefits of social belonging as a method to combat stereotype threat. Consistent with the activities and views of my participants, I have concluded that living in urban areas may offer greater opportunities to seek and cultivate support.

Friendships are an important support system for those impacted by stereotype threat (Steele, 2010). In addition to providing direct emotional support, friends encouraged participants in the current study to seek emotional and medical attention for conditions like depression and substance abuse. It should be noted that the stressful effects of racism can have physical and medical consequences, and many Aboriginal people do not use these helping resources. Racism that they are subjected to is not their fault; they are not weak for having suffered the effects.

All participants maintained that various activities had been effective coping approaches for coping with racism and stereotype threat. They established that these activities had given them strength. Positivity was central in all strategies. Research has begun to address the benefits of these strategies (Gorringe et al. 2010; Good et al.2003; Mendes et al. 2011; Murphy et al.

2015; Stroud 2014; Walton et al. 2011).

Participants had made conscious efforts to alter all their negative narratives. The premise of Gorringer's et al. (2011) findings has been to transform negative discourses into positive ones. His participants found positive discourses a healthy approach to reduce stereotype threat. After much thought, I concluded that activities such as support systems, prayer, spirituality and exercise were external extensions of positivity. It was a natural progression that emotions would be internalized and be reflected in positive self-affirmation, as well as externalized in positive discourses.

It should be noted, all participants stated that these activities did not eradicate racism from their lives. Instead, these activities gave them the strength to cope with racism and stereotype threat.

The final section of my research of stereotype threat explored educational strategies recommended by participants. As previously mentioned, participants believed that changes within the curriculum are essential in combatting stereotype threat.

Participants also indicated that teacher qualification must be reviewed. It is important that all teachers adhere to the standards as set out by the TQS. While participants maintained the benefits of recruiting Aboriginal educational staff, several participants insisted that individual qualities such as sensitivity and compassion, and not just ethnicity, be considered during recruitment.

The Faculty of Education is already ensuring that all pre-service teachers have the opportunity to learn about issues faced by the Indigenous population. *Aboriginal Education and Contexts for Professional and Personal Engagement*, EDU 211 invites Aboriginal speakers from

the community to discuss with students, issues faced within the Aboriginal population. Sessions such as these could be expanded into the community and schools, reaching a wider population.

Recently, media reports claimed an association between an educator's ethnicity and their effectiveness when teaching Indigenous children. However, according to two participants, effectiveness of educators and not their Aboriginality, should not stem from their ethnicity. I was intrigued with this finding because current literature stresses the importance of Indigenous students being taught by fellow Indigenous teachers. The article offered a different perspective. The author indicated that using ethnicity as a factor when hiring teachers for Aboriginal children is, in fact, stereotype threat. Napew, Lacey and Faye believed that recruiting based on ethnicity reflected a bias that only First Nation educators can reach First Nation students. From their personal experiences, they encountered some non-Aboriginal educators who had a positive impact on their lives.

Steinhauer (2007) found that parents and students "wanted to see an increase in Native teaching staff in the public schools, particularly when the numbers of Aboriginal students are very high" (p. 243). Aboriginal teaching staff would also provide an Aboriginal perspective of Aboriginal history and culture. As an Aboriginal teacher, I can attest to the importance of an Aboriginal perspective when teaching not only Indigenous students, but all students.

My research journey has been enlightening. This path has revealed numerous effective coping activities used by members of Edmonton's Indigenous population to negotiate stereotype threat. In the final section, I suggest recommendations for future studies in this area. Finally, I will offer my hopes for the future.

## Recommendations

During the research process, I learned a great deal about Edmonton's Aboriginal community, and about myself. Recommendations have emerged naturally from this study. I believe the following seven topics should be explored in future research, which address stereotype threat with the urban Aboriginal community. Some suggestions for further exploration could include:

### 1. A study that would explore further research on stereotype threat and racism with Edmonton's Aboriginal population

There is limited research on stereotype threat that includes the urban Aboriginal population. Edmonton constitutes the second-highest population of Indigenous people in any Canadian city. Stereotype threat negatively affects this community and it is imperative that more research addresses this issue.

### 2. A study that would address differing needs of urban and rural indigenous populations

Former research has not explored any differences between urban and rural Indigenous people. Related to the first recommendation is a requirement to address the different needs of urban and rural Indigenous peoples. As reflected in this current study, blanket suggestions are not effective for the urban Indigenous community. For example, participants consistently asserted that traditional teachings, spirituality and prayer were among important methods they used to cope with the effects of stereotype threat, and they each applied approaches in their own ways.

Some participants had never been exposed to their traditional Aboriginal culture or spirituality and were unsure of how to begin. Few studies have explored the significance of

religion and its effectiveness as a countermeasure to stereotype threat. More research regarding religion as an effective strategy is necessary.

### 3. A study that would examination of biases in educational institutional policies

The third recommendation relates to educational policy within Edmonton's school systems. This includes examination of biases in institutional practices, including those reflected within the curricula. Standardized tests have been used to justify prejudices. As a result, a significant number of urban Indigenous children are automatically placed into remedial classes. The repercussions extend into adulthood and can be seen in limited employment opportunities for this population. Therefore, it is crucial that alternate assessment approaches be implemented. Also, a complete review of curricula is necessary to ensure they are accurate, inclusive and free from bias.

### 4. A study that would examine the importance and benefits of various support systems

A fourth recommendation is that future research explore the importance and benefits of various support systems. Numerous studies have explored the advantages of social belonging and its relationship to support systems such as friendship, counselling and mentoring. However, few studies address the benefits of using alternate support systems. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has offered counselling services for survivors of the Residential School System. Several participants in the current study found solace with these services. More research is required in this area.

#### 5. A study that would explore activities that act as coping approaches to counter stereotype threat

This research would be directed to those who suffer the negative impacts of racism and stereotype threat. Research is beginning to discover the importance various activities that include return to traditional Aboriginal tradition, prayer/spirituality, and exercise. All participants support this strategy and more research in this area is recommended.

#### 6. A study that would examine the qualification of educators

A sixth recommendation concerns qualifications of educational staff. Participants described instances of substandard teaching practices, along with a lack of comprehension of core curriculum material. Educational institutions must ensure all staff have receive proper training, as well as in-service education, to maintain their skills.

#### 7. A study that would explore the role society can play in reaching change

The final recommendation pertains to the role society plays in disseminating racist misinformation which perpetuates stereotype threat. Dominant society must be educated on Aboriginal issues. However, for change to occur, mainstream society must accept and take responsibility for their role in perpetuating racism and stereotype threat. Dominant society members must be made aware of their actions which have caused stereotype threat within Indigenous communities. Non-Indigenous people must learn from past atrocities committed on the Aboriginal populations. Learning from the past and taking action to stop racism and stereotype threat can help to facilitate a dialogue among groups.

This recommendation evokes thoughts about my personal experience with this study. Throughout this research process, non-Aboriginal people would inquire about my topic. All were



very interested and wanted to know how they could help make a change. Several wanted to be interviewed. All were respectful and thoughtful. A friend from Vancouver informed her non-Aboriginal friends of this study. They too, wanted to be a part of the solution. Stereotype threat and racism exist in our society, and these continue to negatively affect the urban Aboriginal population. Changes are slowly occurring, and people want to become a part of the solution. For the above reasons, I believe that through education, change will occur.

## Conclusion

The findings from the current research indicate that stereotype threat is evident within Edmonton's Aboriginal population. In addition, educational outcomes for participants were affected by stereotype threat. Participants used strengths-based strategies to cope with the negative effects of stereotype threat. These included: return to traditional Aboriginal culture; embracing education; incorporating changes into curricula; recruiting qualified teachers; and finally, encouraging parental and community involvement within schools.

By focusing on their strengths, participants were able to negotiate the adverse effects of stereotype threat within the city. They found ways to cope with the effects of the broadly held, societal, negative beliefs that had, like a kind of propaganda, infiltrated their minds from an early age.

In conclusion, I would like to express my appreciation for the participants' sacrifice of time and for the depth of their thoughtfulness, reflecting their commitment to betterment of all people in the urban environment, Indigenous or not.

In this study, I not only addressed the negative impacts of stereotype threat, but included

coping mechanisms recommended by the participants. The following quote expresses my hope.

It expresses my hope for the creation of a path, with heart, to a better future:

All paths are the same: they lead nowhere...Does this path have a heart? If it does, the path is good; if it doesn't, it is of no use. Both paths lead nowhere; but one has a heart, the other doesn't. One makes for a joyful journey; as long as you follow it, you are one with it. The other will make you curse your life. One makes you strong; the other weakens you.

—Carlos Castaneda, *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge*

## References

- Absolon, K. (2011). *Kaandossiwin how we come to know*. Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing.
- Absolon, K. and Willett, C. (2005). Putting ourselves forward: location in Aboriginal research. In Brown, L. A., & Strega, S. (2005). *Research As Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-oppressive Approaches*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, Inc. [CSPI]  
Retrieved on December 29, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
<http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=145914&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.
- Alberta alis (2018). How to study effectively.  
Retrieved on: November 29, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://alis.alberta.ca/explore-education-and-training/how-to-study-effectively/>
- Alberta Education (2011).  
Walking together: First nations, Metis and Inuit perspectives in Curriculum.  
Retrieved on: February 15, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
[https://www.learnalberta.ca/content/aswt/talkingtogether/facilitated\\_talking\\_circle\\_fact\\_sheet.html](https://www.learnalberta.ca/content/aswt/talkingtogether/facilitated_talking_circle_fact_sheet.html)
- Alberta Education (2018). Aboriginal Studies (10-12) Program of Studies  
Retrieved on: Sept. 3, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://education.alberta.ca/aboriginal-studies/programs-of-study/>
- Alberta Education (2018).  
Overview of Revised Teaching Quality Standard  
Retrieved on: November 26, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://education.alberta.ca/professional-practice-standards/teaching-quality-standard/everyone/overview-of-revised-teaching-quality-standard/>
- Alberta Government (2018). Teacher quality standard.  
Retrieved on: November 8, 2018  
Retrieved from: [https://education.alberta.ca/media/3739620/standardsdoc-tqs-\\_fa-web-2018-01-17.pdf](https://education.alberta.ca/media/3739620/standardsdoc-tqs-_fa-web-2018-01-17.pdf)
- Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA). (2006). Education is our buffalo. A teachers' resource for First Nations, Métis and Inuit education in Alberta.  
Retrieved on: November 29, 2018

Retrieved from: [https://www.teachers.ab.ca/sitecollectiondocuments/ata/publications/human-rights-issues/education%20is%20our%20buffalo%20\(pd-80-7\).pdf](https://www.teachers.ab.ca/sitecollectiondocuments/ata/publications/human-rights-issues/education%20is%20our%20buffalo%20(pd-80-7).pdf)

Adams, M. and Gosnell-Meyers, G. (January 2013). Don't forget Canada's urban aboriginals. They're not just passing through.

Retrieved on: November 13, 2017

Retrieved from:

<https://beta.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/dont-forget-canadas-urban-aboriginals-theyre-not-just-passing-through/article7599448/?ref=http://www.theglobeandmail.com&>

Alam, H. (2018). Indigenous students recognized at awards ceremony.

Retrieved on: May 14, 2018

Retrieved from: <http://edmontonjournal.com/news/local-news/blankets-handed-out-during-honouring-spirit-indigenous-student-awards-ceremony>

Alladin, I. (1996). *Racism in Canadian Schools*. Toronto, Ontario: Harcourt Brace.

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Appel, M., Weber, S., Kronberger, N., (2015). The influence of stereotype threat on Immigrants: Review and meta-analysis. *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol 6. p. 1-21.

Anderson, C. (1999). Governing aboriginal justice in Canada: Constructing responsible individuals and communities through tradition". *Crime, Law and Social Change* Volume 31, Issue 4 p. 303-326.

Anderson, C. (2009). *Aboriginal Edmonton a statistical story - 2009*

Retrieved on: 27 May 2018

Retrieved from: [https://www.edmonton.ca/city\\_government/documents/PDF/Stat\\_Story-Final-Jan26-10.pdf](https://www.edmonton.ca/city_government/documents/PDF/Stat_Story-Final-Jan26-10.pdf)

Aronson, J., Cohen, G., McColskey, W., (2009). Reducing stereotype threat in classrooms: a *Review of social-psychological intervention studies on improving the achievement of black students.*, Summary issues and Answers. REL 2009-076. *Regional Educational Laboratory Southeast. Report.* p. 1-5.

Aronson, J, Fried, C., & Good., C. (2002). Reducing the effects of stereotype threat on African American college students by shaping theories of intelligence. *Journal of Experimental*

Aronson, J. & Dee., T. (2011). Stereotype threat in the real world. In M. Inzlicht & T. Schmader, *Stereotype threat theory, process, and application*. New York: Oxford University Press p. 264-279.

- Aronson, J., Lustina, M., Good, C., Keough, K., Steele, C., Brown, J. (1999). When white men can't do math: Necessary and sufficient factors in stereotype threat. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 35, p. 29-46.
- Arthur, M., (2013). Race, ethnicity and educational achievement. *Research Starters: Sociology* (Online Edition).
- Ball, J. (2010). Promoting you Indigenous children's emergent literacy in Canada. School of Child and Youth Care, University of Victoria; Prepared for the Canadian Child Care Federation, Online paper distributed with permission.  
Retrieved on 28, October 2017  
Retrieved from:  
<Http://www.ecdip.org/docs/pdf/Emergent%20literacy%20Revised%Apr%2027%20811.pdf>
- Ball, S., (2015). Education, governance and the tyranny of numbers. *Journal of Education Policy*, 30:3, p.299-301
- Banks, K. And Stephens, J. (2018). Reframing internalized racial oppression and charting a way forward. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 p.91-111.
- Banksland, G.: Inuit elder Interview: March 19, 2017, March 23, 2017, October 6, 2018
- Battiste, M. (2005). Indigenous knowledge: Foundations for First Nations.  
Retrieved on: November 25, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
<https://www2.viu.ca/integratedplanning/documents/IndegenousKnowledgePaperbyMarieBattiste copy.pdf>
- Battiste, M., (2013). The legacy of forced assimilative education for Indigenous peoples. In Marie Battiste, Decolonizing education for Indigenous peoples nourishing the learning spirit Saskatoon, SK: Purich Publishing p.23 - 33.
- Baysu, G., Celeste, L., Brown, R., Verschueren., K., & Phalet., K. (2016). Minority Adolescents in ethnically diverse schools: Perceptions of equal treatment buffer threat effects. *Child Development* Sept. Oct. 2016, Vol. 87, No. 5, pg. 1352-1366.
- Beck, A. (1989). Misunderstandings resolve conflicts and solve relationship problems through cognitive therapy. ‘  
Retrieved on: January 2, 2019  
Retrieved from: [https://www.associationcbt.ru/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Love\\_is\\_Never\\_Enough-www.itworkss.com\\_.pdf](https://www.associationcbt.ru/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Love_is_Never_Enough-www.itworkss.com_.pdf)

- Bennett, B. (2015). Developing identity as a light-skinned Aboriginal person with little or no community and/or kinship ties. (Doctoral thesis, Australian Catholic University). Retrieved on: January 2, 2019  
Retrieved from:  
<https://researchbank.acu.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1565&context=theses>
- Berkel, L., Armstrong, T., Cokley, K. (2004). Similarities and differences between religiosity and spirituality in African American college students: a preliminary investigation. *Counselling and Values*, 49(1), p. 2-14.
- Birney, E., (2018). Study of Holocaust survivors finds trauma passed on to children's genes. Retrieved on: March 18, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2015/aug/21/study-of-holocaust-survivors-finds-trauma-passed-on-to-childrens-genes>
- Bhattacharyya S., Junot, M., & Clark H., (2013). Can you hear us? Voices raised against standardized testing by novice teachers. *Creative Education*. Vol.4, No. 10, p. 663-639.
- Bjerregaard, P., Mikkelsen, S.S., Becker, U., Hansen, T., Tolstrup, J.S., (2014). Genetic variation in alcohol metabolizing enzymes among Inuit and its relation to drinking patterns. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 144 239 -244.
- Bird-Naytowhow, K., Hatala, A., Pearl, T., Judge, A., Sjoblom, E. (2017). Ceremonies of relationship: Engaging urban Indigenous youth in community-based research *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* Volume 16: p. 1-14.
- Blease, D. (1983). Teacher expectations and the self-fulfilling prophecy. *Educational Studies*, vol.9, no.2, p. 123 - 129.
- Blood, A., and Zatorre, R. (2001). Intensely pleasurable responses to music correlate with Activity in brain regions implicated in reward and emotion. *PNAS*. Vol. 98, No. 20. p. 11818-11823.
- Bodkin-Andrews, G., & Carlson, B. (2016). The legacy of racism and Indigenous Australian identity within education. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19:4, p. 784-807.
- Bombay, A., Matheson, K., Anisman, H. (2009). Intergenerational trauma: Convergence of multiple processes among First Nations peoples in Canada. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*  
Retrieved on: November 11, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
[https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Amy\\_Bombay/publication/242778748\\_Intergenerational\\_Trauma/links/0c9605276e0d7a67e8000000.pdf](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Amy_Bombay/publication/242778748_Intergenerational_Trauma/links/0c9605276e0d7a67e8000000.pdf)

- Boyd, A. (2017, Oct. 30). "This is racist: University of Alberta investigates jack o'lantern found on campus". *Metro Edmonton*. p.1-4.
- Boyd, A. (2017, Oct. 31). "Pro-white message taped to Native Studies building day after racist pumpkin incident". *Metro Edmonton*. p. 1-4.
- Bradley, D., (2015). The dynamics of multiculturalism in music matters: A philosophy of music education. *Action, Criticism, and Theory for Music Education* 14(3): 10-26.
- Bradley, D., (2015). Hidden in plain sight: Race and racism in music education. In, *Collected Work: The Oxford handbook of social justice in music education. Series: Oxford handbooks* Oxford University Press: New York.
- Brady, P. (1996). Native drop-outs and non-Native drop-outs in Canada: Two solitudes or a solitude shared? *Journal of American Indian Education* v.35 p. 10-20.
- Brant, C. C. (1990). Native Ethics and Rules of Behaviour. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 35(6), 534-539.
- Brayboy, B. (2005). Toward a tribal critical race theory in education. *The Urban Review*, Vol.37, No. 5 p. 425-446.
- Brodie, H. (2017, Oct. 30). "Updated Statement on Racist Halloween Pumpkin, Unauthorized Posters".  
Retrieved on: November 27, 2017  
Retrieved from: <https://blog.ualberta.ca/president-turpins-statement-on-racist-pumpkin-ed1f39642d00>
- Brown, P., Lauder, H., & Ashton, D. (2011). *The global auction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, R., and Day, E. A. (2006), The difference isn't black and white: Stereotype threat and the race gap on Raven's advanced progressive matrices. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. Vol. 91, No. 4. p. 979-985.
- Butler, C. (2018). 'Guardians of the Indian image. *American Indian Quarterly*, 42(1). p 1-42.
- Cadinu, M., Maas, A., Lombardo, M., & Frigerio, S. (2006). Stereotype threat: The moderating role of Locus of Control beliefs. *European Journal of Social Psychology Eur. J. Soc Psychol.* 36, p. 183-197.
- Call, J. (2011). C, Steele. 2010. Whistling Vivaldi: And other clues to how stereotypes affect us. W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. 242 pp., (hardcover). *Graduate Journal of Social Science*, 8(1), p. 109-113.

Charles Camsell History Committee. (1985). Charles Camsell mosaic: the Charles Camsell Hospital 1945-1985. Edmonton: Charles Camsell History Committee.

Canadian Studies Program, Canadian Heritage. (2007). Canada's First Peoples  
Retrieved on: September 3, 2018  
Retrieved from: [http://firstpeoplesofcanada.com/fp\\_creators.html](http://firstpeoplesofcanada.com/fp_creators.html)

Canada, Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (2016 - 09 -01). 2011 Census  
Retrieved on: 18 February 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014265/1369225120949>

Canada. Treaties (2018). Copy of treat no. 6 made on 9 September 1876, between Her Majesty and the Plain and Wood Cree Indians and other tribes of Indians at Fort Carlton, Fort Pitt and Battle River

Retrieved on: September 4, 2018

Retrieved from:

<http://eco.canadiana.ca/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/oocihm.39206/3?r=0&s=1>

Cannon, M. (2005). Notes toward a qualitative analysis of legislated injustice. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. Vol. 25, Issue 1, pp. 373-387.

Cardinal, Dr. Trudy

personal discussions: February 27, 2018

November 5, 2018

Carr, P. and Steele, C. (2009). Stereotype threat and inflexible perseverance in problem solving. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*. 45, p. 853-859.

Carter, C., Lapum, J., Lavallée, L., Schindel Martin, L, & Restoule, J.-P. Urban First Nations Men: Narratives of Positive Identity and Implications for Culturally Safe Care. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 28(5), 445-454.

Retrieved on: November 11, 2018

Retrieved from:

<https://doi-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/10.1177/1043659616659348>

Castenda, C. (2018). Castenda quotes.

Retrieved on: November 28, 2018

Retrieved from: [https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/8088.Carlos\\_Castaneda](https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/8088.Carlos_Castaneda)



CBC Radio-Canada (2016). A history of residential schools in Canada.  
Retrieved on: November 11, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/a-history-of-residential-schools-in-canada-1.702280>

CBC Radio-Canada. (2018). At least 3,000 died in residential schools, research shows.  
Retrieved on: January 4, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/at-least-3-000-died-in-residential-schools-research-shows-1.1310894>

Chiefs Assembly on Education Palais des Congres de Gatineau, Gatineau, Quebec October 1-3, 2012. A Portrait of First Nations and Education.

Retrieved on: 7 November 2017.

Retrieved from: [http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/events/fact\\_sheet-ccoe-3.pdf](http://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/events/fact_sheet-ccoe-3.pdf)

Choquette, R. (1995). *The Oblate assault on Canada's northwest*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

City of Edmonton, (2005). *Naming Edmonton from Ada to Zoie*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Clark, Y., and Augoustinos, M. (2015). What's in a name? Lateral violence within the Aboriginal community in Adelaide, South Australia. *The Australian Community Psychologist*. Volume 27, No 2, p. 19-64.

Cole, L. (2018). The sociological definition of race. Thoughtco.

Retrieved on: September 3, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/race-definition-3026508>

Coloma, R., (2011). Who's afraid of Foucault? History, theory and becoming subjects. *History of Education Quarterly*, 51:2, pp. 184-210.

Chartrand, R. (2016). *Running head: Redefining education through Anishinaane pedagogy redefining education through Anishinaane pedagogy a journey to clarify how Aboriginal, education brought me to Anishinaane pedagogy*. [published thesis] University of Manitoba; Winnipeg

Retrieved on: November 29, 2018.

Retrieved from:

[https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/bitstream/handle/1993/31755/Chartrand.Rebecca.pdf?sequence=](https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/bitstream/handle/1993/31755/Chartrand.Rebecca.pdf?sequence=1)

1

Concentus Citizenship Education Foundation (2018) Curriculum Outcomes Alignment with Saskatchewan's Curricula.

Retrieved on: November 11, 2011

Retrieved from: <http://concentus.ca/curriculum-outcomes/>

Correctional Services Canada (2015). Aboriginal Corrections.

Retrieved on: July 7, 2017

Retrieved from: <http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/aboriginal/6-eng.shtml>

Croizet, J.C., Mathias, M., (2011). Social class and test performance from stereotype threat to symbolic violence and vice versa. In M. Inzlicht & T. Schmader, *Stereotype threat theory, process, and application*. New York: Oxford University Press p. 188-202.

Crocker, J and Major, B., (1989). Social stigma and self-esteem: the self-protective properties of stigma. *Psychological Review*, 96. p. 608-630.

Croizet, J-C., Goudeau, S., Marot, M., & Millet., M. (2017). How do educational contexts contribute to the social class achievement gap: documenting symbolic violence from a social psychological point of view. *Current Opinion in Psychology* 18, p. 105-110.

Crowshoe, C., (2005). *Sacred ways of life: traditional knowledge*. Ottawa, Ont.: First Nations Centre, National Aboriginal health Organization.

Cunningham, C and Stanley, F. (2003). Indigenous by definition, experience, or world view. *thebmj*.

Retrieved on: November 20, 2019

Retrieved from: <https://www.bmj.com/content/327/7412/403.full>

Cushion, C. and Jones, R. (2006). Power, discourse, and symbolic violence in professional youth soccer: The case of Albion football club. *Sociology of Sport Journal* 23, p. 142- 161.

Dandy, J., Durkin, K., Barber, B., & Houghton, S., (2015). Academic expectations of Australian Students from Aboriginal, Asian and Anglo Backgrounds: Perspectives of teachers, trainee- teachers and students. *International Journal of Disability Development and Education*. Vol. 62, No. 1, 60-82.

Davies, P., Spencer, S., Quinn, D., and Gerhardstein, R. (2002). Consuming images: How television commercials that elicit stereotype threat can restrain women academically and professionally. *Personality and Social Psychology*. 28, p. 1615 - 1628.

Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (2006). *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Denham, A. R. (2008). Rethinking Historical Trauma? Narratives of Resilience / Repenser le trauma historique?: histoires de résilience. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, (3), 391-314.

- Doige-Curwen, L. (2003). A missing link: between traditional Aboriginal education and the western system of education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 27 2, p. 144 - 160).
- Donald, D. (2004). Edmonton pentment: Re-reading history in the case of the Papaschase Cree. *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies*. Volume 2, Number 1 p.21 - 53.
- Drees, L. (2010). The Nanaimo and Charles Camsell Indian hospitals. First Nations' narratives of health care, 1945 to 1965 43(85) p. 165-191.  
Retrieved on: January 4, 2019  
Retrieved from: <https://doi-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/10.1353/his.2010.0002>
- Duchesne, R. (2017). What is 'Euro-Canadian'?  
Retrieved on: September 3, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.eurocanadian.ca/2017/09/what-is-euro-canadian.html>
- Durden, G. (2018). Accounting for the context in phenomenology - variation theory: Evidence of English graduates concepts of price. *International Journal of Educational Research*. 7, p. 12-21.
- Dyson, M. (2018). The art of the matter. *Ebony*,73 (9/10), 24.
- Dyson, M. (2018). What truth sounds like: RFK, James Baldwin and our unfinished conversation about race in America. MacMillan Audio: New York.
- Edwards, K. (2017). Canadian injustice, *Macleans*. Volume 130, Number 10. p. 36-38.
- Edwards, K. (2018). Battleground Saskatchewan. *Macleans*. Volume 131, Number 3 p. 18 -21.
- Eleftheriou-Smith, L. (2015). Magna Carta: What is it - and why is it still important today?  
Retrieved on: March 11, 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/magna-carta-what-is-it-and-why-is-it-still-important-today-10017258.html>
- Elias, B., Mignone, J., Hall, M., Say, H., Hart, L., Sareen, J. (2012). Trauma and suicide behaviour histories among a Canadian indigenous population: An empirical exploration of the potential role of Canada's residential school system. *Journal of Epidemiology And Community Health*, 70(11), 1096–1105.

- Ermine, W., (1995). Aboriginal Epistemology. In, M. Battiste (Editor). First nations education in Canada: The circle unfolds. Vancouver: UBC Press. p. 101-112.
- Farrell-Racette, S., Goulet, I., Pelletier, J., & Schmon., K., (1996). Aboriginal cultures and perspectives: making a difference in the classroom. Diversity in the classroom series, number five. *Saskatchewan Professional Development Unit*. Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Instructional Development and Research Unit, Regina.
- Feir, D. (2016). The intergenerational effects of Residential schools on children's educational experiences in Ontario and Canada's western provinces. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, Vol 7, Iss 3 p.1-46.
- Ferguson S. J., and Zhao J., (2017 September 30). The educational attainment of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Retrieved from [https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-012-x/99-012-x2011003\\_3-eng.cfm](https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-012-x/99-012-x2011003_3-eng.cfm)
- First Nations Studies Program (2009). Indian status. What is Indian Status? Retrieved on: September 3, 2018  
Retrieved from: [https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/indian\\_status/](https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/indian_status/)
- Fischer, M. (2010). A longitudinal examination of the role of stereotype threat and racial climate on college outcomes for minorities at elite institutions. *Social Psychology of Education* Volume 13, Issue 1, p. 19-40.
- Flick, U., Kardoff, E., Steinke, I. (2004). A companion to qualitative research. London: Sage Publications.
- Fort Edmonton Park (2013). Chief Papaschase. Edmontonian. In the Spotlight - Pt. 2. Retrieved on: March 11, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.fortedmontonpark.ca/1885-street/chief-papaschase-edmontonian-in-the-spotlight-pt-2/>
- Gallagher, T. (2001). You're not Indian: Racial stereotyping and identity. *Native Peoples Magazine*. Vol.15, Issue 1, p.12.
- Geddes, J., (2018). The new nation builder. *Maclean's*. Vol. 131, Issue 3, p. 24-27.
- Gilovich, T., Keltner, D, Nisbett, R. (2006), "Being a member of a stigmatized group: stereotype threat", in Gilovich, Thomas; Keltner, Dacher; Nisbett, Richard E., *Social psychology*, New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 467-468.

Globe and Mail (2018). Rise in census participation from indigenous communities in Canada. Retrieved on: December 29, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/rise-in-census-participation-from-indigenous-communities-in-canada/article32694558/>

Goldring, P., (2010). The official mind of Canadian colonialism: government authorities and the Qikiqtani region, 1950-1975. Ottawa, Ont.: Contentworks.

Good, C., Aronson, J.& Inzlicht, M. (2003). Improving adolescents' standardized test performance: An intervention to reduce the effects of stereotype threat. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*. Volume 24, Issue 6, p. 645-662.

Goodman, B. (2014). Paulo Freire and the pedagogy of the oppressed. *Nurse Education Today* Vol. 34 p.1055-1056.

Google. (2017). What is the definition of Indigenous peoples.  
Retrieved on: September 3, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
<https://www.google.ca/search?q=Indigenous+definition&oq=Indigenous+definition&aqs=chrome.69i57j0l5.8711j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

Gopal, Sama (2015). The Art of Memory and the Growth of the Scientific Method. *Interdisciplinary Description of Complex Systems*. Vol. 13, Issue 3 p. 373-396.

Gorman, W. (1999) Canadian Native students and inequitable learning. *Canadian Social Studies*, v.33 no. 4 p. 114- 16.

Gorringe, S. and Ross, J. (2011). 'Will the real Aborigine please stand up: Strategies for breaking the stereotypes and changing conversation'.  
Retrieved on 13 February 2017  
Retrieved from:  
[http://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/products/discussion\\_paper/gorringe-ross-fforde-dp28-real-aborigines-stereotypes.pdf](http://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/products/discussion_paper/gorringe-ross-fforde-dp28-real-aborigines-stereotypes.pdf)

Graveland, B. (2018). 'Absolutely perverse': Outrage within First Nations groups after white farmer not found guilty in Indigenous death.  
Retrieved on: March 11, 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://nationalpost.com/news/canada/absolutely-perverse-outrage-within-first-nations-groups-after-white-farmer-found-not-guilty-in-indigenous-death>

Government of Canada (2016). Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. Urban Indigenous peoples.

Retrieved on: 1 July 2018

Retrieved from: <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014265/1369225120949>

Graham, K. (2015). Chief Justice suggests using electronic media to end Aboriginal stereotypes.

Retrieved on September 19, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/chief-justice-suggests-using-electronic-media-to-end-aboriginal-stereotypes/article26855134/>

Guetterman, T.C., (2015). Descriptions of sampling practices within five approaches to qualitative research in education and the health services.

Retrieved on: 12 May 2018

Retrieved from: [www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/download/2290/3826](http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/download/2290/3826)

Gulliver, T. (2018). Canada the redeemer and denials of racism. *Critical Discourse Studies*. Vol. 15, Issue 1, p. 68-86.

Hall, D. (2003). "OLIVER, FRANK (Francis Robert Bowsfield, Bossfield, or Bousfield)," in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 16, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–,

Retrieved on: March 11, 2018

Retrieved from: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/oliver\\_frank\\_16E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/oliver_frank_16E.html)

Hamilton G. (2018 May 26). Spiritual belief over science? As Canadian university campuses 'Indigenize' some see a threat to open inquiry. *Edmonton Journal*, pp. NP1, NP2.

Hanohano, P. (1999). The spiritual imperative in Native epistemology: Restoring harmony and balance to education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 23,2. p.206-226

Hanohano, P. (2001). Restoring the sacred circle: education for culturally responsive native families. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Hampton, E. (1995). Towards a redefinition of Indian education. In Battiste, M. and Barman, J. (Eds). First Nations education in Canada. The circle unfolds. Canada: UBC Press.

Hanselmann, C. (2001). Urban Aboriginal people in western Canada: Realities and policies.

Retrieved on: November 15, 2017

Retrieved from: [http://cwf.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/CWF\\_UrbanAboriginalPeopleWesternCanada\\_Report\\_SEP2001.pdf](http://cwf.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/CWF_UrbanAboriginalPeopleWesternCanada_Report_SEP2001.pdf)

- Harackiewicz, J. M., Canning, E. A., Tibbetts, Y., Giffen, C. J., Blair, S. S., Rouse, D. I., & Hyde, J. S. (2014). Closing the social class achievement gap for first-generation students in undergraduate biology. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 106, 375–389.
- Harding, R. (2005). The media, Aboriginal people and common sense. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* XXV, 1 p. 311-335.
- Harper, S., Smith, E., Davis III, C. (2016). A critical race case analysis of black undergraduate student success at an urban university. *Urban Education*. Sage online journals. p.1-23
- Hasler, G., Fromm, S., Alvarez, R., Luckenbaugh, D., Drevets, W. and Grillon, C. (2009). Cerebral blood flow in immediate and sustained anxiety. *J Neurosci* 27(23), p. 6313-6319.
- Hayter, J. (2017). Racially “Indian”, legally “White: The Canadian state’s struggles to categorize the Métis 1850 - 1900 (Doctoral Dissertation)  
Retrieved on: November 19, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
[https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/80832/3/Hayter\\_Jennifer\\_201711\\_PhD\\_thesis.pdf](https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/80832/3/Hayter_Jennifer_201711_PhD_thesis.pdf)
- Heale, R., and Forbes, D., (2013). Understanding triangulation in research. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, 16:98.  
Retrieved on September 26, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://ebn.bmj.com/content/ebnurs/early/2013/08/13/eb-2013-101494.full.pdf>
- Hedstrom, P., and Bearman, P. (2011). *The Oxford handbook of analytical sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heiss, A. (2002). Writing about Indigenous Australia some issues to consider and protocols to follow: A discussion paper. *Southerly*. Vol. 62. Issue 2. p. 197-1007.
- Hickey, S. (2016). ‘They say I’m not a typical blackfella’: Experiences of racism and ontological insecurity in urban Australia. *Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 52(4). p. 725-740.
- Hoepfl, M. (1997). Choosing qualitative research: A primer for technology education researchers. *Journal of Technology Education*. Vol. 9 No. 1. p. 47- 63.
- Huncar, A., (2018). Medical experimentation among allegations investigated by Sherwood Park lawyer in ‘Indian hospitals’ lawsuit”  
Retrieved on: September 4, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/edmonton/sherwood-park-edmonton-camsell-hospital-indian-hospitals-1.4511262>

Hycner, R. (1985). Some guidelines for the phenomenological analysis of interview data. *Human Studies.*, 8(3), p. 279-303.

IGI Global Disseminator of Knowledge. (2018) What is global culture.

Retrieved on: November 25, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.igi-global.com/dictionary/multicultural-education-student-learning-style/12218>

Inzlicht M., and Schmader, T., (2011). *Stereotype threat: Theory, Process, and Application*. New York: Oxford University Press. (Online Resource).

Retrieved on: January 13, 2019

Retrieved from:

<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199732449.001.0001/acprof-9780199732449>

Issac, T., (1992). Balancing rights: The Supreme Court of Canada, R. v. SPARROW, and the future of Aboriginal rights.

Retrieved on: September 9, 2018

Retrieved from: <http://www3.brandonu.ca/cjns/13.2/isaac.pdf>

James, C., E., (2012). Students “at risk”: Stereotypes and the schooling of black boys. *Urban Education*, v47 n2 p.464-494.

Jaramillo, J., Mello, Z., & Worrell, F., (2015). Ethnic identity, stereotype threat, and perceived discrimination among Native American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 26(4), p. 769-775.

Jung, C., Franz, M-L von. (1964). *Symbols in an individual analysis in C.G. Jung ed. Man and his symbols*. New York: Doubleday.

Jung, C. (1960). “Structure and dynamics of the psyche is volume 8” In *The collected works of C.G. Jung*. US: Princeton University Press.

Jussim, L. (2015). Is stereotype threat overcooked, overstated, and oversold? *Psychology Today*

Retrieved on: November 26, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.psychologytoday.com/ca/blog/rabble-rouser/201512/is-stereotype-threat-overcooked-overstated-and-oversold>

Jussim, L., Crawford J., Anglin, S., Stevens, S., & Duarte, J. (2016). Interpretations and methods: Towards a more effectively self-correcting social psychology. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 66 (2016) 116–133.



- Kapyrka, J. and Dockstator, M. (2012). Indigenous knowledges and western knowledges in environmental education: Acknowledging the tensions for the benefits of a ‘Two-Worlds’ approach. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 17. p. 97-112.
- Kavanagh, K. (2003). The role of parental and community involvement in the success of First Nations learners: A review of literature. A report to the Minister’s national working group on First Nations education. Canada: National Working Group on First Nations Education. 1-73.
- Kelly, J. R. (2001). “Borrowed Blackness”: A case study of black identity and cultural formation among a group of African Canadian high school students (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.
- Kelly, M. (2017) Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy IEP  
Retrieved on: November 11, 2017  
Retrieved from: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/foucault/>
- Kelly, M. (2017) Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy IEP  
Retrieved on: November 11, 2017  
Retrieved from: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/lyotard/>
- Knockwood, J. (2004). Creating a community based school. In Anderson, K. & Lawrence, B Strong women stories Native vision and community survival. Canada: Sumach Press.
- Kornik, S. (2015). Edmonton school kids following footsteps of first Aboriginal police officer. Retrieved on: November 25, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://globalnews.ca/news/2028871/edmonton-school-kids-following-footsteps-of-first-aboriginal-police-officer/>
- Korzybski, A. (1933). Science and sanity. Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Science Press Printing Co.
- Kovach, M. (2005). Research as resistance. Canada: Canadian Scholar’s Press.
- Krysinka, K., Spittal, M., Pirkis, J., Currier, D. (2018). Does religion/spirituality modify the Association of stressful life events and suicidal ideation in Australian men? *Religions* 9, 180, p. 1-9.
- Lakomski, G. (1984). On Agency and Structure. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 14(2). pp. 151-163.
- Lange, E., Chovanec, D. and Cardinal, T. (2010). Wounded Learners: Symbolic violence and Dreamkeeping among marginalized adults. CASAE Conference Proceedings. P. 208-213

Retrieved on: January 10, 2019

Retrieved from: <http://casae-aceea.ca/~casae/sites/casae/archives/cnf2010/OnlineProceedings-2010/Individual-Papers/Lange%20Chovanec%20et%20al.pdf>

Lavalee, L. (2009). Practical application of an Indigenous research framework and two qualitative Indigenous research methods. Sharing circles and Anishnaabe symbol-based reflection. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Vol 8, Iss1, p. 21-40.

Lawrence, B. (2003). Gender, race and the regulation of Native identity in Canada and the United States: An overview. *Hypatia* 18:2 p. 3-31.

Lawrence, B. (2004). Mixed race urban Native people: Surviving a legacy of policies of Genocide. In *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*. R. F. Laliberte, P. Settee, J. Waldran, R. Innes, B. MacDongall, L. McBain and F. L. Barron (ed). Saskatoon: University of Extension Press. p.69-93.

Leuthold, S. (1996). Repressing truth and history in Native American Documentary: Indigenous efforts to counter mass media stereotypes. *Film & History (03603695)* 1996; 26(1-4): 30-39.

Ledlow, S., (1992). Is cultural discontinuity an adequate explanation for dropping out? *Journal of American Indian Education*, Vol. 31, No. 3, p. 21-36.

Lightning, W. (1992). Compassionate Mind: Implications of a Text Written by Elder Louis Sunchild. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. Vol 19 (2). p. 215 - 253.

Lincoln, A. (1863). The Gettysburg address

Retrieved on: 18, February 2018.

Retrieved from: <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm>

Little Bear, L. (2000). Jagged worldviews colliding. In Battiste, Marie (Editor). *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* p. 108-116. Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press.

Longstaffe, M. (2017). Indigenous woman as newspaper representations: Violence and action in 1960's Vancouver. *Canadian Historical Review*, 98(2). p. 230-260).

Lowe, J., Wimbish-Cirilo, R. (2016). The use of talking circles to describe a Native American transcultural caring immersion experience. *Journal of Holistic Nursing*. Volume 34, No. 3 p. 280-290.

Lowe, W., (2010). Understanding race: The evolution of the meaning of race in American law and the impact of DNA technology on its meaning in the future.

Retrieved on: September 3, 2018

Retrieved from: [http://www.albanylawreview.org/Articles/Vol72\\_4/72.4.0016%20Lowe.pdf](http://www.albanylawreview.org/Articles/Vol72_4/72.4.0016%20Lowe.pdf)

Lucy (2014)

Retrieved on: November 14, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gy2p0gr4pAc>

Luoma, J., Nobles, R., Drake, C., Hayes, S., O'Hair, A., Fletcher, L., and B. Kohlenberg (2013). Self-stigma in substance abuse: Development of a measure. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment*. 35: 223-234.

Martin, K. (2003). Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing: a Theoretical Framework and Methods for Indigenous Re-Search and Indigenist Research. In

McWilliam, K., Stephenson P., & Thompson, G., (eds) "*Voicing Dissent*" *New Talents 21C: Next Generation Australian Studies*. No 76. p. 203- 214.

MacDonald, D. (2007). First Nations, Residential Schools, and the Americanization of the Holocaust: Rewriting Indigenous History in the United States and Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique*, (4), 995.

Maryland Community College SOAR Program (2003).

Retrieved on: November 26, 2018

Retrieved from: [http://www.wiu.edu/advising/docs/mastering\\_test\\_taking.pdf](http://www.wiu.edu/advising/docs/mastering_test_taking.pdf)

Mason, M. (2010). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *FQS* (11) 3.

Retrieved on: November 23, 2018

Retrieved from: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1428/3028>

McBride, J. & Good, J. (2015). Learning circles: What is their potential in Aboriginal community economic development? E-Reader Version. Community Development Institute: B.C.

McKinley, B., & Brayboy, J. (2004). Hiding in the ivy: American Indian students and visibility in elite educational settings. *Harvard Educational Review*. Vol.74, No.2 p.125-52.

McKinley, B., & Brayboy, J. (2005). Toward a tribal critical race theory in education. *The Urban Review*, Vol. 37, No.5 p.425-446.

McMillan, D., and Chavis, D. (1986), Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology* Volume 14 p. 6-23.

Meissler, R. (1991). The Medicine Wheel an ancient symbol in modern society. (Published Masters Thesis). University of Montana. Missoula, Montana.

Mendes, W. & Jamieson, J. (2011). Embodied stereotype threat. In Inzlicht M., and Schmader, T., (2011). *Stereotype threat: Theory, Process, and Application*. In M. Inzlicht & Schmader, *Stereotype threat theory, process, and application*. New York: Oxford University Press p. 51-71.

Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary

Retrieved on: March 14, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/racism>

Miller, J. R. (2003). Troubled Legacy: A History of Native Residential Schools. *Saskatchewan Law Review*, (Issue 2), 357- 382.

Retrieved on: November 11, 2018

Retrieved from:

<http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edshol&AN=edshol.hein.journals.sasklr66.17&site=eds-live&scope=site>

Mishler, C. (1990). Missionaries in collision: Anglicans and Oblates among the Gwich'in, 1861-65. *Arctic* Vol.43 No. 2. p. 121-126.

Moffatt, J., Mayan, M, & Long, R. (2013). Sanitoriums and the Canadian colonial legacy: The untold experiences of tuberculosis treatment. *Qualitative Health Research*

Retrieved on: September 4, 2018 Retrieved from:

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.884.459&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Monchalin, L., (2016). *The colonial problem an Indigenous perspective on crime and injustice in Canada*. North York, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Moore-Callahan, T. (2010). *A qualitative interpretive study of the lived educational experiences of African American male students in southeastern New Mexico: A cross-generational exploration of perceptions regarding academic achievement*. Ann Arbor MI : UMI Dissertation Publishing.

Morcom, L., and Freeman, K. (2018). Niiwi—Kiinwa—Kiiwi: Building non-Indigenous allies in education through Indigenous pedagogy. *Canadian Journal of Education* 41:3 p. 808 – 833.

Morin, B., (2017). Chief wants province to dig into possible remains at former Edmonton Indian Hospital.

Retrieved on: September 4, 2018

Retrieved from: <http://aptnnews.ca/2017/04/13/chief-wants-province-to-dig-into-possible-remains-at-former-edmonton-indian-hospital/>

Morin, R. February 14, 2017 guest speaker for EDPS 535

Murphy, M. & Zirkel, S. (2015). Race and belonging in school: How anticipated and experience belonging affect choice, persistence and performance. *Teachers College Record*, v. 117, no. 12 p. 1-57.

Mylott, E., Dunlap, J., Lampert, L., Widenhorn, R. (2014). Kinesthetic activities for the Classroom. *The Physics Teacher*. 52. p. 525 – 528.

Nabigon, H., & Wenger-Nabigon, A. (2012). “Wise Practices”: Integrating traditional teachings with mainstream treatment approaches. *Native Social Work Journal*, 8, 43-55.

Native Women’s Association of Canada (NWAC).

Retrieved on: November 24, 2018

Retrieved from:

<https://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/2011-Aboriginal-Lateral-Violence.pdf>

Neegan, E. (2005) Excuse me: who are the first peoples of Canada? a historical analysis of Aboriginal education in Canada then and now, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 9:1, p. 3-15.

Nelson, T., (2009). Editor. Handbook of prejudice. Stereotyping and discrimination Psychology Press.

Nittle Kareem, N. (2017). Understanding 4 different types of racism.

Retrieved on: March 14, 2017

Retrieved from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/4-different-types-of-racism-2834982>

Nofchissey-Williams, A., and Burson, C. (Date written is unknown). Go my son.

Retrieved on: 21 May 2018

Retrieved from: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gq\\_g4AeLsM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gq_g4AeLsM)

Nomura, J. M. (2007). Stereotype threat theory as an explanation for the depressed performance on cognitive ability measures by African Americans. (Published Dissertation) University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma, United States of America.

Retrieved on: November 26, 2018

Retrieved from:

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.428.4534&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

- Osborne, J., & Walker, C. (2006). Stereotype threat, identification and academics, and withdrawal from school: Why the most successful students of colour might be most likely to withdraw. *Educational Psychology*, v26 n4, p.563-577.
- Osborne, R. E. (2013). Self-esteem. Salem Press Encyclopedia of Health. Retrieved on: November 9, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
<http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ers&AN=93872219&site=eds-live&scope=site>
- Oliver-Hoyo M., & Allen, D., (2006). The use of triangulation methods in qualitative educational research. *Journal of College Science Teaching*, no.4, p. 42-46
- Palmater, P. (2015). Indigenous Nationhood: empowering grassroots citizens. Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing.
- Papert, S. (1993). Obsolete skill set: The 3 Rs — literacy and letteracy in the media ages. Retrieved on: November 22, 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://www.papert.org/articles/ObsoleteSkillSet.html>
- Patierno, N. (2016). Analysis of body and education as objects of symbolic violence. One possible approach from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu. *Educaion Fisica Y Ciencia*, Vol 18 Iss 1. pg. 119-171.
- Parker, L. (2003). Critical race theory in education: Possibilities and problems. *Critical Theory and the Human Condition: Founders and Praxis*, Vol. 168, p. 184-198.
- Parthenis., C., Fragoulis (2016). “Otherness” as threat: Social and educational exclusion of Roma people in Greece. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*. Vol 18., No. 2 p. 39-57.
- Pennington, C., Helm, D., Levy., A., Larkin, D. (2016). Twenty years of stereotype threat research: A review of psychological mediators. *PLOS*. United Kingdom: open journal p.1-25.
- Picho, K., (2016). The psychosocial experience of highschool girls highly susceptible to stereotype threat: a phenomenological study. *The Journal of Educational Research*. Vol.109, Issue 6. p. 608-623.
- Ponting, Rick J. and Kiely, J. (1997). Disempowerment: "Justice", Racism, and Public Opinion. In Rick J. Ponting (Ed.), *First Nations in Canada: Perspectives On Opportunity, Empowerment, and Self-Determination* (152-192). Toronto: McGill-Hill Ryerson.

- Plous, S. & Williams, T. (1995). Racial stereotypes from the days of American slavery: A continuing legacy. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. Vol. 25 Issue 9, p. 795-817.
- Ponting, J. (1997). *First Nations in Canada perspectives on opportunity, empowerment, and self-determination*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.
- Positive Psychology Program (2018). Self-esteem in psychology: a definition, examples, books (+ TED Talks).  
Retrieved on: November 16, 2018.  
Retrieved from: <https://positivepsychologyprogram.com/self-esteem/#definition-self-esteem>
- Prete, T. (2018). *Indigenizing educational policy; Our shared responsibility*. (Published doctoral dissertation). University of Alberta. Edmonton, Canada.  
Retrieved on: November 14, 2018.  
Retrieved from: <https://era.library.ualberta.ca/search?search=Tiffany+Prete>
- Public Legal Association of Saskatchewan. (2006). *Currents exploring traditional Aboriginal justice concepts in contemporary Canadian society*. Public Legal Education Association of Saskatchewan, Inc.
- Purdy, C. (2018). Experts, Indigenous advocates renew call for more diversity on juries  
Retrieved on: March 11, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://globalnews.ca/news/4016405/challenge-changes-jury-lists-indigenous-names-gerald-stanley-trial/>
- Ravitch, S., and Riggan, M., (2012). *Reason and rigor: How conceptual frameworks guide research*. Los Angeles, CA. Sage.
- Regner, I. et al (2014). Our future scientists: a review of stereotype threat in girls from early elementary school to middle school. *Revue Internationale de Psychologie Sociale-International Review of Social Psychology*. 27 3-4, p. 13-51
- Reichert, L. (2015). Attribution theory.  
Retrieved on: November 13, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=doMOHcTIK7o>
- Richeson, J., & Shelton, J. (2011). Stereotype threat in interracial interactions. In Inzlicht M., and Schmader, T., (2011). *Stereotype threat: Theory, Process, and Application*. New York: Oxford University Press p. 231-245.

- Reicken, T., Conibear, F., Michel, C., Lyall, J., Tanaka, M., Stewart, S., Reicken, J. and Strong-Wilson, T. (2006). Resistance through re-presenting culture: Aboriginal student filmmakers and a participatory action research project on health and wellness. *Canadian Journal of Education* 29, 1 p. 265-286).
- Riley, T., & Ungerleider, C. (2012). Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: How Teachers' Attributions, Expectations, and Stereotypes Influence the Learning Opportunities Afforded Aboriginal Students. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 35(2), 303–333.
- Robinson, S. (2014). A case study of self-affirmations in teacher education. *Journal of Invitational Theory and Practice*. Volume 20.
- Rotter, J. (1990). Internal versus external control of reinforcement a case history of a variable. *American Psychologist*, Vol. 45 Issue 4, p. 489 - 493.
- Ross, R. (1992). *Dancing with a ghost exploring Indian reality*. Markham, Ontario: Octopus Publishing Group.
- Rupert Ross, "Relational Lens"  
Retrieved on: March 7, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dY2rY-mzDFY>
- Rubie, C. M., Townsend, M. A., and Moore, D. W., (2004), Motivational and academic effects of cultural experienced for Indigenous minority students in New Zealand. *Educational Psychology*, 24 (2), 143 - 160.
- Russell, J.M., (2007). *Philosophical classics the thinking person's guide to great philosophical books*. London: Magpie Books.
- Ryan, T. and Whitman, A., (2013). The inequity and effect of standardized literacy testing for First nations students - an Ontario (Canadian) outlook. *The Journal of Educational Thought (JET)/Revue de la Pensee Educative*, Vol.46, No.2 (Fall 2013), pp.163 -181.
- Sackett, P. R., Hardison, C. M., & Cullen, M. J. (2004). On interpreting stereotype threat as accounting for African American–White differences on cognitive tests. *American Psychologist*, 59, 7–13.
- Saskatchewan Teachers' Perspective on Curriculum Renewal (2016).  
Retrieved on: November 10, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
[https://www.stf.sk.ca/sites/default/files/sask\\_teachers\\_perspective\\_curriculum\\_renewal.pdf](https://www.stf.sk.ca/sites/default/files/sask_teachers_perspective_curriculum_renewal.pdf)



- Sandoval, D., Lagunas, R., Montelongo, L., and Diaz, M. (2016). Ancestral knowledge systems a conceptual framework for decolonizing research in social science. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, (1) p. 18- 31.
- Schiffer, J. (2016). Understanding and addressing intergenerational trauma. *Visions* 11 (4), p. 7.
- Seellau, L, and Seelau, R., (2014-2015). Making Indigenous self-determination work: What the nation building principles and three case studies from Chile teach us about implementing Indigenous human rights. *American Indian Law Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1, p. 137-199.
- Senk, T., (2014). Decolonizing and Indigenous arts education. Promising practices in an Urban Aboriginal education building school/community relationships. *Canadian Diversity / Canadian Diversite*. Summer2014. Vol. 11. Issue 2, p. 102-107).
- Shapiro, J. (2011). Types of threats. In M. Inzlicht & T. Schmader, *Stereotype threat theory, process, and application*. New York: Oxford University Press p. 71-89
- Shih, M., Sanchez, D., Bonam, C. & Peck, C. (2007). The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, Vol. 13, No. 2. p.125-133.
- Simpson Betasamosake, L. (2014). Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*. Vol. 3., No. 3., p. 1-25.
- Simon, E. (Ed) (2011). *Psychology of stereotypes psychology of emotions, motivations and actions*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Simon, M. and Goes, J. (2013). *Scope, limitations, and delimitations*. Dissertation and Scholarly Research: Recipes for Success.  
Retrieved on: September 24, 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://dissertationrecipes.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/limitationscopedelimitation1.pdf>
- Simons, P. (2017). Paula Simons: Removing Frank Oliver’s name would whitewash Edmonton’s history.  
Retrieved on: March 11, 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://edmontonjournal.com/opinion/columnists/paula-simons-removing-frank-olivers-name-would-whitewash-edmontons-history>
- Smith, D. (2018). Danielle Smith: Gerald Stanley murder trial poses question, “how far can you go to defend your property?”  
Retrieved on: March 11, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://globalnews.ca/news/3996418/danielle-smith-gerald-stanley-murder-trial-how-far-can-you-go-to-defend-your-property/>

- Smith, K. (2015). Transforming my white identity from an agent of oppression to an agent of change through education in contemporary Australian society. *The Australian Community Psychologist*. Volume 27, No. 2, p. 45-58.
- Sockbeson Cardinal R., (2009). Waponaki Intellectual Tradition of Weaving Educational Policy. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*. Vol. 55, No.3 p. 351-364.
- Solorzano, D., & T. Yosso. (2001). From racial stereotyping and deficit discourse toward a critical race theory in teacher education. *Multicultural Education*, v9 n1, p. 2-8.
- Solórzano, D., & T. Yosso, (2002). Critical Race Methodology: Counter-storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 8 (1): 23–44.
- Southerton, D. (2011). Encyclopedia of consumer culture (electronic resource). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2011)  
Retrieved on: 14 May 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://sk.sagepub.com/reference/consumerculture/n534.xml>
- Spawn, T., (2008). The concept of race.  
Retrieved on: September 3, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://anthropology.net/2008/06/30/the-concept-of-race/>
- Spencer, S., Logel, C., & Davies, P. (2016). Stereotype threat. *Annual Review of Psychology*, Vol.26, Issue 1, p.415-437.
- Smith, C., & Hung, L. (2008). Stereotype threat: Effects on education. *Soc Psychology Education*. Vol.11 p. 243-257
- Statistics Canada The Daily (2017). Aboriginal peoples in Canada: Key results from the 2016 Census.  
Retrieved on: September 5, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025a-eng.htm>
- Stanton, K. (2011). Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Settling the Past? *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 2(3).  
Retrieved on: September 9, 2011  
Retrieved from: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1034&context=iipj>
- St. Denis, V., & Hampton, E., (2002). Literature review on racism and the effects on Aboriginal education [Prepared for Minister's national Working Group on Education]. Ottawa, On: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.

Steele, C. (1997). A threat in the air. How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*. Vol. 52, No. 6, p. 613-629.

Steele, C. (2013). Stereotype threat: A Conversation with Claude Steele.

Retrieved on: November 12, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=failyROnrY>

Steele, C. (2015). Stereotype Threat

Retrieved on: November 12, 2018

Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TQi7S6ZCa4Y>

Steele, C. and Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol.69, No. 5, p. 797 – 811.

Steinhauer, E. (2002). Thoughts on an Indigenous Research Methodology. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 26(2) p. 69-201.

Steinhauer, E. (2007). Parental school choice in First Nations communities: is there really a choice? (Published doctoral dissertation). University of Alberta. Edmonton, Canada.

Steinhauer, E. (2008). Parental school choice in First Nations communities: Is there really a choice?". Germany: VDM Verlag.

Steinhauer E., Professor of Education Policy Studies 535 (personal discussions)

February 13, 2018

February 27, 2018

August 31, 2018

September 21, 2018

November 5, 2018

December 19, 2018

Steinhauer, N. (1999). Sohkastwawak: They are resilient (First Nations Students and Achievement). (Published master's thesis). University of Alberta. Edmonton, Canada.

Steinhauer, P. (Ininisiwin ekasis'pohtahk watichkwanihk ohci) The inherent wisdom carries on from the roots). (Published master's thesis). University of Alberta. Edmonton, Canada.

Steinhauer P., Professor of Education Policy Studies 535

lectures on: February 7, 2017

February 14, 2017

February 28, 2017

March 7, 2017  
March 21, 2017  
personal discussion: February 27, 2018

Stonechild, B. (2006). *The new buffalo: the struggle for Aboriginal post-secondary education in Canada*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.

Stroessner, S, and Good, C. (2011). *Stereotype threat: An Overview*. Retrieved on, 9(2), 2013.  
Retrieved on: November 26, 2018  
Retrieved from: [https://diversity.arizona.edu/sites/default/files/stereotype\\_threat\\_overview.pdf](https://diversity.arizona.edu/sites/default/files/stereotype_threat_overview.pdf)

Stroud, H., G. (2014). *Understanding the role of spirituality in African American undergraduate men's responses to stereotype threat at predominately white institutions (Doctoral disseration)*. Retrieved from ERIC database, (ED556936).

Sultana, A. (2010-2011). *Patriarchy and women's subordination: A theoretical analysis*. *The Arts Faculty Journal*  
Retrieved on: January 4, 2019  
Retrieved from:  
<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a1a1/956fe39a514e5128ec48b29fab7f45b1848e.pdf>

Sylvestor, E. (2016). *Silenced no more (Indigenous journalist's efforts to remove stereotyping of their community)*. Ryerson Review of Journalism NA.  
Retrieved on: September 19, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://rrj.ca/silenced-no-more/>

Taborn, J. (1995). *Facing racism in education*. *Journal of Negro Education*. Vol.64 No. 4 p. 479-481.

Tate IV, W. (1997). *Critical race theory and education: History, theory, and implications*. *Review of Research in Education*, 22 p. 195-247.

Taylor, D., (2000). *How Native is Native?* In *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*. R. F. Laliberte, P. Settee, J. Waldran, R. Innes, B. MacDongall, L. McBain and F. L. Barron (ed). Saskatoon: University of Extension Press p. 57-60.

TheHealthSite (2017). *5 health benefits of spirituality and prayers*.  
Retrieved on: November 25, 2018.  
Retrieved from:  
<http://login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsens&AN=edsens.596915475&site=eds-live&scope=site>

Theobald, C. (2018). Sixties scoop survivor: 'It's time for me to accept this apology'. Retrieved on: May 29, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://www.pressreader.com/canada/starmetro-halifax/20180529/281573766370887>

The Alberta Teacher's Association (2006). Education is our buffalo a teachers' resource for First Nations, Metis and Inuit Education in Alberta.  
Retrieved on: 19 May 2018  
Retrieved from:  
[https://www.teachers.ab.ca/sitecollectiondocuments/ata/publications/human-rights-issues/education%20is%20our%20buffalo%20\(pd-80-7\).pdf](https://www.teachers.ab.ca/sitecollectiondocuments/ata/publications/human-rights-issues/education%20is%20our%20buffalo%20(pd-80-7).pdf)

Thurston, W., Milaney, K., Turner, D & Coupal, S. (2013). No moving back: a study of the Intersection of rural and urban homelessness for Aboriginal people in Calgary, Alberta. Calgary, Alberta: Calgary Homeless Foundation and Aboriginal Friendship Centre of Calgary.  
Retrieved on: January 4, 2019  
Retrieved from: <http://calgaryhomeless.com/content/uploads/No-Moving-Back-Final-Report-2013-07-09.pdf>

Trent, S., Artiles, A., & Englert, C., (1998). From deficit thinking to social constructivism: A review of theory, and practice in special education. *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 23, p. 277-307.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015). Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future summary of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.  
Retrieved on: December 29, 2018.  
Retrieved from: <http://www.chaireconditionautochtone.fss.ulaval.ca/documents/pdf/Honouring-the-truth-reconciling-for-the-future.pdf>

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2012). Canada, Aboriginal Peoples, and residential schools they came for the children.  
Retrieved on: November 11, 2018  
Retrieved from:  
<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/562e7f2ae4b018ac41a6e050/t/59d002cbcd39c3d497e51775/1506804437772/They+Came+for+the+Children+-+Chap+1.pdf>

Thompson, L. (2017). Perceptions of stereotype vulnerability, belonging and campus climate by African Americans attending a predominately white institution (Published Dissertation) University of North Carolina.

Tough, F. and McGregor, E., (2011). 'The rights to the land may be transferred': Archival records as colonial text - a narrative of Métis? scrip.

Retrieved on: November 19, 2018

Retrieved from:

<https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/crcl/index.php/crcl/article/viewFile/10811/8366>

University of Alberta, Our Vision, Mission and Motto

Retrieved on: 5 November 2017

Retrieved from: <http://www.toolkit.ualberta.ca/whatisourpromise/ourvisionmissionmotto.aspx>

Utti, R. (1993). Dancing with a ghost: exploring Indian reality. *Liberation Theology* Volume 19, Issue 2, Article 22 p. 159-160.

von Hippel, C., Henry, J., Terrett, G., Mercuri, K., McAlear, K. & P. Rendell. (2017). Stereotype threat and social function in opioid substitution therapy patients. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*. 56, 160-171.

Vowel, C. (2013). First Nations Won't 'Get Over' Your Ignorance. Huffpost

Retrieved on: January 6, 2019

Retrieved from: [https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/chelsea-vowel/canada-first-nations\\_b\\_3795611.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/chelsea-vowel/canada-first-nations_b_3795611.html)

Waldram, J. (1993). Aboriginal spirituality: Symbolic healing in Canadian prisons. *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 17, p. 345- 362.

Walton, G., & Carr, P. (2011). Social belonging and the motivation and intellectual achievement of negatively stereotyped students. In M. Inzlicht & T. Schmader, *Stereotype threat theory, process, and application*. New York: Oxford University Press p.89-107.

Watt, D. (2007). On becoming a qualitative researcher: The value of reflexivity. *The Qualitative Report* Volume 12 Number 1. p.82-101.

Watson, P., Rubie-Davies, C., Hattie, J. (2017). Stereotype threat, gender-role conformity, and New Zealand adolescent males in choirs. *Research Studies in Music Education* p. 1-21  
doi: 10.1177/1321103X17738617

Wasserberg, M. (2009). Stereotype threat and the standardized testing experiences of African American children at an urban elementary school. *The Journal of Experimental Education*. 82(4). p. 1-122.

Weber-Pillwax (1999). Indigenous research methodology. Exploratory discussion of an elusive subject. *Journal of Educational Thought*. 33, p. 31-45.

- Weber-Pillwax, C., (2004). Indigenous researchers and Indigenous research methods: Cultural Influences or cultural determinants of research methods, *Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal and Indigenous Community Health*, 2(1). p.78-90.
- Weigmann, W. (2013). Habitus, symbolic violence, and reflexivity: Relevance of Bourdieu's theories to social work.  
Retrieved on: December 30, 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://wwiegmann.github.io/portfolio/public/files/bourdieu.pdf>
- Wikipedia, (2018). Non-status Indian.  
Retrieved on: September 3, 2018  
Retrieved from: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-status\\_Indian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-status_Indian)
- Williams, A. (1997). Canadian urban Aboriginals: A focus on Aboriginal women in Toronto. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies XVII*, 1 p. 75-101.
- Wilson, A. (2004). Living well: Aboriginal women, cultural identity and wellness.  
Retrieved on: November 25, 2018  
Retrieved from: <http://www.pwhce.com/pdf/livingWell.pdf>
- Wilson, S. (1995). Honoring Spiritual Knowledge. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 21, p. 61-69.
- Wilson, S. (2003). Progressing toward an Indigenous research paradigm in Canada and Australia. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*. 27, 2. p. 161-178.
- Wilson, S. (2008). Research is ceremony Indigenous research methods. Canada: Fernwood Publishing.
- Wingard, B. (2010). A conversation with lateral violence. *The International Journal of Narrative Therapy and Community Work*. No. 1.  
Retrieved on: November 24, 2010.  
Retrieved from: [https://dulwichcentre.com.au/wp-content/uploads/woocommerce\\_uploads/2016/12/A\\_conversation\\_with\\_Lateral\\_Violence\\_by\\_Barbara\\_Wingard.pdf](https://dulwichcentre.com.au/wp-content/uploads/woocommerce_uploads/2016/12/A_conversation_with_Lateral_Violence_by_Barbara_Wingard.pdf)
- Winter, G. (2000). A comparative discussion for the notion of 'validity in Qualitative and Quantitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 4 (3), p. 1-14.  
Retrieved on: September 9, 2018  
Retrieved from: <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2078&context=tqr>

- Woolf, J., Cave, J., Greenhalgh, T., Dacre, J., (2008). Ethnic stereotypes and the underachievement of UK medical students from ethnic minorities: Qualitative study. *BMJ:British Medical Journal*. 337 (7670): 611-615.
- Wortley, S., and Tanner, J. (2004). Discrimination or 'good' policing? The racial profiling debate in Canada. *Our Diverse Cities*. Number 1. p. 198-201.
- Wright, M. & Parker, J. (1978). The relationship of intelligence, self-concept and locus of control to school achievement for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children. *The Exceptional Child* 25(3).
- Yilmaz, K., (2009). Postmodernism and its challenge to the discipline of history: implications for history of education. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 42:7, p. 779 - 795.
- YouTube Viewing of Dr. Leroy Little Bear's Lecture - Native Science and Western Science: Possibilities for a Powerful Collaboration Spring 2011  
Retrieved on: January 7, 2017  
Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gJSJ28eEUJI>



# Appendix A: Consent Form and Confidentiality Agreement

## Consent Form

( ) Interview

### **Stereotype threat and urban Aboriginal adult’s academic success within the educational system in Edmonton**

Researcher: Roxanna Banksland

\*\*\*\*\*

Participant Name \_\_\_\_\_ Place \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

I understand and consent to participate in the study named above that is to be carried out by Roxanna Banksland. My participation in these interviews and in the talk circle is entirely voluntary and I understand that the researcher will ensure the protection of my rights as identified below:

- You have the right to have this research project thoroughly, carefully and clearly explained to you and to ask for further clarification around any part of the project and at any time during the interview process.
- You have the right not to participate.
- You have the right to withdraw from this study at any time.
- If you withdraw from the project, any data you have given to me will also be withdrawn from the study.
- For those who wish **not to be named**. You have the right to privacy, anonymity and confidentiality if this is your wish. I will not use your name, address or any other identifying information in the written results. Your identity will only be known to the principal researcher. A transcription, if done other than Roxanna Banksland, will require a confidentiality agreement to be signed by the transcriber.
- For those who wished **to be named**. You have the right to have your true identity/name used in

this study. If you opt to do so, a thorough discussion about the implications about this decision will occur. The researcher will ensure that this discussion is initiated.

- You have the right to see and discuss the final transcription, and make any changes as required. The researcher will share an executive summary of the results of this research project if you so require.
- I understand that the principal researcher will have copyright to the record of these sessions and that she will not use this information for purposes other than those set out in this consent form.
- I understand that all information shared in the talk circle will remain confidential and that I will not share anything that I have heard to anyone outside of the group.
- I understand the intent and purpose of this study. I am aware that Roxanna Banksland is conducting this research as a part of her masters thesis and that the results of this study will be used for this purpose. The study result may be used for the purposes outlined below:
  - May be used for community information sessions and workshops, and/or for grant applications or other proposals, if this could result in the improvement of Aboriginal education.
  - May be used in scholarly presentations and research articles.

1. I understand and consent to be interviewed by Roxanna Banksland.

- I **consent** to have the interviews tape-recorded and the tapes transcribed.
- I do **not** consent to be tape-recorded.

2. I understand that the researcher has given the participants the option of being named or not in the study.

- I consent to be named and have my true identity used in this study.
- I do not consent to being named in this study.

3. I understand that the audio-tape and any transcripts will be retained by Roxanna Banksland at the University of Alberta for five years and that these records will be stored in a secure and safe location.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\*\*\*\*\*

For any concerns or questions about this research, please contact the following at anytime during the research process:

Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer	Dr. Larry Prochner	Roxanna Banksland
Department of Education Policy	Department of Education Policy	Department of Education Policy
7-101 Education North	7-110 Education North	7-130F Education North
University of Alberta	University of Alberta	University of Alberta
(780) 492-3691	(780) 492 - 0759	(780) 868 - 8821
<a href="mailto:evelyn@ualberta.ca">evelyn@ualberta.ca</a>	<a href="mailto:Prochner@ualberta.ca">Prochner@ualberta.ca</a>	<a href="mailto:Banksland@ualberta.ca">Banksland@ualberta.ca</a>

## Appendix B: Confidentiality Agreement: Talking Circle

Stereotype threat and academic success of Edmonton's urban Aboriginal population

Researcher: Roxanna Banksland

Education Policy Studies - Indigenous Peoples Education

Faculty of Education

University of Alberta

I am a masters student in the Department of Educational Policy Studies - Indigenous Peoples Education. As a part of my Master's Thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer, and I am inviting you to participate in my study. The purpose of the study is to examine if stereotype threat affects Edmonton's urban Aboriginal population and does this impact the educational system.

This study involves individual interviews, as well as a talk circle on the above subject. Participation will include a talk circle that lasts no more than two hours and several individual interviews which will last no more than an hour at a time. However, if you wish, please feel free to meet with me, Roxanna Banksland for personal interviews for as many times as you wish. The study should be completed in a month.

Limited research has addressed the urban Aboriginal population. As a result, issues with this population have been ignored. A potential benefit of participating in this study ensures that your voice is heard. The goal will be to implement strategies and recommendations which would benefit the urban Aboriginal population.

I am aware that we may be discussing topics that may be sensitive and emotional. The discussion of these topics may be emotionally distressing. Therefore, I will ensure that participants are provided information where they may seek emotional assistance if needed. I will ensure that participants are aware of three organizations which provide free cultural, emotional and professional counseling.

**Your participation is completely voluntary. You may withdraw from this study at any time and any information you have provided will not be used in this study.**

I want to assure that all participation and responses will remain **confidential**. This includes that all participants agree not disclose what has been said to people outside of this group. I will only be sharing this information with my supervisor and I will report the results of my research findings in my final thesis. If you wish to have a copy, one will be provided to you.

All participants will be asked not to disclose anything said within the context of the discussion. By agreeing to participate, you agree not to disclose to others outside of this event anything said within the context of the discussion, to protect other's confidentiality. All identifying information will be removed from the collected materials, and all materials will be stored in a locked cabinet located at my, Roxanna Banksland's, home.

If you consent to be named, so that your words may be directly quoted in reports and publications resulting from this study, please check the following:

**Permission to Quote:**

- I agree to be **quoted directly** and **my name be used**.
- I agree to be **quoted directly** if my **name is not used** and I remain anonymous.
- I agree to be **quoted directly** if a **made-up name** (pseudonym) **is used**.

**By signing this consent form, you are indicating that you fully understand the above information and agree to participate in this study.**

**Participant's signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Researcher's signature:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

For any concerns or questions about this research, please contact the following at anytime during the research process:

Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer

Department of Education Policy

7-101 Education North

University of Alberta

(780) 492-3691

[evelyn@ualberta.ca](mailto:evelyn@ualberta.ca)

Dr. Larry Prochner

Department of Education Policy

7-110 Education North

University of Alberta

(780) 492 - 0759

[Prochner@ualberta.ca](mailto:Prochner@ualberta.ca)

Roxanna Banksland

Department of Education Policy

7-130F Education North

University of Alberta

(780) 868 - 8821

[Banksland@ualberta.ca](mailto:Banksland@ualberta.ca)

## Appendix C: Email Guide

Subject line: **Interview Questions**

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

I greatly appreciate that you wish to participate in this research study. Your input is extremely valuable, and it is important to me that your voice be heard. Please answer as many questions as you can. Point form is fine. Your responses to the questions will be kept confidential. I want to reassure you that your name or email will not be published or released to anyone.

### **Part A: Demographic Information:**

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Where did you attain your primary and secondary education?

### **Part B: Information About Stereotype Threat / Educational Experiences**

Questions will move from general to the more specific. Included are the following:

- How do you think society views the urban Aboriginal population?
- Describe a situation where you felt that non-Aboriginals held a negative view of you or others.
- Describe a situation where you felt that Aboriginals held a negative view of you or others.

- Why do you think non-Aboriginals felt / treated you in that manner?
- Why do you think Aboriginals felt / treated you in that manner?
- Do you think this treatment/attitude can be influenced? If so, how?
- Do you think teachers held different views about you and your schooling? If so, how?
- Do/did you have any supportive people or practices? Do you think that would help?

Thank you again

Roxanna

If you have any questions or concerns about this research, please do not hesitate to contact me or any of the following individuals at:

Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer  
Associate Professor, Education  
Department of Education Policy  
7 - 101 Education North  
University of Alberta  
(780) 492-3691  
evelyn@ualberta.ca

Dr. Larry Prochner  
Chair  
Department of Education Policy  
7 - 11 Education North  
University of Alberta  
(780) 492 -0759  
prochner@ualberta.ca

Roxanna Banksland  
Master's Student  
Department of Education Policy  
7 - 130F Education North  
University of Alberta  
(780) 868 - 8821  
banksland@ualberta.ca



## Appendix D: Interview Guide

### Specific Questions for Proposed Research

Title: Stereotype threat and how it affects urban Canadian Aboriginal adults' academic success

My current qualitative research study addresses the questions: (1) How are urban Canadian, Aboriginal adults affected by stereotype threat, societal beliefs, and a stereotyped social discourse which claim that members of this group are unable to achieve as well as their non-Aboriginal counterparts? (2) Did stereotype threat affect your educational success? (3) How can countermeasures be implemented to alter stereotype threat with this population?

#### **Part A: Demographic Information:**

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Where did you attain your primary education?

#### **Part B: Information About Stereotype Threat / Educational Experiences:**

Questions will move from general to the more specific. Included will be the following:

- How do you think society views the urban Aboriginal population?
- Describe a situation where you felt that non-Aboriginals held a negative view of you.
- Describe a situation where you felt that Aboriginals held a negative view of you
- Why do you think non-Aboriginals felt / treated you in that manner?
- Why do you think Aboriginals felt / treated you in that manner?
- Do you think this treatment/attitude can be influenced? If so, how?
- Do you think teachers held different views about you and your schooling? If so, how?
- Do/did you have any support systems? Do you think that would help?

## Appendix E: Talking Circle Discussion Guide

### **Facilitator's welcome, introduction and instructions to participants**

**Welcome** and thank you for volunteering to take part in this talk circle. You have been asked to participate as your point of view is important. I realize you are busy, and I appreciate your time.

**Introduction:** The talking circle is intended to allow you to express your thoughts and feelings about the following:

(1) How are urban Canadian, Aboriginal adults affected by stereotype threat, societal beliefs, and a stereotyped social discourse which claim that members of this group are unable to achieve as well as their non-Aboriginal counterparts?

(2) Did stereotype threat affect your educational success?

(3) How can countermeasures be implemented to alter stereotype threat with this population?

The talking circle will take no more than two hours. May I tape the discussion to facilitate its recollection? (If yes, switch on the recorder from my phone)

**Anonymity:** Despite being recorded, I would like to assure you that the discussion will be anonymous. The recording will be transferred to a memory flash drive and kept safely in a locked cabinet at my home, until they are transcribed word for word, and then destroyed. The transcribed notes of the talk circle will contain no more information that would allow individual subjects to be linked to specific statements. Please answer and comment as freely as possible. This room is a safe place. I and other talk circle participants would greatly appreciate it if all comments made would remain in this room, not to be shared with others outside of the talk circle. If there are any questions or discussion that you do not wish to answer or participate in, you do not have to do so. However, your input / voice is very important to me.

## **Procedure**

- the most important rule is that only one person speaks at a time. There may be a temptation to jump in when someone is talking, but please wait until they have finished.
- there are no right or wrong answers
- a blue stone will be passed to you to indicate when it is your turn to speak. After you have finished speaking, please pass the blue stone to the person seated next to you.
- when you do have something to say, please do so. Your voice is very important to me and I want to ensure that it is heard.
- there will be three rounds of questions followed by a final round where anyone may add any concluding thoughts
- does anyone have any questions or concerns? (I answer)
- Ok, let's begin

## **Warm up**

First, I'd like everyone to introduce themselves. Please tell us your name?

## **Introductory question**

I'm going to give you a couple of minutes to think about your experiences while being in the city.

## **Guiding Questions**

How do you think society views the urban Aboriginal population?

- Describe a situation where you felt that non-Aboriginals held a negative view of you.

- Describe a situation where you felt that Aboriginals held a negative view of you
- Why do you think non-Aboriginals felt / treated you in that manner?
- Why do you think Aboriginals felt / treated you in that manner?
- Do you think this treatment/attitude can be changed? If so, how?
- Do you think teachers held different views about you and your schooling? If so, how? Please specify if the treatment is different from that of non-Aboriginal counterparts.

### **Concluding Question**

- Of all the things we've discussed today, what would you say are the most important issues you would like to add?

### **Conclusion**

- Thank you for participating. This has been a successful discussion and I want to assure you that your voices will be heard.
- Your opinions and recommendations will be very important to the study
- I hope that you have found the discussion interesting
- If there anything you are unhappy about/with, please speak to me later
- I would like to remind you that any comments made will remain anonymous

## Appendix F: Phone Guide and Introduction

### Who I am:

I am a masters student in the Department of Educational Policy Studies - Indigenous Peoples Education. As a part of my master's Thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer, and I am inviting you to participate in my study. The purpose of the study is to examine if stereotype threat affects Edmonton's urban Aboriginal population and does this impact the educational system.

### Purpose of research:

This study utilizes individual interviews, as well as a talking circle on the above subject. Participation will include a talk circle that lasts no more than two hours and several individual interviews which will last no more than an hour at a time. Please feel free to meet with me, Roxanna Banksland for personal interviews for as many times as you wish. The study is intended to be completed in a month.

### Why this study is important:

Limited research has addressed the urban Aboriginal population. As a result, issues with this population have been ignored. A potential benefit of participating in this study ensures that your voice is heard. The goal will be to implement strategies and recommendations which would benefit the urban Aboriginal population.

Would you please participate in my study?

## Appendix G: Organizations for Aboriginal Emotional and Cultural

### Support:

#### Canadian Native Friendship Centre

11728 - 95 Street

(780) 761 - 1900

This organization assists in bettering the lives of the Aboriginal community. It also provides referral to services for the Aboriginal population

*Canadian Register of Health Service Psychologists (CRHSP)*. This organization offers free psychological assistance to Aboriginal people and may be reached from their website (CRHSP, 2018).

#### Poundmaker's Lodge Treatment Centres

This organization offers a place for healing, well-ness and spirituality.

25108 Poundmaker Rd.

Sturgeon County

(780) 458 - 1884