6-4-2020

Settler Colonial Curriculum in Carlisle Boarding School: A Historical and Personal Qualitative Research Study

Patrick Gerard Eagle Staff
Portland State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://pdxscholar.library.pdx.edu/open_access_etds

Part of the Curriculum and Instruction Commons, and the Educational Leadership Commons

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of PDXScholar. For more information, please contact pdxscholar@pdx.edu.
Settler Colonial Curriculum in Carlisle Boarding School: A Historical and Personal Qualitative Research Study

by

Patrick Gerard Eagle Staff

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

Doctor of Education
in
Educational Leadership: Curriculum and Instruction

Dissertation Committee:
Esperanza De La Vega, Chair
Maria Tenorio
Micki M. Caskey
Kelly Gonzales

Portland State University
2020
Abstract

This dissertation research study brings together a historical account and one scholar’s personal and family stories of how Indigenous children were stolen and sent to the first Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding schools and tribal schools. In the case of the researcher’s family, the educational experiences at Carlisle Indian Industrial School immediately started a traumatic assimilation process on Indigenous children that instilled generational trauma for them and their descendants. At these schools, Indigenous children were forced to conform to a foreign European school designed to abolish their Indigenous identity that demanded they give up their language and culture to be successful in education. In this study, the researcher explored the history of settler colonialism within Indian boarding schools and its impact on the succeeding generations of students who first attended them. Through in-depth interviewing method (Seidman, 2006), 16 participants shared their family stories and perceptions of how Indian boarding schools were unwelcoming places of learning, where Indigenous children were forced to engage in an education system that had at its core, settler colonialism within its curriculum. The findings revealed how the student’s Indigenous identity became a factor in the student’s survival within the schools and was paramount in building the children’s resilience while undergoing assimilation into the White European immigrant society.
Dedication

Mi Tiwáhe (My Family)

At’e’, Akichita Naji – Standing Soldier - Sam Eagle Staff
Ina’, Tho Wanzica Win - Blue Sky Woman - Katherine Eagle Staff
Cinkśi’, Tatanka Waunsila - Compassionate Buffalo - Treston Eagle Staff
Cunkśi’, Pte Mani Win - Walking Buffalo Woman - Kateri Eagle Staff
Cunkśi’, Zinkala Zi Win - Yellow Bird Woman - Torrie Eagle Staff
Cunkśi’, Tasunka Pejuta Win - Horse Medicine Woman - Ta’té Eagle Staff

You have always believed in me and my dreams. My parents who made me resilient and even after their passing, I still try to make them proud of me. To my children although, I missed many times to spend with you and be fully there for you, I always valued your love and understanding because it sustained and nourished me. By completing this difficult task, I wanted you know that whatever you put your mind to is achievable and within your reach. Remember, “if you don’t take a chance you don’t have a chance”.

To all my Tiwáhe and friends thank you for your support and generosity you have all contributed to my success in this program by everything you have done for me and my kids. I can’t thank you enough. Its truly an honor to live among such good and caring people.
Acknowledgements

Wopila Tunkasila for giving me the strength to complete my dissertation, without your blessings this wouldn’t have been possible. To all Indigenous People of Turtle Island who also fight to keep their identity throughout their education, make every effort to complete your studies so you can also go back and help your people.

To my wonderful committee who all model Lakota values in their own special way. My chair Dr. Esperanza De La Vega who understood what I wanted and validated the issues which I believe affect Indigenous students. Your caring and compassion for all your students has helped more than just me be successful with PSU’s education program. My committee members, who provided critical feedback and guided me to do my best. Dr. Maria Tenorio whose wisdom was a great resource for me. Thank you for being that one powerful Indigenous resource within my program. Your presence and reassurance were invaluable in translating and making this program accessible to me. Dr. Micki M. Caskey who always encouraged me and was compassionate about my success even before I started my doctoral program. I have great admiration for you as a role model and as a professional educator. Dr. Kelly Gonzales who is a model of resilience and fortitude, your bravery in the face of overwhelming odds within education is always inspiring to watch. I value you as an Indigenous leader and advocate for our community.
### Table of Contents

Abstract                         i
Dedication                        ii
Acknowledgements                  iii
List of Tables                    viii
List of Figures                   ix

**Chapter 1: Introduction**

1) Statement of the Problem
   - Building a Nation: Indigenous Genocide  3
   - Building a Nation: Subjugated Labor    9
   - Academic Achievement                   13
   - Dropout Rate                           14
   - Indigenous Student Graduation Rates    16

2) Introduction to Research Question  18

**Chapter 2: Literature Review**

1) Sociocultural Theory            21

2) Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit)        24

3) Historical Background
   - Indigenous Liminal Status in America     30
   - U.S. Government Sanctioned Settler Colonization Methods  31
   - Indigenous Viewpoint on U.S. Policy and Educational Lies 33
   - United States Policy of Genocide          34
National Settler Colonial Politics and Policy of Genocide 36
Settler Colonialism 38
Settler Colonialism: Assimilationist Curriculum and Lost Identity 42
Historical Unresolved Grief 44
Failure to Recognize Educational Oppressive Curriculum 47
European Ethnocentric Reasoning of “Civilization” 51
Captain Richard H. Pratt: Carlisle’s Initial Development 52

4) Intersection of Personal & Historical: America’s Unacknowledged
Genocide/Ethnocide
Genocide: Wounded Knee 55
Genocide: Sand Creek Massacre 56
Genocide: Northern Cheyenne Exodus 59
Ethnocide/Genocide: America's Education on Arapaho Grandfathers 60
Ethnocide: Lakota Grandparents Forced Assimilation 63
Ethnocide: George Eastman’s Story of Identity Loss 65

5) Summary 66

Chapter 3: Methods 68
1) Qualitative Approach 69
2) Research Problem & Questions 72
3) Theoretical Framework 73
4) In-depth Interview Method 75
5) Participants 77
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 4: Findings</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Cultural Ways</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral History</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Generational Trauma</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stolen</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trauma</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racism</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Respect</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Logic of Elimination</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization Process</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War Mechanism</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genocide and Ethnocide</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manifestation in the Curriculum</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Summary</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5: Discussion

1) Purpose of the Study

2) Research Questions

3) Themes

4) Reflection on the Research Questions

5) Resilience

6) Recommendations and Considerations

7) Personal Reflection on Agency

References

Appendices

Appendix A – 9 Tenets application to this dissertation

Appendix B – Family Tree for Patrick Eagle Staff
List of Tables

Table 1 – Population of Native Americans 1850-1950.  8
Table 2 – ACE Demographic and Housing Estimates 2013-2017  15
Table 3 – Public high school 4-year adjusted cohort graduation rate  17
Table 4 - Participant Pair Selection Criteria  79
Table 6 – Themes from Data Analysis  86
Table 7 – Boarding Schools Participants have a Connection to or Attended  88
List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Turtle Island Image and North America Map</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Status dropout rates of 16- to 24-year-olds, by race/ethnicity and sex: 2017</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR) for public high school students, by race/ethnicity: 2016–17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Carlisle: Icon of an Era</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Traumatic events leading to forced attendance of grandparents to Carlisle Indian Boarding School.</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Wokokipa Wakinyan (Afraid of Lightning)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Nohne'káheso (Limpy)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>New Arrivals at Carlisle Indian Industrial School</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Ta-qua-wi (Sharp Nose)</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Wanbli Wapaha (Thomas) and Tipestula Oti Luta (Laura Eagle Staff)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Wanbli Wapaha and Tipestula Oti Luta Family</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>Wowaşi Chapa (Working Beaver/James Brown Dog)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>Recruitment of participants: Travel to various reservations in the Midwest during summer of 2019</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore the history of settler colonialism within Indian boarding schools and its impact on the succeeding generations of students who first attended them. Specifically, this research aims to understand the educational perceptions of succeeding generations and the educational legacy left by their grandparents. I want to understand the cultural and historical effects that the boarding school system had on the future generations of the Indigenous children who attended them.

The Indian boarding schools were established to assimilate Indigenous students and take away their Indigenous identity to be replaced with a European based one. The impact of these boarding schools was the destruction of a generation through an educational system with the false promise of caring for our children by bringing “civilization” to them. Boarding schools were not only a part of an “invasion” through the assimilation process, according to Kauanui and Wolfe (2012), the impact is seen today in schools. They stated, “It’s very important to acknowledge that invasion is something that reverberates through continuing history in all sorts of ways. And the Indigenous presence, the Indigenous alternative needs to be suppressed” (p. 250). Boarding schools are a historical phenomenon that is explored in this study.

An important part of this study looks at the impact of boarding schools on Indigenous children and the ways in which culture influences how the mind works and learning happens. The importance of culture for Indigenous children can be understood by Bruner’s (1996) statement:
[Culture] shapes (the) mind…it provides us with a tool kit by which to take into account the cultural setting and its resources, the very things that give mind its shape and scope. Learning and remembering, talking, imagining all of them made possible by culture (pp. x-xi)

The U.S. school system negates Indigenous identity by forcing settler colonial practices on Indigenous children. Indigenous ways of learning should be integrated to promote Indigenous student success. The New York State Regents Report, a review panel, reiterated that as Guild (1994) makes clear:

[L]earning style and behavioral tendency do exist, and students from particular socialization and cultural experiences often possess approaches to knowledge that are highly functional in the Indigenous home environment and can be capitalized upon to facilitate performance in academic settings. (p. 16)

It is important that schools understand how to support Indigenous student success. More importantly, schools need to acknowledge that the United States educational system is based on White European learning style that is foreign and oppositional to Indigenous ways of learning. While this study is an exploration of boarding schools and its impact on subsequent generations, I bring to light the impact of generational trauma, destruction of Indigenous children’s identity, and the loss of culture that occurred through a settler colonial based boarding school.

**Statement of Problem**

Historically the United States has not dealt with the repercussions of what the United States has done to Indigenous people and how the trauma caused by forced
assimilation of a whole generation of children within boarding schools has impacted their succeeding generations. The two main ideas that the country needs to address are Indigenous genocide and subjugated labor.

**Building a Nation: Indigenous Genocide**

Settler colonial curriculum is an integral part of America’s curriculum. The United States has consisted of immigrants from all over the world since 1492 when the first European immigrants arrived. Because the population of America consists of immigrants from all over the world there had to be a system which would indoctrinate the numerous nationalities into a singular government. Kauanui and Wolfe (2012) describe the European colonial society which required an assimilation process to make “others” conform to their will: “Settler colonizer—establishes a colonial society in their place on their land with a system of laws and regulations” (p. 241). Therefore, America’s colonial education system was needed to conform all these different races into a very racist concept of “we the people,” which was parenthetically non-inclusive except to White Europeans. As a result, the European colonies needed to ensure that it imposed a process that conforms “the people” into this racially white European imposed identity. For Indigenous people this European identity was implemented on reservation and their boarding schools as Kauanui and Wolfe (2012) make clear both systems were a part of the assimilation process:

They' re confined to a mission. So, even though the missions (or stations or reservations) are held out as a process of civilizing. We are giving them the
boons, the benefits of this superior culture that we have historically invented.

(pp.242)

This White European imposed identity imposed by boarding schools was/is controlled by White European immigrants and their descendants. Anthropologist and scholar Ogbu, (1992) stated, “What is even more significant, but thus far unrecognized, is the nature of the relationship between minority cultures/languages and the culture and language of the dominant White Americans and the public schools they control” (p. 7). In boarding schools, the colonizers’ language of English became prominent and students’ native language became invalidated, which contributed to the loss of language and culture.

For Indigenous people, this process of settler colonization was applied to Turtle Island and its Indigenous population. The name “Turtle Island” comes from the creation story of North America which many Indigenous tribes share, this story explains that the turtle is the foundation of the continent and why it’s the Indigenous reference for North America. The Pinnguaq’s picture diagrams how the turtle is depicted in these Indigenous creation stories. The Pinnguaq, (2016) image compared to a North America Map (Figure 1) illustrates the basis for this Indigenous concept.

Figure 1: Turtle Island Image and North America Map
European immigrants came to Turtle Island fleeing the tyranny of a king but soon were replicating the tactics used on them to colonize Indigenous people in their “new world.”

Their process was not just colonization but settler colonization and began with genocide as Kauanui and Wolfe (2012) explains this process:

Indigenous people's-historical role in settler colonialism is to disappear so far as the Europeans go, to get out of the way, to be eliminated, that the Europeans can bring in their subordinated, coerced labor, mix that labor with the soil, which is to say set it to work on the expropriated land and produce a surplus profit for the colonizer. (p. 240)

Settler colonialism was more than just making Indigenous people disappear they also needed to assume their identity to prove their claim on its title is unchallenged as Wolfe (2006) makes their intention clear:

…settler society required the practical elimination of the natives in order to establish itself on their territory. On the symbolic level, however, settler society subsequently sought to recuperate indigeneity in order to express its difference—and, accordingly, its independence—from the mother country. (p. 389)

In the process of settler colonialization, building a nation requires more than the genocide of the original inhabitants, it requires land title, it was all about the land, but people do not give up their homeland easily. Kauanui and Wolfe (2012) reiterates this point:
People do not give up places where their old people are buried, where they have been born and bred for generations, where they’ve lived, where their Gods are. They do not give that up easily, so it's invariably a violent process. (p. 240)

This philosophy is reaffirmed as Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn (2000) as they speak of the Lakota and theft of their sacred Black Hills:

From the point of view of any scholar or reader of history, it is hardly sensible to believe that the Sioux Oyate would give up their freedom and their sacred lands in the hills “for confinement.” Plain logic and a history of twenty-five years (1851-76) of largely successful military resistance says that reasonable people simply would not do this. (p. 41).

There are various estimates of the original Indigenous population of Turtle Island they ranged from 20 to 100 million. In 1549, the first documented estimate 49 years after Columbus landed on Turtle Island was observed by a member of the church whose estimate of the population of America to be extensive. Denevan (1992) Las Casas compares Turtle Islands population to the population of India:

Spanish priest, Bartolome de las Casas, who knew the Indies well:

All that has been discovered up to the year forty nine (1549] is full of people, like a hive of bees, so that it seems as though God had placed all, or the greater part of the entire human race in these countries. (Las Casas in MacNutt 1909, 314).

Las Casas believed that more than 40 million Indians had died by the year 1560. (p. 370)
Eleven years later the same priest estimated that 40 million had died. Later estimates deviated greatly because of the genocide that was happening on Turtle Island. Johansson, (1982) explains how the White European immigrants undervalued their estimates:

“The most important thing to remember in evaluating competing estimates is that, with few exceptions, most are overtly or covertly influenced by both political and cultural biases. Generally, the first estimates of the total number of inhabitants of the New World at the time of contact were contributed by "pro-Europeans," who tended to devalue all things native. (p. 137).

The disparities with the estimates of the Indigenous populations are considerable, many of the assessments place the population between 8 and 100 million. Denevan, (1992) differentiates the degree of estimates:

“The best counts then available indicated a population of between 8-15 million Indians in the Americas. Subsequently, Carl Sauer, Woodrow Borah, Sherburne F. Cook, Henry Dobyns, George Lovell, N. David Cook, myself, and others have argued for larger estimates. Many scholars now believe that there were between 40-100 million Indians in the hemisphere (Denevan 1992).” (p. 370)

Many White Europeans including the present education system would rather have the you believe that these lands were devoid of any significant population. Contrary to this Denevan, (1992) reveals a several estimates from other researchers:

Other recent estimates, none based on totaling regional figures, include 43 million by Whitmore (1991, 483), 40 million by Lord and Burke (1991), 40-50 million by Cowley (1991), and 80 million for just Latin America by Schwerin (1991, 40). In
any event, a population between 40-80 million is sufficient to dispel any notion of "empty lands. (p. 370)

At the start of the U.S. census in 1850, Indigenous people were considered separate and not counted as Pearl (2016) explains. “Native Americans were originally only included in the census if they lived under U.S. jurisdiction. Because Native Americans were largely considered independent, they were excluded from the census and were not apportioned” (para. 1). The exact numbers from the U.S. census are listed in Table 1 adopted from Pearl’s research.

Table 1.

Population of Native Americans 1850 – 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Native Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>34,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>27,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>55,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Records Destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>230,306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>262,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>223,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>331,049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>334,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>229,441</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Pearl, J. (2016). Native Americans and the Census | History 90.01: Topics in Digital History.

The data has omitted 1890 because of its destruction. Pearl, (2016) explains what happened: “Unfortunately, the destruction of the 1890 census prevents us from fully analyzing the affect government policies had on the enumeration of Native Americans” (para. 5). Furthermore, the low numbers can be attributed to settler colonial objectives
within the census which many Indigenous people refused to consent to. Pearl explains that only those who totally assimilated were counted:

1860, the instructions for Native Americans start to become more complex. Now, “Indians who have renounced tribal rule, and who under State or Territorial laws exercise the rights of citizens, are to be enumerated,” and were assigned a distinct racial category of “Ind.” Native Americans’ race was determined by their lack of tribal affiliation and U.S. citizenship. (para. 9)

Despite these limiting factors affecting the count, if we take the difference of the 1860 census data of 34,619 from the lowest estimate of 8 million then, the ethnic cleansing of America took away 7,965,381 Indigenous people. Given any definition or circumstances in the world we can safely say a genocide took place in America.

**Building a Nation: Subjugated Labor**

As the Indigenous race was eradicated from Turtle Island, the settler colonial solution for a docile workforce to do the “actual” work of building a great nation was to bring in slaves and indentured races. Denevan (1992) shows how slaves contributed to the population growth:

The replacement of Indians by Europeans and Africans was initially a slow process. By 1638 there were only about 30,000 English in North America (Sale 1990, 388), and by 1750 there were only 1.3 million Europeans and slaves (Meinig 1986, 247). (p. 371)

Kauanui and Wolfe (2012) explained that Europeans colonists brought in previously colonized slaves and indentured races to do the work of their colony:
…the coerced, subordinated labor that is brought in by the Europeans to work the land in the place of the Natives -they're there for their labor. It's their bodies that are colonized in the case of enslaved people who are subject to being bought and sold, that's what they provide. (p. 240)

Predictably, the European colonial education system indoctrinated only a select group of immigrants; it was not universally inclusive of all races. The colonial education system was denied to the slaves, coerced, and subordinated labor. The impact of this denial of education created a perverted survival technique which forced many races to adopt the identity of their oppressors and renounce their own. The difference between those Immigrants who sold out and those who remained true to their identities is referred to as and “voluntary and involuntary minorities” (Ogbu, 1992). They would make this choice for access to what was given to White European immigrants, educational and economic opportunities. This choice was the destruction of their identity. Asante (1991) supports this argument. “No wonder many persons of African descent attempt [ed] to shed their race and become ‘raceless.’ One's basic identity is one's self-identity, which is ultimately one's cultural identity; without a strong cultural identity, one is lost” (pp.177).

The impact that the boarding schools had on Indigenous people was its settler colonial foundation required that it destroy/steal/pervert symbols of Indigenous cultural ways. Ogbu who described Indigenous people as “involuntary minorities” along with those of African and Mexican descent. He went on to explain “involuntary minorities experience more difficulties in school learning and performance partly because of the relationship between their cultures and the mainstream culture.” (1992, pp.9). An
example of how this perversion of their cultural ways is how they warped their relationship with their god. Since their creation on Turtle Island, Indigenous people followed the word of Wakan Tanka, the creator who defined how they lived and walked on this earth. Indigenous people believed and had strong faith in their creator’s words. The European colonists recognized their faith and their dedication to their creator, so they took advantage of the Indigenous people’s faith for their own settler colonial agenda. Wolfe, (2006) addresses how the colonial agenda attacked their identity:

John Wunder has termed this policy framework “the New Colonialism,” a discursive formation based on reservations and boarding schools that “attacked every aspect of Native American life—religion, speech,” political freedoms, economic liberty, and cultural diversity. (p. 400)

That is why the use of “God” in settler colonialism was so destructive to their Indigenous society and identity. First, they wiped out the Indigenous population through genocide and then instituted church operated boarding schools to implement their ethnocide on the survivors.

The Department of Interior, formally the Department of War, could not operate every reservation and boarding school, so the BIA auctioned off schools to churches to operate and convert the Indigenous children. Within the colonization process, the church’s role was to come in and indoctrinate Indigenous people to love God and teach forgiveness of others. Kauanui and Wolfe (2012) maintains that this process was to support the notion of the oppressed forgiving their oppressors. “The church—it’s the job of the missionary to smooth the pillow of their passing, the White rhetoric shifts
dramatically but the outcome is consistent with elimination” (p. 241). This in essence created a way to justify the “American Holocaust” which killed so many to save the souls of the Indigenous people. The church and their God became part of the system of settler colonialism.

The school’s religious dogma forced the assimilation of the most fragile population of Indigenous people, their youth. These schools were, more often than not, based on physical, verbal, mental, and sexual abuse. Duran et al., (1998) states: “Brave Heart-Jordan's (1995) examination of the historical, traumatic boarding-school Experiences among the Lakota is generalizable to other tribes. Boarding schools were operated like prison camps, with Indian children being starved, chained, and beaten (Brave Heart-Jordan, 1995; Tanner, 1982).” p. 344 (para.3). This holy betrayal created in the Indigenous communities, a universally accepted conviction that the U.S. education system was not to be trusted with their children. Settler colonial curriculum and instruction within boarding schools relied on the punishment of children to break them of their language and culture. Many children returned from these schools with trauma from physical, mental, verbal, and sexual abuse creating for their descendants an abhorrent and contemptuous view of the United States educational system. Kauanui and Wolfe (2012) captured this sentiment well.

You steal children at the age of three and you put them in boarding schools and you abuse them, often sexually as well as psychologically, for years on end. Very often -except in the case of a few remarkable people -you put people out at the
other end of that system who suffer for the rest of their life with appalling social and psychological pathologies. (p. 245)

For Indigenous children, the system has not changed much in current disciplinary practices. Disciplinary issues among Indigenous students are inequitable and further alienates them in school. The U.S. Department of Education (2014) affirms inequitable discipline within schools:

Disproportionately high suspension/expulsion rates for students of color: Black students are suspended and expelled at a rate three times greater than White students. On average, 5% of White students are suspended, compared to 16% of black students. American Indian and Native-Alaskan students are also disproportionately suspended and expelled, representing less than 1% of the student population but 2% of out-of-school suspensions and 3% of expulsions. (p. 1)

Not surprisingly, the disparity in discipline that Indigenous youth experience at an early age, negatively affects their view of education for the rest of their educational lives.

**Academic Achievement**

There is a need to integrate Indigenous culture into the public education system as a way to improve retention and graduation rates among Indigenous students in K-12. The academic achievement (or success) of Indigenous children has steadily fallen due to their low level of self-esteem as Whitesell, Mitchell, and Spicer (2009) stated, “The root of achievement deficits evident among many American Indian students may lie in their disengagement from their traditional cultures” (p. 7). Stereotypes and unsubstantiated
beliefs that Indigenous children are failing in schools because of “laziness” is simply not true.

Many Indigenous youth put in many hours working toward preserving their language, culture, and traditions. Because Indigenous people have their own systems of education, Indigenous youth have already determined for themselves what is important to them. In the choice between preserving their identity or buying into a system which has consistently told lies or just omits facts about them. Indigenous students will often choose their Indigenous education rather than learn in an educational system, where they have always been historically misrepresented.

**Dropout Rate**

The American educational system is failing Indigenous students at a greater rate than every other race on Turtle Island. To provide context for the drop-out rate, we can look to the data from 2014, where the total population of Indigenous people was 5,235,224 million out of the total United States population of 314,107,084 million as the table for the U.S. Census Bureau (2017) (see Table 2) shows:

Table 2.
Although, they are the second lowest (1.7%) of the total population in America,

Indigenous females have the third highest dropout rate and males have the highest

national dropout rate in education across the nation as Woodworth (2019) (see Figure 2)

shows:

Figure 2. Status dropout rates of 16- to 24-year-olds, by race/ethnicity and sex: 2017

**Indigenous Student Graduation Rates**

Although, the graduation rate improved across the nation and within each demographic

Adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR) for public high school students show that education is still failing Indigenous students as Woodworth (2019) (Figure 3) shows:

![Figure 3. Adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR) for public high school students, by race/ethnicity: 2016–17](image)


As Woodworth (2019) stated, “In school year 2016-17, the adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR) for public high school students rose to 84 percent, the highest rate since the measure was first collected in 2010–11” (Para. 3). However, Indigenous students have the lowest percentage of students graduating in the nation.:

In other words, more than 4 out of 5 students graduated with a regular high school diploma within 4 years of starting 9th grade. Asian/Pacific Islander students had the highest ACGR (90 percent), followed by White (88 percent), Hispanic (78...
percent), Black (75 percent), and American Indian/Alaska Native (72 percent) students. (Woodworth, 2019, Para. 4)

For the school year 2010-2011 the U.S. Department of Education reported the graduation rates in the United States for by race/ethnicity and selected demographics. The states with the lowest American Indian/Alaskan Native graduation rates were Alaska 51%; Colorado 52%; Minnesota 42%; Nevada 52%; Oregon 52%; South Dakota 47%; and Wyoming 51% as Stetser and Stillwell (2014) (see Table 3) (pp. 13-14) shows:

Table 3. Public high school 4-year adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR), by race/ethnicity and selected demographics for the United States, the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and other jurisdictions: School year 2010–11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>American Indian/Alaska Native</th>
<th>Asian/Pacific Islander</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Economically disadvantaged</th>
<th>Limited English proficiency</th>
<th>Students with disabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIA Education</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>†</td>
<td>†</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

† Not applicable. No students reported for this category in the cohort.


It is my belief that settler colonialist-based curriculum, which is a founding principle of the United States education system, is a major reason for the failing of Indigenous students and their low rate of graduation. The settler colonial belief of years past that “reformers assumed that it was necessary to “civilize” Indian people, make them accept the White men’s beliefs and value systems” (American Indian Relief Council, n.d., p.2) still fails Indigenous students and continues to impact their graduation rates.
Introduction to Research Question

One of the origins of my research questions began with a deep reflection on the high dropout rates of Indigenous students. In my experience of working with Indigenous youth, I witnessed resistance and identity confusion that influenced their attitudes toward schooling.

This prompted me to consider how boarding schools or other schools that work with Indigenous students have negatively affected their beliefs and perspectives of education. I reached down to question how the past, in particular the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and its settler colonial curriculum, has impacted Indigenous student graduation rates, which are currently the lowest in the nation.

The research questions that guided this study were:

1. How has the effect of the settler colonist curriculum influenced the grandparent’s perceptions about education?
2. How, if any, of their views toward schooling or academics have been passed on to their subsequent family members such as children, grandchildren, or great grandchildren?
3. How has this influenced the graduation of Indigenous students from high school?

In the following literature review, I introduce my theoretical frameworks of Lev Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural theory where learning comes from social interaction which then, contributes to an individual’s development. I explain Bryan Brayboy’s (2005) Tribal critical race theory (TribalCrit) which calls attention to the fact that colonization is prevalent in American society. I provide a historical background on how
Indigenous people have a Liminal Status as both as an American citizen and as a ward of congress. In this dissertation, I explore the methodology of settler colonialism process which has been used on Indigenous people thereby instilling historical unresolved grief. Furthermore, I explore how settler colonialism was integrated into boarding schools as an oppressive curriculum of assimilation first implemented by Captain Richard H. Pratt. Finally, I provide a personal account of how the settler colonial process of genocide and ethnocide affected my family.

In Chapter Three, Methods, I provide an overview of my research process starting with my theoretical framework. My methodology encompasses my research problem and questions, a qualitative approach. I also provide an in-depth overview of my interview process and discuss my participants. In addition, in this chapter I explore possible themes like how generational trauma was inflicted on Carlisle students and how this has affected their Indigenous descendants’ beliefs and perspectives of education. I use interview questions to explore this topic and define what my role is in the protection of those I interview. In the Researchers Role section, I define what my wonderings are and tell how I conduct my data analysis.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

“It is through this mysterious power that we too have our own being, and we therefore yield to our neighbors, even to our animal neighbors, the same right as ourselves to inhabit this vast land.”

Sitting Bull’s 18th century quote

The quote by Sitting Bull begins this chapter of the literature review with a view of how we are all interdependent with each other and that the Indigenous people have valued the relationship with “neighbors” both animal and human. The Indigenous people held an ideology that everything is related and equal. The background context of this dissertation study reaches back into the history of how the Indigenous people encountered settler colonialism, which resulted in their betrayal and oppression. In this chapter, I first explain the theoretical frameworks that draw from the sociocultural and TribalCrit theories. Next, in the literature review, I explore what settler colonialism is, its emergence in the educational/schooling system early in the nation’s curriculum, and the destructive impact on Indigenous identity. In a focused section, I highlight boarding schools and in particular how settler colonialism was implemented into boarding schools. In addition, I examine how curriculum and instruction has retained the ideology of settler colonialism and the potential harm it continues to have on Indigenous students in schools today. I conclude this chapter with a narrative of the researchers’ family history and how it intersects with boarding schools and the genocide and ethnocide of Indigenous people and how they had deep repercussions that reflect on both the researcher’s life and those of other Indigenous people.
Sociocultural Theory

In this study, I utilized a sociocultural theoretical framework to understand and explain how groups of people, specifically Indigenous people socialize their children and youth to interact with the world. In social constructivist theory, Lev Vygotsky (1978) believed that learning comes from social interaction which then contributes to an individual’s development. His theory explained that people create cultures through the use of tools and symbols. Daniels (2001) stated. “Vygotsky described psychological tools as devices for mastering mental processes. They were seen as artificial and of social rather than organic or individual origin” (p. 15). The boarding schools design reflected a collective goal of assimilation, the dominant culture defines what is learned and how it is learned in schools. Daniels (2001) explains how Vygotsky learning is shaped through a collective, this allows us to see how these schools were a product of the White European society.

“The world in which we live is humanized, full of material and symbolic objects (signs, knowledge systems) that are culturally constructed, historical in origin and social in content. Since all human actions, including acts thought, involve the meditation of such objects (‘tools and signs’) they are, on this score alone, social in essence. This is the case whether acts are initiated by single agents or a collective and whether they are performed individually or with others. (Scribner, 1990, p.92).” (p. 31)

This was no more apparent than in the development of Indigenous boarding schools where settler colonial practices were integrated into the European based curriculum.
standards. Where boarding schools destroyed students’ Indigenous language and culture and replaced them with a foreign language and culture. Daniels (2001) supports that instruction reflects the dominate social classes principles.

“Pedagogics is never and was never politically indifferent, since, willingly or unwillingly, through its own work on the psyche, it has always adopted a particular social pattern, political line, in accordance with the dominate social class that has guided its interests.” (p. 5).

Vygotsky’s theory is society and culture play a huge role in the development of an individual. From this, elementary and higher mental functions are formed by the individual by way of social occurrences which are then incorporated into the individual’s thinking process through language. While Vygotsky was looking at the development of an individual, he also recognized the context of the individual environment. Through the assimilation of Indigenous children, the educational environment became a place of conflict for them. When Indigenous children language was taken away from them, as what happened in boarding schools. Daniels (2001) sustains that their identity was being shaped with in the boarding schools.

The dual process of shaping and being shaped through culture implies that humans inhabit ‘intentional’ (constituted) worlds within which the traditional dichotomies of subject and object, person and environment, and so on cannot be analytically separated and temporally ordered into independent and dependent variables. (Cole, 1996, p. 103). (p. 36)
For this reason, he maintains that all complex thoughts originate through interpersonal relationships between individuals. Vygotsky believed that all learning was social, therefore the negative effect that the adults in these schools integrated into the maturation of these kids was very strong. Smidt (2009) expounds of this element of Vygotsky’s theory:

“He meant social in the sense that ideas and concepts are often mediated by more experienced learners; that learning takes place in a context which may well be social in origin; that learning builds on previous learning; and that learning takes place primarily through cultural and psychological tools.” (p. 14)

Comparably, the Indigenous foundation of learning is situated in the community. Knowledge is passed on to others by continuous interaction with elders and adults who possess the skills being learned. Teaching through the psychological tools of story, symbolism, culture, and traditions that creates the Indigenous foundation for identity, awareness, retention, and thought. According Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev, and Miller (2003), “Psychological tools are those symbolic artifacts—signs, symbols, texts, formulae, graphic organizers—that when internalized help individuals master their own psychological functions of perception, memory, attention, and so on” (p. 15). This is analogous to Indigenous learning where learning happens within a community setting and traditional learning standards happen at certain times of the year and throughout an individual’s life.

Vygotsky (1978) believed that language was a tool for learning, it is a fundamental part of the sociocultural theory of learning. What's more many Indigenous
languages consist of complex semantics connected to animals, land, winter counts, and stars to name a few. The system of belief that “everything is related” accords those who listen, a comprehensive cognition of what is being passed on. This is why the traumatic experience of boarding school curriculum was so detrimental to Indigenous children. It attacked their Indigenous ways of learning through forced isolation, punishment, abuse, and forced language loss rather than lessons on reading, writing and arithmetic. It was a process was meant to be an enduring change, so its design was intended to decimate the entire Indigenous civilization.

**Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit)**

In the theoretical framework of Tribal critical race theory (TribalCrit), Brayboy (2005) theorized that TribalCrit’s foundation comes from critical race theory (CRT). TribalCrit however, is rooted in Indigenous communities with specific historical realities and ways of being. While CRT can be applied to minorities in general and not specific populations. Another part of TribalCrit is the identity and citizenship. Brayboy addressed the dual identity of Indigenous people that affects their education as follows: “[TribalCrit] address[ed] the complicated relationship between American Indians and the United States federal government and begin to make sense of American Indians’ liminality as both racial and legal/political groups and individuals.” (p. 427). TribalCrit followed CRT in confronting racism in society and in education. There is racial animosity between Indigenous people and settlers/colonizers that resided in society and the system of education, reflecting the invisible consciousness of society. Like CRT, TribalCrit pushed back on the “status quo” of systemic oppression as it emerges in
educational systems, which were based on the Euro-American or settler colonial way of thinking and being. Brayboy outlined the following nine tenets of TribalCrit:

1. Colonization is endemic to society.

2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.

3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.

4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.

5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens.

6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.

7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.

8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.

9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change. (p. 429)

America’s one size fits all educational curriculum alienated Indigenous students while simultaneously abolishing Indigenous thought and belief. Brayboy (2005) explains
how this is relevant. “The basic tenet of TribalCrit emphasized that colonization is endemic to society” (p. 429). For Indigenous people, this colonization meant assimilation and ethnocide of culture and traditions.

Philips (2009) contributed to the conversation about TribalCrit theory and revealed the social inequality in language and discourse in her study of the Warm Springs Indian Reservation population. She discussed how the use of the English language in schools conveyed messages and “ideology” that created a hierarchy of cultural value that privileges those in power and alienates the “others.” She concluded, “[C]olonialism entailed the introduction and imposition of the key institutional and ideological complexes or discourses of European religion… education … law… and media” (p. 488).

The Eurocentric curriculum behind boarding schools’ approach was based on the colonization of Indigenous people, so, by design, it was not supposed to value Indigenous children’s beliefs and ways of thinking. Brayboy (2005) supports this concept through one of his tenets. “Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.” (p. 429). Indigenous people owned the land where their culture, traditions, religion, social system, and education system were previously practiced and valued Philips (2009) makes clear why their culture was outlawed. “The forms of language and the ideas associated with the dominant or more highly valued social category flourish, while the forms of language and ideas associated with the subordinate or less highly valued social category are constricted and disattended” (p. 490). Indigenous students did not do well in
America’s Eurocentric education system because the expectation was Indigenous students would cast off their own cultural beliefs and languages to be successful.

The cultural perspectives of students were vast and cultural prompts in learning were often misinterpreted by non-native educators. Ogbu (1992) identifies this mismatch of perspectives.

“Philips’ pioneering and influential study of ‘‘participant structures’’ in American Indian classrooms in Warm Springs (1972) examined how ways of orchestrating student–teacher interaction, allocating turns at talk, and structuring student attention vary across different activities in the classroom. The mismatch between participation in the home, where learning proceeds through observation in community-wide activities, and the school, where individuals are set apart from others, was a major factor contributing to poor school performance.” (p. 237).

Their cultural traditions and ways of communicating with their community was a component success in education. The loss of it meant the destruction of their identity. Non-Native educators need to be receptive to cultural prompts of students, which emerges as ways of communicating and ways of learning. Indigenous students’ innate response to this assimilation tactic is to preserve their cultural ways but by preserving their Indigenous ways they are singled out and referred to special education programs and/or early drop out.

Settler colonial assimilation expectations puts an Indigenous child in a state of conflict between choosing to assimilate in order to be successful in school or preserving their own cultural ways. Teachers practice for passing on knowledge is inclusive of
ethnocentric practices that narrow-mindedly view that all children will be successful with the same instructional approach. Ogbru (1992) supports this:

Philips's study of Indian children in Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon referred to earlier. She found that the Indian students and their White teachers in an elementary school held different views about how students should interact with teachers and among themselves; they also held different views about how students should participate in classroom activities. Although the teachers' views apparently prevailed, the teachers were not particularly effective in classroom management and in getting the children to learn and perform. (p. 10)

Indigenous students would rather fail in education rather than lose their Indigeneity.

Contrary to this, children of immigrants came to the United States with the understanding that they would assimilate, as ordered, to enjoy the privilege of being an American. One theory supportive of TribalCrit (Brayboy, 2005) and Vygotsky’s (1978) theory of social constructivism comes from anthropologist Ogbru (1992). His theory of involuntary and voluntary minorities explained from a historical perspective why some populations succeed (he refers to this population as “voluntary minorities”) and others do not, which he referred to as ("involuntary minorities") that includes Africans, Hispanics, Latinos, and Native Americans. He pointed to how motivation in schooling emerges from their cultural experiences and parent/family experiences. Ogbru’s theory made a distinction that immigrants and Indigenous people experience in the U.S. education system differs. Ogbru postulated that “voluntary minorities” choose to come to the United States and
view education as a gift, while “involuntary minorities” are those people who have been conquered and oppressed and forced into education instead of having a choice.

Ogbu’s (1992) second category of involuntary minority has fit slave and indentured races, and conquered people of Mexican heritage backgrounds but also was inclusive of the experience of the Indigenous people whose land was stolen, and its people oppressed. While Brayboy (2005) may not use Ogbu’s categories or terms, he did recognize that “Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities” (p. 429). This was one of the tenets of TribalCrit theory and contributed to our understanding of why Indigenous students do not succeed as well as immigrated minorities.

**Historical Background**

Indigenous people are the only race on Turtle Island who did not originate from any other country making them the only race whose identity is truly unique in education in America. They have been situated in an intermediate state, as both citizens of America and oppressed by Congress. Philips (2009) observes that. “Inequalities created through European colonization of other parts of the world through which European codes and institutional complexes of discourse were imposed on and came to be valued more than those of the indigenous populations colonized” (p. 490). While many immigrants have been successful in America’s educational assimilation process because they are leaving persecution in their lands, just like the original White European immigrants. They have seen America as a “land of the free” or the “land of milk and honey” and accordingly, they have been especially willing to give up their cultural identity for freedom.
Indigenous Liminal Status in America

Since, many tribes fought the U.S. government to a standstill, the U.S. government was forced to sign treaties with Indigenous tribes that provided them a sovereign status not held by any other citizen of the United States. The Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (n.d.) defined treaty as the following:

A treaty is a contract, a binding and legal agreement, between two or more sovereign nations. By signing treaties with Indian tribes, the United States acknowledged tribal sovereign status. When the architects of the American government created the Constitution, they explicitly recognized that treaties are the supreme law of the land, along with the Constitution itself. (para. 5)

The U.S. government became responsible for providing basic services for Indigenous people such as education because the treaties created a trust responsibility that gave Congress power over the tribes as the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) (n.d.) reveals where this obligation was earned. “The treaties and laws create what is known as the federal ’trust responsibility,’ to protect both tribal lands and tribal self-government, and to provide for federal assistance to ensure the success of tribal communities” (para. 4).

Within the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school system, settler colonial curriculum and instruction was used to negate Indigenous identity. The tactics of settler colonialism included genocide that was also committed by the U.S. government, the U.S. military, and the colonial settlers. The settler colonial agenda within boarding school curriculum and instruction activities did not require official authorization because it was
the government sponsored common practice of Europeans, collective goal, to eliminate Indigenous identity. As Wolfe (2006) construct supports this concept:

“Settler colonialism is an inclusive, land-centred project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment, with a view to eliminating Indigenous societies. Its operations are not dependent on the presence or absence of formal state institutions or functionaries. (p. 393).

The result was the generational trauma of Turtle Islands Indigenous people and their subsequent generations. Today, the methods of assimilation, to a lesser extent, are still a part of the U.S. education system’s curriculum and instruction and is detrimental to Indigenous student success.

**U.S. Government Sanctioned Settler Colonization Methods**

Indigenous people have a unique position in the United States which is often misunderstood. Indigenous people have endured a consistent inundation of attacks on their culture and traditions by the United States government. Because Indigenous reservations and their people are in a trust status with the United States Congress, they are consequently at the mercy of congress and the US government, this trust status was created through treaties. For example, the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty signed by the United States government created this status for some tribes as noted earlier in National Congress of American Indians, NCAI, (n.d.). In an exchange for ceding millions of acres of land to the United States, Indigenous communities were guaranteed access to food, land, housing, healthcare, the right to govern themselves and relevant to this paper,
education. However, treaties quickly allowed the federal government, the states, and individuals to steal land, resources, and forcefully colonize Indigenous tribes and their people. One year after the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty, the Dawes Act of 1887 added an additional stipulation. Boxer (2009) explains how this applied to education.

The Dawes Act also promised U.S. citizenship to Native Americans who took advantage of the allotment policy and ‘adopted the habits of civilized life.’ This meant that the education of Native American children—many in boarding schools away from the influence of their parents—was considered an essential part of the civilizing process. (para. 6).

Moreover, the Dawes Act exacted an appalling toll of social, emotional, and cultural damage inflicting intergenerational trauma on future generations of Indigenous peoples, these abuses are defined as historical trauma. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart, (1999) stated:

The Lakota (Teton Sioux) historical trauma response is a constellation of characteristics associated with massive cumulative group trauma across generations, at least since the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre, and is similar to traits identified for Jewish Holocaust descendants (Fogelman, 1988; Kestenberg, 1982/1990). (p. 2)

Historical trauma response has been characterized by high death rates, heart disease and other diseases associated with it like high blood pressure, alcoholism, depression, and suicide.
Indigenous Viewpoint on U.S. Policy and Educational Lies

The White European immigrants’ false narrative of courageous settlers coming to discover and settle an untamed land and conquer and civilize heathen savages still exist in education. Yet, the Indigenous reality of the settlers were that they were villains like Hitler, Mussolini, and Napoleon who also came to other people’s countries to commit genocide and steal their land and resources. In truth, the real villains of this history were people like Christopher Columbus, Hernán Cortés, Andrew Jackson, General George Armstrong Custer and the boarding school founder U.S. Army Captain Richard H. Pratt who all committed genocidal crimes against North America’s Indigenous people. The United States settler colonial policies and actions were summed up by the Federal Court of Claims statement in the historical mistreatment of the Lakota people. Williams (2012) explains America’s dogma pertaining to Indigenous people:

In 1979, the United States Court of Claims, discussing the federal government’s misdeeds against the Sioux, including its tactic of starving them, before it appropriated the land, wrote that “a more ripe and rank case of dishonorable dealing will never, in all probability, be found in our history.’ (para. 10) The BIA’s complicity was in encouraging the boarding school system to continue their settler colonial assimilationist crimes on Indigenous children. Today, those who are currently responsible for the US educational system policies and actions are still complicit in past US educational crimes of destroying a people; the education of Indian students should focus on the recovery of the Indigenous Identity. Indigenous education methods should be integrated into the curriculum to help build a positive affiliation of
children to their Indigenous identity as Whitesell, Mitchell, & Spicer, (2009) clarifies the reasoning behind this. “the extent to which adolescents adopted an identity as American Indian and participated in practices, traditions, and spiritual beliefs resonant with tribal culture” (pp.10) Their culture is the important factor in their future success in education for it’s the connection to who they really are.

**United States Policy of Genocide**

Settler colonial politics to terminate everything Indigenous in America was characterized by the continued attack, through education, to eliminate identity, culture, and language of Indigenous students. As stated, earlier Philips, (2009) differentiates the language value system: “The forms of language and the ideas associated with the dominant or more highly valued social category flourish, while the forms of language and ideas associated with the subordinate or less highly valued social category are constricted and disattended” (p. 490). Likewise, educational policy shadowed this pattern of White European immigrant values in respect to Indigenous cultural education by destroying their identity, culture, and language. According to Smyth, (2005) education assimilates children into society. “Critical theorists see education as a form of cultural politics; schooling always represents an introduction to, preparation for and a legitimation of particular forms of social life” (pp. 186-187). The settler colonization process took many forms, but the fundamental practice was to force Indigenous people to convert to the occupying people’s beliefs.

The conversion of Indigenous children was enforced by the U.S. government through discipline, re-education, and economic dependency of their tribes. The practice
of settler colonization within the U.S. government led to the creation of many laws to colonize Indigenous tribes. These laws were intended to force Indigenous students to conform to European authority and view this foreign rule as superior. Philips (2009) informs on how European immigrants dictated their identity:

More pervasively, local colonized people take on the genres associated with the new institutional complexes introduced by colonizers, such as legal procedures, school lessons, and hymns and sermons. The authority of indigenous genres has also been transformed and weakened under European influence. (p. 488)

In education, Congress expanded the process of assimilation by enacting the Dawes Act of 1887 that required that all children attend boarding schools so they could be “civilized.” The Dawes Act was a social, emotional, cultural transgression that authorized the kidnapping of Indigenous children by Indian agents so they could be sent to schools like Carlisle. Other acts were also created to continue the destruction of the Indigenous identity like the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act and the Voluntary Relocation Program. All were a continuation of failed “Indian policy” to terminate the Indigenous identity. As Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) describes how one program affected Indigenous people:

During the Voluntary Relocation Program, administered by the BIA, American Indian men were moved into urban areas to live and work as assimilated citizens. Once in the urban area, American Indians faced racism and discrimination in employment and housing similar to other ethnic minority groups and became relegated to second class status, sometimes in urban ghettos. (p. 64)
The conditions in the city did not promise equality, only more oppression. Indigenous people recognized what the agenda was for in these congressional attacks. Most would return, not because they failed, but because they could see through U.S. government settler colonial assimilation tactics. Even as prisoners of war camps, the reservations represented home and the struggle to keep the Indigenous identity alive.

**National Settler Colonial Politics and Policy of Genocide**

Just after World War II there was no word for the crime against humanity that the NAZI’s committed in the holocaust of the Jewish people. Appallingly, Hitler got his idea of the elimination of a whole race of people from what the European immigrants did to the Indigenous people of America. There was no word to define the murderous actions that countries used in the mass killing of a population of people, later genocide would be used to describe this crime. The United Nations, (n.d.) defines this mass murder of a race.

“The word ’genocide’ was first coined by Polish lawyer Raphäel Lemkin in 1944 in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*. It consists of the Greek prefix genos, meaning race or tribe, and the Latin suffix “cide,” meaning killing.” (para. 2). The American genocide of Indigenous tribes was literally translated as “tribe killing” by the United Nations. As the United Nations (n.d.) met to discuss war crimes after the World War II, they developed the following definition:

**Article II In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:**

- Killing members of the group;
• Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
• Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
• Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
• Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (para. 4)

Every point in the United Nations definition of genocide applied to the American genocide of Indigenous people. Additionally, every point also applied to the U.S. boarding school’s assimilation curriculum focused on Indian children.

However, the accountability of superpowers for genocide was obstructed by the veto power of the Soviet Union who at the time were committing genocide one of their ethnic groups after the war. They exerted a major influence on the United Nations definition of genocide. Haven, (2010) explains this historic decision:

The Soviet delegation vetoed any definition of genocide that might include the actions of its leader, Joseph Stalin. The Allies, exhausted by war, were loyal to their Soviet allies – to the detriment of subsequent generations. Naimark argues that that the narrow definition of genocide is the dictator’s unacknowledged legacy to us today. (para. 11).

Stalin’s legacy is why America has never acknowledged its own genocide on the Indigenous people of Turtle Island. The superpowers dictated their alibi to avoid their accountability in genocide or ethnic cleansing of races of people. Together the superpowers presided over and approved the United Nations definition of genocide
negating their culpability and allowing them to avoid their liability for those they murdered.

**Settler Colonialism**

Polar-opposite educational outcomes produced a colonization process that was besieged by traumatic experiences and outcomes for Indigenous children. Settler Colonialism within the boarding school education process began in the earliest years of education. Indigenous children entered the boarding school educational system from tribal homes where learning was based on Indigenous values. Within boarding schools, children were forced to conform to a foreign system filled with abusive consequences for these children possessing an Indigenous scholarship constructed over thousands of years. Because the boarding school system was designed solely for the assimilation of Indigenous children into the emerging European immigrant structure developing in America. Indigenous students experienced a moral dilemma in education, choosing between maintaining their timeless Indigenous identity or eradicating it to assume an emergent settler colonial European based identity. Brayboy (2005) explains why the curriculum of boarding schools were developed. “sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, of interactions between the dominant U.S. society and American Indians has been to change (‘colonize’ or ‘civilize’) us to be more like those who hold power in the dominant society” (p. 430).

Consequently, this mandate historically damaged generations of Indigenous people’s value of and participation in education since the boarding school implementation 158 years ago when the first boarding school was opened. The American
Indian Relief Council (n.d.) verifies this date. “The boarding school experience for Indian children began in 1860 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs established the first Indian boarding school on the Yakima Indian Reservation in the state of Washington” (para. 1). From this point on, the U.S. government educational system has always been used as a method to terminate tribal identity. This approach was documented in the 1990s at the U.S. Secretary of Education's Indian Nations at Risk Task Force hearings. Reyhner, (2006) talks about the educational curriculum and instruction:

Many Indigenous students still attended schools with ‘an unfriendly school climate that fails to promote appropriate academic, social, cultural, and spiritual development among many Native students.’ Such schools also tended to exhibit a Eurocentric curriculum, low teacher expectations, ‘a lack of Native educators as role models,’ and ‘overt and subtle racism. (para. 27)

The BIA’s educational process involved more than 500 government and church-operated boarding schools whose purpose was to provide an education to “civilize” Indigenous children. Indian agents enforced policy requiring tribes to send their children to these schools, all tribal members were compelled to follow this policy or starve, be imprisoned, or die. Indigenous parents were forced to comply with the policy. Reyhner, (2006) identifies the Indian agent as the one who enforced this practice:

pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see this stipulation is strictly complied with. (para.14)
Beginning in 1860, the federal government attempted to “Europeanize” Indigenous people, largely through the “reeducation” of Indigenous youth. Jaffee, (2018) explains the indoctrination process: “Boarding schools like Carlisle provided vocational and manual training and sought to systematically strip away tribal culture. They insisted, for example, that students drop their Indian names, forbade the speaking of native languages, and cut off their long hair” (para. 1). The U.S. Government’s Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) under the Department of Interior formerly called the Department of War (Reyhner, 2006) was formed to manage tribal affairs and colonize Indigenous children through the boarding school system. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) policy and their boarding schools fueled a cold war stance of hostility toward education by Indigenous people. The boarding schools were a clear attack on the longstanding American Indian culture and beliefs. Deloria (1994) identifies that these beliefs were present at the very beginning:

American Indians continue to represent a distinct set of cultural attitudes and beliefs. The nature and extent of these differences should have been reasonably clear as far back as 1492 and were certainly obvious when formal education in the European model began on this continent in the 1700s. (p. 62)

The boarding schools were characterized by threats and religious/cultural persecution. The distrust these boarding schools fostered among Indigenous people has never diminished because the attack never diminished. Reyhner, (2006) explains the reasoning behind this never-ending war. “After Civil Service reforms in 1892, hiring officials did not see that any knowledge about Indians was important, since BIA schools were designed to perform cultural genocide” (para. 15). Within these schools,’ Indigenous
people across North America were processed through a long history of ubiquitous genocide and ethnocide.

Today, many Indigenous students have an innate mistrust of education, due to their parents’ and grandparents’ historical personal experiences in boarding schools. As boarding schools banished their captives from speaking their Indigenous language, they were trying to eradicate their Indigenous ways of learning and knowing. Because through their Indigenous languages they could preserve their culture and traditions and through oral history they could preserve their identity. As Struthers and Peden-McAlpine (2005) makes clear its value in maintaining identity:

Oral tradition is at the heart of indigenous culture (Poupart, Martinez, Red Horse, & Scharnberg, 2001) and has been the usual mechanism of relaying and passing on information in indigenous societies since time immemorial. Narratives and storytelling, which are rooted in the oral traditions, fill cultural and social environments. (p. 1265)

Indigenous civilizations preservation of information through oral traditions was thought to be archaic, but worldwide its use has been used though the beginning of time, yet current practices would deny its worth. Thomson (2007) identifies the reasoning. “Historians from ancient times relied upon eyewitness accounts of significant events, until the nineteenth-century development of an academic history discipline led to the primacy of archival research and documentary sources, and a marginalization of oral evidence” (p. 51). However, due to the process of settler colonization’s eradication of everything Indigenous by the government, military, churches, and schools, it necessitated
the use of oral traditions by many tribes to preserve traditional ways of learning and knowing. For this reason, it was necessary to use methods more applicable to gathering knowledge for cultures that use story to preserve knowledge. As Struthers and Peden-McAlpine (2005) clarify the value of this:

…to discover emerging themes from the narrative text during analysis. These themes depict the essence of the lived experience of a phenomenon. The description given by the themes, which might be an account, an exemplar, or a paradigm case, provide insight and a new understanding into everyday skills, practices, and experiences. (p. 1265)

Settler Colonialism: Assimilationist Curriculum and Lost Identity

Indigenous student graduation rates are currently the lowest in the nation. My theory on this phenomenon is it is attributed to settler colonization practices that were embedded into U.S. boarding school curriculum and instruction that undeniably harmed student identity. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart & DeBruyn, (1998) explains how settler colonization affected Indigenous children. “The destructive and shaming messages inherent in the boarding school system, whether BIA or mission schools, were that American Indian families are not capable of raising their own children and that American Indians are culturally and racially inferior” (p. 63). This history of ethnocidal tactics and assimilationist curriculum within these schools negated the Indigenous identity of Indigenous children condemned to these boarding schools. This successful curricular conditioning was developed to affect these students succeeding generations negatively and permanently. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and DeBruyn, (1998) details what the
children experienced. “Boarding schools have had devastating consequences for American Indian families and communities; abusive behaviors—physical, sexual, emotional—were experienced” (p. 63); the outcomes of their boarding school experience tragically continue to impact their descendants.

Settler colonial based curriculum and instruction authorized by the Department of Interior, developed within the BIA, and implemented within schools like Carlisle Indian Industrial School negatively impacted the students and their descendant’s opinion of education. The BIA boarding schools attack on Indigenous children after their kidnapping involved ethnocidal assimilation tactics integrated within these schools which included the loss of family, language, religion, culture, traditions, and in many cases the loss of life. Photos documented the transformation that occurred in children who entered the Carlisle Indian Industrial School; the handcuffs represented how education forcefully changed these children and impacted their succeeding generations. The settler colonial based curriculum foundational outcome was the killing of the Indigenous identity of children from tribes like the Lakota (Tetonwan), the Arapaho (heeteinono'eino'), and the Cheyenne (Tséhésé-ho'óhomo'e).

Historical Unresolved Grief

The Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools have taken away innocence, happiness, sobriety, love, and lives for generations of Indigenous students by design. The schools attempted to “civilize” them by destroying their original identity as a result; it caused damage to them and their succeeding generations. Whitesell, N. R., Mitchell, C. M., & Spicer, P. (2009) explain how low self-esteem affects scholarship:

Healthy self-esteem has been associated with internal locus of control, perceptions of competence, persistence in the face of challenges, coping skills, social support, and a variety of other qualities that are likely to better equip students to succeed in school. (p. 4)

Indigenous people have been affected by America’s unacknowledged genocide and suffer from generational trauma whose symptoms are indicative by those who survived the holocaust. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and DeBruyn, (1998) identifies the pattern which has establishing itself within Indigenous communities:

We draw a comparison for America’s Native people who live in a colonized country and suggest that similar patterns of grief have emerged. Fogelman (1988a) asserted that:

Jews in Europe have not found an effective means of coping, integration, and adaptation. Most are in a stage of complete denial and stunted mourning of their losses…. They feel a great need to control their emotions, because they feared that if their intense emotions were given free reign, they might go insane…. Survivors feared the uncontrollable
rage locked within them, they feared they would be devoured by thoughts of avenging the deaths of their loved ones. This repression results in…

“psychic numbing.” (p.93-94). (p. 65)

The boarding school process initiated a cycle of genocide through ethnocide on all Indigenous children. This trauma fed on succeeding generations creating a lethal cycle that replicated its genocidal trauma on every subsequent generation. As Bess (2000) identifies key words identify their intent within the curricular design of the boarding schools:

…violent metaphors of annihilation, breaking and "stamping out” Indian traditions and tribal identity, reveal, in retrospect, the genocidal elements of assimilation-a program designed to eradicate to a culture- to Pratt and the Eastman’s, violence was the means to that great end, civilization. (p. 9)

The curriculum of boarding schools was developed to take away every aspect of culture which made up Indigenous people’s identity. The school’s practices were part of a plan to rid White settler colonialism of their ‘Indian” problem. At the heart of the school’s existence was a curriculum that continued genocide through cultural ethnocide aimed directly at Native children to impose as Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and DeBruyn, (1998) identifies key words identify their intent within the curricular design of the boarding schools:

…coerced abandonment of religious and cultural underpinnings of the subject society, preemption or destruction of resources necessary to native survival…

transmittal of disease and addiction against which native populations have
inadequate immunity, disruption of kinship and familial relations basic to the
native social structure, treatment based on modes of definition that obliterate a
group’s identity, and finally, outright extermination of native populations. (p. 62)
The trauma thereby caused by the cultural ethnocide process infected generations of
Indigenous people with historical unresolved grief. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and
DeBruyn, (1998) identifies the experiences that “…contributes to the current social
pathology, originating from the loss of lives, land, and vital aspects of Native culture
promulgated by the European conquest of the Americas” (p. 62).

The United States’ encroachment on Indigenous identity would be the source of a
grievous trauma inflicted on generations of Indigenous children. The abuse these children
suffered within these boarding schools caused historical trauma. Yellow Horse-Brave
Heart, (1999) identifies one tribes reaction to this trauma: “The Lakota (Teton Sioux)
historical trauma response is a constellation of characteristics associated with massive
cumulative group trauma across generations, at least since the 1890 Wounded Knee
Massacre, and is similar to traits identified for Jewish Holocaust descendants” (p. 2). The
ethnocide process of settler colonial based boarding school curriculum and instruction
within these boarding schools contributed to the “historical trauma response” of
“…characterized by high death rates, heart disease and other diseases associated with it
including high blood pressure, alcoholism, depression and suicide” (p.1). The U.S.
education system has had aspects that trigger a historical trauma response from our
children, thereby affecting their graduation rates.
Failure to Recognize Educational Oppressive Curriculum

It is important that we do more to reach our Indigenous students because the U.S. educational system is grounded on settler colonial practices of assimilation that even today are often undetected or ignored in the curriculum and instruction of America’s teachers. Moreover, Indigenous people often do not realize how the process of settler colonization has been applied to them and how it is still prevalent in the educational system. When educators fail to integrate accurate Indigenous knowledge and history into the curriculum and instruction, they perpetuate settler colonial practices on their Indigenous students. Brayboy, (2005) recognizes how the processes are so prevalent that it becomes indiscernible within education practices:

The colonization has been so complete that even many American Indians fail to recognize that we are taking up colonialist ideas when we fail to express ourselves in ways that may challenge dominant society’s ideas about who and what we are supposed to be, how we are supposed to behave, and what we are supposed to be within the larger population. (p. 431)

For example, the settler colonialism agenda is preserved when the U.S. education system’s inaccurate, anthropologist version of Indigenous culture and history is accepted into school curriculum and continues to be taught by teachers.

Long-time advocate and lawyer Gonzalez with author Cook-Lynn delved deeply into the laws and historical documents. They found quotes from Vine Deloria, Jr., the Sioux critic and scholar, who noted that Indians were defined by the “White scholars” and that an Indian family was made up of a father, mother, children, and the white
anthropologist.” (Gonzalez & Cook-Lynn, 2000, p. 200). By allowing this to happen the education system is creating a learning atmosphere that supports the general public’s stereotypes of Indigenous people and not the actual Indigenous people themselves. This stereotype generating practice is used routinely to group all Indigenous cultures into one category when learning about the Indigenous people of Turtle Island. This routine of misappropriation and then misapplication of Indigenous cultures conjures up a false European immigrant conceived belief of what Indigenous culture is. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart & DeBruyn, (1998) gives an example of cultural appropriation and it how fosters stereotypes:

American Indians still face oppression as well as spiritual persecution. We believe that the current proliferation of “New Age” imitations of traditional American Indian spiritual practices is genocidal. Insensitive and opportunistic non-Indian “healers” corrupt and attempt to profit from stereotypic distortions of traditional ceremonies. Such attitudes towards the “possession” of sacred pipes and ceremonies, for example, are reminiscent of the entitlement and subsequent aggressive actions inherent in the doctrine of manifest destiny. It is our opinion that these behaviors are an assault on Native people who do not separate spiritual traditions from the self. (p. 69)

Although activities like storytelling, art, or smudging are important, it is the bare minimum of what can be developed and introduced into education to support Indigenous student’s culture and ways of learning. Indigenous students’ culture and history has to be authentically represented in US curriculum and instruction.
The disregard of Indigenous ways of learning in U.S. curriculum and instruction has communicated to Indigenous students that they are not worth investing in. Battiste, (2002) recognizes how European ethnocentric superiority invalidates the Indigenous identity: ‘‘Eurocentric thinkers dismissed Indigenous knowledge in the same way they dismissed any socio-political cultural life they did not understand: they found it to be unsystematic and incapable of meeting the productivity needs of the modern world’’ (p. 5). Settler colonial objectives in education supported the intentional lack of integration of Indigenous culture and belief into tribal schools. The reason being, was that their Indigenous identities had to be distorted or corrupted to meet the needs of their oppressors who did away with the Indigenous identity. Interestingly, in a survey of teachers views on whether schools were meeting the needs of Indigenous students CHiXapkaid, Inglebret, and Krebill-Prather (2011) reported:

- 70% felt that the K-12 system does not meet the educational needs of Native students.
- 97% indicated that it is important for K-12 personnel to adapt to the educational needs of Native students.
- 93% said that it is important for Native students to be able to adapt to the current K-12 educational system. (p. 4)

Classes like American History have greatly influenced the development of our society. Within those classes, historical lies contributed as much as historical truths to America’s view of Indigenous people. Alridge, (2006) explains this idea:
educating students about the history of their country has long been recognized as a vital aspect of preparing the next generation to participate in a democratic society. This commitment is grounded in the belief that a keen understanding of our collective past will provide students with insights into present challenges and dilemmas and help them avoid repeating past mistakes in our present and future.

Due to the inaccurate misrepresentation or missing Indigenous point of view in history, the U.S. education system has created a tale of deceit which unfailingly produces a skewed misunderstanding of Indigenous people and European immigrants. The first of a series of misunderstandings was the inaccurate historical portrayal of Indigenous people. This has fabricated stereotypes that have negatively influenced the point of view of Indigenous people that the U.S. European based education system is a lie of ethnocentric imaginary written to keep them subjugated. Second, the other lie in history books is the narrative that European immigrants were courageous people who fought the British monarch and heathen savages to bring civilization to Turtle Island. Instead of a more accurate genocidal settler colonizer reality that Indigenous people know. Alridge, (2006) explains how all students are affected by inaccurate information:

The dominance of master narratives in textbooks denies students a complicated, complex, and nuanced portrait of American history. As a result, students often receive information that is inaccurate, simplistic, and disconnected from the realities of contemporary local, national, and world affairs. When master
narratives dominate history textbooks, students find history boring, predictable, or irrelevant. (p. 663)

**European Ethnocentric Reasoning of “Civilization”**

Boarding school curriculum is based on European learning styles that focus on the success of the individual. This method is contrary to Indigenous methods of learning that are a “reflective learning experience” this educational approach is founded in language, culture, and the success of the community. The U.S. educational system is viewed as a system without merit by Indigenous students because it is biased and full of groundless notions of them, their culture, and their place in history. This system proclaims the building of a great melting pot of cultures, while European ethnocentric tendencies narrowly define what education means in America. Oppositional to this ethnocentric education is the Indigenous conviction that our youth need to be valued and have their culture, traditions, and language put into practice within their education. However, the historical government sponsored Eurocentric settler colonial boarding school curriculum is still upheld for Indigenous students. According to Boxer (2009), this curriculum “meant requiring them to become as much like White Americans as possible: converting to Christianity, speaking English, wearing western clothes and hair styles, and living as self-sufficient, independent Americans.” (p. 5)

For 500 years, Indigenous people were told and/or conditioned to believe that everything about our ways and history was fallacious and iniquitous, and to accept mainstream education blindly and obediently as superior to theirs. The settler colonial scheme was meant to produce a false, unsubstantiated, assumption, of White superiority.
This lie was conditioned into the Indigenous students psyche through boarding schools in an effort to destroy their Indigenous identity while assimilating them to a European one.

As Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) stated:

> The goal has been “civilization’ of American Indian peoples...[which] assumes that what is required is the complete and utter transformation of native nations and individuals: replace heritage languages with English, replace “paganism” with Christianity, replace economic, political, social, legal, and aesthetic institutions. (p. 282)

**Captain Richard H. Pratt and Carlisle’s Initial Development**

The assimilation of Indigenous people to the foreign European manner of civilization has always been at the heart of “Indian Education” as Pratt’s infamous quote gave emphasis to when he developed the template for the future of Indian education throughout America. Bess, (2000) conveys Pratt’s credo. "Kill the Indian and save the man!" (p. 8). Pratt of the Society of American Indians constructed a rubric of reconditioning which traumatized a whole generation of youth through the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. Bess, (2000) comments on the selling point Pratt used to advertise his school:

> Richard Henry Pratt, often called “the father of Indian Education” founded the Carlisle Indian School in 1879 and ran it until 1904, all the while promoting boarding schools like it as "way-station [s] for reservation Indians who would then become quickly assimilated as individuals into the larger society. (p. 9)
Pratt's curriculum for Carlisle was based on his experimentation with Indigenous prisoners in Florida. Consequently, it was as Bess (2000) stated, “Essentially, as Hazel Hertburg has explained, the programs at Hampton and Carlisle urged that the Indian "break completely" with his past, to annihilate his racial identity and to ‘compete in the race of life with other Americans.’” (p. 9). His method of completing his agenda was to take Indigenous children forcefully from their families and communities; once isolated they would further isolate them by separating them from other members of their tribe.

Bess, (2000) outlines Pratt's method of teaching English and citizenship:

…placing them in Christian homes, dressing them in Euro-American clothing, rooming students with individuals from other tribes so that they were forced to communicate in English-these are the tactics Pratt used to “[break] up tribal and race clannishness, a most important victory in getting the Indian toward real citizenship. (p. 10)

This curricular ethnocide was integrated into the development of Indian boarding schools by Captain Richard H. Pratt. Pratt formerly operated a Florida military prison where many of the chiefs and tribal leaders were incarcerated during the European immigrant war. Pratt transferred his prison methods into the development of the Carlisle Industrial School. His methods continue to affect engagement of subsequent generations of Indigenous students negatively in education, thereby affecting the disparagingly low graduation rates among these Native American students.
Intersection of Personal & Historical: America's Unacknowledged Genocide/Ethnocide

Reflecting on my family’s history with genocide and boarding schools is essential to reveal how these institutions have had a ubiquitous impact on nearly all Indigenous families. I ask for my family’s understanding for trying to tell our stories. In telling our story, it informs and establishes the justification of my research: to explore how boarding schools affected succeeding generations of Indigenous children who were forced to attend schools like Carlisle. I ask the questions about how settler colonist curriculum influenced their ancestor’s perception of education; how their ancestors views, if any, toward schooling or academics has been passed on; and how this influenced the graduation rates of succeeding generations from high school.

This research not only explores the historical account of societies’ beliefs and actions toward Indigenous people, it is also a personal story. The use of my personal story is not only (see Figure 5.) a cultural way of approaching the research, but it also

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sand Creek Massacre</th>
<th>Northern Cheyenne Exodus</th>
<th>Battle of the Little Bighorn, Known to the Lakota and other Plains Indians as the Battle of the Greasy Grass</th>
<th>Little Chief, the eldest son of Chief Sharp Nose, Little Plume son of Chief Friday arrived at the Carlisle Indian Industrial school</th>
<th>Wounded Knee Massacre</th>
<th>Mniconjou Lakota grandmother Tipesultis Ote Luta Win/Red House and grandfather Wowasi Chapas/Working Beaver arrived at the Carlisle Indian Industrial school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 29, 1864</td>
<td>September 9, 1878</td>
<td>Jun 25, 1876</td>
<td>March 11, 1881</td>
<td>Dec. 29, 1890</td>
<td>1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massacre of 150 Indians, most of them women, children and the elderly. The troops mutilated the dead, carrying off body parts as trophies</td>
<td>350 Northern Cheyenne's red forced relocation to reservation in Oklahoma. Fought running battle to return home to Montana</td>
<td>Custer's Last Stand, Custer attacked Lakota, Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho for his own glory.</td>
<td>Grandparents forced to attend Carlisle</td>
<td>Massacre 150 Lakota, almost half of whom were women and children. The troops mutilated the dead, carrying off body parts as trophies</td>
<td>Parent passes away from smallpox, Forced to attend Carlisle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5 Traumatic events leading to forced attendance of grandparents to Carlisle Indian Boarding School.
serves as an example of how settler colonialism has had a ripple effect on one family. My story is one of many that represent a lived reality of Indigenous communities.

**Genocide: Wounded Knee**

Genocide has affected all Indigenous people, our leaders, holy people, and family members who were methodically exterminated by the U.S. government, the states, and the settlers. On December 15, 1890, Chief Sitting Bull, known as Tatanka Iyotaka, was killed along the Grand River. He was 59 years old. To his people, Sitting Bull was known as a Sun Dancer and spiritual leader who came from a long line of medicine people. This set into motion the Wounded Knee Massacre on December 29, 1890 where the U.S. 7th Cavalry slaughtered 150–300 Native Americans. This settler colonial genocidal trauma was inflicted over and over on each tribe the European immigrants encountered.

Inflicting generational traumatic symptoms on Indigenous people that were synonymous with the Jewish Holocaust survivors. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart & DeBruyn, (1998) research explains the similarities between the American Genocide and the Holocaust:

…such as the difficulty in mourning a mass grave, the dynamics of collective grief, and the importance of community memorialization. A specific example is that of Lakota survivors and descendants of the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. This genocide was analogous to the Jewish Holocaust in that (a) it was fueled by religious persecution of Lakota Ghost Dancers and by federal policies of extermination. (p. 65)
At the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, the U.S. Army’s 7th Cavalry looking for revenge for the Custer’s loss at the Battle of Greasy Grass surrounded and disarmed Chief Si Tanka’s (Bigfoot’s) band. Later the drunken soldiers attempted to mass murder the whole unarmed camp. Chief Si Tanka and the Mniconjou Lakota who followed him were unapologetically shot and the survivors hunted down. My grandfather Wokokipa Wakinyan (Afraid of Lightning) was killed at Wounded Knee, another grandfather and grandmother Wokokipa Tokakiciyapi (Afraid of Enemy) and his wife Ista Gi (Brown Eyes), were both wounded, their son Matthew was also killed.

**Genocide: Sand Creek Massacre**

Grandpa Nohne'kâheso (Limpy) Northern Cheyenne, whose actual name was White Bird, but he was referred to as Limpy because of a gunshot wound he received in the Battle of Greasy Grass (Battle of the Little Big Horn) that left him with a permanent
limp when he walked. Henry Limpy was the son of Grandpa and Grandma Buffalo Chips and Buffalo Ribs—all were in the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado.

Figure 7 BILLINGS, Mont. - In the heat of battle with an enemy dead at his feet, 19-year-old Northern Cheyenne warrior Limpy took the cartridge belt from a trooper who had dared threaten the village his people shared with the Lakota on the banks of the Little Bighorn River. Thackeray, L. (2010). https://www.gillettenuewsrecord.com/news/article_9cabc8e4-06d5-5e44-abeb-3035b57c5ef8.html

In 1864, the Cheyenne camp of Chief Black Kettle was attacked while peacefully camping in an area specified by the commander of Ft. Lyon while under the protection of the Colorado Governor John Evans as they sought to secure peace. While under the Governor's protection, he labeled them recalcitrant, then deceitfully called up the Colorado volunteers to form a militia under the control of Colonel Chivington of the U.S. cavalry to eliminate his “Indian” problem. History.com Editors (2009) reported:

In August 1864, Evans met with Black Kettle and several other chiefs to forge a new peace, and all parties left satisfied. Black Kettle moved his band to Fort Lyon, Colorado, where the commanding officer encouraged him to hunt near
Sand Creek. In what can only be considered an act of treachery, Chivington moved his troops to the plains, and on November 29, they attacked the unsuspecting Native Americans, scattering men, women, and children and hunting them down. (para. 3)

Colonel Chivington and 700 Colorado Volunteers attacked the Cheyenne and Arapaho camps including my relatives Limpy, Buffalo Chips and Buffalo Ribs. They killed and mutilated 137 Cheyenne and Arapaho people under a flag of truce. As the Indian Education Division (2017) reported:

Major E. W. Wynkoop investigated the “incident,” interviewing the Volunteer soldiers. This statement was part of his report:

The affidavits which become a portion of this report will show more particularly than I can state the full particulars of that massacre. Every one of whom I have spoken to, either officers or soldier, agree in the relation that the most fearful atrocities were committed that ever was heard of. Women and children were killed and scalped, children shot at their mothers’ breasts … Numerous eyewitnesses have described scenes to me coming under the eye of Colonel Chivington of the most disgusting and horrible character. (United States War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Series I Volume XLI, Part I, pp. 959-962. U.S. Government Printing Office). (p. 1)
Genocide: Northern Cheyenne Exodus

Fourteen years later, the government removed the Northern Cheyenne from their homeland in Montana by sending them down south to the Oklahoma Indian Territory to join the Southern Cheyenne. As the Indian Education Division (2017) reported: “1877 – Nine hundred and seventy-two Cheyenne were moved from Red Cloud’s Agency south to Oklahoma to live with Southern Cheyenne. After arrival, many people contracted malaria. Montana Tribal History Timelines – Northern Cheyenne” (p. 2). After a couple seasons of death from disease, starvation, and homesickness, a small group of Northern Cheyenne left the southern reservation under the cover of darkness. The Indian Education Division (2017) stated:

1878 – The poor conditions of the Cheyenne in Oklahoma resulted in Northern Cheyenne leaders Morning Star (Dull Knife), Little Wolf, Wild Hog, and Old Crow making the decision to move their people north. Two hundred and ninety-seven Cheyenne began the march north. (p. 2).

The U.S. Calvary, police, and militias made up of settlers and cowboys pursued the Cheyenne. Limpy, his parents, and a disabled young child called Lame Boy, who they adopted, made the 1500-mile trek back to their home in Montana. While Limpy was out scouting for a safe path to lead their people, Limpy’s parents Buffalo Chips and Buffalo Ribs fell behind with the boy who had a hard time keeping up with the tribe. Eagle Staff (2005) stated:

The cowboy’s spotted them and when they got closer to the three; Buffalo Chips told his wife Buffalo Ribs and Lame Boy to run the other way towards the group
and he would draw the cowboy’s attention so they could get away; he shot at the militia so they chased him down, all the while shooting at him he still kept going and finally they killed him and took his scalp. (personal communication, 2005)

Buffalo Ribs caught up with the others and warned them of the cowboys. Limpy continued the exodus with his remaining family onto their homeland in Montana.

**Ethnocide/Genocide: America's Education on Arapaho Grandfathers**

From the very start, America has used Eurocentric curriculum to assimilate the survivors of “Americas Genocide.” Asante, (1991) addresses the racism within education: “In the United States a "Whites-only" orientation has predominated in education. This has had a profound impact on the quality of education for children of all races and ethnic groups” (p. 173). Indigenous families were obligated and coerced to send their children to boarding schools, or they were just stolen and sent there. This kidnapping for the “ethnocide” of Indigenous children included my relatives. My family was first affected in 1881 when my Northern Arapaho Great Grandfather Little Chief (age 12) the oldest son

![Figure 8](http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/arapaho-and-shoshone-children-c1881)
of Chief Sharp Nose, and my other Great grandfather Little Plume (age 9) son of Chief Friday were forced to go to Carlisle. Navratil, (2017) retells their renaming at Carlisle:

When they attended the school, the children's traditional clothes were replaced with uniforms. Their hair was often cut in an Anglo style. Students also took English names. For Little Plume, that name was Hayes Vanderbilt Friday. For Little Chief, it was Dickens Nor. For Horse, it was Horace Washington. (p. 1)

Grandpa Sharp Nose’s love and concern for his oldest son Little Chief while at Carlisle was noted in a letter to the government officials in charge of stealing children. O’Gara (2017) stated:

The year Sharp Nose allowed Little Chief to be taken to Carlisle, he dictated a letter to his new school: “We are anxious to go on learning till we know how to do as white men do…There are not enough good men to show us how to plant and cultivate our crops.” Other tribal leaders ceding their children to Carlisle were quoted in the letter declaring an end to warfare, and asking, in one plaintive sentence, that a son’s hair not be cut. Sharp Nose concluded: “We give our children to the Government to do as they think best in teaching them the right way, hoping that the officers will, after a while, permit us to go and see them.” (para. 9).

Like every parent, his prayer was that his child’s school would do what was best for them. Yet, two years later, his treasured son was dead. Grandpa Sharp Nose was imprisoned on the Wind River reservation by the U.S. government kept away from his
beloved son because the “civilization process” of the U.S. government and its education system required it. Carlisle continued the genocide of Indigenous children. O’Gara, (2017) stated:

…news of Little Chief’s death reached his father, Sharp Nose was guiding President Chester Arthur on a vacation to Yellowstone National Park. Sharp Nose immediately cut his long hair, a traditional expression of mourning. He had not seen his son since the 9-year-old had boarded the train to go east, three years earlier. (para. 9)

Sometimes when killing the Indian in the man, you just killed the Indian.
Ethnocide: Lakota Grandparents Forced Assimilation

In 1901, my Mniconjou Lakota grandmother Tipestula Oti Luta Win/Red House/Laura Brown Dog who later married my grandfather Wanbli Wapaha/Thomas Wanbli Eagle Staff was sent to Carlisle by Chief Hump after the death of her parents by

![Image of Tipestula Oti Luta Win/Red House/Laura Brown Dog and Wanbli Wapaha/Thomas Wanbli Eagle Staff]

Figure 10: Eagle Staff, Sam (1990) and Brown Wolf (2019). Wanbli Wapaha (Eagle Staff) (Thomas Wanbli Eagle Staff) and Wife Tipestula Oti Luta (Red Lodge) (Laura Eagle Staff), Mniconjou Lakota.

![Image of family members]

Figure 11: From left to right backrow: Stacy Eagle Staff, Adam Eagle Staff. Middle row: Tipestula Oti Luta (Red Lodge) (Laura Eagle Staff) holding Ida Eagle Staff, Diane Eagle Staff, Wanbli Wapaha (Eagle Staff) (Thomas Wanbli Eagle Staff) and front sitting Esau Eagle Staff.
A smallpox epidemic. The boarding schools were intended for the very young for the assimilation process to work the best. My grandma Laura was age 12 along with her brother, my grandfather Wowaśi Chapa/Working Beaver/James Brown Dog (age eight) when they left for Carlisle. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) recounts the process of how they were forced to go to Carlisle:

BIA boarding schools like Carlisle were intended to teach American Indian children dominant cultural values, language and style of dress. Although children were to be sent voluntarily at first, the policy did not work as thoroughly as the government hoped. Consequently, by 1890, attendance was enforced through threats of cessation of rations and supplies and incarceration (McDonald, 1990; Noriega, 1992). (p. 63)

The forced assimilation that grandma and grandpa endured from Carlisle removed them from their culture, they returned strangers to their people; the forced assimilation from Carlisle tried to steal their Indigenous identity. Navratil (2017) describes the outcome of
the school’s assimilation process on the children. “Some students did well after finishing at the school, finding work, and pursuing careers. Others ran away. Some who returned to their home reservations struggled to reintegrate, finding themselves outsiders in both white and Indian worlds” (p. 1). Their struggle to survive their horrifying odyssey and return to their people ended in heartbreak as their connection to their people was understandably damaged by their Carlisle experience. At home, war mentality and racial views of Native Americans negated the schools promised acceptance by White people. Navratil (2017) identifies the false promise of the boarding schools:

Few became members of white society. “They still were Indian when they came out,” said Ms. Landis. “They still looked Indian, they still had at core this traditional identity that was frowned upon in the Anglo world. In reality, they couldn’t become like the white man. They faced prejudice in white society. (p. 1)

Because of their isolation my grandparents opted to return to Carlisle for a few more years more, comfortable to return to the others who were sharing their same experience.

**Ethnocide: George Eastman’s Story of Identity Loss**

Another tragic example of the trauma of assimilation was documented on George Eastman’s successful “conversion,” as he was exhibited as proof that “Killing the Indian” worked. In the study of his autobiography, Bess (2000) noted that as Charles Alexander Eastman narrates his story, he encounters his Indigenous identity Ohiyesa (the winner/always wins) through the eyes of his colonized one. His colonized identity. Bess, (2000) verifies the change: “the Sicangu Lakota George Eastman, whose assimilation was complete, attained a successful education which demonstrated to Pratt of the Society of
American Indians that the Indigenous man could be saved” (p. 8). Although, favored in Pratt’s White European conception of success, the trauma it produced was in the destruction of his Indigenous identity, Ohiyesa, which, was not easy for George to comprehend or recover from. Children who attended these boarding schools also continuously fought an internal battle to “save the Indian” as noted by Eastman’s conflict. After his colonization he questions his European generated ideologies of progress and assimilation as he looks back at his Indian center from the margins of society. Bess, (2000) describes his trauma. “George Eastman understood the killing of his Indian identity was the death of something sacred, the death of Ohiyesa was traumatic to him. In retrospect, George Eastman understood this as soon as he left his traditional life for his new life with the White man.” (pp. 8). George Eastman’s anguish as a converted Indian, who lost his Indigenous identity, greatly affected him for the rest of his life. As Bess (2000) tells his conflicted feelings about the paradox he was experiencing:

I felt as if I were dead and traveling to the spirit land” (IB 288), he speaks of the death of Ohiyesa, the identity that will be ‘overlaid and superseded by a college education’ (DW 150). [He must] redefine what it is to be a man, to replace physical ideals of bravery and fortitude with intellectual ideals of European American education, ‘the English language’ and ‘civilized industries.’ (p. 17)

Summary

These stories were just one family's very recent experience with the process of settler colonization that included genocide of their grandparents and assimilation of their stolen children. These stories were examples of the tragedies that Indigenous people have
endured in the colonization of America. The settler colonial based educational systems has been and still consists of an unwavering torrent of attacks on their language, culture, and traditions. The U.S. Government continued their oppression of Indigenous people through education; settler colonial curriculum and instruction was put into practice in the formation of the BIA boarding schools. As soon as Indigenous children entered the BIA boarding school system, consisting of boarding schools and tribal schools, their personal assimilation process started.

In the next chapter, I outline my research process to explore how Carlisle’s educational legacy affected the perceptions of education of their former students succeeding generations. Using the theoretical educational frameworks of social constructivist theory and Tribal critical race theory, I examine settler colonialism and introduce the construct logic of elimination (Wolfe, 2006). The logic of elimination outlines the process of settler colonialism and identifies the role that Indigenous people, slaves and indentured races play in this method of colonization. I use Seidman (2006) in-depth, phenomenologically-based, three-step interview process with open-ended questions for interviews.

Given that my personal family history has been intertwined with the history of settler colonialism in the experiences of Carlisle Boarding school children, this research topic affected me in a very personal way. In my role as an academic scholar, I sought to understand the lived experiences and impact on subsequent Indigenous generations. Therefore, I used qualitative research methods described in the next chapter.
Chapter 3: Methodology

In this qualitative study, I explore how settler colonial curriculum within Indian boarding schools impacted those students who experienced it. Specifically, in this research, I aim to understand how Carlisle’s educational legacy affected the perceptions of education of their graduates and succeeding generations. Subsequently, through qualitative research methods, I examined the role that the school’s history of settler colonialism has played in the loss of Indigenous identity; thereby, I proposed that this history and experience influenced Indigenous student graduation rates. Consequently, I aimed to illuminate how the perceptions of succeeding generations were affected by the educational legacy left by their grandparents.

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the research problem and the methods used to answer the research questions. First, I explain the choice of a qualitative approach and offer a quick review of the research problem and the guiding research questions. Next, I introduce the theoretical frameworks used in this study to provide a contextual background and alignment with the choice of a qualitative approach. Then, I describe the methodology details of in-depth interviews, followed by the description of the participants and their recruitment. Finally, I outline the data collection process and include the interview questions used for this study. To conclude this chapter, I explain the researcher's role and describe the data analysis procedure along with the themes that developed from the coding process that yielded the findings of this dissertation study.
Qualitative Approach

I used a qualitative research approach that will primarily consist of in-depth interviews methodology. Maxwell (2013) described, “The strengths of qualitative research derive significantly from this process orientation toward the world, and the inductive approach, focus on specific situations or people, and emphasis on descriptions rather than numbers that this requires” (p. 30). Qualitative research also has had a long tradition of honoring the voices and perceptions of people’s lived experiences. Creswell (2013) defined the importance of conducting qualitative research:

Qualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretative/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and the data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns and themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description, and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or call for change. (p. 44)

For this study, the phenomena I explored were the experiences of Indigenous children who were kidnapped and placed in the Carlisle Indian Industrial School. While the original people were no longer living, through in-depth interviewing, I explored the effect this phenomenon had on subsequent family members. Using qualitative research
empowered the Indigenous voice of those participating in it by allowing them to offer a counter-narrative to the research previously conducted on them by outsiders. Smith (2005) reiterated what Edward (1978) stated about the oppressive objectives of current research on minorities:

…research can also be described as “a corporate institution” that has made statements about indigenous peoples, “authorizing views” of us, “describing [us], teaching about [us], settling [us] and ruling over [us].” It is the corporate institution of research, as well as the epistemological foundations from which it springs, that needs to be decolonized. (p. 88)

It was important to conduct this research in a culturally relevant way. Since the White European immigrants first arrived, they have been building a false or distorted perception of the Indigenous people of Turtle Island. This colonial practice has permeated research methodology of Indigenous communities, research was used to apply degrading and hateful concepts to Indigenous people. This was meant to validate the settler colonization process and justify their malevolent actions of genocide and theft of their homeland. Therefore, the use of Indigenous research methods was imperative to my study to bring out and empower the voice of the Indigenous people being researched.

Tuhiwai, S. L. (1999) identifies four notions that are worth disputing in research in Indigenous communities. “…four concepts which are often present (though not necessarily visible) in the ways in which the ideas of indigenous people are articulated; imperialism, history, writing, and theory.” p. 19 (Para. 2). These words are systematically effective in producing pessimistic feelings, attitudes, and values on research and theory
development of Indigenous people. Tuhiwai, S. L. (1999) reveals the intent. “They are words that of emotion which draw attention to the thousands of ways in which indigenous languages, knowledges, and cultures have been silenced or misrepresented, ridiculed, or condemned in academic or popular discourses.” p. 20 (Para. 1).

The settler colonial process of researching Indigenous people has situated them between assimilation and oppression to meet the needs of the White European immigrants. Brayboy’s (2005) TribalCrit states: U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain (p. 429).

Research of Indigenous people manifests itself in the process of oppression, through this same research, imperialism was enacted on Indigenous people. Tuhiwai, S. L. (1999) states: “colonization is but one expression of Imperialism.” p.21 (para.2) For this reason the use of Indigenous research methods is powerful because it challenges the colonization tactics of oppression indicative of western research methods. The oppression that is inherent in western research methods is destructive of the Indigenous identity. Tuhiwai, S. L. (1999) states: “The reach of imperialism into ‘our heads’ challenges those who belong to colonized communities…” p.23 (para.1). It is through Indigenous research methods that we can understand how their identity and their voice is still being colonized. The boarding school assimilation process was directed at destroying their Indigenous systems. Tuhiwai, S. L. (1999) states: “…claimed, imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world.” p.28 (para. 2). Recognizing that research in Indigenous
communities was developed to oppress the colonized and understanding the importance that western research methods is a component of colonization is powerful. By using Indigenous research methods within my study, it opposes the American imperialistic methods of colonization that is still prevalent within the research of Indigenous people. Indigenous research methods within this study empowers the Indigenous voice. Tuhiwai, S. L. (1999) supports this reasoning: “Having been immersed in the Western academy which claims theory as thoroughly Western, which has constructed all the rules by which the indigenous voice has been overwhelmingly silenced.” p.29 (para.1).

**Research Problem and Questions**

The origins of my research questions began as I witnessed resistance and identity confusion of Indigenous students that influenced their attitudes toward schooling. I reflected on the history of Indian education and how boarding schools or other schools that work with Indigenous students have negatively affected their beliefs and perspectives of education. I questioned past educational institutions, in particular, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School that was relevant to my tribes: the Lakota, Northern Arapaho, and Northern Cheyenne. I suspected that the historical effects of their settler colonial based curriculum impacted these tribes and other Indigenous students' graduation rates, which are currently the lowest in the nation.

The research questions that guided my study are:

1. How has the effect of the settler colonist curriculum influenced the grandparent’s perceptions about education?
2. How, if any, of their views toward schooling or academics have been passed on to their subsequent family members such as children, grandchildren, or great grandchildren?

3. How has this influenced the graduation of Indigenous students from high school?

**Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical perspectives that support my methodology are the social constructivist theory and Tribal critical race theory (Brayboy, 2005) as well as the construct of logic of elimination. I used Lev Vygotsky’s (1978) social constructivist theory that promotes the idea that learning comes from social interaction, which then contributes to an individual’s development. His theory explained that people create cultures through the use of tools and symbols and further espouses that culture or more accurately, the dominant culture, defines what is learned and how it is learned in schools. Theorist Vygotsky recognized that we all have an area that is receptive to the connections of others in our universe, which he labeled this the zone of proximal development. This theoretical framework aligned closely to the Indigenous foundation of learning that is situated in the community. Knowledge passed on to others by continuous interaction with elders and adults who possessed the skills being learned and taught through the psychological tools of story, symbolism, culture, and traditions that created the Indigenous foundation for identity, awareness, retention, and thought.

The development of Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) was specific to the Indigenous identity in America. Since Indigenous people are the only race in the United States whose rights and status are specifically defined in the U.S. Constitution. This
drastically divided their status to both citizens of America and wards of the U.S. Congress creating their liminality. This liminality is relevant because it identifies the government’s role in forcing assimilation practices within these boarding schools and it situates the conversation into how education is a process to colonize Indigenous children. This settler colonial process is still the basis of American policy and has affected the boarding school’s curriculum making it a settler colonial process designed to force the Indigenous children to give up their identity for White European immigrant one. It reveals how imposing that process on them was part of a system that warped their Indigenous identity into a quasi-artificial White European one. TribalCrit supports the methodology of using interviews to gather their Indigenous stories. For their voice is within their stories which tells their “ways of being” is valid and identifies the need for it to be positively integrated within educational pedagogy. TribalCrit supports their responses which contain the theory and the data for building significant educational supports for Indigenous children. It enlightens by providing an Indigenous lens which helps show how those participating within the curriculum and instruction of the boarding schools have contributed to the tearing out of their Indigenous identity which caused generational trauma.

The construct of the logic of elimination identified the elements of the settler colonial process which helps to define the reasoning behind the creation of Carlisle boarding school. The logic of elimination explained how settler colonialism has oppressed both, the relocated slaves, and the Indigenous people of America. It informed how settler colonialism demanded two entirely different conditions for these two distinct
populations; Indigenous people were to be eradicated and slaves were to become the subjugated workforce (Wolfe, 2006).

In this research, I brought these frameworks together to address learning, identity, and the colonization process. The learning process happened in communities where the language and cultural ways are passed on to Indigenous children. Identity was central to what Vygotsky (1978) promoted in his theory—where individuals are socialized into their communities through interaction and language and a sense of belonging. The settler colonialism process was detrimental to Indigenous children. It attacked their Indigenous ways of learning through forced isolation, punishment, and abuse; it taught lessons that went beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic.

**In-depth Interview Method**

In this study, I conducted interviews to gather qualitative data and apply the principles and techniques of Seideman’s (2006) in-depth, phenomenologically-based interviews. Using semi-structured interview questions, I asked participants to think back on their experiences and legacy of their Carlisle student ancestor. The nature of semi-structured interview questions allowed me to follow-up with prompts and unplanned questions to keep the participants focused on the intent of this research. I provided a confidential safe space and the arranged time for the interview to meet the needs of the participants.

Seidman (2006) pointed out that open-ended interview questions allow the researcher to “...build upon and explore their participants’ responses to those questions. The goal is to have the participant reconstruct his or her experience within the topic under
study” (p. 15). In this research, I explored the experiences of participants’ ancestors who were at the Carlisle Boarding School. According to Maxwell (2013), qualitative research through interviews helps the researcher in “understanding the particular contexts within which the participants act and the influence that this context has on their action” (p. 30). Seidman’s (2006) in depth-phenomenological interviewing structure was a qualitative method that allowed me to understand the context and to capture the participants stories through the following, outlined process:

1. Interview One: Focused Family History: This puts the participant’s experiences in context by asking them in detail about their educational experiences as a descendant of a Carlisle boarding school student.

2. Interview Two: Focus on Concrete Participant Experience: Participants can share details about elicit details of their educational experiences rather than their opinions as a descendant of a Carlisle boarding school student.

3. Interview Three: Reflection on the Meaning: Participants reflect on the meaning of their experience and make sense of their experiences. Participants can talk about the factors that influence the participants’ present lives as a descendant of a Carlisle boarding school student.

I conducted all the interviews in face-to-face settings because many Indigenous people still use oral history as the principal method of preserving Indigenous knowledge. The in-depth interview structure proposed by Seideman was in strong alignment with the Indigenous cultural way of interacting with others. Using the qualitative methods of interviews with semi-structured and open-ended questions was fundamental for capturing
the participant’s “story” and focused on description rather than numbers. According to Maxwell, (2013) qualitative research methods have been a primary way for “understanding the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, experiences, and actions they are involved with or engage in” (p. 30). Seidman (2006) would agree with Maxwell that though interviews the participant can produce “context” to get at the “meaning” of their experience. He stated:

The first interview establishes the context of the participants’ experience. The second allows participants to reconstruct the details of their experience within the context in which it occurs. And the third encourages the participants to reflect on the meaning their experience holds for them. (p. 17)

Through a qualitative approach that honors stories and participants’ voices, I sought to understand the “story” of how Carlisle Industrial Boarding School has affected subsequent generations of Indigenous students and communities’ perspective of education.

**Participants**

Because this inquiry focused on family members who experienced Carlisle Boarding School, I solicited invitations through a variety of methods. Through culturally responsive research processes, I intentionally chose culturally appropriate ways to interact with the Indigenous community. This meant taking time to attend cultural events and community activities such as pow wows or sports events where Indigenous people gathered during the summer of 2019. From my personal interactions with people at these events we talked about our tribes, who we are related to, and our life experiences. This
established trust and common bond to build relationships with the people and their stories. Participant pairs were related descendants of those who attended Carlisle or another Indian boarding school who represent the oldest living generation and a current living family member. The participants passed on their knowledge through the process of oral history. It was a painful process for them which revealed the unspoken grief that they all felt because of the boarding school’s trauma inflicted on their relatives. As they spoke, they and their younger family members processed the information that the older generation was passing on. The elders were still trying to cope with and make sense their parents and grandparents experience. For the younger generation, it was the first time they were hearing their elder’s stories and learning about their elder’s trauma. Many of the younger generations had to process what they just heard and tell their own story. Some came to the realization that that was why they didn’t pass on their language and culture or as they told their own stories, pieces of their elder’s experiences reemerging in their own stories. Many came to the realization that they were re-experiencing the same trauma their parents or grandparents had passed on. Many commented on making the same harmful decisions in their lives or having the same self-destructive behaviors. Their own struggles were indicative of the symptoms of generational trauma. It affected them all, making them question why it repeated in their own lives.

In developing the code names which they would be identified as in my study I remembered the stories of their trauma, their resilience, and their wisdom. I witnessed their love for people and how they wanted to heal themselves, help others heal, or speak up for others. Consequently, through their reflections of their trauma, they earned their
own code names because of the Indigenous values that stood out in the power of discourse, as they told their stories. I listed the participants pairs who agreed to contribute to this study in Table 4.

**Table 4: Participant Pairs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Generation</th>
<th>Younger Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># Code Names</td>
<td>Code Name Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Wounspe</td>
<td>Lesson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Wichoun</td>
<td>Way of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Woksape</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Waslolya</td>
<td>To be knowledgeable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nakcizin</td>
<td>To stand up in somebody's defense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Wowicakhe</td>
<td>Truth, fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Wicakha</td>
<td>To speak true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Woglaka</td>
<td>To speak about things</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Data Collection Process**

The goal of this summer period was to gather data from Carlisle student descendants and seek suitable pairs of participants. Participant pairs were preferably related descendants from the Carlisle student, but they also consisted of descendants from other Indian boarding schools. Those I interviewed represented the oldest living generation and a current younger generation family member (see Table 4). The recruitment of participants occurred during my travel to various reservations in the Midwest during the summer of 2019. I was able to interview Indigenous people from four reservations throughout South Dakota, Wyoming, Idaho, and the city of Billings, Montana (see Figure 13) shows:
Recruitment of participants: Travel to various reservations in the Midwest during summer of 2019.

I traveled throughout each reservation to reach people to interview. In the summer, I attended summer events to take advantage of the optimal gathering that this time of the year presents. I attended powwows, sports activities, and cultural events; however, the majority of those I interviewed were recommended by other people in the community. I contacted eligible participant pairs via email or phone and invited them to participate in the study. For the participant pairs who wished to be interviewed, I coordinated the date and location of our meeting. Since I am meeting individuals from independent sovereign nations, the process of setting up a meeting and interviewing was respectful of their Indigenous culture. When meeting those I interviewed it is culturally respectful to observe tribal etiquette, I ensured that I brought an initial gift like coffee, desert, and tobacco. It is important to shake hands and visit to respectfully situate yourself culturally.
within their home, before starting the interviews, its rude behavior to do otherwise. Before the interviews I gave a verbal background of the process and the interview questions that I was going to ask to determine if they wished to participate in the study. I provided information about the purpose of the study and reviewed informed consent forms prior to recording the interviews. All interested participant pairs came from subsequent generations of Carlisle students, who are no longer living, so it’s a priority to ensure you are respectful of their relative when asking questions about their experience within these boarding schools. I drew upon family members to recall the beliefs that passed on and the impact on their own perceptions of education.

Seidman (2006) suggested that each interview step be separated by a specified amount of time, such as days or weeks. Although Seidman emphasized how important it is to adhere to the designed process, he also stated that it is a flexible process. “As long as a structure is maintained that allows participants to reconstruct and reflect upon their experience within the context of their lives, alterations to the three-interview structure and the duration and spacing of interviews can certainly be explored” (p. 21). In almost every case I had one block of time to complete the three interviews because of my traveling itinerary and limited time at each location. Consequently, I ended up conducting interviews that varied in length of time between the interviews. Because I was interviewing elders my interviews progressed at a rate of time that they were comfortable with. Culturally, you don’t rush elders and you need to be respectful of the time it takes to convey their point. There are cultural values like respect and patience that you need to
possess within yourself and apply to your elders to get through your interview, so you wait for them to be completely finished with each question.

**Interview Questions**

I used Seidman’s (2006) three-step process to combine a life-history approach with a current look at the experiences of the participant and a reflective approach to make meaning of the experiences. I used interview questions to ask participants to think back on their experiences and the legacy of their Carlisle student ancestor. I divided my 13 interview questions among the three separate interviews and included the following:

**Interview One: Focused Family History**

1. Regarding Carlisle or (the boarding school experience) – what do you know about them?
2. What do you think happened to the students “Indigenous Identities”?
3. What do you see as Indigenous knowledge? In comparison to the past and today, is that original Indigenous knowledge the same today?
4. What did you and your family do to preserve Indigenous knowledge?

**Interview Two: Focus on Concrete Participant Experience**

1. Given that you have a family member who was at Carlisle or another Indian boarding school, what was their experience at the school and the impact on your family member?
2. If there was social or psychological trauma from the boarding school experience – how do you think it influenced your family’s belief about education? How did it show up in the conversations in your family?
3. What is your understanding of colonization and do you think it applies to the boarding school experience for Indigenous people?

4. Do you believe Indigenous people experienced genocide or ethnocide in boarding schools? Yes? No? and Why? Concerning generational/historical trauma, are people still experiencing it today?

Interview Three: Reflection on the Meaning

1. Given that we have spoken about your family’s experience at Carlisle or another Indian boarding school, what do you think was the impact/effect on your culture, language, or religious beliefs?

2. Was there any loss? Benefit? From your family’s experience at Carlisle or another Indian boarding school?

3. How do you think children are experiencing schooling today? Curriculum: Are there still assimilationist beliefs being promoted? Is there stereotyping or misrepresentation in their curriculum?

4. Did you feel that your cultural identity was supported or threatened during school? How?

5. In your opinion, how are Indigenous people healing from boarding school generational/historical trauma?

Researchers Role

I am a descendant of a Carlisle graduate and I have attended boarding schools and graduated from one of them. This combines my role as a researcher and an insider to the phenomena that I am studying. I, as a researcher, am part of the world that I am studying,
and this is a powerful and inescapable influence. What the participants say during the interview is always influenced by the interviewer’s lens—my lens. While minimizing my influence may not be a realistic goal, I addressed this by avoiding leading questions, conducting my research in a natural setting, and most importantly, staying aware of how I am affecting what the participant says and immediately correct the influential factors.

In conducting qualitative research, the researcher is responsible for protecting the group’s cultural vulnerability and keeping the group studied from harm. Because Indigenous groups are not part of the dominant culture but, rather are their victim in the invasion of their land, they are not members of the society of occupation that invaded their land. I hold myself accountable to this status that makes them more susceptible to consenting because they are an oppressed people. This reason is why past researchers may have been able to take advantage of the history of domination they live under to garner their permission to research them.

My research interviews protocols included an awareness of the Indigenous participants as members of a culturally vulnerable population with language barriers and cultural norms native to this land. I also remained aware that throughout history research was aimed at making Indigenous groups inferior to the White European immigrants by connecting them to mental, physical, or addiction inadequacies and to not contribute to the harm this has caused them.

**Data Analysis**

Data collected for this study were primarily interviews that I recorded and later transcribed for thematic analysis. The use of the three-interview structure was
incorporated to enhance and accomplish a preliminary clustering of codes, whereby patterns of topics or themes could be revealed. In qualitative research, we do not often use the word “validity;” however, interviews can provide a depth and patterns of responses that reflect trustworthiness or in some ways a reliability that supports the construct of validity. Seidman, (2006) stated:

The goal of the process is to understand how our participants understand and make meaning of their experience. If the interview structure works to allow them to make sense to themselves as well as to the interviewer goes a long way toward validity. (p. 23)

The analysis of my data included analyzing interview transcripts and observation notes. I looked for patterns among the transcribed interview data and identified important codes and categories in the data by identifying relationships. My process of interpretation was repetitive and reflexive during the interviews and noted in my notes. My analysis process included the following steps:

1. Checking in with my mentor and coordinating a method to analyze the data
2. Adding the interview transcripts into Atlas T.I.
3. Browsing through all transcripts
4. Collapsing and merging responses into codes as they clustered around certain themes.
5. Categorizing them into themes
6. Making notes about first impressions
7. Reading transcripts again line by line
As I began to create codes, I utilized a few “start codes” that were informed by the literature and appeared in the participants’ stories such as trust, generational trauma, educational experiences, and/or cultural ways of being in the world. While start codes can be preconceived theories or concepts, I remained open-minded to what the participants were sharing and where the data was leading. It was my aim to represent a lived experience and historically grounded narrative from the perspectives of my participants, succeeding generations of Carlisle School students. In all ways, I was diligent about the ethics in my analysis including confidentiality, advocacy, intervention, research integrity, conclusions, and use of results. The themes that I developed from my data are listed in Table 6. Interview responses of related descendants of those who attended Carlisle, or another Indian boarding school produced the following themes and sub-themes.

Table 6: Themes from Data Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUB-CODES</th>
<th>THEMES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural Ways</td>
<td>Generational Trauma</td>
<td>Logic of Elimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Oral History</td>
<td>Stolen</td>
<td>Colonization Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Trauma</td>
<td>War Mechanism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Genocide &amp; Ethnocide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Racism</td>
<td>Manifestation in the Curriculum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Self-Respect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary

In Chapter Three, I explained the methods I used to explore the history of settler colonialism curriculum within Indian boarding schools and how it affected students who attended them. Specifically, my study’s goal was to understand how Carlisle’s educational legacy affected the perceptions of education by the Carlisle graduates.
succeeding generations. I also explained the methodology influencing my choice of methods and my use of them. Because I collected interview data from a culture that preserves their knowledge through oral history, my choice of a qualitative approach and an in-depth interview methodology aligned with the cultural tradition of my participants. My interview questions consisted of semi-structured and open-ended questions that allowed participants to share their stories, which, in turn revealed their perceptions, beliefs, and feelings about the educational legacy of their ancestors. In the next chapter, I share the participants’ stories of how Carlisle Industrial Boarding School and other Indian boarding schools affected their perspective of education from a generational and historical view of their experiences.
Chapter 4: Findings

The participants past on many words of wisdom within their stories, this research’s aim was to capture the meaning within their voices. There is much overlap and interconnectedness to their stories and perceptions as a people, not so much from one tribe, but from many tribes. And not so much from one boarding school, but many Indian boarding schools (see Table 7). Their voices paint a picture for us to understand the historical impact of the boarding school that played a huge role in the destruction of Indigenous students’ identity, language, and culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boarding School Name</th>
<th>SOURCE: Interview Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brainerd Indian Training School, Fall River County, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemawa Boarding School, Salem, Oregon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flandreau Indian School, Flandreau, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haskell Indian School, Lawrence, Kansas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Rosary Mission Boarding School, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Cheyenne Agency Boarding School, Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paschal Sherman Indian School, Colville Reservation, Washington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Indian School, Pierre, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph's Indian Residential School, Chamberlain, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary’s Catholic Boarding School, Colville Reservation, Washington</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's Mission School, Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stephens Indian School, Wind River Reservation, Wyoming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephan Catholic Boarding School, Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The people participating in this research were descendants of children who were forced to attend Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. If they did not attend Carlisle, they attended other Indian boarding schools or had relatives who attended other Indian boarding schools. Through the analysis of the 16 interviews and 213 pages
of transcripts, I identified three main themes as the most relevant and repeated by the participants. These main themes represented the experience that affected those interviewed and their loved ones who attended Indian boarding schools. In the next sections, I describe the three main themes: cultural ways, generational trauma, and logic of elimination.

**Cultural Ways**

Cultural ways are the cultural and traditional methods of how Indigenous people survived and passed on their ways to their young. For students in boarding schools, their cultural ways enabled them to cope with the negative outcomes these schools had on their lives and families. This theme encompasses how generations combatted the forced education system in ways that enabled them to keep their culture, language, and identity.

There were strengths and assets that children brought with them into boarding schools that showed up in the three sub-themes including (a) oral history preserving culture, (b) holding onto their language, and (c) identity remembering who they were as a part of a tribal community as well as their resilience—their strength and perseverance as a people.

**Oral history.** The first sub-theme is oral history which refers to the Indigenous method of educating and preserving history. In an era of genocide and assimilation, oral history became the essential lifeblood of guardianship of Native ways by the children of boarding schools. Winter count was a way to capture the oral history of a year within the depiction of one prominent event that happened that year. A picture on the winter-count hide represented a story that when retold sparked a historical account by all tribal members of what happened that year, passed on from generation to generation. In some
ways, it was like the winter-count was a card catalogue within a library and every member of the tribe was a book in that library.

As with any war, there was always resistance to the oppression that Indigenous people were subjected to and the people fought to preserve their Indigenous culture and traditions that was being relentlessly cleansed. As a strength, the Indigenous children within these boarding schools relied on their oral traditions to combat the settler colonial process. Oral tradition was an educational process of preservation as Wichoun stated, “We learn our language orally and all the stories that were told to us were orally. And how we learn is show-and-tell, hands-on.” As a prisoner of war when everything is taken from you, you make use of any method to maintain your sanity. As Wachinyanpi stated, “I know, it was more, for our people, an oral history and that was passed down by word of mouth.” Oral tradition was a process where the Indigenous people kept their culture and traditions alive within the memory of all tribal members. Each member became a keeper of knowledge like a book in an encyclopedia, a living library of wisdom. As Wichoun stated, “I’m really thankful that we have our elder sets. We have very few that’s left then. They’re the historians, they’re our history books.” The Indigenous language complimented this process because many words had multiple meanings or conveyed profound meaning. As Wotakuye stated, “This is what we had to…is to talk about stories about what we did, what Native Americans did back then just to keep our Indigenous ways alive.” If oral history created a living library, then the librarians were definitely our elders, a community resource of information. As Wichoun, alluded, “They have to start
looking at their local communities or local resources. Right now, we got Grandma Marie, she's got a beautiful memory."

In the aftermath, Indigenous people were processing and recognizing how this ubiquitous method of preserving information kept our culture alive and allowed it to prevail through time. As Asniya stated, “We used to be an oral traditional society where it's passed on down. Like I said, ours was not passed on down but there were older families around, Red Scaffold area, Cherry Creek, that kept all those different stories.”

There is no way to convey how important this method was to Indigenous people. Oral history kept them alive as a people. Wichoun gave this example, “Our language is important, our storytelling is important, you know what I mean? For instance, the moral stories.” Moral stories were made up of many stories that taught people how to progress as human beings. For example, teaching lessons of life through recounting one mischievous character's misfortunes as they lived life doing what they were not supposed to be doing.

Children in Indian boarding schools were living in two worlds within education. One was their Indigenous way of life that was supposed to remain in the past, but one which they have been living today. This world was the Indigenous way of being and learning (their cultural educational system). The other world was the White European immigrant educational system that was thrust upon them with great force. To survive, they had to develop knowledge and skills to walk successfully in the two worlds, meaning the ability to code-switch between the two. Conflicting educational systems was what Indigenous people have always dealt with since the coming of the first European
immigrant. When an Indigenous child entered the White European educational system, they have been met with a system which in many ways conflicts with their Indigenous teachings. Kiksuya stated, “Indigenous people had to walk in two worlds and find balance in those two worlds.” The differences were vast; it was spending your lifetime walking in balance with your people, clockwise around a circle and then, in an instant, you are forced to walk counterclockwise to all your Indigenous teachings—from thinking of the community to thinking of only the individual. The choice became a balancing act as Wichoun stated, “It's up to you, whichever you're going to go, but balance both. Don't think this is better than this. Because we always question ourselves. Are we going to go back to the old ways? It's hard to do.” This was the reason oral tradition became so important in their success in keeping their Indigenous ways. Waslolya gave an example of what they had to do while under the oppression of the church, saying:

For my family it was kind of like two ways. We went with the tradition and we went with the White man’s way of living in terms of religion, but we had to keep our own religion in a way that we don’t speak about it when we talk with a Catholic priest or people like that, but it’s alive.

This religious example was reiterated and further clarified as a strength as Kiksuya stated, “We will always walk in balance because we live in two worlds. Actually, we live in three worlds, the White man's world, our way of life, and our spiritual world.” The preservation of your cultural ways was further complicated when your blood came from multiple tribes. Owothanla stated:
So, I appreciate that part from my parents, they both shared that with us. How they had to work to reacquire our customs, our religious belief systems, our Indigenous religions on both sides, longhouse, sun dance, the pipe, sweats, cedaring. All those things that we do to have our identity, Arapaho identity, as Nez Perce. Walking two intertribal worlds.

There was a great struggle to balance their identities existence in both worlds, the question was how much I should compromise of me, to survive in the “new world.”

During the process of learning to walk in two worlds, there was a requirement to change. Subsequently, holding onto ones’ Indigenous identity became a conflicted choice of how much of their identity they were willing to surrender. But eventually they just had to change, and the change had to coincide with the idea that they survive and learned from the situation. Consequently, the Indigenous people were able to accept opportunities in this forced change. As Woksape stated, “They had to make a lot of changes because of... social changes too. You have to kind of adapt to certain things, they just changed. Some of it is for the betterment of the people.” Survival was dependent on navigating the new constraints of this “new world.” It did not involve an honest choice for a better way of life as much as it was a choice between life and death. Woksape stated, “You know, White man skills and things that...which were good because the world was changing and we had to learn how to live the White man way, to get money to survive, you know.” Despite the forced changes required by the boarding schools, the drive to help their people and the fire to remain themselves stayed lit. Waslolya stated, “I think that still exists today, because there's a lot of us that still hang on to the Indian way
of learning things, and there's a lot of us that went up to levels in a White man's education.” Indigenous people have been walking through the badlands, being tempered like steel for centuries, strengthening their faith and building a universal consciousness to endure and struggle for their Indigenous renaissance. Kiksuya could see the positive and negative of the experience but would rather focus on the resilience learned as a strength in reclaiming her heritage.

You could look at it at two sides, the negative and the positive. And the positive part about it is, it's strengthening us and it's bringing out our resiliency into, yeah, this is who we are and I'm going to learn it. And I'm going to relearn all that was taken.

**Language.** Language, the second sub-theme refers to the Indigenous language of each child’s tribal nation. Boarding schools subjected Indigenous children to physical, mental, verbal, and sexual abuse, as a means, to sever them from their Indigenous heritage in their effort to destroy their Indigenous identities. Indigenous children’s first contact with boarding schools set in motion the children's abuse for practicing their culture, religion, and speaking their language. As Waslolya recalled in his experience of getting caught speaking his language.

I remember that I had a lot of friends that talk Indian, the Sioux language, and they would be teaching me, and I would be learning, and we’d be talking. But if we got caught, we always had our mouths... We had to bite into a soap.

The boarding school personnel eventually fostered lateral oppressive behaviors within the children which helped to ensure all children fell into line. Teachers, administrators,
priests, nuns, brothers, and sisters used verbal and mental abuse to build a negative connotation of those who tried to preserve their languages. After their experience within the boarding schools, these children associated false beliefs of shame when returning to their Indigenous ways. As Wichoun illustrated when she told of her grandmother's interaction with another relative returning from the boarding schools. “My paternal grandmother, she always tells her, ‘Don't be ashamed of your language. Don't be ashamed of it because that's how we survived on Unci Maka, with the Creator.’” The result of the ingrained false beliefs by these boarding schools negatively affected their descendants as they strived to reclaim their identity through their language. Kiksuya stated:

Because my family, we held on to every morsel that would help us. With our culture being in our language and our way of life, being taken from us, beaten from us, it’s like, now I have to relearn it all. And, I'm trying to pick it up through music, our language, back through music.

The loss of their connection to their languages' effect on future generations was devastating in the reclamation of their language.

Although the curriculum at these schools was directed at the students' loss of language, the children understood the importance of it maintaining their connection to their identity. So, they protected their Indigenous language by keeping it hidden inside. Wichoun told of her grandfather's effort to stay connected. “What he talked about was he always remembers his language. He said that really helped him. Although he can't speak it, he always remembers it.” Despite being young and isolated from everything they
loved, they remembered their elders' teaching that it was important to hang on to their language. Wichoun quoted her grandpa's statement of belief, “Grandpa Oliver always says, remember your language. Teach your Takoja’s the language. If you don't, they’re going to lose their heritage.” Again, the role of the elders' teachings through oral traditions provided a thread to hold onto in preserving their language and cultural ways for their people. The importance of Indigenous languages transcended communication and culture, there were deeper connotations for the importance of preserving it. The Lakota were given their language by the Creator and it was kept like a sacred covenant between them and Wakan Tanka (Great Mystery). This powerful language was sacred and gave them the ability to communicate with all of Wakan Tanka’s creations. Wichoun stated, “Because the Creator here gave us the language. He gave us our ways, our beliefs, which we carry on from generation to generation” So, the Wakanyeja, (Lakota Children, Sacred Children, Sacred Ones) did everything they could to keep their holy connection to the Creator. As little as they were, they had a profound understanding of their sacred ways; they knew that they walked on a red road. Wichoun described some context to its importance, saying:

With the language itself, it's really important. Because the language itself, it tells you have that spiritual connection, especially with our ancestors and whenever we make our prayer ties. We put our prayers in here so that's our ancestors, we get connected with them. Today, in everyday living, I always use my language first.”

Today, their children long for this connection and in many cases the reconnection to their sacred language. The reason is the language offers a divine connection to something
greater than themselves. Wowicakhe gave meaning to this concept “that to get connected with the Great Spirit you have to have your language.” Therefore, the importance of maintaining their language was a great part of their culture and heritage. Wotakuye talked about the importance of preserving their connection to Indigenous wisdom. “Indigenous knowledge is learning from our ancestors, our elders, what they learned is what we would be learning to preserve our Indigenous ways. Keeping our culture alive, trying to keep our language alive.” This was a consistent and recurring issue of contention between the White European immigrants and Indigenous people that has gone on for generations.

People said they are losing their language, yet many Indigenous people would say it never left. When living under a constant state of oppression, as the Indigenous people of America did and do, their oppression forces them to fight for their rights to keep their Native ways intact. As Iyechel stated, “I think a lot of the people just kept it, and they didn't listen to them, I guess. They just went on with their ceremonies and speaking their language.” Despite the White European education systems assimilation process, Indigenous communities have struggled covertly to keep their Indigenous societal systems intact as possible. The effort has safeguarded their languages. Wowicakhe told how his family maintained the language:

My first language was the Native American language, Lakota. That’s all we heard, that was our natural language, my parents spoke it every day. In the mornings when the sun comes up, they speak Lakota. So did my aunties and uncles and grandma and Grandpa, they all spoke Lakota language. That’s all we heard all day, speaking that language.
This way of retaining the language was extensive and prevalent in many tribes. Nakicizin recalled life in her mother's house. “She could just speak fluent Nez Perce, my mother and in my whole household, everybody spoke Nez Perce.” Furthermore, they also had multiple educators in their lives who passed on the language. Nakicizin stated, “My father was fluent in five tribes, five languages: the Hoon Bin Toued, the Colville, the Nez Perce, Yakama, Umatilla, and I forgot what other tribe, but he could speak six tribal languages.” They learned their sacred language from their elders who were their teachers. So, as they were put through the assimilation process, they reaffirmed their connection with any compatriot they could find. Wowicakhe stated, “Our thoughts were always back to our natural language and we spoke it outside. We’d play outside at recess time and coming into the classroom and we talked about what happened outside. We still spoke Lakota.” It took great strength of character to keep speaking their language. Wowicakhe illustrated how determined they had to be in the boarding schools:

When you’d get a little break we’d always go back, and we’d always visit with my cousins and friends and speak Lakota again. I guess I was one of them that was very defiant or something I should say, I kept speaking Lakota.

The elders modeled a life worth living and suffering for and stressed the importance of keeping the Native ways strong. Wowicakhe recalled a story about his uncle’s way keeping their language:

When I spoke to him in English, he wouldn’t even look at me. He would turn his body and look the other way. He would shun me, so then when I used the Native
American language and I’d speak to him, then he would turn around and he’d respond back. I think that was awesome, it’s sad that he passed away. As they addressed the forced changes to their Indigenous society, their efforts to repatriate their language seemed overwhelming because they knew how far from fluency they were. Yet, it inspired them to hear it and they were heartened by their elders’ encouragement as Indigenous people begin to reclaim their past. Wowicakhe recalled an empowering memory:

But then again, I had the advantage of speaking with elders in interviews in other times and we all sat there and spoke our language. None of us spoke English. Pretty soon, when we were getting into it, it was like going into a different world. My daughter was in it and she sat in the back and listened to it. I don’t think Keith was there, but she was speechless. She always sees me speaking English all the time. She said, ‘Dad, I didn’t think you’d talk that long. I didn’t think you could talk that way.’ I said, ‘It’s my natural language. Your natural language. Everybody’s natural language. You should learn it.’

The curriculum that opposed the speaking of Indigenous languages is being challenged more and more within schools and the revival of the Indigenous language is coming and has been gaining support.

The textbooks do not teach, that before the White European immigrants arrived, there was already a Indigenous civilization on Turtle Island. Instead, the textbooks have been teaching that our society was a primeval system designed by primitive people. However, this was a settler colonial argument meant to dissuade others from questioning
the genocide and theft of land that those colonizing America committed. Contrary to this thinking was the fact that Indigenous people already had their own government system, healthcare system, doctors, medicine, police, and an educational system. This educational system included a curriculum that was composed of a Native way of “educating” their children. Currently, this system is being empowered and promoted within the Indigenous communities to a whole new level.

There has been a resurgence of those interested in reclaiming their Native ways. The quest to return or preserve our heritage provided hope for the future that they will endure. Waslolya contemplated the integration of language and culture into the curriculum. “It takes a lot of thought to think about things like that. A lot of Indian ways are coming back, the language is coming back, it’s not that strong, but it’s coming back.” An important step in Indigenous education was actually integrating their language into the curriculum for the first time. Some schools consider smudging or the eradication of mascots enough however, those are only steps to where we should be. Schools for Indigenous populations should be focused on making inroads for the success of Indigenous children including teaching their language. Iyechel noted in his interview: “I think, first of all, our language, it's starting to come back. They're starting to teach us because we lost it along the way. And then they're bringing it back so that people can learn our language again.” If it does not happen, it would not hold them back because every Indigenous person has been growing up within a dual education system. The elders, their Indigenous teachers, would ensure they maintained that connection. As Owothanla recalled his grandparents always teaching the language to their grandchildren, saying:
Grandpa Jake used to teach us language and Grandpa Ernest. They’d quiz us when we lived there, so I have an idea and a sense of how it should sound from them. I think my parents missed out on that part of their local customs and traditions and beliefs being away and having to come home and acquire it again, reacquire it. Re-acquire what was there and acquire other things that weren’t there before.

However, Indigenous people do not have infinite time to return and reclaim their language because of one significant issue, their teachers are leaving this world. Wotakuye explained the urgency of making changes now, sharing:

On the other hand, I’ve been fighting for my culture, history, and I’m still learning my language. Still learning from my language, because from our elders, our elders are leaving and there’s going to be no one to teach us the language, the culture, or the history.

The enormity of this predicament will take a great effort to overcome, to ensure that Indigenous people keep their language. They have recognized the issue and know it will be a hard road to fluency. Owothanla remembered the work his parents put in to become fluent. “I know both my parents have hard times with their languages, but they could speak their languages. I know my dad was working on his language for a long time, and he was getting fluent” As long as Native people make the effort, they will model the importance of learning it for their descendants no matter their age. Asniya talked of his own motivation to learn the language:
As far as my language, I’m just slowly trying to learn. I was always working, I did the white man thing, I did my career. Now, I finally retired so now I can learn my own culture all over again at the age of 63. [Laughs].

In terms of learning the language, it is very important to the formation of identity, by building a connection to who they are as Indigenous people.

**Identity.** Identity, the third sub-theme under the theme of cultural ways, refers to how those interviewed viewed the importance of their connection to who they are as Indigenous people. They took into consideration all aspects of the Indigenous identity, as part of community, as a member of a family, and a member of a tribe. The cultural ways of Indigenous people are strong. Their claim to their identity has a sacred connection, keeping them grounded, they were never at a loss of direction because their identity was always pointing at true North. Iyechel explained why Indigenous people did not disappear in boarding schools. “Yeah, we kept our Indian ways because we knew we were Indian. In the first place, we were Indian.” This identity has always been attacked through the boarding school’s settler colonial curriculum. Despite that, Indigenous people have never wavered on their hold of their Indigenous identity, the reason being, they have an inherent sacred connection to Wakan Tanka. Wicakha commented on the church's assumption that Indigenous people were Godless heathens who need to be Christianized, saying:

> It's already embedded in the cultural traditions of most Native American communities. They didn't have to be taught any of that, it was always there. We
always knew there was a higher power, we always knew that it's right to do this and right to do that and that's kind of what we did.

However, in total, the boarding schools' damage to Indigenous societies has put them in a dire situation, causing them to struggle in staying connected to their identity. But the drive to remain Indian strengthened them in their fight to reclaim their Indigenous birthright. Owothanla had observed that in the early days they had struggled to reclaim their identity. “They had to force their identities with what they had at the time. To do the best that they could with what they had, and I think that’s what they did.” It did not matter how much effort there is to force them to change, their elders continued to hang on to their ways. They continued to teach, and those interested continued to learn. Woksape remembered how her elders reinforced her Indigenous identity. “I guess in a way, that's how they tried to keep that Arapaho way, our way intact in our family. You know, ‘Remember that you're Arapaho, Arapaho’s don't do that.’” The boarding schools became an intergenerational assault on Indigenous communities. The long-lasting effects on destroying their identity was meant to kill everything that made them Indian people generation after generation.

The educational system was still oppressing children and their communities. There was still an effort to destroy their identity and immerse them into the ways of mainstream society. The curriculum within these boarding schools was an attempt to condition the children into becoming White Europeans. Wicakha explained why the assimilation of these children did not fully work:
I think probably the most important factor that the White man doesn't realize is that you cannot force your ideologies upon other people. I mean, the mind is so intricate and from that perspective that, you can brainwash some of the people for some of the time, but you can't brainwash all the people all the time.

The education system drew a line signaling what they wanted the children to believe but, to them it was beyond what any rational person would think reasonable. The educational system wanted the complete loss of their identity. Wicakha explained why Indigenous children fought so hard to keep their identity. “I go back to that basic premise of war by Indians, because of their solid cultural identity, they try not to allow any type of other cultural impacts to really determine which way they're going.” Education demanded that they give up the last thing that was truly theirs or face the consequences. Wicakha reiterated his statement about the strength of their convictions:

I'd say, again, Indians overall from my generational standpoint is that, again, we have a strong embedded cultural identity and again, that's what really helps the true American Native American people to overcome some of these atrocities that were committed against us.

The Indigenous identity has been under attack within the White European education system for so long its tactics are understood by Indigenous children. For them, the tragedy of education was having to fight for their identity from day one. Wicakha spoke of the strength of Indigenous identity to resist change.

If a Native American is brought up in a cultural situation that's based upon their wisdom and knowledge, skills, and abilities, I don't think any person can change
those cultural identities because they're too positive to be destroyed, I guess, is a way of saying it.

Their Indigenous identity was a totem of strength for these children. With it, the children were able to endure the traumas committed upon them and build the power of resilience within themselves that they passed on to succeeding generations.

For Indigenous people, the purpose of education is to build a human being. All their efforts have been targeted toward accomplishing that outcome. Wowicakhe recalled a conversation with his uncle:

He said, ‘When you talk to people, do you really talk to people? Do they listen?’

He said, ‘When you talk to a person, you have to have that connection’ like we talked about earlier. That connection comes from here in your heart and your head, you have to have that connection going.

Boarding school education dehumanized and fostered a perception within the children that they were less, that their ways were primordial. But their philosophical beliefs were way beyond what their European educational system could comprehend. As modern society on this continent evolves, it has been slowly coming full circle in understanding the importance of Indigenous thinking and its relevance in the world. Their academic systems of the Indigenous seventh generation principle, the medicine wheel teachings, the “everything is related” connection, and the perspective that everything is alive have only recently been discovered as truth by academics who previously labeled them archaic. The settler colonial philosophy of the White European immigrants was an appropriation of knowledge without acknowledging the source, while discrediting the
real architects of that critical theory. In Indian education, Indigenous people have been striving for intellectual freedom to build their own curriculum to inspire their youth in their own way. Wowicakhe pointed out how Indigenous philosophy could be integrated into the curriculum, saying:

The ability to have that connection that’s the main teaching connection, identity. That’s the whole part of it, that’s your identity. It not only has to be language, it’s got to be spiritual, Wolakota we call it. Cante (heart) and Nasula (mind), the heart and the mind, Wolakota is spirituality. You’ve got to give that to the young ones, young generation. That’s the best curriculum that I know.

The elders understood the predicament that Indigenous children were being subjected to, being forcefully sent alone to be civilized though the boarding school’s assimilation process. Yet, the parents still encouraged them to “get their studies done” to “learn what you can and come back and help your people;” they knew that eventually, that education was all they were going to have. Wounspe explained her father’s wishes for her to be educated within the boarding schools as a means of survival. She shared:

I realized that the broken treaties and the land they took away from us and all of that, he knew about that, which I didn’t know at the time. So, it had a great meaning to say, “No one can take that away from you,” meaning the education. So, the children persevered and survived the trauma with the hope that eventually they would return and help their people.

The Indigenous value of fortitude has been taught to every member of the tribe, the lesson of perseverance allowed their Indigenous ancestors to survive genocide. The
children now faced a new challenge from the military, attending boarding schools. This military tactic was familiar to them because it was similar to the genocide that they have been living under all their lives. The new tactic was ethnocide through education and was directed at their identity. So, the Indigenous children had to persevere everyday within these boarding schools. Wichoun remembered her grandfather's words. “He thought, ‘They're trying to make me become like them, but I'll never change because of my skin color. And what I’ve learned was my language and my ways, my traditional ways, my spiritual beliefs.’” It did not entirely shield them from assimilation, but it did not leave them entirely vulnerable either. The resilience produced has helped succeeding generations pursue healing. They have been fighting through the generational trauma brought on by these schools while trying to empower themselves through education.

Wochazani recounted her challenges of getting a college degree:

> Otherwise, I was going to keep going down a dark path. And I had to go through my addictions and my alcoholism and get into recovery with that. And having to deal with those generational traumas and trying to make that change with my kids. If I keep them around the home front, and know their relatives, and keep them close to our people. Even though I'm trying to get them to be educated for their survival.

Their descendants have been trying to make education relevant in their Indigenous lives without sacrificing its usefulness within their social systems. Kiksuya talked about sorting through the settler colonial curriculum within education, saying:
I myself, I went back to school, but before I didn't go back to school just for the fact that I wanted to learn what looks alright to me. And I want to learn in my own way and through the books that I chose, not the books that I was told to read. This was required because racism in the curriculum remained alive in the White European education system; the oppressed were even required to learn about themselves though the oppressor’s point of view. Indigenous people have started to filter through their educational outcomes for themselves. Kiksuya talked about how she empowers herself through the lies within the educational curriculum.

I still have a hard time with that. I came back to school and they gave me a book written by a middle-aged White man. I had no idea, and this was on Indian issues, based on someone studying us. I was supposed to study this book, and I got a name for not studying that book. And by just integrating my own beliefs, my own way of learning, it worked for me.

Within the educational system, Indigenous students have been proactively integrating their own Indigenous ways to empower and protect their identity throughout their education. They have resisted the educational expectation that they change their identity and no longer accept what they are being taught without question.

The right to define their own way of educating themselves was not given to them. To them, the public education system has disregarded their right to have education meet them where they are at. Nakicizin recalled a time in the 1960s where education started to change:
It probably had to have been maybe in my generation, we have finally taken pride in the fact that we fought the war for a purpose and we’re still here, and we’re still practicing some of our beliefs. Not all of them, but the majority of them, and we’re intact.

Every positive step in education has not been without effort and every attempt to maintain their identity has not been without resistance. The Indigenous resistance to assimilation was instinctive and because they were being forced to change their identity it was taught to succeeding generations throughout their lives. Kiksuya recalled her mother’s story of resistance. “She said she had tried to hold on to those little bits and pieces of who she was, so she won't lose herself in these new ways of thinking, because these were new, these were new to us.”

Positive change for Indigenous people in education has seemed to be an odyssey of hardships because, for Indigenous people within a nation of immigrants, understanding or compassion for the Indigenous experience was not considered relevant to their agenda of colonization. Kiksuya described her struggle to reclaim her identity.

Now, we're trying to gain that back. It's like trying to make up for lost time.

Because that was just lost time of who we really are and so now, we're trying to scramble to make up for everything that we’ve lost.

Indigenous children have not been spending enough time at school but, they have been dedicating their time to reclaiming their Indigenous ways, living within their own Indigenous educational system. Wochazani explained how, “Keeping our ceremonies.
Practicing our language. Down to the way we live every day, the way they kept order, the foods we ate. Our connection to the earth and other life, all life.”

**Generational Trauma**

Generational trauma is the second theme identified from my data analysis. This theme refers to the effect this system had on those who attended Indian Boarding schools and how that trauma was passed on to succeeding generations. As I gathered all the references to this theme by those interviewed, I noted several sub-themes: stolen, trauma, religion, racism, and self-respect. In this next section, I reveal stories that the participants shared with me—memories passed on from an older generation to a younger generation.

Recalling these memories revealed boarding schools were a part of the settler colonization of America that inflicted trauma on the most vulnerable of the Indigenous populations, their children. The school’s aim was to eradicate the Indigenous identity of these children completely and irreparably destroy a whole generation of children. After the assimilation and dehumanizing process was complete, these broken children would be sent back to their people with the expectation that the trauma inflicted on them would replicate among their people. This age-old process of settler colonialism was perfected by the Europeans and applied to Indigenous children to inflict immense damage to their Indigenous communities. Settler colonial practices of genocide and ethnocide in the guise of “education” instilled behaviors within the children’s communities that reinforced its replication so that it would reemerge generation after generation, like an infectious disease.
**Stolen.** Stolen is the first sub-theme of the generational trauma theme in this study and it refers to how the students and their family members felt that the children were stolen from their families, communities and deprived of their connection to their cultural identity. The generational trauma of Indigenous children began with their forced attendance at boarding schools either through theft or coercion of their families. Kiksuya explained about her mother’s family conflict with the schools.

They were threatening the family, to take my grandma and my grandpa to jail if they didn't send her (my mother). So, it was like having her hands tied either way, if she stayed with the family, they were punished. If she went to the boarding schools, then they wouldn't be so hard on her family.

After an Indigenous tribe was condemned to living on a reservation, the Indian agent “superintendent,” who oversaw running the reservation, was responsible for beginning the process of abducting children. As Wichoun shared about what happened to her uncle:

The agency, the Superintendent is the one that told his dad that he has to go to school towards the East. And they assure you “You want to let him go or else there's going to be a severe punishment.” And then Indian policemen came over and took him.

The genocide of the Native Americans caused many children to be orphans producing the first individuals to be taken. Woksape recalled how the orphans were the first to go:

Some of them they caught and then they'd be gone then to Carlisle and wherever. A lot of the kids didn't have parents, you know, from I guess, the wars way back
there or whatever. Their parents got killed or whatever and they left and then they
would take them.

As the schools became too numerous to be operated by the Department of War alone,
ye quickly auctioned them off to various churches. The role of the church added a
complexity to the Indian boarding schools that would be felt for generations and created a
conflict of beliefs. The church desperately wanted their souls, as Woksape explained:

They said that those priests used to come in and they used to wear those long
black robes or whatever they wore a long time ago. She said that they started
warning each other and they’d say, "The black robes are coming, the black robes
are coming," and they'd hide their kids down by the river or wherever they were,
you know. She said, ‘wherever we could hide them, they used to hide them.’

The churches as organizations were not above force or oppression toward Indigenous
people. Woksape stated that the parents suffered through priest abuse to keep their kids
from being stolen when the “black robes” came looking for the children.

... they used to get punished or get hit if they wouldn't tell, you know. Like those
priests knew that they had kids and knew that they were hidden. They would hit
them or whatever if they wouldn't tell but they wouldn't tell.

They often would actively hunt for children to kidnap; they enlisted collaborators to aid
them in capturing their children. Another participant, Wowicakhe spoke about the
stealing of children as well.

Their process was just to assimilate Indians into being colonized. A lot of the stuff
that Carlisle, they were more or less abducted. That’s what I think. The way I
understand it from some of these elders that would tell me. A lot of stories that children were taken at night. But before that, there were the people that come and visit, and then they'd canvas the area to see what child lives where and know where they live, so that later on at night when they come, they would take them.

It’s a sad thing that happened to them.

The process of child abduction created a distrust of all aspects of education. Woksape explained how it affected her opinion of education.

That's how it affected me, through her and I just never trusted them. I remember my grandma, a long time ago, she said that they used to come and get the Indian kids and take them to the school, you know, forever, St. Stephens, Carlisle, wherever.

Furthermore, it laid the foundation of generational or historical trauma that keeps reasserting itself through multiple generations. Woksape recalled how those without parents received the most abuse.

It's not till later in life when you learn that that was the cause of it, you know, and you see that's why that happened, like that this happened and that happened and not having no support from parents. Because they picked on the ones that they knew didn't have parents or didn't have good homes or stable homes, I should say and stuff like that.

Education came to Indigenous people as a method of assimilation for which the child could not escape. The schools were purposely placed in uninhabited and isolated
locations to discourage children from leaving, but it did not always work. For example, Wounspe recalled how she wanted to leave the school, so she ran away.

I ran away from the boarding school myself. There were three of us and these two girls, they wanted to run away, and they asked me if I wanted to go with them. And I wanted out of there, so I said yes and so I went. But at that age, we didn’t know anything about running away.

These schools were in such hostile locations that many Indigenous children perished in the effort. Wounspe further explained, “I know there were others who ran away from the boarding school and they froze to death.” Yet, for most, it was not an option because they were often transported hundreds of miles away from home to be completely lost in unknown locations. Wichoun talked about her uncle’s experience. “He thought about running away, but he doesn’t know how to get back. He kept thinking the sun comes from the East Wiyohinyanpata, Wiyohpeyata is the West, but he just went ahead and gave up, he gave up.” Being stolen as a child and taken away from everything you loved and were familiar with, traumatized the children.

Trauma. Trauma, the second sub-theme of the generational trauma theme reflects the different ways and types of trauma endured—such as mental abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, and psychological warfare tactics. This sub-theme of trauma refers to the historical, generational events that were passed on within their families. The isolation brought on intense loneliness for mothers, fathers, and grandparents who attended the boarding schools and it was inconsolable. Wichoun recalled a memory of her uncle’s experience at Carlisle Indian Boarding School.
...he sees the girls around there, the little girls, the younger ones, they cry, even in the classroom, they cry Ina (mom), Uncicila (grandma), Gaga (grandpa). They cry over there and then they told them to be quiet. Some of them were taken away from the classrooms and that's what he didn't like to see.

Indigenous people grew up within extended family structures dissimilar to the European idea of a nuclear family. This inclusiveness of this structure created a cohesive tribal community, where a child was surrounded by many points of support and love. This made isolation, a huge component of these boarding schools, very traumatic for them because it took them away from a huge source of strength. Everything familial was taken from them at these boarding schools. Wichoun recalled what her uncle told her about one student’s experience with the loneliness.

... he remembered this girl, her name was Susan, they gave her that name, Susan. She used to cry a lot, homesick. And he said, after he came back, he said, ‘I could just hear her crying.’ He said it took a while to get over that. She was crying for Ina [mother], Ate [father], Uncicila [grandmother], Gaga [grandfather, Oglala], Lala [grandfather, Mniconjou] some of them, because they come from different bands and that was the hardest, he said.

The trauma was also compounded because the child had already lost so many relatives due to the genocide inflicted on them. The little girl was traumatized and in return contributed to Wichoun’s uncle's trauma.

The hurt caused by the Indian boarding schools produced many psychological injuries on the youth, causing many of them to lose hope. According to Woksape, “You
see a lot of these people that are just broken, broken spirits.” Indigenous people never harmed children because to them they are considered sacred beings; however, the people and entities who ran these schools used beatings to break the children. Woksape who attended an Indian boarding school was deeply hurt after witnessing the abuse and trauma of a young man in the school. She described:

They were walking by and I remember one of them was crying, just kind of wailing and crying. It was just sad, really hurtful, just hurt you inside and everybody was quiet, it seemed like during that, after lunch and class time. Nobody... Because they did it in front of everybody from kindergarten all the way to high school, they did that to them, you know, just humiliated them. It seemed like people didn't really want to look at each other because they were so embarrassed and so hurt.

The beating's objective was twofold: not only against those being beaten and humiliated, but it was also meant to bestow fear in all the other children within the reformatory. Wotakuye recalled seeing his brothers and sisters witness the horrific physical abuse. …his sisters and brothers standing by watching what happened to him, what happened to him that’s very harsh, what they did to him. It’s very scary to hear, too, seeing him crying because it’s kind of like a nightmare to him.

She went on to explain the effect it had on her and the other children. “Seeing stuff like that too, little kids too, that traumatized us.” Woksape and the others who had witnessed the beating have been processing the memory of this extreme violation of their cultural norms.
Beating or abusing a child until their spirit broke was never done; thus the impact of their beatings on Woksape, the child’s siblings, and all the other children at the school who also witnessed it was a form of psychological warfare that stayed with them for life.

The outcome of the historical trauma was that the traumatized had to soothe the spirit of succeeding generations about their nightmarish experience within America's educational system. Knowing of her experience within the boarding school system, her children or friends came to hear or share similar stories. Woksape who is in her 70s recalled trying to diminish the re-traumatization of her children when they first started coming to her about the unspeakable experiences of Indigenous children who went to the boarding schools.

With mine, with my kids, their friends told them stories about things like that and it was just really hard on them and then they would tell me about it. So, I would just try to talk to them, console them that it didn't really happen, to everybody but it happened a lot.

The trauma that children suffered within these schools was interpreted through their Indigenous ways of knowing. Their Indigenous paradigm whose teachings were oppositional to this treatment told them this shouldn’t be happening. So, the abuse they received from their perpetrators created conflicting psychological responses which resulted in them hiding their trauma and weakened the child’s hold on cultural ways.

Our Indian ways taught us that our hair is our connection to everything holy; we grew our hair because it made us stronger through that connection, so it was especially traumatic when the schools cut it. Cutting their hair was an Indigenous expression of
mourning, so in a way, the boarding schools revelatory action foretold their grim intention on their Indigenous identity. Kiksuya stated, “She said when she got her hair cut, it felt like she was going through a time of mourning, and she felt like that’s what the boarding school had brought her through.” This act of cutting one's hair validated children’s loss of their cultural identity. The use of this method by the schools was a weapon within the curriculum. By committing this psychological crime on the Indigenous children, the spiritual meaning instilled a real fear for their relatives lives back home because this was a time of active genocidal practices being committed on Indigenous people. Woksape recalled the result of this action:

Everybody else had short hair, the boys. And he was telling us at one time, he said that when they did that to the men, it kind of like, really broke them spiritually because that was their way, it meant something.

To cut their hair was contemptuous to the beliefs of every Indigenous child. Woksape recalled her abuse of her friend's uncle, “I saw her uncle crying one time because they did that to him. He ran away from the school, St. Stephens, and then they cut his hair and then they would beat them.” The abuse of these schools on helpless children was inescapable.

The process of settler colonialism within these schools was absolute; the children were at the mercy of the system, and it became a change or die choice for the children. The children had to change to navigate this new European immigrant world, to survive it. Wowicakhe endorsed the change or die mentality. “That’s how we had a lot of runaways at Carlisle school. I’d have a lot of people tell me stories that their kids died. And for
what? Trying to change them, change him like them.” The settler colonial process was too formidable for children to object to; they had to fight to keep their connections to their old ways, the process was overwhelming. The method of these institutions was punishing or creating hostile environments to ensure change; those hostile environments they created continued to reassert itself in succeeding generations. Wowicakhe explained how it was still happening and affecting their Indigenous youth.

They’re finding out later on that that must have hurt him so bad that he was bullied. And then months later, he was gone, he died. I seen that kid every day in the hallways and stuff, they come to the point where suicide is the biggest thing. When a connection of a child and their cultural ways has been severed, death was an outcome, whether it was the death of one’s identity or a physical one. Wowicakhe went on to point out that the suicides were happening because there was no connection to their ways. “The connection that our kids didn’t learn.” Today, as Indigenous people try to understand why so many of their family members died in the boarding schools, they have come to a realization of how fortunate they are. Wowicakhe recognized how blessed Indigenous people are. “Our ancestors, older ones, they went through a lot. They even got killed to the point of... we’re lucky we’re still alive to learn that.” However, suicide within boarding schools was a desperate attempt to escape the pain they were suffering.

The trauma committed against these children was so horrifying; it must have been apocalyptic for them to have survived genocide just to be driven to suicide. Wichoun stated, “Yes in boarding schools. When I went to school at Pine Ridge, I've noticed there's two girls that committed suicide, and they’ve died of loneliness. The families still
come around, they had problems with the teachers there.” The sickness passed on from generational trauma that was inflicted on children through education has remained endemic within boarding schools. The loss of their cultural identity, language, and traditions created a generation of lost Indigenous children.

The disempowering process of oppression by institutional schools has continued. Asniya contributed thoughts about the loss of parenting skills caused by boarding schools “Most definitely. You see all these kids nowadays, they're lost. Look at all the suicide where you got single parent families. You no longer have these two parent homes no more.” When the family structure was not whole, the ability to raise children in their cultural ways was compromised. Many of those who attended boarding schools grew up experiencing nothing but abuse, never knowing a parent’s love.

The boarding school’s curriculum had many mechanisms to assimilate children from their Indigenous identity to a White European settler one. The most successful and prevalent in all boarding schools was child abuse. Mental, physical, verbal, and sexual abuse were the mainstay in the educational curriculum for Indigenous children and was regularly committed on Indigenous students under the care of these boarding schools.

Taking a person’s identity was a long process and many children spent years in the Indian boarding schools before they could see their families again. People do not give up their identities voluntarily, not even children. So, the children got processed through many types of abuse to make that happen. One student’s memory of the mental abuse they endured or witnessed concerned their younger sibling, and the only recourse they had to protect them was to teach them how to endure it. Waslolya stated:
I remember back when I was second grade, my little brother went to school there. He started school there, and he would get a swat, and he would cry. And after I got my swats then, I went to go see my little brother to hug him, and he would stop crying. And there was a lot of us that did that, but after they stopped crying, we had to go back in line.

The schools routinely physically hit all the children to control and change them. Waslolya explained how he and his younger brother were together when being “swatted” by the German prefect.

Well, we're going to have a circus, and he would line us all up. And in the playground playroom, there were six pillars, and there were four corners to that pillar. And he would put all the students around that pillar, four of them, and he would get a belt out. And depending on your grade, you will get that many swats.

The colonization process within the boarding schools was intent on destroying the Indigenous identity of helpless children. Wicakha commented on the limitless boundaries the personnel had in enforcing change. “It sounded, the way, by any means necessary. If you didn't follow the rules and talk English, they'd knock the crap out of you and there wasn't a damn thing they could do about it.” In every aspect of the schools, the personnel had complete and faultless power in assimilating the children. Wowicakhe remembered the trauma he suffered. “They grabbed my nose and they held it so tight. My brother said that my nose started to bleed through her fingers... and took me like that to the office. Teacher took me out without stopping all the way”. It was not only the teachers and
adults that physically abused the children, the school also recruited students to hurt their peers.

The educational curriculum encouraged incarcerated students to brutalize each other. While the students came from different tribes, they did try to maintain some solidarity. However, extensive punishments forced them to break their unity. Wounspe recalled a memory where the boys were forced to participate in each other's abuse.

One time I walked by the boys’ dorm and I saw them go through that whipping line. The boys stood on each side of a sidewalk, and the person being punished ran through the line, and they took off their belts—they wore leather belts—and they whipped them as they ran through this belt line. I don’t know how I happened to be there, but I saw that.

Physical violence was a learning tool within these reformatories. Wounspe explained how one girl learned how to say yes and no.

One of my friends, she learned how to say yes by… They grabbed her by the top of her hair, and pulled her down back and forth, and that was “yes” and they’d slap her face back and forth for “no”. So, she learned how to say “yes” and to say “no.”

Adult teachers used the same amount of physical force on children that they would use against an adult in the child abuse-based curriculum of these schools. Waslolya talked about a friend he had while in a Pine Ridge boarding school who stood up to an abusive teacher at the school and what happened to him after. “So, he took [him] and he beat him up with his fist. He beat him up, and took him by the pants’ leg, and held him upside
down, and dropped him on his head.” This abuse regularly happened in the government and church operated Indian boarding schools. Wicakha stated, “It's like being in a situation and incarcerated. The jailer's knocking the hell out of you, who are you going to call, the cops? Well, they're part of it.” These schools sanctioned or ignored the abuse happening to these children.

The verbal dehumanization of the children by the personnel running these schools was immensely successful in getting the children to think less of themselves. Ridicule by your peers was also a method employed by the schools to degrade the children. Waslolya shared about his experience in boarding school.

Yes, sir. No, sir. No, ma'am.” And in terms of punishment, if we ran away, they would cut our heads bald, cut off our hair. And when other students looked at us, they would kind of make fun of us, ridicule us. It was stuff like that that made us not think that we're Indian people, Indian students.

The written curriculum that their teachers instructed them with was inundated with material that was created to destroy their self-worth. Waslolya remembered that the educational materials they read reinforced this agenda. “We read through a lot of stuff like savages, and heathens, and at that time we didn't know what they were. We just went along with it because we didn't know what savages were, at that time.” Many of the church-operated Indian boarding schools that emerged after Carlisle added religious doctrine to the curriculum. The church's perpetrators were not just males, many females were present in the church's effort to save their souls. Waslolya remembered a few
specific church nuns who were especially adept at practicing psychological abuse on them.

I had a German teacher; she was Sister Rena. I had her for two years, three years actually, and she was always saying, "Don't smile until Christmas." She was really strict with our education, our subjects and Sister Elnita was like that too, I had her in fifth grade.

The church's method of instruction was to threaten children with the devil or hell. The priests and nuns applied this religious concept to discipline within the boarding schools. They warped the teachings of the church, creating the impression to the children that they had the right to banish them to hell if they were not absolutely obedient to their human captors. Waslolya gave an example of sister Elnita’s mental abuse. “Sister Elnita was always teaching us, telling us people, that left-handed people—I’m left-handed—left-handed people were children of the devil. So, the other kids would kind of avoid us because we were from the devil.” By creating an inference within the children's minds, there was a real possibility that they could go to hell for not giving up their identity. The church allowed irreverence of God into the schools by letting the priests and nuns foster that lie—that they had the power to damn a child to hell. Waslolya shared the following story about Sister Elnita.

…in her classroom, she built a stove out of cardboard. It was kind of a round-belly stove, and she put flames inside that stove, and on that door. When she opened that door, on top of it, it said ‘Hell.’ And on top of that stove, was a little opening, where if you did something wrong, if you didn't do your subjects right, if
you talked, or if you did something really bad, she’d take your name and she’d put it in that stove, and your name would go to hell. So, I think it was kind of like a mind type of thing.

The concept of hell did not exist among Indigenous religions, because they did not need to be threatened with hell to believe in the Creator and all things holy. Therefore, the image of “hell” to the children in Sister Elnita’s classroom was so terrifying. Those running the schools relied on verbal abuse they committed on these children to illicit control and subjugation. Somewhere in the school’s history there was a transition from verbal to sexual abuse or it might have always been there nevertheless, it still resulted in psychological repercussions for the children.

The most devastating abuse was sexual, many of the people who ran government and church run boarding schools preyed on children in their care. The Indigenous people were dehumanized ubiquitously across the nation so that European immigrants would have no regrets in killing them for bounties or stealing their land. The White Europeans teachers as well as the religious people who entered into service at these boarding schools came with a nationally fostered opinion of racism and disdain toward Indigenous people. Ignorance allowed White European immigrants to believe Indigenous children were not entirely human. Consequently, they felt anything they did to them was not done to a human and that crimes were not being committed. Wachinyanpi, a nurse within a tribal community, recalled how generational trauma was carried inside and showed up years later. In her role as a nurse, she came across individuals who were still processing their experience with sexual abuse.
So, my relatives would tell me about St. Joseph’s boarding school and being sexually abused. And, I think it’s pretty common knowledge, although, I don’t think there’s a lot written about it. But they carry that with them from being sent away and there are quite a few, especially guys, that admitted to that. And it’s sad because you carry that with you if you don’t get some type of intervention to deal with that situation, because you have to live with that for the rest of your life. And a lot of them, they didn’t offer counseling or anything. It just happened to you and that was it. You didn’t talk about it. So, that was for them, I’m sure, very traumatizing.

The church was there to build trust with the Indigenous communities they served, but within the schools, they became heretics of their own ideology. Woksape recalled a memory that another girl confided in her. The context behind the story was when the tribal community moved the cattle from one location to another and left the children under the care of the church boarding school.

When we were staying there, this one girl was telling us when we had to be there during the cattle time, that... One girl was telling me that at night, in the girls’ dorm that one priest or that brother, she said he used to come walking through and just touching the girls and stuff like that. They couldn’t even be safe in the dorm. I don't know where the nuns were.

These boarding schools were responsible for creating sexual predators who obeyed their boarding school programing. Tragically, their acts of sexual abuse passed on this “illness
of the mind” to new victims. Asniya speculated on how the sexual abuse committed in the schools created sexual predators on the reservations.

“It's basically a generational post-traumatic deal where them guys that were sexually molested, they're thinking, "Well, it was okay back then, why can't we do it now?" That's basically the kind of thinking, that I think, that they have in their minds.

The sexual abuse created a psychological trauma within some children; patterns of sexual abuse continued into succeeding generations, unless there is help, that behavior does not stop. Other strains of psychological abuse permeated the schools, one type also occurred when the church began using God as an instrument of ethnocide and genocide within the education system.

**Religion.** Religion is the third sub-theme of the generational trauma theme and refers to how church was continuously brought up as a perpetrator that enforced the methods of ethnocide and genocide within the schools they operated. They used God to brainwash and intimidate the children to do what the church wanted; this left many with a sense of confusion about the White religion. Indigenous people respected the Creator in every form and were devoted to all things holy. Part of the colonization process and destruction of the Indigenous people came about because of their connection to Wakan Tanka (Great Mystery). The church came to save their souls and convert them from their heathen ways of knowing a loving a caring God, to the civilized ways of the White European immigrants, who preached a vengeful God who could send you to hell. Waslolya remembered the process they forced on him.
We had to discontinue our religious traditions and go to the Catholic Church because that was the way at that time that was going. We were taught that would get us into Heaven. I don’t think at that time we knew a lot about what Heaven was, but because of that influence that the Catholic Church had on us it changed us a lot. Our way of religion, our way of traditional values was very much dissolved at that time. That’s the way I see it and it’s still happening today.

Their sacred ways were supposed to end and be replaced with a White European immigrant way of worship. Woksape recalled the loss of her Indigenous religion. “We weren't allowed to do any of our stuff, like our parents weren't allowed to pray in our language or sing or go to ceremonies, our religious ceremonies and stuff, they were outlawed.” The conversion of the church came with many expectations of how they needed to live their lives, or else. Woksape stated:

You had to sit like that, you couldn't sit like this, dress like them and you had to think like them and pray like them, you know. Yes, yes, it was forced on us, we had to do that, you know I mean. They had control over everything just not there, but out here. I mean, we have to stay alive.

The change was so close to complete in some, they had to relearn their ways after their persecution was done. As Asniya stated, “I know more about the Catholic religion than I do my own religion.” The church-sponsored Indian schools took the Indigenous faith and co-opted it in ways that the Indigenous children no longer recognized the holiness of their own ways. For example, Wochazani described his feelings about the mixed messages.
I have conflicts with my beliefs sometimes, I guess. Being Catholic and knowing the history, what they did to our people. Because the older I get, and the more knowledge I'm gaining through education, about that history. At least we question it a little bit, there's a struggle there.

The belief and the presence of God were strong within their ways of worship. The co-opting of their ways was meant to create confusion, to build a split between Indigenous people and their connection to the Creator. Waslolya reflected on when he was told that their Indigenous ways would not get them into heaven, this caused him to question the church’s doctrine.

This is not going to get us into Heaven, wherever Heaven is. And it’s got us to believe that we have to discontinue that and go to the Catholic Church in way of religion. They always talk about the Book of Life, if our name’s not on it, then we’re not going to get into Heaven. So, we have to change our ways and live a good Christian life and not go with our ways.

So, the sin of what the church had done to Native American children was a great sacrilege within their own standards and doctrines of love, acceptance, and forgiveness. The church was judgmental, and their actions did not reflect these Christian values of kindness and compassion. Woksape in her 70s recalled how the church treated families in the community.

They even kicked whole families out of the church because they were caught, you know, during one of our ceremonies. They were... or somebody told on them, that they had attended a ceremony that family did or something. And they would just
excommunicate them from the church. That was really bad, and they were going to go to hell and burn forever.

The church’s contempt for Indigenous people permeated all aspects of the Indigenous children’s lives. If you did not convert to their doctrine, they would damn your whole family to hell. Woksape recalled that “… in ’58 or ’59 and that’s when they kicked our family out. They would kick whole families out of the church. So, we ended up at Haskell, the boarding school in Lawrence, Kansas and that was heaven compared to St. Stephens.” The church threatened their families by using excommunication as a weapon in their effort to control all aspects of a student’s life. Woksape stated, “Those priests would even come into our homes, our private homes and get involved with telling the family what they could do, couldn't do.” The boarding schools taught them to believe in God as their faith, and then, threatened to take it away to control them. The presence of racism within the schools also caused generational trauma.

**Racism.** Racism, the fourth sub-theme of generational trauma, refers to the inherent racism which permeated all aspects of the White European immigrant educational system. Stepping back to view the historical impact of colonization on Tribal communities, we see the thread of racism and discrimination which started at the beginning of the relationships between the educational experience and Indigenous people. According to Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit), Brayboy (2005) pointed out through his second tenet how racism is a method of control within colonization. “U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain. (p. 429)” Racism permeated all aspects of the White European
immigrant educational system and how it was reinforced in the surrounding communities.

The education system did not hide the separation of the races within government and church run schools. Woksape recalled a memory of how racism showed up in her school experience.

Yes, like when we were going to school at St. Stephens and the… I think it was like in '55 maybe or '56, they started letting white kids come to school out there, out to St. Stephens. I mean, they were so blatantly prejudiced and separating, keeping the white kids one place and us another place. We weren't really… almost like allowed to... Well, like the boundaries, the church, the front of the church was our boundaries.

This memory showed how segregation was used to keep the Indigenous children away from White children. As White Immigrant children were given an education to succeed, Indigenous children were taught to fail within these boarding schools. The hidden curriculum of the Indian boarding schools dehumanized Indigenous people and conveyed such negative inferences to Indigenous children, who were most vulnerable in their early developmental stage of life. Nakicizin recalled, “When I went to school in White Swan, there were a lot of Indian kids there, but we were all made to feel less because we were Indian, even though we were the majority.” The children noticed the actions of the personnel at these schools but at first, they did not recognize the racism for what it was. Wicakha can now see the covert racism within his education.
Of course, at the time I didn't realize that that wasn't right because it was always okay to do that. It wasn’t until I got older that I realized a lot of the... I would say that a lot of the covert negative activity by teachers and administrators was based upon their heritage that it was not okay to do that.

Racial discrimination by staff dehumanized the children within the boarding schools, it was also visibly evident within learning materials that children were exposed to.

Nakicizin stated,

I mean, there were more Indians there than there were white people, white teachers at school, but, of course, that was the era of lazy Indian, dirty Indian, savage Indian, murdering Indian, the red man. I don’t know. It was just, I guess we’ll probably never get over that, unless at some point, we get people smart enough to write the history books, so that they’re accurate about the Indian history of the United States.

Pretending to not see the problem or ignoring a problem unique to Indigenous children is today, being recognized as the new form of racism against them within education because it makes them invisible. Wowicakhe recalled reading an article about the invisibility of Indigenous people.

I think earlier I talked about that, invisibility. Today, invisibility is a modern form of racism against Native Americans. It’s kind of like a metaphor that I read earlier. It was an article in the newspaper and I can’t remember which one it was, but it was a heading that I always remembered; “Invisibility is a modern form of racism against Native Americans.” And it’s there. Today it’s still there.
The racial settler colonial objective within the education system of boarding schools has permeated all aspects of the community they are in, it is reflective of a national agenda to rid America of its only Indigenous population Woksape talked about the bounties which America held on Indigenous people's lives.

You seen them around, they were old and stuff, but things like back when, they had a bounty on Indians or just like they did with the coyotes and different animals that were... They didn't want us around, I guess, or there was too many according to them.

As a result of this long history of racism, education was a road to hardship, poverty and what scholars often referred to as the “school to prison pipeline.” Chiariello, Williamson, and Wolfram (2013) described this school policy as “the school to prison pipeline— an important step toward ending policies that favor incarceration over education and disproportionately push minority students and students with disabilities out of schools and into jails” (p. 39). For Indigenous children, the truth of the matter is that Indigenous people are harshly treated or punished for standing up for themselves. Chiariello et al. gave details on the authority granted to law enforcement officers in schools, “According to a U.S. Department of Justice complaint, school officials have given armed police “unfettered authority to stop, frisk, detain, question, search and arrest schoolchildren on and off school grounds” (p. 39). Woksape described what happened to her granddaughter in the local school.

So, I went over there to school and they told me they were going to charge them with assault. I said, "Assault? That's serious, that was just a schoolyard fight. 
They were taking up for themselves, they just happened to be better fighters, I guess." And I didn't want to say that, but I said, "It's just a schoolyard fight, that's serious and you're going to put it on their record, it's going to be there forever. Their mistreatment within the education system oppressed them. The consistent judgement of them negatively affected their self-esteem.

**Self-respect.** Self-respect refers to how the education system within these boarding schools negatively affected, damaged, or destroyed the Indigenous student’s self-esteem, their self-confidence, and their self-worth resulting in self-hatred. There was an attack on Indigenous children within boarding school to make them feel less; it had been going on for a long time. Iyechnel recalled how he was treated within the boarding schools. “Yeah, I think so, I think there was a loss. Because, like I said, in the ’60s they made us be ashamed of being Indian and so I think a lot of the people continued being ashamed.” Negative messaging and lack of support within the boarding schools has negatively affected the Indigenous viewpoint of education. Iyechnel recalled how their degradation within the schools destroyed their self-esteem.

“They just kept us down, and a lot of people are like that, they're still down. They have real low self-esteem because teachers told them "You can't make it. You're no good. You guys are just drunks." and they just kept us that way.

Boarding school teachers verbal attacks combined with the lack of administrative support to hold them accountable for their behavior, had progressively destroyed Indigenous children’s self-esteem. Wochazani looked back on how it made her feel. “It made me feel bad about being Arapaho, made me feel bad to be Native American.” The self-esteem
destroying curriculum within these schools is still apparent and effective today.

Wochazani recalled how the boarding schools made her feel.

I think they tried to teach us that in the schools. Yeah, because my self-esteem really suffers from that. Because somehow, they put it in our minds that made us feel like we weren't good enough. Like the kids, they would put us down or they would make you feel less of yourself because you were Indian. And then you internalize that and not like yourself. I think that's when you turn to drugs and alcohol.

The impact of the generational trauma, abuse, and separation of children from their cultural ways and connection to their spiritual beliefs created an educational system that destroyed their identity and self-esteem. The settler colonial process within boarding schools is still occurring and is evident within our education system today.

When asked if they thought the negative impact of the settler colonial process was still happening today? Wowicakhe commented. “Yes. Genocide’s always happening, always, no matter where. It could be students, it could be teachers, it could be anybody, it’s happening.” This is further evidenced by another participant. Wochazani believed this is still apparent in schools. “Yeah, I think I definitely feel it continues on, not everyone’s bad, but I think there is that oppression that started with, I think it started with our boarding school.” Wowicakhe looked back on the assimilation process and its effect today.

Then up to today, it’s still happening, with the modern generation coming up and all. I still see it and it’ll still be going no matter what we do, what we say, and
what we do to help our people. But we’re slowly disappearing, they’re doing a good job of it.

When asked to elaborate, they believed the children are unwelcome in schools and could see that the settler colonial agenda or assimilationist curriculum is still present and even championed by those who were also directly affected by the settler colonial system. Wichoun explained how her granddaughter loved school and how one experience contributed to her negative perception of schools and educators who are supposed to be empowering children.

I was listening to this black guy, he's a high school principal. And when my granddaughter went in, she was late for her school because she couldn't find her math teacher. She was a freshman in high school, and she was doing her work because I kind of helped her a little bit. I heard the principal caught her and told her, ‘Get the hell out of this building.’

Because of the settler colonial practices within education many Indigenous people have been methodically processed to believe that assimilation happened in the past. However, due to assimilation many did not consider attempts to revitalize their language and culture important. Wachinyanpi fought an uphill battle and argued that one's Native language is an important part of the cultural ways that should be maintained.

I know their Lakota language teachers in our school system at Eagle Butte and some of the teachers didn’t want that taught. And even though they’re enrolled members, themselves, they didn’t want their kids being taught that language. And
it just shows you that people don’t understand, and they say, just let it go, it’s all in the past.

They pointed out that many are even proponents of the complete assimilation into the foreign European society and doing away with the Indigenous identity. Wowicakhe, who taught in the local schools for many years, found it difficult to maintain the Lakota language in a reservation school system. When funding was discontinued for Lakota language instruction, it was a discouraging blow to the community. He explained why there was so much resistance to teaching the Lakota language.

We’re kind of what we say brainwashed, they have brainwashed us for hundreds of years. Today when you tell people that, “This is what they’re doing to you, they’re brainwashing you because you behave this way,” and a lot of people don’t realize that. They don’t look at the aspects of brainwashing, what happens to a person.”

The curriculum has not changed and there has been no divergence from what it was. On the contrary, some of those who have used a prepared curriculum have noted that their programs are coerced into not changing it. Kiksuya who was hired to teach during summer shared, “We’re threatened if we don't teach this curriculum this way, then our funding will be taken away. So, we're still being assimilated through education.” Even though they did not believe in the assimilationist curriculum, they still had to teach it to keep their jobs.

Parents of Indigenous children must continually clarify their own history to their children often pointing out lies in the textbooks. Wochazani who spoke about her
children coming home from school and how she had to intervene and teach her children
to question the accuracy of what they were being taught.

I try to encourage him to look more deeply into our history besides what they say.
And I got to tell him, those books in school, they're not always correct about the
history. They don't tell the whole story, it's not there. There are more lies than
there's truth about our people, and it's how they're holding us down still.

The assimilation of Indigenous children is still happening, and the lies are being sold to
every child within all schools. Wochazani explained:

Yes. I don't think all the correct history is given, it's their version, it's what they
want us to believe. My kids right now, I hear my kids in the school and they talk
about history. They come home and they ask me about the versions that they're
hearing in school, it's not like ours.

The participants questioned the school’s curriculum and pointed out how the lies
concerning Indigenous people are distributed and maintained. Wochazani commented on
the lack of change.

I think here on the reservation they're not really given a good education. It's just
another way they are oppressing our people, not caring for our kids. Maybe
they're not following school standards required by the state boards, but somehow
there’re still offering it the way they did for so long.

Wochazani wondered about the source that empowers the long history of the subpar
education provided to Indigenous children. This narrative of Wochazani illustrated how
she went through an educational system that created negative images and contributed to
lies about Indigenous people. In some ways, she peeled back the layer of the hidden curriculum that not only had her elders experienced, but that she also experienced; as someone involved in the education of children on her reservation, she sees it continuing the same way today.

**Logic of Elimination**

The construct of logic of elimination is the third and final theme in my dissertation study; it refers to how the process of settler colonization was integrated into the boarding school’s system for the elimination of Indigenous children’s identity. It is the identification of the mechanisms and the types of perpetrators who enforced the assimilation process on Indigenous children. It discloses how Indian boarding school and its underlying goals were identical to prison systems and that students were often treated as prisoners of war, sentenced to stay at these schools until they aged out, assimilated, or died.

As I coded, I gathered all the references related to the theme logic of elimination by those interviewed. I identified several sub-themes that are related to the Logic of Elimination theme, they include the colonization process, the war mechanism, genocide and ethnocide, and lastly manifestation in the curriculum for educating Indigenous children.

**Colonization process.** The colonization process refers to how aspects of Pratt’s design of Carlisle Indian Industrial School, which later became the model for all Indian boarding schools, was composed of settler colonial practices. There are multiple threads
that are part of the colonization process, which I disentangled to see how they stood alone and how they contributed to the thicker braid of colonization.

The boarding school process was summarized comparatively by Wicakha, a retired Army sergeant familiar with other countries re-education systems employed around the world. Wicakha gave a comparative example of how Indigenous children were treated at these boarding schools.

I guess to probably to get a damn good example of how the Native American people were treated and tried to be assimilated into society is currently happening in China right now. They have a system over there where they know the identities of the majority of people, what they do, how much they earn, who their family is, whether they're employed or unemployed. So, what they do is if these people are not a member... How would you say? They're not pillars of the community, meaning that they don't have a good job and they're not smart enough, then they're actually sent to, I would say communities which would be compared to concentration camps where they're re-schooled to become a member of society by motivating them to get better educated and a better job and there's nothing more. So, that's a good example of what the United States tried to do to the Native American people that's happening now in China, today. They're doing that right today.

Boarding schools were soon developed after the last of the Indian wars were concluding. The development of boarding schools was the next step by White European immigrants
in their settler colonial process. The goal of these schools was the ethnocide of the Indigenous people’s identity, starting with the assimilation of their children.

The schools were publicized to tribes as places where Indigenous children would have a chance to learn the White man’s education. The stated intent by White European immigrants was that the children would become “civilized.” What was not known was how the schools were going to do it. Woksape commented on the culture clash the Indigenous children faced in the schools. “Assimilating us into their society and stuff like that. We were expected to follow their rules and their rules didn't coincide with ours.” However, the deception of what was happening to the Wakanyeja (Sacred Children) was that they had been sent to re-education camps, as prisoners of war. Wowicakhe stated, “Everything was told to us through a half-truth. When you tell everything in half-truth, it’s not the truth at all. It’s a lie, it’s a complete lie.” Because their families were not allowed to see their children during their stay at these schools as either the families were being forced to stay on the reservation and/or the schools did not allow them to visit. There was no way of knowing what the schools were doing to their children. The children were unable to verify the truth or make meaning without the assistance of their loved ones and family members. Waslolya reflected on the impact of the curriculum. “I think that it affected us, the boarding schools affected us a lot. Again, there's still that Carlisle curriculum and design that was developed and followed by the Catholic Church.” The church was integrated into the design and template of the Indian boarding school curriculum designed by Pratt. Thus, the church became part of the systemic oppression of the Indigenous community.
Today, parents and grandparents remember the trauma and the lies told to their parents and grandparents at these schools. Indigenous children grow up hearing stories of the crimes that education has committed on Indigenous children and their communities. Wowicakhe remembered.

We talk about that today, our elders and parents try to teach us and tell us that what they’re doing today is assimilation, everything is half-truth. It’s not the real thing, it’s not told completely of that whole story. Because it’s not our way, it’s a total assimilation, genocide.

The schools demanded total obedience in the destruction of their identity, which is part of the assimilation and the colonialism process. If children failed to comply, they were subjected to all sorts of abuse. The boarding school curriculum became a spirit breaking weapon on the children's identity. Etanhan offered his belief about what happened within the schools

I think that was...they oppressed them. Like they made them think that their beliefs, what the Native Americans believed and what they did, was wrong. And you had to do it, you know, you had to believe in this and do this and talk this way.

As Wowicakhe explained earlier in this chapter, it took great strength of character to keep speaking their language and how he was “very defiant” because he held onto his language. The assimilation process of change took a heavy toll on the children. Etanhan explained the trauma plainly, “Yes, so they just kind of tore their personalities out, I guess, where they try to like, reform them.” Part of the process of destroying one’s
identity was through the way the school tried to make them “not Indian.” Owothanla explained how the schools tried to change this through assimilation. “They want to generalize us and make us not be Indian or have an identity that’s not Indigenous to the individuals who were there. Whoever we are, at those schools, whatever tribe they represented.” Individual tribes were independent, with their own culture and stories. Each separate tribe's customs and traditions were unique and distinct. This was like books in a library that do not tell the same story. Each book was unique in every way. The schools oppressed their identity. While schools impacted only one child at a time, there was a generational change that began, which eventually took a toll on the Indigenous identity.

The White European immigrants pursued an immediate change in the Indigenous societies of Turtle Island, change that would normally take years for a society to naturally transform or evolve into. They took a whole generation of children from their Indigenous families with the intent of forcefully changing their identities. The outcome was to inevitably affect their descendant’s years into the future. Wachinyanpi recalled how they were given an inadequate education and traumatized for who they were. “They didn’t get a good education and how they were treated and traumatized, really over who they were. And so, there is an identity loss that a lot won’t talk about.” The boarding schools deprived them of their cultural inheritance. Wachinyanpi commented on what was withheld from them.

They weren’t allowed to learn what would’ve been taught had they been with their family. All that was taken away when they took the children and forced them not to be able to speak their language, or practice their spiritual beliefs, or any of
their beadwork or any of the work that they did, and doing the hunting and all the
natural things that was their way of life, and they didn’t have a choice. It was
forced.

Following the obliteration of their Indigenous identity was the implanting of a
replacement identity, an inferior one, that was supposed to be subservient to the White
European immigrants. Woksape explained:

We became assimilated, you know. It seems like a lot of that, our Indian ways,
and the way of like maybe thinking and stuff, was kind of geared toward the
White man ways rather than how we were taught. How we acted, how we talked,
how we treated one another and stuff, you know, was all different.

This subservient identity was formed in a school with very little educational or academic
curriculum. The school was modeled on a prison design and then the facility was called a
school. Owothanla stated, “Well colonization, they want us to become farmers and live
off the land and sell our crops from the land that we’re farming.” Rather, the curriculum
was predominantly designed to destroy culture while principally producing servants, farm
hands, and soldiers. This was an assimilation process that would take years; the
colonizers would not allow the children to leave until they were satisfied with the
outcome.

One decimating curriculum component after seizing the Indigenous child was not
to release them back to their communities until they were approximately 18 years old.
Wotakuye stated, “All I know is some of them stayed in school throughout the whole
year, like it never ends, and it continues throughout the summer. Continues throughout
the summer, goes into the new school year.” The removal of children from their families, a humanitarian crime against Indigenous people, yet it was a founding principle of the school’s success as an assimilation factory. Etanhan, a recent high school graduate who was the grandson of Wicakha compared what happened to the Indigenous children to another country's process.

Regarding like boarding schools and stuff, I know they like forced education among Native Americans kids and stuff and that's about as much. There's not...

Oh, it was more like kidnapping I guess, in a sense. Like it was almost like when Spanish and Mexicans like they fought Catholicism and stuff like that, kind like that but more aggressive.

The abduction of children was a common practice of the boarding schools, yet this action was not recognized as kidnapping.

It is hard to imagine the trauma of being separated from their families, their cultural ways, dealing with language loss as well as identity loss as children. There are many excuses for the past trauma committed against Indigenous people. The most common excuse for these actions is “that was in the past, why can't you just get over it.”

The crime against humanity through the colonization process reflected the logic of elimination’s intent or goal; to eliminate a people. They created conditions that made children and youth to lose their language, to lose their identity and cultural ways. In the end, the perpetrators were not accountable for their actions. Wowicakhe talked about an excuse for not addressing the boarding school history of assimilation “But people, the White people, say ‘You don’t need to learn that stuff get over it, move on.’” Much of
what was in the past, must be taken into consideration in the education of Indigenous children.

There is no forgetting by those who were traumatized and/or remain so. They should not forget that Indigenous people need to process, heal, and get closure as Indigenous communities. This must happen and take precedence in creating an educational environment where Indigenous children can thrive.

Etanhan stated, “Yes, absolutely. Like what I just said, they forced them to believe in what Europeans believe in and if they didn't, they either beat them or killed them, you know, got rid of them.” The crimes against children within the boarding schools are comparable to crimes against prisoners of war.

**War mechanism.** War mechanism, the second sub-theme of the logic of elimination refers to the educational design of the Carlisle Indian School. Capt. Richard H. Pratt designed and built the military re-education factory, Carlisle Indian School, which had an outcome of ethnocide and genocide. What else could a former Florida military prison warden conjure up because he had no educational degree? Waslolya talked about a portion of a book he read about Pratt.

There's one part in William Pratts’ book. What is it called? Kill the Indian, Save the Man. And that went on for a long time. There was a lot of genocide, in Indian schools, and with Indian people, that we don't know about.

The boarding school was a weapon of war that quickly became a weapon of the church when the government started to contract these schools out to numerous churches. Asniya quoted the famous line and associated it with the Catholic Church, “It was kill the
Indian, save the child. We just learned all about the Catholic religion again in a militaristic style.” Carlisle operated from 1879 through 1918, re-educating generation after generation of Indigenous children. Wowicakhe, a college graduate, also made the connection between the quote and the boarding school assimilation process.

“Assimilation and genocide, I always remember that phrase the United States Army Lieutenant Colonel Pratt said, ‘Kill the Indian and save the man.’ That was their basic process back in the late 1800s.” Carlisle was a successful template for the assimilation of Indigenous children. The objective was advertised as the education of Indigenous youth through boarding schools, yet its curriculum typically ensured the destruction of the Indigenous identity. When discussing this quote Iyechel made an inference of the intent of the education of Carlisle, saying:

That’s what the Colonel or whatever he is. Pratt. Yeah. That’s what he wanted to do to the Indians, and he wanted the Indians not to be Indians and they wanted them to be like farmers or homemakers, work in homes, or whatever. And they just wanted to get rid of the Indians being Indians.

The realization of the idea of “getting Indians from being Indians,” the schools instituted conditions that simulated a prison design of isolation and military rules. Carlisle was designed to house children in residential facilities constructed in very isolated areas of the country or the students themselves were placed in schools’ great distances from their people’s homeland. The locations were inhospitable due to weather or access to resources for survival. This was to discourage the children from running away; the schools established a prison setting that conveyed to the children that they were captives.
Wichoun recalled what her grandfather would tell her about his time at Carlisle. “They’re being watched all the time. He said he felt like he was a prisoner. He said all he could do to deal with his loneliness is through prayers and through singing songs.” The conditions were worse than prisons and more reflective of concentration camps as Woksape recalled an experience she witnessed about a fellow classmate in boarding school.

They would lock him up and they would beat him. Just, like I hear stories like this nowadays about prisoners, but they did that to them. Denied them food, water, cut their hair, just anything to ridicule them and break their spirit and then they just broke down.

When they returned home, their people noticed the difference in them. Many did not want to talk about their experiences and their families respected and complied with their needs. Nakicizin talked about how the abuse was so terrible it became something unmentionable within their own Indigenous society.

They didn’t want them to be ostracized because they were prisoners of war and now, they’re home. So, for as long as I can remember, even to today, it’s just like a secret. Nobody talks about it, and that, I think, is part of our multi-generational trauma that we still suffer.

The treatment that they received within these boarding schools produced shame within the victim’s mind which empowered the abuser to keep an unholy presence within the child's minds, for the rest of their lives.

When Pratt built his school, which was based on military conquest and subjugation, the process was a direct attack on the psyche on the children's minds.
Wichoun likened the school’s curriculum to a military tactic, a psychological massacre on the children's souls.

The way we're going right now, the boarding schools and going back to Carlisle, that's a military school, their plan is to seek ways of how they could shut us out with our own culture. They’re taking our language away, changing ourselves, our way of thinking, their plan is for us to be like them.

The structure was reiterated by Wicakha who stated, “I'll just say with the limited knowledge that I have is, it was basically a military school that was specifically designed to assimilate the Native Americans into their cultural society.” Another participant recalled aspects of the boarding school curriculum; Asniya stated, “Otherwise, I remember doing scrubbing and all that. Like I said, it was just a militaristic deal where you had your Sunday shoes all polished, you couldn't touch those.” These separate interview participants have “shared memories” of their boarding school experience, giving the impression that the assimilation process was a common experience for everyone. Wounspe recalled a specific military proficiency the children had to learn.

We learned to march like the military. And there was a big playground out in front of the buildings, and there was a person in charge, and she taught us how to march so, we got to be pretty good. There was probably eight or ten of us abreast, and she’d give the order to right flank march, and the whole group would turn to the right flank march, and we got to be pretty good at marching, just like the military.
Another participant recalled what they learned of the military exercises; Waslolya stated, “Well, later on when I learned about the school, it was very much a military type of training, or schooling, or whatever, that was there and it was run by the Catholic Church.” At the time the boarding schools were designed, the wars against Indigenous tribes were coming to an end. The Department of War directed the warfare against tribes and now that the wars were ending, it directed what was to happen to the tribes. The Department of War placed Indigenous tribes on reservations and considered them prisoners of war. What followed was the forced separation of children from their parents. The government agency that sanctioned the boarding school system was the Department of War. What are the possibilities that a war machine was going to create an academic system capable of nurturing the educational development of children? Wicakha, a military veteran, understood the mechanisms of war and how subjugation was used by the military. He explained:

There was no real... I don’t believe that there was really no progress by the, what I call the authorities, there was no progress by the War Department, they were over the Indians at the time, they were treated like prisoners of war. By definition, an army was meant to kill. They were conceived to kill, to defend a country, or attack another country. Then, after that work was done, they were there to subjugate the remaining population. The most common method of subjugation was to process the people through detention centers like reservations or boarding schools. Kiksuya, who is in her mid-50s and often substitutes at the local school, disclosed.
There were so many ways that were brought that didn’t represent who we were. And so, genocide still affects us to this day, I mean, where are we at? We’re on reservations, aka concentration camps, still being treated and still living under the same conditions of oppression, of genocide, of assimilation.

Historically, genocide proceeded the establishment of the boarding schools. Once Indigenous people were confined on government designated land, the new phase of ethnocide began. These places have often been called concentration camps or re-education camps, but in the United States, they were called reservations. Genocide is enacted on a race or group of people through physical death or murder. While ethnocide shares the theme of death—the death is a people’s cultural ways including language and identity.

**Genocide and ethnocide.** Genocide and ethnocide the third sub-theme of the logic of elimination refers how genocide and ethnocide was a foundation of the boarding school’s curriculum. This sub-theme informs the reader about how eventually, the war of genocide, pushed all Native American tribes onto the reservations where they would be interred and subjected to a genocidal and ethnoidal system of reformation, re-education, and medical experimentation. The confinement of the reservations gave the boarding schools the ability to separate families to process their children through their assimilation practices. The boarding schools were able to abduct children under the guise of civilization through education, where the children were not considered kidnapped but, rather attending school. This process was aimed at subjugating tribes by attacking and holding their children hostage. For example, while the Arapaho were being pressured to
live on the Wind River Reservation, the children of the chiefs were sent to Carlisle.

Woksape recalled what happened to her Arapaho grandfathers at Carlisle.

When they took him to Carlisle, a lot of them just grew up over there but my dad's
grandfather, Sharp Nose, sent his boy over there and he died there. My mom, she
comes from Friday, Chief Friday, he had a son that they took to Carlisle and he
also died there.

After the Indian wars, the decimation of Indigenous people continued within the boarding
schools. The schools were a part of an ethnic cleansing structure designed to forcefully
oppress Indigenous people, this system included the reservations, boarding schools, and
hospitals. Etanhan, a recent graduate, recalled how the history of Indian people was
repressed throughout his education. “They don't teach like the real stuff that happened
like the genocides and the killings. They just said, ‘Oh Europeans came over, they killed
them.’ and then they'll go on to the next subject really fast.” At the time, Indigenous
people, including children, were not safe anywhere in America, it was legal to hunt them
down for the bounty on their scalps, a child’s scalp brought in just as much as an adult.
The danger to children running away from these schools were many because death was
also waiting for them everywhere outside the residential schools. Etanhan commented on
the lack of Indian history taught in schools, saying:

They don't really dive into what really happened, like how bad the genocides and
the killings and all that stuff was. It just kind of... It's like brief knowledge, it's not
like... they don't explain what really happened. So, I don't think people really
understand how bad stuff really was.
Within Indigenous cultures taking your own life throwing away the Creator’s gift to you is considered an affront to the Creator. Yet, due to what the Indigenous children experienced within these schools it was methodically happening to them. Wichoun recalled that fear the people had because of the disconnect the boarding school was causing to their children. “Because back then, what I understand is that young people, for instance, they could take their own lives, where they have that fear of losing connection and that's what they’re afraid of.” When asked by her children and grandchildren about her experience at the boarding schools, Wounspe said, “...sometimes, if they bring something up, I’d tell them, you’re lucky to be alive.” The genocidal intent of the schools was felt deeply and had a negative effect on the succeeding generations' perceptions of education.

Hospitals were also a supporting mechanism of genocide of Indigenous children within boarding schools. Hospitals and the access to healthcare was part of the rights guaranteed to tribes through the treaties. These rights were guaranteed for “as long as the grass grows and the rivers flow.” However, despite the image of care a hospital brings to mind, it became a component of genocide of Indigenous children that was connected to the boarding schools. Healthcare became a testing ground for new procedures and vaccine testing. Waslolya is in his 70’s and recalled one of his non-native instructors of his youth telling him a never-heard truth about the boarding schools. The instructor had seen a swastika someone drew, and he said, “That was an experiment. If you lived, you lived. If you died, that was it. That was their form of genocide.” The instructor was
referring to the genocide of the Jewish people. He went on to explain about how it was happening to the Indigenous people within the hospitals.

The federal government would take Indian women, and sterilize them, so that they wouldn’t have any more babies, and that there wouldn’t be any more Indian people… That's how the government was wiping out the Indian race, not like Germany but in different ways. He said, ‘In their experiments.’

Waslolya went on to say that it is still happening.

They still do that to women. And I think the Indian Health Service gives us pills that we don't need. A lot of that is happening. And it's still going on. For example, you go for pills, they’ll give you a lot of pills that you don't need. Tylenol, aspirin, stuff like that.

Waslolya also shared an insight on how it is covertly being done, saying:

So, in a way, they are doing it in a way that we don't we don't know about it. We're still being experimented on today. I know that, because every time you go to a doctor, they give you pills, "Take these and call me in the morning." They really don't want to look at you, to find out what's really wrong with you. So, I think that's still going on, in a way.

This component of Indigenous healthcare was repeatedly recognized as genocide within the interviews. The genocide of Indigenous children began even before the child was born. Woksape brought light on how genocide was practiced within the healthcare system.
At the clinics, what they did, I was thinking about that, what they did. Like at these Indian clinics, they did a lot of abortions. They were misleading the women, you know birth control and not giving them the right medicine or not diagnosing them right and just giving them the wrong medicine.

They created a paradox between the healthcare system and the churches established code of belief that birth control as a sin. Despite this, the hospitals continued their drug testing on human beings including birth control. Woksape recalled a conversation when asked if she took birth control at one of her visits to a clinic off the reservation. “I don't know, I don't take that.” And of course, it was against the church law and I said, ‘but I'm taking these shots from the clinic.’” Woksape went on to talk about the nurse's comment about its use. She said, ‘Where did you get them?’ I told her, she said, ‘you know those things haven't even been approved by the government, the FDA’ and they were giving it to people around here, the women around here.” Woksape recalled another instance of common medical practice at the time. “Another time when I came home, they were doing a lot of... What did they call that? Damn, what was it? Cesareans, they were doing lots of cesareans on these young Indian women.” Illegal treatments and medicine were being tested throughout the country on Indigenous people as a common practice Woksape remembered a common misdiagnosis that happened to an elder.

They checked him here and he was taking that diabetic medicine for, I don't know how long, for years though. And here when they... I don't know how they did it. I think he went to a different hospital. So now, they asked him why he was taking
that medication, he said he had diabetes and they checked him, he didn't even have it.

The settler colonial practice of boarding schools ingrained a deep fear of authority and subjugated them to the point they could not stand up for themselves. Woksape described an incident that illustrates the fear when people had to go against the “authority.”

When I came home that one time, when my sister was supposed to take in her son to get his baby shot, he had to get this baby shot. But he had a runny nose but it was clear. So, I told her what the doctor told me out there [outside of the reservation, about not getting immunizations if the child is sick]. I told her, I said, ‘Don't let him give it to him.’ Here [on the reservation], she did because they get intimidated. Our people are just intimidated. They don't know how to say ‘No’ they're afraid to say, ‘No.’

One could say that the inability to stand up for oneself is an outcome of ethnocide. Ethnocide is the methodical and planned destruction of everything that makes up the culture of any race of people. The boarding schools became institutions for systematic reconditioning of children through techniques meant to change them. Waslolya stated, “Those are the kinds of things that they used to, I guess, to indoctrinate us to the white man's society. And they did a lot of stuff to us that had us deny or forget about us being Indians.” It was a generational reconditioning that was designed to last for years, settler colonization was a time-tested mode of indoctrination that changes the thinking processes of masses of people. Kiksuya stated, “But we still have that colonized mentality, the colonized thinking they say, per se, brainwashing mentality.” It was done so well; the
template was duplicated in other Indian boarding schools that served Indigenous children. It was such a deceiving process that many students strived for assimilation. Nakicizin, who was sent to Haskell Indian boarding school, recalled how the learning environment encouraged assimilation.

For ethnocide, more like in Haskell, we weren’t encouraged to sing songs, or dance, or wear war regalia. We were encouraged to be as White as we could and the more White you proved yourself to be, the better the Indian you were. That was kind of the feeling, but there were a lot of us that did practice all that. Nakicizin was able to navigate the two worlds and hold onto some of her cultural ways. This echoes what Owothanla described as the persistence of his family members to hold onto their language earlier in this chapter. The demand for change or assimilation was part of the curriculum at these boarding schools.

**Manifestation in the curriculum.** Manifestation in the curriculum, the fourth and final sub-theme in the logic of elimination theme, is how the curriculum manifested the settler colonial process and validated the logic of elimination construct in schools and in society. The curriculum fostered the lie that children were better off denying themselves their Indigenous identity which is as old as the creation of the Indigenous world. Despite that their ways have great value, so much so, that their ways were more often appropriated by the White European society, then discredited. Wounspe talked about the tragic loss of her ways.
I think the old way was a good way and we lost all that, the teachings that existed back then. We were removed from that in the boarding school so there was a conflict there and we didn’t go back to that.

These new industrial ways that were being introduced to them were just evolving and even though its superiority was not proven, it was pushed on them. The destruction of their cultural connections and the forced new identities was part of the goal to “civilize” them. Etanhan commented on the disregard of their ways by the boarding schools. “From what I’ve read and understand, I think like, they belittled and kind of, they kind of tried to destroy their identities. To kind of make them more industrialized, more White, I should say.” White European immigrant hubris assumed that the Indigenous identity needed to be destroyed and they were the ones ordained by God to do this. Wachinyanpi explained its effect on Indigenous communities.

It was hard and when they first came and started trying to assimilate us, they completely tried to strip us of everything that we believed in. Our culture, our beliefs, our spirituality and of course, that’s going to affect a nation. And it comes out in different ways is what I believe and then people not knowing their own culture or not being taught it has greatly affected the way people are today.

It was clear that there was a dehumanizing process and the outcome on these children instilled fear of education and awoke a misdirected protective instinct for their succeeding generations. By not passing on their culture to keep children from experiencing what they went through in education. At the core of a people’s culture is language, it is at the forefront of how cultural ways are passed onto the next generation.
The ethnocide of Indigenous children within the boarding schools infused a dread for their future generations. The schools created a protective response mechanism within them to shield their children from the injustice and trauma they experienced. Wowicakhe expressed the regret that he felt because he had not passed on his Native language to his children. “I should have taught… It’s my fault too. Again, it’s not my fault again, and my fault again, because my fault is that I didn’t teach them because I was beaten out of it.”

Their horrible experiences programmed an involuntary response to shield their children from harm, a response, that any caring parent would assume. Yet this reflexive response to protect their children by denying them access to their ways practically guaranteed the culture and language would go away. Wounspe explained why she had not passed on her Indigenous ways. “But we didn’t teach our own family our language because of what happened to us at the boarding school. So, they had to learn that on their own, if they did, and that I regret.” The trauma was so intense that it had overridden a parent’s responsibility to pass on their people’s identity and language. Wochazani expressed his frustration at trying to learn his ways from his parents.

It was pulling teeth, trying to learn the language from them. But I guess it was because my parents had it rough in the schools. And they were beat to not speak their language. So, I guess we understand they didn’t pass the language on to us, because they were afraid for our lives, I guess.

The White European colonial process used to destroy their identity had traumatized these former boarding schools’ students into refusing to pass on their language. The outcome was it led their descendants to an attitude of indifference, for preserving their culture and
language. Wowicakhe remembered an elder’s comment about future generations motivation to learn the old ways and the language. When the elder was asked, “Who’s going to listen to these stuff that you tell us?” The elder threw up his hand and he said, “No one.” Wowicakhe was saddened by the elders' comment about the indifference shown by youth toward their cultural ways. Some Indigenous youth have recognized the ingrained shortcoming in their development as “human beings” and their lack of enthusiasm in pursuing their Indigenous ways. As a recent high school graduate, Etanhan admitted, “I never really asked or never pried, so it's kind of on me that... So, I don't really know a whole lot.” The reprogramming of the children who attended boarding schools is still limiting the resurgence of Indigenous ways.

The logic of elimination is a construct that can identify how settler colonialism manifests itself in the curriculum. If you looked through an Indigenous lens at the settler colonial process, you would see at the heart of it was Iktomi, a trickster spirit. Iktomi’s behavior and actions are another way to understand how the settler colonial process is misdirecting youth into thinking less of themselves. By convincing Indigenous people that they, their culture, and their identity is not as valuable as the White European ways. Iktomi or the settler colonial process has succeeded in assimilating and changing them internally, to see themselves in the most negative way possible. Wowicakhe stated that some of the elders have fallen into assimilation. “People similar to me have gone to the same place in a boarding school, but there are many that are assimilated, the older ones.” The distancing away from the old ways as an outcome, has always been part of the settler colonial process that was directed at the youth, to get them to deny themselves.
Wowicakhe recalled interactions with students who did not want to be connected. “There is one example, where some of our kids that we taught, the older kids especially, at a junior high level they don’t want to be Indian.” The education system disrupted the formation of their identity. A former educator explained their experience with the confusion some Indigenous students are feeling about their identity. Wowicakhe analyzed a conversation with a former student.

No matter what you’re doing you will still be Indian, it’s still inside you, your DNA. So, how are you going to change yourself?” He said, “Don’t speak our language, don’t practice our ways.” I said, “You got the same color skin as I do,” I said,” you got the same color as my hair”, I said, “What are you going to do, dye your hair and scrub your skin off, and take the brownness out of your skin?” Because it’s happening today, artificially [Laughs] a lot of our people are doing that, it’s sad to see that.

The settler colonial curriculum was meant to destroy the pride they had in themselves by imposing the concept of self-loathing which is death from within. Iyechel connected the damage to the students’ dignity with the actions of the boarding schools.

Well, that's what the purpose of the boarding school is. The boarding schools were to get rid of the Indians being Indian. And then that's where part of the shame came from, the shame of being Indian. I think that's where it came from. Shaming has been standardized within Indian boarding schools and seems to be still regulating Indigenous students’ self-esteem. Owothanla stated, “The ethnocide in the boarding school, I think it was experienced and it’s still experienced even like probably
in the current boarding schools that are in operation Chemawa, Riverside, Flandreau.”

One approach used by the schools in degrading students is rooted within the curriculum. The curriculum within the boarding schools for Indigenous children was not meant for academic success, but instead, it was more for assimilation.

The curriculum did not support the Indigenous student’s identity and outright lied about their Indigenous culture, history, or characteristics. The curriculum did not educate or improve the lives of Indigenous children forced to attend the boarding schools because the core curriculum was primarily of a prison design. Which was supplemented with insubstantial educational learning targets, its apparent true focus was to assimilate children. Kiksuya explained, why it does not work for Indigenous students. “That curriculum is sent to us also, but it is based on the European White way of knowing and of learning education.” The design is reminiscent of military basic training, where a recruit is stripped of everything that made them unique so that they could be rebuilt into a group of people with an identical mindset for following orders. Woksape summed up how she experienced this process.

This is how you have to dress; this is how you have to act; this is how you have to talk; this is how you have to think; and you know. It was all White man ways and stuff, how to talk and how to walk. They used to even tell us how to walk and stuff.

Basic training in the military is composed of many methods to break down an individual including verbal, mental and physical abuse. The individuals are shaved, isolated from society, deprived of the basic essentials, deprived of connection to the outside world,
sleep, thrust into a regimented life of discipline, and punished if they did not comply or change. Wowicakhe questioned the process and its effect on future generations.

You know, it is a big threat from the beginning, to the middle, to the end, and it's continuing, still happening. Our school system, again, the curriculum, the issue, the concerns, that’s going to have an impact on future generations as far as their grandkids unless, we can think of that change.

The forced assimilation was directly connected with the boarding schools curriculum, the curricular methodology was based on military procedures and activities Kiksuya explained her understanding of the boarding school curriculum, saying, “…the thing I understand about education now, is that there's a curriculum set down, whether a person believes it or not, that it is a guideline and it is set down for them to go through.” These boarding schools were government run and the government dictated what was going to be taught within the schools. Kiksuya gave an example of how curriculum control is maintained in similar organizations, like the church.

I just recently did a curriculum that was adopted by a Christian school in the camp and that helped me to understand that sometimes we may not believe what we're teaching, but yet we have to teach it because it's a paycheck. It's food in our kids’ mouths. It's a home over our head.

The government/church run schools dictated the learning targets, the oppression by both ensured that the graduates were not going to go further than a servant.

The hidden curriculum within boarding schools maintained the government’s oppression of Indigenous people. The curriculum offered did not have the rigor to propel
an Indigenous child to college. The outcome of the curriculum was to produce service
people, to give the children just enough information to do slave labor or menial jobs that
did not take much thinking. Wowicakhe talked about how the boarding school’s
maintained outcomes that negatively affected Indigenous students

I talked to some people just last month and I said, ‘The education system is doing
a really good job on us.’ The curriculum still maintains that, that we do speak the
English language and forget about our natural language. The curriculum is there,
that’s how the curriculum’s been on us since over 100 years in the school system.
The schools contain many educational supports that keep settler colonialism alive so that
it can sustain a spirit crushing atmosphere within the classroom. Wachinyanpi recalled a
personal experience.

And just the beliefs that, you know, pervades some of the teachers, like, ‘Indians
are dumb. They’re more stupid than their white counterparts.’ I remember, it was
here in Eagle Butte, there was a teacher. And I was taking geometry and he would
help all the white kids because I think I was probably one of the one or two
Native Americans in the classroom. And I would ask for help, but it would never
amount to anything and I think that was a racial thing of them being better than
the Native students.

The internal reinforcing mechanisms of schools subtly and steadily battered the
Indigenous children’s identity. Etanhan compared it to mind control, saying, “It was like
brainwashing almost, I would say. Yes, they just forced their beliefs, kind of pushed the
other ones out, like their traditional stuff that Native Americans believe in.” The school’s
curriculum dehumanized Indigenous children and it was supported by written materials which teachers taught without question. Wounspe recalled how the educational materials in her boarding school dehumanized and degraded Indigenous people.

We weren’t allowed to speak our own language. And in some of the books that we read, they taught us, or we read, that our people were dirty, they were uneducated, they were savage, all of these negative things. But for me, I didn’t believe that because I knew my grandmother, I knew that she was a clean woman. She was a good woman, and so, I didn’t believe what I was reading. But they tried to instill in us the negative side of our people who were Native Americans, and the things that they did were savage. And so, they tried to influence us in that way, but I was old enough so that I knew that my people weren’t that way. So, it didn’t impact me as much as probably others.

Low expectations showed up in the curriculum which supported the colonization and the logic of elimination construct. Within these boarding schools the Indigenous students learned from an almost nonexistent curriculum, teachers taught to a lower standard because there was a racial expectation that they could not progress past servant skills. Wounspe stated:

…some boys, men, who went on to be carpenters. And they couldn’t figure, because they went to school half a day and didn’t get the proper education, so they flunked out. And then they couldn’t be what they thought they wanted to be, and so, they began drinking and went down.
The real curriculum of boarding schools was not for pursuing an education, it was about being assimilated. Indigenous children were not taught to pursue their dreams rather the schools ensured they could not reach them. Kiksuya stated, “She felt like they were getting ready to be a servant like ah, teaching her how to clean someone's house and teaching her how to cook someone's food, to sew, to iron.” Within church run schools, they also ensured they were also converted. Kiksuya told of her mother's experience with the curriculum. “She was taught, was how to pray and how to be a good servant.”

Boarding schools contained a curriculum of oppression. Kiksuya recalled that her mother's oppressive education tried to teach her subservience.

So, I think the boarding school experience was to teach our kids to be servants.

Because she really didn't know a lot of stuff, didn't know a lot of the things that were taught in English, but then she was shown how to scrub the floor or use a toothbrush.

The strategy of oppression through boarding school education meant that the curriculum met military expectations but not academic expectations. Wounspe gave an example of the subjugation taught in boarding schools:

We went to school half a day and we worked half a day. So, I worked in the kitchen, in the employees’ club, in the laundry, in the sewing room, and different places, but we were children. We went to school half a day and we worked half a day.

One of the ways that the Logic of Elimination showed up in the curriculum was through the lies in the history books that were used. History taught in schools does not portray an
accurate version of the fate of Indigenous people. School textbooks rewrite history in favor of the colonizers, the versions are variable depending on the publisher. Nakicizin told how those historic lies affected her and her tribe.

Well, for as far back as I can remember, history is written by the winners. And I don’t think that the Nez Perce are the only ones that suffered at the hand of historians, or we were made to feel less because we lost the war, so to speak. The Indian wars never really ended, some of the battle has moved into the schools. America built an education system that oppresses Indigenous people, so it only makes sense that it would have built a lasting system. Wicakha believed that there is a negative impact on Indigenous children due to the educational systems lack of accurate cultural information.

In the state of Montana, we're a Republican state. Most, I will not say all, but we live in a racist situation which is more than, say, New Mexico or any other place but I do believe that there's a cultural negative impact [on Indigenous people] because of the lack of any type of true cultural information that's being provided at any schools. It's a tradition among the American institutions to actually deny the true history of Native American people, I mean it's common sense.

If the teachers only taught through textbooks, an accurate history of Indigenous people would never be heard. Kiksuya questioned the content of textbooks and believed they do not contain enough information to be solely depended on. “Our children still aren't being taught the history, from the Indigenous Native American perspective. It still kind of influenced like a world-view model, which I mean by that is, what has been taught to us
through books.” Education in America teaches a fictional history, portraying heroic pioneers taming the wilderness and fighting off savages to settle the west but, it omits that they were the actual villains of this story. Iyechel questioned the history that is being omitted from the classrooms.

They should teach them about what happened in the past, like the Five Civilized Tribes that marched to Oklahoma, and Sand Creek, and Wounded Knee, and all this other stuff that happened, Little Big Horn. They should have that in their curriculum so that the kids would know.

The American double standard does not accurately depict the genocide of millions of Indigenous people and the atrocities committed on them for their land and resources. Iyechel was adamant that it should be taught but acknowledges why they do not. “I think the schools should teach about the Indian history, but they don't, they don't.” Accurate history was not taught in the curriculum because it does not reinforce the settler colonial lies within America.

**Summary**

There were generational echoes of the logic of elimination created among Indigenous societies as the boarding schools returned their psychologically and physically damaged children back into their communities. These generational echoes have shown up as mental, emotional, and physiological illnesses which result in antisocial, self-destructive behaviors or habits. These behaviors or habits are reoccurring symptoms produced by the settler colonial process which reinforces or reestablishes assimilation practices within Indigenous communities. Examples of the self-destructive
behaviors within Indigenous communities include but are not limited to internal hate, judgement, anger, violence, infighting, self-harm, self-pity, drug and alcohol abuse, hiding emotions, neediness, jealousy, possessiveness, and emotional manipulation. These behaviors were manifested within Indigenous communities as a result of the assimilation process within boarding schools and the years of abuse perpetrated by its personnel on Indigenous children before they returned them home.

The children attending boarding schools had very little to defend themselves against their abuser’s intentions, strengths like alliances and unity were quickly incapacitated by the adults. Division was introduced as a method of control within boarding schools to segregate children and break down alliances of strength. Kiksuya made known how division was present within the curriculum, saying, “They taught us well in boarding schools to divide ourselves, to think of every man for himself and to think in the white culture way, you are who you are by what you gain in the material world.” Some examples of division within policy and practice included things like blood quantum which created a European pseudo construct of hierarchy among Indigenous people. This false perception of pedigree is a settler colonial method of the termination of the tribal bloodline, it defines an eventual end point of tribal membership. This also takes away the Indigenous peoples right to determine their identity for themselves Kiksuya explained how it has been used to create divisiveness through blood content.

…it taught our own people to be that way against each other. Because we have like the full bloods telling half-bloods, like I got some other blood in me too, and
they always say that I don't have no right to know because I'm not full blood. So, they put that division between us.

Another ploy to create division was church law, the church rooted their dogma on whose way of worshiping, the same God, was more virtuous and whose was a sin. Nakicizin stated, “So, the next part of the divisiveness on our reservation is we have our Christian Indians and we have our Traditional Indians, and they’ve been at each other for so long...” Owothanla reaffirmed the affect religious settler colonization methods had on Indigenous communities. “So, there’s always a clash between the two, and the Christian Nez Perce look down on the traditional Nez Perce because of the teachings of the colonization and the religion basis.”

Contrary to Indigenous beliefs, the drawn-out settler colonial ordeal within boarding schools internalized a belief within Indigenous people that they have a right or duty to judge other people. This colonial smoke and mirrors deception of judgement is being used against Indigenous people to ensure the boarding school assimilation reasserts itself in their community’s generation after generation. By practicing this petty ritual, Indigenous people are ensuring they do not reclaim their identity through the judgment of others. Wichoun commented on this practice when youth are learning the language.

I’ve learned that our youth are having all kinds of problems. First of all, they don't speak their language, they don't understand their values. Some of them will try, but our people today they're really judgmental, someone makes a little mistake and they judge them.
The youth who make any attempt to reclaim their identity are under constant scrutiny by their community, any mistake is dealt with severely through persecution or humiliation. Wowicakhe personally observed how one student was harassed. “He had wanted to be a Native American so, they made fun of him. They cornered him, they isolated him, they made fun of him, and the kids still do that today.” Trying to reclaim your identity within a settler colonial oppressive system takes a lot of internal strength to be successful. Wowicakhe recalled his own experience within the boarding schools and wonders why the colonial conspirators were never punished.

We were made fun of, basically, made fun of our language. We always wondered why, but they’re the ones that are assimilated in the colonialism. I don’t know if they’re punished for it, I don’t know, but I sure went through my experience.

Living in an environment of constant judgment destroys self-esteem, so much so, that youth cannot even forgive their own mistakes and eventually turn to the negative coping mechanisms provided by their colonial oppressors. Kiksuya stated, “Because we are our own worst judges and that's why we put ourselves through the things that we do, is through alcohol, through drugs.” This is an internal shortcoming that maintains a function in the community—that continues the degradation, the dehumanization, the shaming of Indigenous people and keeping them from healing. The outcome is the repetition of the same mistakes—every generation grows up disconnected or fooled by Iktomi to think less of themselves. Yet, there is a growing number of individuals in the community who contribute to hope. People are starting to become “woke” and are ready to investigate how the generational trauma from boarding schools has impacted their communities. It is
a struggle to try and address all the issues that are relevant to why Indigenous students are failing at a greater rate than any other race. Still, these interviews begin to create a foundation for understanding what is negatively affecting Indigenous students’ perspective of education. In the next section, I step back to summarize the principle findings of this study: cultural ways, generational trauma, and the logic of elimination, as well as look ahead to the future educational vision for Indigenous children and youth in schools.
Chapter 5: Discussion

The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the history of settler colonialism within Indian boarding schools and its impact on the succeeding generations of students who first attended them. Specifically, this research aimed to understand the educational perceptions of succeeding generations and the educational legacy left by their grandparents. I wanted to understand the cultural and historical effects that the boarding school system had on the future generations of the Indigenous children who attended them. The finding of this study offered insight and possible understandings of why education is failing Indigenous students.

Research Questions

The origins of my research questions began as I witnessed resistance and identity confusion of Indigenous students that influenced their attitudes toward schooling. I reflected on the history of Indian education and how boarding schools or other schools that work with Indigenous students have negatively affected their beliefs and perspectives of education. I questioned past educational institutions, in particular, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School which is relevant to my tribes: the Lakota, Northern Arapaho and Northern Cheyenne. I suspected that the historical effects of their settler colonial based curriculum impacted their graduation rates, which are currently the lowest in the nation. The research questions that guided this study were:

1. How has the effect of the settler colonist curriculum influenced the grandparent’s perceptions about education?
2. How, if any, of their views toward schooling or academics have been passed on to their subsequent family members such as children, grandchildren, or great grandchildren?

3. How has this influenced the graduation of Indigenous students from high school?

The goal of this study was to gain insight about the effect Carlisle Indian Industrial School had on the descendants of an Indigenous family member who attended the Indian boarding school. Interviews were used to create a foundation for understanding what is negatively affecting Indigenous students’ perspective of education. To conduct the interviews, I used Seidman’s (2006) three step process to combine a life-history approach with a current look at the experiences of the participant and a reflective approach to making meaning of the experiences. Using the 13 interview questions, I asked participants to think back on their experiences and legacy left by their Carlisle student ancestor. The principle findings of the investigation revealed how boarding schools were unwelcoming places of learning, where Indigenous children were forced to engage in an education system that had at its core, settler colonialism within its curriculum. It also revealed how the student’s Indigenous identity became a factor in the student’s survival within the schools and was paramount in building the children’s resilience while undergoing assimilation into the White European immigrant society.

**Themes**

I identified three themes from my analysis of the data. The first theme was cultural ways that had the sub-themes: oral history, language, and identity. The second theme was generational trauma that had the sub-themes: stolen, trauma, religion, racism,
and self-respect. The final theme was the logic of elimination that had the sub-themes of colonization process, war mechanism, genocide and ethnocide, and manifestation in the curriculum. In the following sections, I summarize the central themes and connect these findings back to the current literature related to the education of Indigenous children.

The theme cultural ways appeared within the interviews, it denotes the cultural and traditional methods that helped Indigenous children survive and pass on their Indigenous ways to their own children. In TribalCrit, there are nine tenets and the fourth espouses that “Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 429). This fourth tenet applies to how Indigenous children used their teachings to survive and preserve their cultural ways. The students in boarding schools used their cultural ways to enable themselves to cope with the negative outcomes these schools had on their lives and integrated this coping mechanism to help their descendants well. This theme encompassed how generations of Indigenous children combatted the forced assimilation process within the boarding school’s education system in ways that enabled them to preserve their culture, language, and identity.

The method of transmission of their cultural ways is through social interaction with mentors who have the knowledge, usually elders. The way Indigenous people interacted with their children helped them to develop skills to interact with the world. This was a good example of the ideology of Lev Vygotsky (1978) social constructivist theory which explained how groups of people socialize youth to interact within the world.
Oral history is part of the cultural ways theme and refers to the Indigenous methods of oral traditions and how it was essential in educating and preserving their culture, language, and history. In the era of genocide and ethnocide, this became the essential lifeblood of resilience in protecting their Native ways within the boarding schools. This is an example of Brayboy’s (2005) fifth tenet, “The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens” (p. 429). The passing on of history through stories was and is an Indigenous learning method of keeping knowledge and it is used to understand morals, values, and beliefs. One of the participants brought this up in her interview as she explained how oral history was used as a method to teach and retain knowledge. Wichoun stated, “We learn our language orally and all the stories that were told to us were orally. And how we learn is show-and-tell, hands-on”. Wotakuye talked about why the Indigenous language was especially effective at retaining their cultural ways. Stories contained cultural information and was supplemented greatly by the words and their complex meanings. Thus, language enhanced the knowledge gained through stories because most words convey a more profound meaning. Wotakuye explained. “This is what we had to…is to talk about stories about what we did, what Native Americans did back then just to keep our Indigenous ways alive.”

In the sociocultural theoretical framework, Vygotsky (1978) asserted that people create cultures through the use of tools and symbols. Daniels (2001) makes this clear: “Vygotsky described psychological tools as devices for mastering mental processes. They were seen as artificial and of social rather than organic or individual origin” (p. 15). His
theory connected to the sub-theme of oral history. The connection is how the student’s Indigenous identity was passed through their language and more profoundly, through oral traditions. Their cultural ways were internalized by the children through a mentor-based Indigenous learning system, that was the basis for mastering their psychological functions of culture, traditions, and language. Another connection to Vygotsky’s theory is exhibited in how oral history supported the student’s ability to walk in two worlds. Kiksuya expanded on this idea “We will always walk in balance because we live in two worlds. Actually, we live in three worlds, the White man's world, our way of life, and our spiritual world.” Kiksuya alluded to the fact that through oral history the scaffolding to more complex forms of information can be supported.

Language refers to the Indigenous language of each child’s tribal nation within the sociocultural theory Vygotsky (1978) believed language was a fundamental learning tool. Accordingly, the Indigenous language is the foundation of Indigenous learning. Because the language contained complex semantics of word meanings and word relationships which are connected to almost every word. The data from the interviews supports how the Indigenous language was imperative for understanding their connection to their cultural ways. Though the destruction of their Indigenous language the boarding schools severed them from their Indigenous heritage in the attempt to destroy their Indigenous identities. Language was important to maintaining their connection to their identity. Vygotsky (1978) states:

Using words to create a specific plan, the child achieves a much broader range of activity, applying as tools not only as those objects that lie near at hand, but
searching for and preparing such stimuli as can be useful in the solution of the
task, and planning future actions. (p. 26)

The boarding school’s method of killing their identities was to subject Indigenous
children to physical, mental, verbal, and sexual abuse. Vygotsky was exploring the
development of an individual, but he also recognized the context of the individual
environment was an influential factor too. The boarding schools design was founded on a
settler colonial mentality of White European immigrant ideas and concepts. The settler
colonial curriculum's fundamental premise was “killing the Indian” through the
destruction of their Indigenous language and culture. When the child’s language is taken
away from them it creates an internal conflict for that child and hinders their educational
process of acquiring new knowledge. The assimilation processes within the boarding
schools was a direct attempt to erase the Indigenous identity which created conflicted
outcomes on the children, as noted in the data produced by those interviewed.

Identity refers to how those interviewed viewed the importance of their
connection to who they are as Indigenous people. Identity takes into consideration all
aspects of the Indigenous identity, as a member of a family, as part of community, and as
a member of a tribe. Identity reveals how the cultural ways of the Indigenous children
were strong and sustained their sacred relationship to their identity which was responsible
for keeping them connected to who they are. Daniels (2016) stated:

Vygotsky was concerned to develop an account in which humans were seen as
‘making themselves from the outside’. Through acting on things in the world they
engage with the meanings that those things assumed within social activity.

Humans both shape those meanings and are shaped by them. (p. 56)

The data points to how those interviewed viewed the education of the boarding schools as detrimental to their identity, culture and language because of its assimilationist curriculum. Given that the schools originated from the Department of War whose objective was the “civilization” of Indigenous people, its governmental policies were focused on the destruction of their Indigenous identity. Brayboy (2005) sixth tenet affirmed, “Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.” (p. 429). The stories within the responses come together to support that assimilation was a foundational directive of the schools. Within the boarding schools the curriculum was detrimental to how the children formed their identities or “Figured Worlds”. Urrieta (2007) explained, “Identity and Self are concepts that are not only constituted by the labels that people place on themselves and others, especially in schools” (p. 107). The curriculum resulted in loss and severing of the Indigenous children’s identity.

Generational trauma is the second theme to surface from the data analysis. This theme refers to the effect this system had on those who attended Indian boarding schools and how that trauma was passed on to succeeding generations. Those interviewed repeatedly expressed how their culture and language was a source of strength for them while attending the boarding schools. Their resilience was heartened by their cultural ways and language so they could endure the settler colonial nightmare unleashed on them in these facilities. Brayboy (2005) supports how Indigenous ways helped them to adapt to
their new reality. Brayboy described the seventh tenet, “Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups” (p. 429). Their responses tell stories of the generational trauma inflicted upon them, but they also express how the narrative of this trauma has been battled and is being redirected toward building the new narrative of generational wisdom. By facing her trauma Kiksuya was able to build generational wisdom. “Through intergenerational and generational resilience is how. Because along with intergenerational trauma and historical trauma, there's also intergenerational wisdom/resilience.” How Indigenous people were able to pass on their cultural ways to the children reveals a connection to Vygotsky’s (1978) theory. This is a component of Vygotsky’s theory which asserts that society and culture play an incalculable role in the growth of the individuals in that society. He declared that elementary and higher mental functions are formed by social occurrences which are then internalized in their thinking process though language.

Stolen refers to how the boarding schools deprived Indigenous children of their connection to their loved ones and tribal community, as well as their cultural identity. The generational trauma inflicted on Indigenous children, began with their forced attendance at boarding schools. The students and their family members felt that the children were stolen from them and their communities either through theft or coercion. The historical conquest of America was a process of making everything White. For Indigenous people, this concept was an obvious underpinning of the boarding school
curriculum and not part of a hidden curriculum. The boarding school curriculum is indicative of Brayboy’s theory. Brayboy’s (2005) second tenet maintained, “U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain” (p. 429). America treated the Indigenous people like their own subjects, without rights of their own to resist the kidnapping of their children, a fact, the creator of the boarding schools seized upon.

Trauma exposes the types of abuse that was committed on these children by the perpetrators within these schools. The psychological warfare tactics committed on the children was inclusive of many types of abuse. In the boarding schools they were exposed to verbal abuse, mental abuse, physical abuse, and sexual abuse. This was no more apparent than in the development of boarding schools where settler colonial practices were integrated into the European based curricular standards. Where the school’s psychological work was directed toward the destruction of every student’s Indigenous language and culture which was to be replaced with a foreign language and culture. Vygotsky (1997) stated:

Pedagogics is never and was never politically indifferent, since, willingly or unwillingly, through its own work on the psyche, it has always adopted a particular social pattern, political line, in accordance with the dominant social class that has guided its interests. (p. 348)

Indigenous people live as both a citizen of sovereign nations and as a ward of congress. They fought their White European invaders to a standstill until both eventually agreed to
make treaties for peace which make them sovereign nations within the borders of the United States.

Religion refers to how the church was continuously brought up as a perpetrator that enforced the processes of ethnocide and genocide within the schools they operated. It identifies how God was used to brainwash and intimidate the children to submit to the churches demands. The warping of the doctrine of the church left many Indigenous children with a sense of bewilderment about the White religion. Every aspect of the boarding school process contributed to the trauma of the Indigenous children which included the actions of the church and its agents. Vygotsky understood that in understanding the whole experience you have to understand the components of that experience also. Chaiklin (2003) stated:

From a psychological point of view, this whole is described as an integrated structure of relationships among developed and developing higher psychological functions acquired through material interaction. This psychological description of a child focuses on interrelationships between functions, rather than considering individual psychological functions in isolation. (p. 46)

The religious influence on the Indigenous identity has created generational trauma the reverberates across generations.

Racism refers to the curricular assimilationist practices and its roots in racism which were embedded in the boarding school curriculum and instruction. The settler colonization process within boarding schools was race based and was detrimental to the Indigenous children development and reduced them in importance. Asante (1991) noted
how racism is a fundamental process within education and was applied uniformly across all races.

Education is capable of doing to and for an already politically and economically marginalized people—African Americans:

1. Education is fundamentally a social phenomenon whose ultimate purpose is to socialize the learner; to send a child to school is to prepare that child to become part of a social group.

2. Schools are reflective of the societies that develop them (i.e., a White supremacist-dominated society will develop a White supremacist educational system). (p. 171).

From the very start America has used the White Eurocentric curriculum to assimilate the survivors of the “American Genocide” through a settler colonial process was meant for Indigenous children. Asante stated, “In the United States a "Whites-only" orientation has predominated in education. This has had a profound impact on the quality of education for children of all races and ethnic groups” (p. 173). Colonist boarding schools dehumanized Indigenous people and was based on racist values of assimilation “European' racism and ethnocentrism were too ingrained for them to accept the Indians as equals, even if the Indians spoke, dressed, and acted like European colonists” (Reyhner, 2010, para. 10). The Department of War built the boarding schools for the colonization and subjugation of Indigenous children. Brayboy’s (2005) third tenet supports how racism permeates all aspects of the Indigenous experience. “Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.”
Being wards of the U.S. Congress meant that their destiny as Indigenous people is under the rule of Congress. The responses of those interviewed support how Indigenous people were being subjugated because of their race.

Self-respect refers to how the education system within these boarding schools negatively affected, damaged, or destroyed the Indigenous student’s self-esteem, their self-confidence, and their self-worth resulting in self-denigration. These attacks on the children, their culture and their people were perpetrated by the priests, brothers, nuns, and others. The result of these attacks on Indigenous children within boarding school made them feel less and was also identified as happening for a long time by those interviewed.

Vygotsky (1978) asserted that all complex thought originates through interpersonal relationships between individuals. This concept can refer to the student’s abusive relationship with those running the schools which is revealed by the responses of those interviewed. In social cultural theory, Vygotsky asserted that all learning is social, and ideas and concepts are transferred through social interaction. This church agent’s deviant social interaction with the Indigenous children was a psychological attack on them. Vygotsky’s assertion that learning is though more experienced learners and learning builds on previous learning, can be seen in the awful symptomatic behaviors of generational trauma the church abuse produced in young Indigenous survivors. The power of their stories brings an Indigenous view of how the educational practices within these schools negatively affected their forefathers, themselves, and their descendants. This is an example of how looking at the schools though an Indigenous lens adds to the scholarship of this topic of education. Brayboy’s (2005) fifth tenet upheld this belief:
“The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens” (p. 429).

Logic of elimination is the third and final theme in this dissertation study. It reveals how the process of settler colonization was integrated into the boarding school’s system for the elimination of Indigenous children’s identity. Brayboy’s (2005) first tenet addressed how this process is reflective of the needs and wants of the nation; “Colonization is endemic to society” (p. 429). The settler colonization of America was the first of many waves of subjugation and is the founding principle of the White European immigrants boarding schools. Consequently, the boarding school’s curriculum was a settler colonial process designed to force the Indigenous people to give up their identity for White European immigrant one. The data from my interviews supports how the students who attended the schools were forced to submit themselves to the foreign concept of identity. The settler colonial curriculum was a part of a process that warped the Indigenous identity into a quasi-artificial White European one. The data also identified the mechanisms and the perpetrators who enforced the assimilation process on Indigenous children. It disclosed how Indian boarding schools and its underlying goal of assimilation was identical to prison systems. The responses in the interviews associated the boarding school’s treatment of students synonymous with those treated as prisoners of war. They correlated their forced stay at these schools until they aged out, assimilated, or died indistinguishable to serving a prison sentence.

Colonization process makes note of how aspects of Pratt’s design of Carlisle Indian Industrial School, which later became the model for all Indian boarding schools,
was composed of settler colonial practices. Those interviewed identified multiple threads as part of the total colonization process. This sub-theme disentangles the threads to see how they stood alone and how they contributed to the thicker braid of colonization. The product of the settler colonization process of Indigenous children was conceived for the “civilization” of them. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and DeBruyn. (1998) stated:

The BIA assumed the function of providing education for American Indians under its “Civilization Division.” Federally operated boarding schools were conceived as a solution to the “Indian problem,” an enactment of forced assimilation (Hoxie, 1989; McDonald, 1990; Noriega, 1992; Prucha, 1984). (p. 63)

As a founding principle within the United States education system, its colonization process was successful at solving the Indian problem in a most horrifying way. Many Indigenous people did not realize how prevalent this problem became. Brayboy (2005) noted:

The colonization has been so complete that even many American Indians fail to recognize that we are taking up colonialist ideas when we fail to express ourselves in ways that may challenge dominant society’s ideas about who and what we are supposed to be, how we are supposed to behave, and what we are supposed to be within the larger population. (p. 431)

War mechanism refers to the educational design of the Carlisle Indian School. It informs the reader of its design and connects this design to a military re-education factory which had an outcome of ethnocide and genocide. The schools came on the coattails of
the Indian wars. Wowicakhe recalled a lesson within education that demonstrated to him that education still contains echoes of the Indian Wars.

One of the questions that we were studying was, again, culture and language annihilation and then genocide of people was that fought with was Battle of Wounded Knee. That was in their chapter. And so, on that night, I said, “This is not a battle, this is a massacre.” They gave 20 Congressional Medal of Honors to those 20 cavalries or whatever, and I was against that. Then, quietly I just sat there and just took that whole chapter, and I tore it, and I just threw it on the floor, and just threw my book on the floor, and I got up and left.

The findings pointed at the war mechanism issue and questioned how Carlisle’s designation as a school was valid in any way for, what else could a former Florida military prison warden without an educational degree produce. In the American Indian Boarding School: An Exploration of Global, Ethnic and Cultural Cleansing, Jones, Bosworth, Lonetree, and Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture & Lifeways (2011) illustrated how the schools which were situated with the Department of War, was part of a national movement to abolish the children’s Indigenous identity. They reported, “The United States Congress in the Indian Offense Policies, American Indian clothing, spirituality, and hair styles were considered ‘savage’ and declared illegal” (p. 2). The product of military actions like this solidified the goal of the destruction of Indigenous identity in boarding schools. Federal policy initiated genocidal practices and authorized its use within the states to build a European-based educational system within boarding schools.
Genocide and ethnocide refer how genocide and ethnocide was a founding principle of the boarding school’s curriculum. This sub-theme informs the reader about how eventually, the war of genocide, condemned Native Americans to reservations where they would be subjected to a genocidal and ethnocidal system of reformation, re-education, and medical experimentation. Smith (2009) reported:

As tools of cultural assimilation, boarding schools for the most part have infringed upon indigenous peoples right to self-determination. These schools have resulted in cultural alienation, loss of language, disruptions in family and social structures, and increased community dysfunction. Many schools were exceedingly brutal places where children were physically, sexually, and emotionally abused. (p. 48)

The confinement on the reservations gave the boarding schools the ability to separate families so they could hold their children hostage and process them through their assimilation practices. According to the Jones et al., (2011), “The legacy of Boarding/Residential Schools, which was a form of cultural genocide. Countless individuals have experienced intergenerational trauma as a result of the separation from parents and family” (p. 19). The lingering issues of generational trauma has had a reverberation across time for the people who had family members at these schools. The boarding schools were granted complete power to impose their authority over all aspects of their students’ lives. The boarding schools were able to abduct children under the guise of civilization, where the children were not considered kidnapped but, rather, attending school. The boarding school process of assimilation caused Indigenous children trauma
parallel to the trauma suffered by Holocaust survivors. Yellow Horse-Brave Heart and DeBruyn (1998) stated:

Like children of Jewish Holocaust survivors, subsequent generations of American Indians also have a pervasive sense of pain from what happened to their ancestors and incomplete mourning of those losses. Despite their Eurocentric bias, early personality studies among the Lakota (Erikson, 1963; Macgregor, 1946/1975) provide evidence to support generational trauma response features similar to the survivor’s-child complex. (p. 68)

Manifestation in the curriculum refers to how the boarding school curriculum manifested the settler colonial process and validated the logic of elimination construct in schools and in society. This curriculum fostered the lie that children were better off renouncing their Indigenous identity despite that their ways had great value and contributed so much to the White European immigrant society forming on Turtle Island. Brayboy (2005) accounted for how the settler colonialism was able to inundate the curriculum. He wrote, “Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation” (p. 429). The curriculum worked continuously toward the subjugation of Indigenous people with no intention of helping them to be able to work in anything that could give them a decent living. Kiksuya recalled that her mother's oppressive education tried to teach her subservience.

So, I think the boarding school experience was to teach our kids to be servants.

Because she really didn't know a lot of stuff, didn't know a lot of the things that
were taught in English, but then she was shown how to scrub the floor with a toothbrush.

**Reflection on the Research Questions**

The research questions that guided this study have been efficiently addressed or validated through the participants’ responses. The first question: How has the effect of the settler colonist curriculum influenced the grandparent’s perceptions about education? The boarding schools had a damaging effect on how our elders viewed education. The interview responses affirmed that the abuse and trauma inflicted on our elders, as children, caused them to view boarding schools as places that practiced genocide and ethnocide. They were able to identify that the school's settler colonial curriculum was meant to destroy their identity through assimilation. Their stories verified how the children were stolen and how the loneliness that followed created psychological issues within themselves. All these issues caused generational trauma that followed them from generation to generation and created a distrust of the intentions of education toward their people. As a result of this repetitive trauma against our elders, they eventually developed resilience, through their cultural ways, which gave them strength to survive and hold onto to their culture, language, and traditional ways. Their resilience was passed on to successive generations as a means to also withstand their own educational experiences allowing them to develop skills to walk in two worlds.

The second question: How, if any, of their views toward schooling or academics have been passed on to their subsequent family members such as children, grandchildren, or great grandchildren? The elders' views toward schooling or academics have passed
down through the generations. These descendants have had the same opinion that there are colonial practices within the curriculum of boarding schools. Through oral history, the abusive events that transpired within the boarding schools have been preserved in the memories of subsequent family members such as children, grandchildren, or great grandchildren. Due to extensive family kinship bonds this abuse did not happen in the past to their distant ancestors it happened to their parents, uncles, aunties, grandparents, and great grandparents. The direct attack on their family, community, and people has established the perception that education is tantamount to assimilation and trauma.

The third question: How has this influenced the graduation of Indigenous students from high school? The participants’ responses showed that many progressed through their high school education and a few progressed on to college. Although, their motivation was due to economic conditions which initiated a survival response rather than the positive involvement of their schools and academic achievement in education. The interview responses revealed that the boarding schools created distrust and to an extent indifference to education. The wounding practices of the boarding school experience affected the amount of time that it took to complete their educations. Their academic success was marred by their experiences with multiple types of abuse that elicited generational trauma. Racism was also a factor throughout their schooling that adversely affected their view of education due to the prejudice and degradation they experienced.

This next section holds the hope. Throughout the interviews, there was an overwhelming hope that education was getting better; the participants were confident that the educational experiences of their children were not going to be as traumatic as
their. They had verbalized that they were developing resilience to the harmful effects of education and were actively working to find solutions to the generational trauma they carry. In this next section, I bring in the voices of the participants to help illustrate the importance of resilience.

**Resilience**

Resilience pointed to how the Indigenous children’s identity was a source of strength for them, it gave them the perseverance to endure the years of settler colonial processes they were subjected to within their education, which was focused on assimilating them. The hardships in the settler colonial process in boarding schools that Indigenous students and their descendants had to endure and overcome was a process to destroy their identity. Their resilience was earned through generations of Indigenous people living through with the trauma of the genocide directed at them from the White European immigrants. It has been part of the teachings, passed onto succeeding generations from their elders who instilled in them the Indigenous value of “fortitude.”

Resilience gave them the ability to withstand the hardships they suffered through in education. Their resilience has a direct correlation to Brayboy’s nine tenets of TribalCrit. Specifically, Brayboy’s (2005) tenet seven defined this connection as “Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups” (p. 429). Because their resilience was a component of the children’s Indigenous Identity. It was passed on to
them through their culture and traditions which was learned within their Indigenous education systems that they were immersed in all their lives.

The Lakota refer to their Lakota children as “Wakanyeja,” which translates as Sacred Children or Sacred Ones. Raising them is a lifetime of work of educating them to meet the outcome of their development into human beings. What is relevant to this dissertation, was them teaching their children educational resistance, how to walk in two educational systems. One was the White European one which was bent on the destruction of their identity and the other was the Indigenous one and the preservation of it. Woksape remembered how her father encouraged her education. She said, “Dad, like I said, dad was really strong on education and working and stuff, being sober. He said, ‘You know, that's the only way you're going to make it.’” Elders were the repositories of Indigenous knowledge; they were always teaching and guiding their descendants through life.

Indigenous people were surrounded by racism and injustice within all aspects of the “new world” including their education system. Their elders weighed out their circumstances and as part of teaching their resilience; they encouraged their children to get an education so they could come back and help their people. Woksape fondly remembered her father always advocating for education.

So, he used to always talk about stuff like that all the time, about working and being sober, getting an education. He never stopped. He never... I never even heard him stop talking about education. Like, ‘Okay, well go to high school and get your high school diploma.’ He was talking about college way back when people weren't even thinking about it, when it wasn't possible for us to have a
college education and stuff like that. He knew it and he told us that. So, of course we had to... He was our dad, he's the boss, he was the boss man.

While encouraging their children and grandchildren to become educated. The elders passed on their resiliency while simultaneously trying to protect that sacredness within their child. Many of their elders experienced education in its worst form, the children who attended these schools were being sent to military re-education camps. They were isolated hundreds of miles away with strict discipline and extreme punishments for running away. They experienced every form of abuse and many died. In talking about the boarding schools, Woksape recalled how her parents protected her spirit:

…a lot of the kids died there and so that was hard for them, you know. I remember, they didn't like, want to tell us hard unhappy things, it seems like you know, the things that were heartbreaking stuff, they didn't tell us.

Their elder’s parental reaction was to try and protect their children from their trauma so as part of their resilience, they did what they could, not to pass their trauma on to their children. Woksape also recalled how other families did the same thing, saying, “Like my cousins, they say that their parents never told them, told them that these bad things happened.” The hard fact about boarding schools was its damage to the children that would inevitably affect their ability to parent. Many experiences within the boarding schools resulted in trauma which the children had to live with for the rest of their lives. That abuse negatively affected them, but through their resiliency, they always tried to
keep it out of the parenting of their own children. Waslolya recalled his own experience with dealing with the trauma.

The trauma and how it affected me, psychologically, it made me kind of a strict disciplinarian, because I didn't want my kids to go through what I did. So, I would teach them a lot of stuff. How to do it and what not to do. But I had to hold back on that because I didn't want to be like that. I didn't want to be a strict parent, like my father was and like they taught us to be.

They acknowledged their trauma and taught their children the dangers of letting their pain become their sacred one’s pain. Kiksuya provided information on why they kept their trauma hidden.

…the way it impacted me was that I was reminded by adults, ‘Don't talk around your kids because they are going to carry that trauma too. Even though it was not theirs, but they heard it's yours, so they’ll carry it with you.’ That's too heavy for kids to carry.

For many, the trauma was too great and could not be contained so it got passed from generation to generation. Resilience was learning to understand its effect on them to heal themselves, their resilience was trying to make sense of their inherited pain. Kiksuya recounted how she had to examine the trauma caused by her mother's periodic abandonment through an Indigenous lens.

…it really traumatized my life until I understood it. Then whenever I understood it… I had to go back to our old ways to be able to understand it. Because I could not understand it in White man's terms, in English terms. I had to go deeper to be
able to understand why I was doing the things I was doing or why I put myself and my family through the things that they went through.

By seeing her mother's trauma from an Indigenous point of view, she was able to see hers and understand more about her corresponding reactions to it thereby, reinforcing her resilience. This processing of experiences is inclusive of the eighth tenet of Brayboy’s TribalCrit. Brayboy (2005) pointed out “Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being” (p. 429). Kiksuya has been making meaning of her behaviors. “But now I understand why she did it, because we don't want our trauma to be passed on to them, what we were going through.” Their lived traumatic experiences brought resiliency after the pain. Kiksuya identified how surviving the massacres and standing up to colonization, built resiliency within her people.

…with our ancestors and their strength and hearing their stories of resiliency and getting through the storm, getting through the 1890, getting through the 1973 Wounded Knee, that really showed us how strong we can be and how strong it is in our blood and our thoughts and our way of being. So, there's always a flip side. Recognizing their source of their trauma is helping to facilitate healing from it. Kiksuya connected their survival through the destruction of their identity, to the Indigenous people’s resiliency that they developed.

We knew in our hearts that it was the right way to be, we know why it was taken from us, and why we were punished for it. But we have always managed a way, we've come from a long line of resiliency.
Every generation is doing more to understand their resiliency and passing on their knowledge and their resilience to the next generation. Indigenous people are still living in a war zone and subsequently, they are passing on their survival skills to the next generation to survive in it. Kiksuya could see how she was prepared by her predecessors to live as an Indigenous person in these chaotic times. “Those were passed down to help us to be strong in the times that we’re in and in the times that were coming from when we were children.” The survivors are recognizing their irrepressible spirit in their bloodline, they are refusing to go along with boarding school assimilation through the faith in their cultural ways. Kiksuya explained how her resiliency gives her strength.

…just keeping our faith no matter what. Just keeping our faith and knowing that we come from a strong line of resiliency and we have that in our blood. So, the stories and that bloodline is what kept me strong.

Finding strength to confront their trauma is powerful because it releases them from living with the pain that has become attached to them from the curriculum of the boarding schools. Instead of concentrating on the pain they can open their eyes and search for hope and a method to heal. By facing her trauma Kiksuya was able to build not only resilience but also wisdom. “Through intergenerational and generational resilience is how. Because along with intergenerational trauma and historical trauma, there's also intergenerational wisdom/resilience.” Indigenous people are walking through the badlands undergoing the anguish of the boarding school legacy. But then again, that suffering is tempering them, like steel, building their resilience to overcome their settler colonial traumas. Kiksuya knew that her earned resilience allowed her to get through that
adversity. “No matter what obstacle comes we'll always get up and do what we have to
do as men and women of our tribe.” The formation of resilience was a strength that the
children had, that was unconsciously, a natural part of them and was supported and
integrated into their being by their cultural ways.

**Recommendations and Considerations**

The purpose of this dissertation study was to look within tribal school systems, to
explore how Indian Boarding schools negated Indigenous identity. It’s a call for current
educators to step up to advocate for meaningful culturally responsive education systems
within these schools to counter assimilation practices forced on Indigenous people. It is
important for schools to add Indigenous culture to Indigenous education. Indigenous
students need to have access to instructors and administrators who look like them to
promote self-identification. The schooling system is structured in ways that discriminate
and invalidate Indigenous student identity; therefore, they need to identify and have
advocates who can model resistance and who can help them amplify their voices and
advocate for themselves. In addition, having someone who understands the cultural and
nuanced ways that language is used is critical for maintaining and supporting cultural
ways and identity of Indigenous youth. Indigenous people can use words that convey
great meaning that promote self-determination and counter assimilationism. Brayboy
(2005) attested, “Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous
peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation” (p. 429). For
this reason, Indigenous students need educators to value their culture because Indigenous
culture is important and empowering. Indigenous students need to have members of their
community within their schools to help guide their learning and ensure cultural integration is advocated for to help decolonize education. Brayboy substantiated this, “Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change” (p. 429).

The way to decolonize education is to facilitate a curriculum that integrates theory and practice that work toward changing the system that has oppressed Indigenous people for so long. It is essential that our schools are making carefully planned connections to different forms and types of Indigenous knowledge. If we can look at the education of our youth through an Indigenous lens, we may be able to address some of the challenges Indigenous students face in schools today, with the hope and promising practice of countering settler colonial practices within the education of Indigenous children in an effort to improve Indigenous people’s outlook toward education. Re-building the Indigenous connection to education requires the recognition that there needs to be a culturally resonant and self-affirming component to Indigenous education. The starting point, similar to Brayboy’s (2005) TribalCrit, is validating Indigenous knowledge that existed prior to the European contact and integrating that knowledge into the public education curriculum.

The use of Indigenous philosophy to establish the need for culturally impacting education systems is important because White European immigrant education was based on a model that negated indigenous identity. Indigenous people should look to boarding schools as a way of addressing the damaging effect settler colonial policies used in these schools had on them. “Given these legacies, Indigenous-specific educational institutions
(including boarding schools) may be necessary to reverse the processes of colonization” (Smith, 2009, p. 48). Within these school’s educators should take the time to become familiar with the traditional knowledge of Indigenous students and apply it to curriculum and instruction.

Encouraging teachers to see ‘themselves’ as learners, to be open to considering differences between their own cultures and the cultures of the communities they serve, and to be willing to change their ways of teaching to give children a better chance in school. (Pewewardy & Hammer, 2003, p. 3)

Additionally, Indigenous people can contribute and take the time to apply traditional knowledge to theories and practices in all segments of pedagogy. “Even Native teachers and community members must sometimes overcome negative attitudes (resulting from long-term deculturalization and colonization) toward the place of Native culture in the curriculum” (Pewewardy & Hammer, 2003, p. 3).

**Personal Reflection on Agency**

Within my journey through this study I struggled to stay on course because I was immersed within my own educational process of assimilation though education. I was raised within a sovereign nation, a society with our own unique view of the world. So as an Indigenous doctoral student, the work I put into this study was many times, convoluted and invalidating compared to the schools wants and demands. Often times the view of the White European education system was over critical of the differences my Indigenous views presented. Within education, success for Indigenous people within this system
demands that they view the world through a White European immigrant system of belief where there is a great difference in how things are perceived.

Consequently, I have found that the demands of my education wanted me to change my viewpoint of how I look at the world in order to be successful within that same system. It was a struggle between what was demanded of me and what I was going to compromise of myself. Just like the those I interviewed I was living my Indigenous values within a system untrained to recognize the unique struggles I was encountering. Although this study challenged me in many ways, I persisted. I didn’t let the system negate my cultural viewpoints by not accepting the limitations of what this education system was placing on me. The completion of this dissertation required that I fight hard to create a space for my voice, my story in a colonial space. By doing so, it became a necessary act of resistance and resilience in order to persevere in completing my dissertation.

In consideration of my personal experiences within education and the responses of those I interviewed. I will carry the that wisdom in my life, I acknowledge my personal role in the problem and its solution, what I can do as a Doctor in Educational Leadership and as a leader in my community is to take upon myself the use of Indigenous philosophy to culturally impact the education system. This is important because education was based on a model that negated Indigenous identity. As a Doctor of Education, I can explore the integration of Indigenous ways of learning and philosophy into education to process and counter the continued loss of the Indigenous identity through the education system. I can pursue Indigenous philosophy that has the compacity of providing a foundation for the
integration of Indigenous thinking into tribal education systems. I can help address the methods of assimilation through the development of education programs based on Indigenous ways of knowing.

Indigenous groups, however, are developing alternative Indigenous models of education that try to work outside the mandatory mainstream models. They are experimenting with a variety of forms to provide the skills necessary to survive in the dominant society without erasing their own cultures and languages.

(Smith, 2009, p. 48)

I hope to maintain mindfulness, being conscious or aware, that it’s important to develop programs that focuses on the preservation of our own cultures and languages which are important to Indigenous people. Language is the foundation of preserving culture and any school should use this concept as a cornerstone for any Indigenous learning. What I can do as a leader in my community is to take it upon myself to work toward public acknowledgment of the genocidal history and the damage caused by the U.S. governments destructive relationship between boarding schools and the Indigenous people of Turtle Island and work to provide opportunities for reparation.

Some countries that have had brutal histories of Indigenous boarding school abuse have not addressed these legacies or provided opportunities for redress. Without public acknowledgment of this history, it will be difficult to develop fruitful collaborations between states and Indigenous peoples in establishing educational programs that are beneficial to all (Smith, 2009 p. 45).
Reparation means that there is a need to increase the chance that we may culturally impact education systems and have a greater say in the development of our own educational destiny. I will maintain my own development and connection by always praying to guidance. Hecetu yelo.
References


Kauanui, J. K., & Wolfe, P. (2012). *Settler colonialism then and now*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/26831338/Settler_Colonialism_Then_andNow__A_Conversation_between_J_K%C4%93hauanuiKauanui_and_Patrick_Wolfe


https://www.wyofile.com/home-from-school/


Pearl, J. (2016). *Native Americans and the census*. [History 90.01: Topics in Digital History]. Retrieved from journeys.dartmouth.edu website:
https://journeys.dartmouth.edu/censushistory/2016/01/25/native-americans-and-the-census/


http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/AIE/Ind_Ed.html

https://www.gillettenewsrecord.com/news/article_9cacb8e4-06d5-5e44-abebe-3035b57c5ef8.html


https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=

CF


https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013456


https://doi.org/10.1300/J045v10n04_01

https://doi.org/10.1080/02791072.2011.628913

https://doi.org/10.5820/aian.0802.1998.60
### Appendix A

#### 9 Tenets Application to this Dissertation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brayboy's TribalCrit 9 Tenets</th>
<th>Implications for this Dissertation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Colonization is endemic to society.</td>
<td>1 Foundational and historical development of boarding school’s curriculum originated on system of assimilation and ethnocide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.</td>
<td>2 The development of the United States boarding school’s curriculum was initiated through military force directed at children. The outcome was to integrate them into society, instill white superiority, and the eventual appropriation of their Indigenous lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.</td>
<td>3 Indigenous students live in a duel existence in American as both an Indigenous citizen and as an oppressed trust responsibility of congress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.</td>
<td>4 Chapter 5 - This would be taking charge of Indigenous education to empower Identity and heal trauma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens.</td>
<td>5 Chapter 5 – U.S. educational system recognizing that Turtle Island had a valid pre-White man educational system that isn't accurately represented in curriculum and instruction in all schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.</td>
<td>6 Eurocentric Curriculum within boarding schools is designed to assimilate Indigenous students and by design, does not value their beliefs and ways of learning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.</td>
<td>7 Non-native educators’ failure to recognize cultural prompts of Indigenous students which fast-tracks them to special education programs. Settler colonial, assimilationist educational practices within education places Indigenous students in a state of conflict, of either being successful in education or preserving their culture and identity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.</td>
<td>8 Oral history among Indigenous tribes is a survival technique for preserving their Indigenous culture, traditions, language, and religion. Stories are the foundation of Indigenous Theory of learning. Stories are kept in the collective memory of the tribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change.</td>
<td>9 Theory and practice within the U.S. education system is founded on a settler colonial agenda in the education or ‘civilization’ of Indigenous students. The U.S. education system assumes that, what is required of Indigenous children is the complete and utter destruction of their Indigenous identity to assume white European Identity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix B

**FAMILY TREE for Patrick Eagle Staff**

5 Generations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sitting Eagle</th>
<th>Bulman #2 (Lives Among the Buffalo)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown Rainbow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder's Afraid of Him</td>
<td>Fearful Wife Bulman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appears With</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brownie/Browning</td>
<td>Brown Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matt Crewe/White Woman</td>
<td>Laura Eva Brown Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look Up</td>
<td>Yellow Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toe Noll Woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Sun Road</td>
<td>Guy Doming Sun Roads (Rhodes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief Sharpnose</td>
<td>Ruth Lorraine/Kills Backward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnie Watermoke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Kimp</td>
<td>Ruth Lorraine/Kills Backward (Limp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Friday</td>
<td>May Friday Walker/Lone Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt Friday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>