Potentializing Wellness through the Stories of Female Survivors and Descendants of Indian Residential School Survivors: A Grounded Theory Study

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Abstract

The Indian residential school (IRS) system is part of Canada's colonial history; an estimated 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children attended IRS (Stout & Peters, 2011). Informed by Indigenous principles of respect, relevance, responsibility, reciprocity, and relationality (Deloria, 2004; Ermine 1995; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001; Wilson, 2008), this study uses classic grounded theory to explore how female IRS survivors or their female descendants are coping with the intergenerational transmission of trauma. Specifically, the general method of comparative analysis was used to generate theory and identify categories and conceptualizations. The emergent problem found that individual survivors and their descendants were dealing with *kakwatakih-nipowatisiw*, a Cree term used to identify learned colonial (sick) behaviours. These behaviours manifested first among the administrative staff of the schools, then eventually emerged as female generational violence between, for example, mothers and daughters. Indigenous women in this study aimed to resolve this, their 'main concern', in order to strengthen familial relations, especially between female family members.

Analysis resulted in the identification of a theory derived from the social process of potentializing wellness, which was grounded in the real-world experiences of Indigenous women. Potentializing wellness involves three dimensions: building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering virtues. It was revealed that Indigenous women perceive the ongoing generational effects of IRS differently, and as a result, three behavioural typologies emerged: living the norm, between the norm, and escaping the norm. The "norm" refers to the belief that violence is accepted as a normal part of family life. The paradox, of course, is that this type of behaviour is not normal and Indigenous women in this study are looking for ways to eliminate aggressive behaviours between women. The discoveries made in this research, coupled with the final integrative literature review, suggest that Indigenous People's cultural ways of

knowing have a holistic component that addresses all wellness levels. Effective strategies to deal with intergenerational trauma can emerge when holistic health is followed by, or happens concordantly with, reclaiming cultural norms grounded in community and spiritual life. Indigenizing a Western intervention is not enough. Focusing on the spiritual as well as emotional, physical, intellectual, and social aspects of self is seemingly the best approach for Indigenous People who are dealing with the intergenerational effects of trauma.

Dedication

To my mother, Alexzina Rosemarie Redwood, who survived 10 years at Indian residential school and yet still finds time for laughter.

To all my siblings, whom I love very much. I believe completing this PhD has answered a lot of our questions. To my dear nieces and nephews, you can do and be anything you want, and I hope my journey has helped clear the pathway so you too can potentialize your own sense of well-being.

To all the courageous women who shared their stories—it was your time to be heard. Some of you asked me to include your names in this thesis so that others will feel encouraged to tell their story and break the secrets of the past. I thank you: Agnes (Aggie) Ettagiak, Irene M. Barbeau, Jane Luhtasaari, Lorna Martin, Cheryl Tomatuk-Bagan, Sharon Kelly, Shirley Kelly, Connie Shingoose, Milly McComber, Viola Thomas, and Lavinna Pemmican. I also want to dedicate this manuscript to the many women who shared their story at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission gatherings and with the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Your stories also contributed to the discovered framework.

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Preface

I write this preface on the eve of my PhD defence wondering how best to introduce myself. Explaining how I have finally come to understand my spirit name in relation to the research I have undertaken over the last six years may be the best way to show my personal connection to this study.

Aannii, Cynthia "Niioo-bineh-se-kwe" Stirbys ndizhnikaas. Cowessess First Nation, Treaty 4 ndoonjibaa. I am Saulteaux-Cree on my mother's side. A significant part of my mother's history was carried over generationally as I am a fourth-generation descendant of three generations of Indian residential school survivors.[1] I am also Lithuanian on my father's side. He was a child soldier in the Second World War and also experienced a great deal of loss like my mother before escaping to Canada. I could not comprehend as a young child how against all odds these two incredible people found each other and loved each other as long and as best as they could before the effects of trauma left them unable to relate to or support each other any longer. I was still very young when they separated. Unfortunately, four of the five of us children would end up in foster care in Saskatchewan. The oldest one, who was not quite seven years old and remained with cousins, felt the void of his siblings' absence. As he later told me, his heart ached for our return for nearly three years. In the bigger scheme of things, our stories are most probably not unlike those of other First Nations, Inuit, or Métis children who ended up in foster care. When my mother remarried, we were all gathered up and moved to Thunder Bay, Ontario. I eventually moved to Ottawa as a young woman and it became one of many places that I called home.

[1] The term *survivor* is commonly used to describe former students who attended IRS (as seen in the research literature and heard at IRS gatherings). Some call themselves *thrivers*.

In August 2009, I brought my mother to an Indian residential school gathering in Sioux Lookout in northern Ontario. My mother did not want to attend this event with me until I explained that I had asked her to join me because I wanted her to learn that the hard life she had endured was not her fault. We stayed on the site of the former Pelican Lake Indian residential school (operational from1926 until 1962), and this is where I met a lovely Elder named Lorney Bob, to whom I gave tobacco and whom I asked for my spirit name. My mother did the same, and together we experienced many rounds in the sweat lodge where only the Ojibway language was spoken or sung. When I exited the sweat lodge, I felt good about my experience with the Elders and that I had finally received my spirit name—Niioo-bineh-se-kwe, which translates to *Four Thunderbirds Woman*. At first, I wondered if I had betrayed my roots by asking for my name from an Ojibway Elder, but later realized it was wholly appropriate as I was raised in Ojibway territory, which is a part of my personal history. At the time, I did not know too much of the Ojibway language and had to ask the Elder the next morning to remind me of my name and to explain its meaning. He explained that my spirit name was a powerful one to hold, signifying healing and transformation. I learned later that a Thunderbird is considered both a spiritual and a physical being and that one of its gifts is the ability to create thunder as well as lightning in order to catch people's attention (Mizrach, n.d.). Plains Indians consider there to be four colours of Thunderbirds who each represent a compass point, one at each cardinal direction; the Thunderbird at the western door is the greatest of all (Mizrach, n.d.). Surely it was not just serendipity that I received my spirit name only weeks before I was to embark on my PhD journey! But I had to remind myself on many occasions to trust in the forces that brought this name to me as my confidence wavered on occasion.

The responsibility of carrying this name and my belief that my work might benefit others stopped me from quitting when my task seemed nearly impossible. Tensions rose quite regularly

when I found myself unable to walk two paths simultaneously: the academic path and the path of reconciliation, knowing my family, like other families, continued to struggle and suffer just as many of our ancestors had suffered in residential schools generations earlier. I wanted to contribute to breaking the trauma cycle, especially for the newer generations whom I had hoped could escape the legacy imposed upon them. Trying to do good work in an institutional setting was often contradictory, and I knew in my heart that I had to take a different approach to my research. Many times I entered those dark places wondering if I was really the right person to be carrying the weight of this responsibility. But I had to continue, because I have always been motivated by supporting others in finding their rightful path to happiness.

So, the Thunderbird being part of my namesake became the allegory within this study and it speaks to the many contradictions and perhaps paradoxical and contrary nature of my position as an Indigenous woman located in an academic institution and the largess of this research. The Thunderbird like the *heyoka* (or sacred clown), performs contrary actions by doing the unexpected and reminds people of both the possibility and unpredictability of the social order (Mizrach, n.d.). It was the heyoka's job to remind his community "about the social construction of reality… [and to show] people how their own expectations limit their behavior" (Mizrach, n.d.).

The outcome of this study could not have been predetermined. I am certain it will shock some; others may find it illuminating and welcome. I walked with the spirit of the Thunderbird throughout this study. Like the heyoka, my job in presenting the final framework is meant to challenge what people think they know and "make them reconsider what they may have arbitrarily accepted as normal. It's to 'jolt' them out of the ordinary frames of mind" (Stewart, 1991, as cited in Mizrach, n.d.). I hope the framework helps Indigenous women and their

families begin to envision how their world can be a joyful and happy place. In carrying the spirit of the Thunderbird, I aim to break expectations such that new information presented on old patterns of behaviour "may be able to 'abreact' psychological trauma" (Mizrach, n.d.) by releasing emotional tensions that have been repressed for far too long.

Commemoration Ceremony of the Unmarked Graves

August 16, 2013. We are on the grounds of the Chapleau Cree First Nations' territory. A commemoration for children who never returned home from Indian residential schools is about to begin. People have travelled from near and far. We gather atop the hill of the cemetery and walk through an elaborate set of rod iron gates. The noisy world takes on a soft hush. Birch and jack pine trees border each side of the path. The warm sun finds its way through the trees. A lacy montage of shadow and light surrounds us. The air is warm and humid, saturated with the scent of cedar chips lining the path. I stop and stand on the side of the pathway. The heavy, rich smell of the cedar is calming and appropriate. The Cree and Ojibway People use cedar for cleansing and healing ceremonies. Mother Earth becomes an active participant commemorating with us, on this day, the lives of the forgotten children.

Elders, dignitaries, women, men, youth, and many of Chapleau's Ministry of Natural Resources personnel, who had worked to clear the overgrowth, walked silently, heads bowed in reverence for the children buried on these grounds between 1930 and 1948.[2] Descending the pathway, we start to see markers scattered about the forest's floor. The markers without names read "In Creator's Hands."

[2] In personal communication, dates were confirmed by Elder Ron Howard, January 2, 2014.

Ron Howard, a survivor and now 78 years old, stands looking downward and then raises his head to speak. He says he has not been on the grounds since the closure of the school in 1948, and that many memories are flooding back. One compelling memory still haunts him. Only a child himself, he and a few classmates, along with a supervisor, escorted the body of a dead six-year-old female student from the school grounds to this forest. The child, like many others, was buried here in an unmarked grave. For decades, these children were forgotten by the very people charged with their education and well-being. But their families, often not notified that their child had died, did not forget them. They waited years for their children to be discharged from school, but a homecoming for these forgotten children would never come.

This day of remembrance was neither sombre nor sorrowful. It was less about grieving and more about acknowledging the young lives that once were. It was a day for reconciliation where the truth of the unmarked graves will no longer be hidden. The truth of these brief lives can no longer be justified and hidden behind policies and legislation regulated by the State and implemented by the Church. Due to concerted efforts carried out by volunteers and researchers at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as well as the Anglican Church, 42 graves had been found. Prior to this, only school officials and people with access to government records were aware of the unmarked graves. How the children were buried was neither ethical nor moral. The children were buried off-site, away from St. John's residential school, between the main highway and the train tracks. Before the restoration of the cemetery, few, if any, from the community knew that this plot of land was a gravesite and thus sacred ground. Had they known, they would likely not have used this woodland area as a recreational space.

Forty-two unmarked graves were identified from available records and had received markers. During the commemoration service, some of the missing children's names were read

aloud. For others, there is no record of their burial. TRC Commissioner Marie Wilson estimates that over 80 children died at St John's residential school (as stated on August 16, 2013).[3] It remains unclear where all the bodies are located or where the boundaries of the burial grounds are.[4] A fence was erected around the forest to finally give as many of the missing children as possible, a sacred burial place.

The commemoration ceremony was based on a model of reconciliation. Church officials joined survivors, their descendants, and community members to witness and share in the smudging, pipe ceremony, and laying down prayers with tobacco. Women drummers sang traditional songs, including a lullaby that mothers customarily sing to their unborn child. All who gathered honoured the once-forgotten children by participating in ceremony. We fed their spirits by partaking in the subsequent feast for the dead. We sang to them and prayed over their spirits so they could be certain that we now know the truth about how they lived and died.

Alvin Fiddler, Deputy Grand Chief of the Nishnawbe Aski Nation, spoke at the commemoration. He said,

> to see these little graves and to kneel in front of them brings tears to your eyes … with markers now on the graves, we are more easily able to pay our respects. We

[3] The number of children who died may be greater, because those who had contracted tuberculosis were sent off to a TB sanatorium in Hamilton. Many of these children also never returned home (as told to me in a telephone conversation with Elder Ron Howard, January 2, 2014) and are not counted among the number mentioned here.

[4] There were two residential schools built in Chapleau. The first was built in 1888 and closed in 1908; its cemetery was used until 1930. When the new school was built in 1908, a second cemetery opened; from 1930 until 1948, children were buried at the spot where the commemoration took place. Eighty children are estimated to have been buried there within this 18-year period. It is unclear how many are buried at the first site. At the time of writing, many still do not know there is another gravesite. Currently, the land is privately owned by a Chapleau resident who was not aware the land was used for burying the children from the residential school prior to purchasing the land (as told to me by Elder Ron Howard, January 2, 2014). He has since opted not to further develop the land.

> cannot forget and we need to find ways to remember them, and this ceremony was a big part of that. (Fiddler, August 16, 2013)

The reality of these once-forgotten children cannot be denied. They existed. They lived. Their families loved them and miss them. We, family members and strangers alike, acknowledge these children by coming to show our respect and express our condolences.

Chapter 1: Historical Context

The preceding pages contain an opening vignette of one northern community's commemoration ceremony to help contextualize this first chapter. I will provide a brief history of the Indian residential school (IRS) system, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, and the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Additionally, the IRS Settlement agreement and the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) are also important to include so the reader has a better understanding of Canada's strained relationship with the country's First Peoples.[5] This historical reflective learning is critical to identifying and redressing contemporary colonial attitudes and actions that are often hidden from public view by stereotypes and misinformation. This background information and introduction set the stage for the rationale of this study.

The era of IRS is part of Canada's colonial history. It is a story of loss and destruction, but also of resilience, reconciliation, and transformation (Truth and Reconciliation Commission [TRC], 2012). There are thousands of individual stories coming out of the IRS experience. And there are many more generations of stories that have yet to be heard. How do Indigenous People deal with this history, a history that has undoubtedly shaped their lives? Specifically, what is their greatest struggle or triumph with respect to the IRS experience? How do people cope differently in light of reported accounts of intergenerational trauma? These questions form the crux of this thesis. As a Saulteaux-Cree woman, I am charged with the duty of commemoration, of bearing witness to what happened to my family and people as a consequence of their IRS

[5] In Canada, there are three constitutionally recognized First People groups: First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People. Often the term *Aboriginal* is used to denote these three groups as descendants of the original inhabitants of North America. Other terms may include *Indian*, which is a legal term recognized under the *Indian Act*. Retrieved from http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014642/1100100014643. However, Indigenous communities are moving away from using the term *Aboriginal* as it was imposed by the Federal Government of Canada. Indigenous communities in Canada prefer to be named by their Nation. I therefore favour the use of Indigenous over Aboriginal in this text. The terminology in quoted material has, of course, been left as per the original text.

experience. It is my duty to share the truth of the survivors' experiences. As an academic, I am charged with using a tested and validated methodology to uncover and hear the truth of the participants as they see it. The overarching goal of my thesis is to weave these two duties together into a framework that can help to explain how Indigenous women and their female offspring manage the IRS experiences and its effects on their lives.

History of the Indian Residential School System

In 1883, Hector Langevin, federal Public Works Minister, asserted, "In order to educate the children properly we must separate them from their families. Some people may say that this is hard but if we want to civilize them we must do that" (TRC, 2012, p. 5).

Indian residential schools in Canada can be traced back to the early 19th century. The Mohawk Institute Residential School opened in 1831 (Aboriginal Healing Foundation [AHF], 2007), the first of these 150 government-funded schools which functioned until the last one closed in 1996 (TRC, 2012). As part of Canada's ongoing assimilation policy, Indigenous families were expected to voluntarily send their children to IRS. But under the tenure of Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of the Department of Indian Affairs (1913–1932), began the most tyrannical of assimilation tactics (Stout & Peters, 2011, p. 9). Scott ordered an amendment to Canada's *Indian Act* (1920) to make boarding school attendance mandatory for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children between the ages of seven and 15 (Milloy, 1999, p. 70). An estimated 150,000 children attended IRS (Stout & Peters, 2011).

According to IRS regulations, children had to be separated from their families and communities "for as long as possible" in order for "effective socialization" to take place (Milloy,

1999, p. 30). It was not unusual for children as young as three to become IRS residents (AHF, Legacy of Hope, 2009a)[6] and stay well past the age of majority (Milloy, 1999). Children stayed at school for about 10 years on average, or until they were found to be too ill to stay—the "unhealthy pupils [would] be discharged" (Milloy, 1999, p. 88).[7] Female students were often not discharged from the system until school supervisors could marry them off, generally between the ages of about 18 and 20 (Miller, 1996).

Many of the Church authorities that operated the schools in partnership with the federal government believed they had a sacred calling to "save" and "civilize" Indigenous People (TRC, 2012, p. 2). This goal of "civilizing" Indigenous People was one of the justifications for implementing the IRS policy. The IRS policy was also designed to generate the end of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People as distinct groups within Canada. The system functioned as a means to convert Indigenous societies to the adoption of foreign values and at the same time instruct that Indigenous languages, ways of knowing, and spiritual beliefs were irrelevant. For Indigenous children, indoctrination into the mores of White society included pernicious teachings about their own ancestral knowledge, language, and all other aspects of their culture (AHF, 2003b). Since history books wrongly showed negligible contributions by Indigenous People to the founding of Canada, the system led Indigenous children to believe they were inherently inferior (TRC, 2012, pp. 2–3).

Church authorities running the residential schools were active partners in the colonialist

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[6] There are two references in one here as the AHF's funding was not renewed and the Legacy of Hope was expected to continue the work of the AHF following its closure September, 30, 2014 (see: http://www.ahf.ca).

[7] The ages of children entering school and their length of stay often varied. Research shows that children as young as three and as old as 25 attended IRS. See Castellano (2006), Miller (1996), Milloy (1999), and http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/final-report-vol-1.pdf.

agenda of the Canadian government (TRC, 2012, p. 2), and the IRS system was used as a vehicle to control every aspect of the social and political life of Indigenous People. The Canadian government saw Indigenous People as a "dying race," either metaphorically or literally. This termination of an entire group of people was deemed necessary, falling under the "price of progress" (TRC, 2012, pp. 2–3).

Caring for Indigenous children was not a priority. Milloy (1999), in his research about the building and management of the IRS system, reports that maladministration of the schools resulted in overcrowded conditions. Children's living space became the "urban slums" in which they were forced to breathe in "vitiated air" (Milloy, 1999, pp. 52 & 85). As a result, conditions in the school facilitated the rampant spread of tuberculosis. Not inoculated, but otherwise healthy, children were knowingly exposed to TB, with death a common outcome according to Milloy (1999).

The inequities found in healthcare provisions for Indigenous People across Canada extended into underfunding for residential schools. Despite knowing that "fifty percent" of children who attended IRS died, Scott chose not to provide funding over a 20-year period due to budgetary restrictions (Milloy, 1999, p. 51). According to Dr. P. H. Bryce, appointed Chief Medical Officer of the Indian Department in January 1904, even with negligible funding, there were dire consequences. In one study he conducted of eight residential schools in Alberta in 1907, all the children were infected with tuberculosis (Bryce, 1922). Despite the commissioned medical surveys[8] reporting an urgent need to deal with the tuberculosis outbreak, the squalor, and the dying children, Scott did not seek any solutions (Bryce, 1922).

[8] Reports on the schools were conducted by Dr. P. H. Bryce (1907 and 1922), F. H. Paget (1908), Dr. G. Adami (1910), and Dr. F. A. Corbett (1920 and 1922). See Bryce (1922) and Milloy (1999).

After more than 100 years of the IRS system (and medical reporting), "its administrators found their moral and civil guardianship a matter for public shame" (Million, 2000, p. 92). Many of the children who survived the conditions of IRS became carriers of TB, which can lie dormant for more than 50 years (as stated in personal communication with Dr. Malcolm King in Toronto, November 2008). For this reason, many Indigenous communities today are dealing with a re-emergence of TB, which is an underappreciated legacy of the IRS system.

In addition to dealing with sickness and disease, many IRS children endured extreme loneliness and harsh discipline, which often included punishments that were "either explicitly or implicitly sexual in nature" (AHF, 2003a, p. 30). According to Chansonneuve (2005), childhood abuse in residential schools was "ritualized," and involved "repeated, systematic, sadistic and humiliating trauma to the physical, sexual, spiritual and/or emotional health of a person" and occurred through "conditioning, mind control and torture" (p. 35). Long-term outcomes for IRS survivors range from shame, loss and/or denial of cultural identity, family violence, alcoholism, drug addiction, and poor self-esteem (AHF, 2003a) to full-scale adoption of the dominant culture's value system (Barrios & Egan, 2002; Ing, 2000). Many children displayed symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), including "nightmares, sleep problems, blackouts, apathy and depression" (AHF, 2003a, p. 32).

Canada's Response to the IRS Legacy

The Government of Canada responded to the IRS legacy in various ways. This section will outline some of these approaches to reconciliation with a brief introduction to the Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP, 1996), the AHF, the TRC, and the oral tradition of witnessing. A statement of objectives and a chapter outline for this text follows.

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal People and the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Starting in the 1990's, the federal government prepared to find solutions to the myriad of problems between Indigenous and non-Indigenous People in Canada, including the legacy of IRS. Through the RCAP (1996), public hearings in 96 communities were held, expert testimonies heard, research studies commissioned, and past inquiries and reports reviewed over a five-year period. Finally, upon completion of the report in 1996, the commissioners provided a summation of the five-volume document. They said, "The main policy direction, pursued for more than 150 years, first by colonial then by Canadian governments, has been wrong" (RCAP, 1996).[9]

Shortly after the RCAP report was released, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) was created by Canada's parliament to help redress the harmful effects of the Canadian residential school regime (Gone, 2013b). A principle contributor to *Gathering Strength — Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, the action plan for reconciliation and renewal of Canada's relationship with Indigenous People, the AHF began its mandate in March 1998 (2006a). As part of its mandate, the AHF distributed millions of dollars to support community healing initiatives for Indigenous People "who were directly or intergenerationally affected by physical and sexual abuse in residential schools" (AHF, 2006a, p. 2).

In the final AHF report (2006b), a "framework for understanding trauma and healing related to residential school abuse" contained elements found "necessary" for effective healing programs (p. 15). These elements were Aboriginal values and world views, personal and cultural safety, and skilled healers/healing team (AHF, 2006b). Additionally, "three pillars of healing"

[9] Retrieved from: http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637

must be inclusive as part of an holistic healing strategy: education to provide the historic context about residential schools, cultural interventions and activities, and combined traditional and Western therapeutic interventions (AHF, 2006b, p. 15). According to the report on AHF-funded community healing projects, it was always the intention to hold Indigenous People as "key agents of change," ensuring a strength-based approach when addressing historical trauma (AHF, 2006a, p. 2). Becoming agents of change for many First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People entailed telling their story for the first time through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Change is occurring in Canada, and one only need attend an event like Idle No More or local community dialogues like Niigaan: In Conversation[10] to see that change in action is inclusive of settler allies and Indigenous People alike. Canada is now embarking on a new journey. It began with the IRS Schools Settlement Agreement, the result of the numerous class action lawsuits former IRS students brought against the federal government and the Churches that operated the schools over a 150-year period. That agreement gave rise to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. The mandate of the TRC is to educate the Canadian public about what happened in the IRSs and to guide a national process of reconciliation (TRC, 2012).[11]

In terms of the latter, the TRC received funds to develop community-level initiatives aimed at reconciliation. An overarching goal of these initiatives was to commemorate the IRS

[10] Niigaan: In Conversation is a community-led teaching initiative that began in Ottawa, Ontario. The organizer's goal is to bridge understanding between Canadians and the Indigenous People of Canada. Retrieved from http://niigaan.ca/tag/niigaan-in-conversation.

[11] The TRC began its five-year mandate in 2009. However, due to the TRC having to take the government to court for withholding IRS records, an extension was granted so that the TRC had time to complete its mandate and write the final report. The last public gathering occurred in Ottawa, June 3, 2015 and it is expected that the final TRC Report will be released in December 2015. See (TRC, 2012).

experience. Each community had an opportunity to write a proposal to show how they would do this. For example, the commemoration of the unmarked graves illustrated in the abstract of this thesis was funded by the TRC. The commemoration ceremonies were expected to highlight cultural components of the local Indigenous community. This could include Indigenous healing practices, such as healing circles, smudging, singing, drumming, praying, and pipe ceremonies. The commemoration ceremonies also provided a venue for the oral transmission of historical events where Canadians from all walks of life had an opportunity to participate in the tradition of witnessing.

The oral tradition and the principle of witnessing. Historically, Indigenous People transmit their culture, laws, and traditions orally from one generation to the next. The commemorations facilitated by the TRC enabled individuals to come together and share their experiences in a way that honoured Indigenous cultures and their oral tradition of transmitting truths. By commemorating and revealing previously unspoken memories, it is hoped that this part of Canada's national history is never repeated. Oral tradition includes the principle of *witnessing* but this principle is not a generalized practice for all Indigenous cultures. Although the Indigenous concept of witnessing varies between First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People, it generally means "to be the keepers of history when an event of historic significance occurs" (TRC website).[12] In Indigenous oral tradition, witnessing is an important aspect of conducting business affairs while building and maintaining relationships. Through the process of witnessing,

[12] In conformity with the Settlement Agreement, the TRC will carry out its objective to "witness, support, promote and facilitate truth and reconciliation events at both the national and community levels." See TRC website: http://www.trc.ca/websites/reconciliation/index.php?p=331.

the event or work carried out is authenticated and witnesses are asked to carry this history and then share it (TRC website). In this way, oral societies maintain traditions "by which knowledge is reproduced, preserved and conveyed from generation to generation. Oral traditions form the foundation of [Indigenous] societies, connecting speaker and listener in communal experience and uniting past and present in memory."[13] Accordingly, oral societies find different ways to record their histories, including "performative practices such as dancing and drumming [and witnessing]" (UBC, n.d.). Consequently, witnessing can unite past and current memory through oral traditions, as well as through research initiatives that gather survivors' stories in support of an ongoing collective understanding of and reparation for historical events. As Albert "Sonny" McHalsie of the Stó:lō Nation asserts, academia and the oral traditions share a common principle: "They contribute to knowledge by building upon what is known and remembering that learning is a life-long quest" (UBC, n.d.). And so, as a novice grounded theorist, I have the opportunity to combine the oral traditions with the Western method of "recalling and recounting the past" (UBC, n.d.) in an effort to contribute to the historical record and add knowledge to the academic literature. Thus, as a researcher, I have the privilege and opportunity to witness the stories of a group of Indigenous women and to develop a theoretical framework for wellness through my chosen methodology.

Statement of objectives and chapter outline. The overarching goal of this study was to examine IRS survivors' experiences and the outcomes of those experiences in a way that honours my cultural obligation to bear witness to those events. As a way of moving towards meeting this goal, my specific objective is to uncover the main concern of female IRS survivors and their

[13] See: indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/home/culture/oral-traditions.html. Herewith known as (UBC, n.d.).

female descendants with respect to their IRS experiences as a direct survivor or as a descendant of a survivor. Therefore, in my study, the initial interview questions invited participants to share their stories of IRS:

1. What was your experience of Indian residential school? (direct survivor)

2. What effect did the IRS phenomenon have on your life? (descendant)

The principle assumption underlying this study is that there is ongoing community concern regarding intergenerational transmission of trauma. However, what is it specifically about this intergenerational transmission that is of most concern? Additional questions I explored were:

a. What do female IRS survivors and female descendants (FIRSS-FD) of survivors report as their biggest struggle with respect to the IRS experience?

b. How have the lives of FIRSS-FD been shaped by the IRS phenomena?

c. What are the different ways FIRSS-FD cope with reported accounts of intergenerational trauma?

Questions a to c were never explicitly asked during the course of the interviews. The interviews began with my asking question 1 or 2, depending on whether the participant was a direct survivor or a descendant of a survivor. One way these questions can be answered is through the use of a grounded theory (GT) approach. This approach honours Indigenous cultures by respecting and drawing from the experiences of the participants. Their stories shape the research and its outcomes in that the main concern of the women emerge from their stories. In turn, the collective stories of the women give rise to a framework that details how they resolve their main concern.

As a researcher, I situate myself in the research as a fourth-generation descendant of three generations of IRS survivors. The relevance of feminism to my thesis stems from Reinharz's (1992) broad definition of feminist research: "research *by* women" that investigates "women's *ways* of knowing" (original emphasis, pp. 3–4). Therefore, as a Saulteaux-Cree woman and researcher, I studied the substantive area of IRS by capturing Indigenous women's experiences and facilitated a research process that was directed by the women's stories.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the two-part process of the literature review undertaken for this study: 1) the initial literature review and 2) the final review following the emergent framework. This chapter includes discussion of the themes that were drawn from the initial review. These themes include the history of colonization and its psychological and pathologizing effects on Indigenous People in Canada for the purposes of carrying out the colonial assimilationist agenda. The concepts of historical trauma and the intergenerational transmission of trauma are outlined next, with a brief review of Eurocentric medicalized healing approaches for assessing IRS survivor outcomes. However, many of these approaches seem to work in tandem with government efforts to thwart healing efforts by Indigenous People. Resiliency and non-pathological responses to trauma end this chapter. The purpose of this preliminary literature review is to situate my substantive area of interest. Although the general problem was known before I began my study, I could not specifically narrow my study focus in the early stages of this study (McCallin, 2003). It is only after the specific concern became known and the theory emerged that I completed the next phase of the overall literature review.

I undertook a systematic literature review, an approach known for "searching, selecting, collating, appraising, interpreting, and summarizing data from original studies" (Cook et al., 1997, as cited in Shea, Nahwegahbow, & Andersson, 2010, p. 2). The thoroughness associated with this type of review, when based on a modified PICO[14] strategy, aligns well with grounded

[14] PICO: Patient/Problem, Intervention, Control/Comparison, & Outcome. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rlae/v15n3/v15n3a23.pdf . PICO is often used in clinical trials, but a modified PICO approach can be used for a literature review.

theory. However, according to the Glaser and Strauss (1967) approach to GT, an exhaustive literature review is not necessary. This is why a modified PICO strategy was incorporated: The initial literature search can simply begin with an overview of the bibliographic sources (the steps for the PICO strategy are outlined in Chapter 3), and the review can then be enhanced throughout the analytic process as a way to inform emerging categories for the developing theory following discovery of the core category (Glaser, 2007).

In this study, I conducted a more focused review of the literature after the "emergent theory [was] sufficiently developed" (Heath & Cowley, 2004, p. 143). However, until the emergent theory is developed, researchers must increase their theoretical sensitivity and awareness throughout a study. Theoretical sensitivity ensures researchers are theoretically grounding the categories they discover (Glaser, 1978), which precludes preconceiving the outcome (Glaser, 2013). Later in Chapter 3, I outline a number of ways to keep preconception at bay at the same time as heightening theoretical sensitivity. The results of the initial literature review follow.

Based on the premises about GT in relation to the use of literature, the rest of this chapter will include an overview of the initial systematic literature review using established search terms (see Chapter 3). Colonialism and its effect on Indigenous Peoples' mental health emerged as a major theme from the key bibliographic evidence related to residential schools. Additional themes were the effects of colonialism and, in particular, the concept of historical trauma and the intergenerational transmission of trauma; a critical examination of Eurocentric medicalized approaches for assessing IRS survivor outcomes; and prior approaches to understanding IRS survivors' experiences and outcomes. The last section of this chapter focuses on resiliency and non-pathological responses to trauma.

Colonialism and Its Effect on Indigenous Peoples' Mental Health

The advent of Europeans settling North America had a huge effect on Indigenous populations, culminating in experiences of loss for them. These losses—by way of violence, war, and oppression (Battiste & Henderson, 2011)—include culture, language, land, resources, freedom of religion, and both political and personal autonomy (AHF, 2006b) and are correlated with the reduced health and social and economic status of Indigenous People (AHF, 2006b; RCAP, 1996). For the purposes of this literature review, I will focus on early colonial events and the psychological impacts of colonialism. Where appropriate, I will discuss how Indigenous children were targeted and pathologized to facilitate the carrying-out of colonial events. And, also where appropriate, I will discuss the psychological aspects of colonialism to demonstrate how government authorities used Indigenous children as a means of fulfilling the colonial assimilationist agenda, with no thought for the consequences.

By the late 19th century, settler colonies of the British Empire were already well established in various parts of the world, including Australia, Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand (Carey, 2011). Anglo-Saxons dominated the colonial settlements. Patriotism and good citizenship were measured by the degree to which settlers supplanted existing social, political, and economic norms with those of the British. This required obtaining dominion and primacy in language, morality, law, constitution, religion, and politics (Carey, 2011). According to Milloy (1999), this "truly patriotic spirit" manifested itself in the work of the religious clergy who chose as one of their missions to educate the "Indians" and thus committed their "human capabilities to the good of the Indians of this country" (p. 6). Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, a British politician and writer, openly criticized Anglo-Saxons as "the only extirpating race" in his book, *Problems of Greater Britain* (1890) (as cited in Carey, 2011, p. 8). Dilke, who stood against the imperial federation, recognized the prevailing influence of Anglo-Saxon settlers and the "moral cost of

colonization" in observing the treatment of Indigenous People (Carey, 2011, p. 8). Colonial expansion has been viewed as the "era of violence" in which any benefits gained by the colonizer could only occur with the exploitation of the native population (Lewis, 1973, p. 582).

The Eurocentric paradigm asserts the superiority of Europeans over Indigenous People such that without the "diffusion of creativity, imagination, invention, innovation, rationality, and sense of honor or ethics from Europe," Indigenous People would never progress but remain "empty" and lacking (Battiste & Henderson, 2011, p. 11). Colonization equals "thing-ification" (Césaire, 1972, p. 6) of the colonized other. In the colonial mentality, there was a conscious effort, eventually achieved, to make Indigenous People believe their ways of life were substandard compared to the superior Western mentality guiding them and without which they would fall back into "barbarism, degradation, and bestiality" (Fanon, 1963, pp. 210–211).

Native American scholar Robert Williams also writes about this colonial mentality and the discrimination against American Indians since contact. He asserts that discrimination against the Indigenous People in the United States began with the Doctrine of Discovery, an obscure legal document that justifies the history of dispossession and forced assimilation of the "heathen, infidel and savage peoples" whose rights did not have to be recognized.[15] The Doctrine of Discovery proclaims that since White Europeans "discovered the New World" they have the inherent right to dominate and infantilize Indigenous nations, who are seen as wards of the state.[16]

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[15] As told in an interview with Bill Moyers. Retrieved from http://billmoyers.com/episode/american-indians-confront-racism.

[16] This colonial tenet is still held by American Congress today. As stated in conversation between Bill Moyers and Robert William. Retrieved from http://billmoyers.com/episode/american-indians-confront-racism.

Similarly, Césaire (1972) argues that the colonizer wants control over the colonized other and so justifies the use of "force, brutality, cruelty, sadism, [and] conflict" (p. 6), in which no "single human value" (p. 3) is recognized. Moreover, a nation that colonizes, a civilization that justifies the use of force through colonization, "is already a sick civilization, a civilization that is morally diseased" (p. 4). Césaire says that colonization works to

> decivilize the colonizer, to brutalize him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism … and what's left, is that treaties are violated and lies are propagated. (Césaire, 1972, p. 2)

Consequently, many colonized people of North America adopted or assimilated this imported mentality from Europe in an attempt to become "more English than the English" (Battiste & Henderson, 2011, p. 17). While denying their own cultural origins, the oppressed adopted the imperialistic nature of the European colonizers, transforming their own psychology into that of the oppressor (Gendzier, 1976). By transforming the psychology of both oppressor and the oppressed, the effects of colonization are illustrated in the self-image of both and by their interactions with one another (Gendzier, 1976).

Colonial activities and enterprise are carried out with contempt for the colonized other, and the colonizer tends to change in the process (Césaire, 1972). In order to ease his conscience, the colonizer tells himself that he is dealing with animals, unaware that through his actions he himself is becoming an animal (Césaire, 1972). The "boomerang effect of colonization" illustrates that it is not the colonial others who are the savages, as the colonizers believe, but the colonizers themselves as they pursue their goal of domination and submission of the colonized people (Césaire, 1972, p.25).

"Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that [North] America became a monster, in which the taints, the sickness and the inhumanity of Europe have grown to appalling dimensions" (Fanon, 1963, p. 313). What is it about the "sickness and inhumanity of Europe" that persists?

According to Battiste and Henderson (2011), the mind analyzes the world according to "desire" (p. 14). For instance, the human mind uses reason to arrive at "truth," and this relationship to desire establishes "the modern context of Eurocentric philosophy" (Battiste & Henderson, 2011, p. 14). Based on one's desires and assumptions, people use reason "to explain and structure the world around them" in the form of paradigms or 'contexts'" (Battiste & Henderson, 2011, p. 14).

However, according to Unger (1984, 1987), "artificial contexts" can be constructed and derived from selected assumptions from a Eurocentric philosophy (cited in Battiste & Henderson, 2011, p. 14). For example, artificial contexts can be derived through three principles: 1) Contextuality: The belief that assumptions or desires give shape to people's mental and social lives and determine how one thinks in terms of personal world views. These world views are artificial, however, as they are based on assumptions about human nature and ignore the diversity of the world. 2) Change: Artificial world views are conditional and can be changed based on the creation of new assumptions and contexts. 3) Conditionality: The conditionality of any artificial context is often not recognized and rarely questioned since "the context is viewed as 'normal' or 'natural'" (Unger, 1984, 1987, as cited in Battiste & Henderson, 2011, pp. 14–15). Consequently, the only "authoritative reality" in the contradiction between a colonial mentality and an Indigenous one is that of the "Eurocentric paradigm, theories, and contexts" (Battiste & Henderson, 2011, p.15).

Thus, the Western professions of anthropology, law, education, science and research, psychology, psychiatry, and religion, for example, have done more harm than good to the Indigenous populations in Canada over the last few centuries (Anderson, 2007; Gendzier, 1976; Lewis, 1973; Smith, L. T., 1999). Even in the early 20th century, those working in the helping professions—social workers, for example—have been known to mislay their moral compass and "perpetuated preventable harms to Aboriginal children" (Blackstock, 2009, p. 35), with devastating results. According to the RCAP Report (1996), provincial child welfare personnel co-operated in revising the admissions policy of residential schools and determined which children were put in care and which children went to residential school, despite knowing about substandard care for and neglect and abuse of children.

It was not uncommon for social workers to order multiple placements for Indigenous children. Children were placed many times and moved between residential school, foster care, and even adoptions (Waldram, Innes, Kaweski, & Redman, 2008).[17] Sadly, within any environment of "substitute care," many children eventually experienced some form of physical abuse (Waldram et al., 2008, p. 213).

Blackstock (2009) reports that there is no evidence that anyone from the voluntary sector, human rights groups, or children's aid sector took any meaningful action to question colonial policies or interrupt residential school policy, despite the numerous reports of abuse and deaths, some of which were submitted by medical personnel, of Indigenous children. Moreover, in 1946, the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) and the Canadian Welfare Council (CWC) provided a joint submission to the Senate and the House of Commons showing that social

[17] Stays could be as short as two weeks and as long as 17 years (Waldram et al., 2008).

workers were indeed a part of the larger colonial project (Blackstock, 2009). They stated, "the only defensible goal for a national program must be the full assimilation of Indians into Canadian life" (Sheffield, 2004, p. 136).

In the decades leading up to the 1960's, residential schools began closing, and with good intent social workers initiated the provision of child welfare services on-reserve. However, their efforts inadvertently duplicated residential school policy with the "mass removals" of Indigenous children away from their families and into non-Indigenous homes (Blackstock, 2009, p. 30). These mass removals have come to be known as the "60's Scoop" and their impacts are considered to be akin to those of "cultural genocide" (Blackstock, 2009, p. 30). There can be no denial that social workers actively participated in and contributed to the colonial agenda. History has shown that many of the Western professions, including the "helping" ones, have all contributed to the ongoing violence, labelling, stereotyping, diagnosing, undermining of political and personal autonomy, and pathologizing of Indigenous People. Thus, after hundreds of years of being studied and monitored, many Indigenous groups in North America suffer from a "latent dependency complex" (Gendzier, 1976, p. 501).

Memmi's (1967) analysis of colonial constructs found an "inverse relationship between European privileges and colonized deprivation" (as cited in Lewis, 1973, p. 582). Since the role of colonization was to favour Anglo-Saxon political supremacy and economic exploitation of Indigenous lands and people, racism as an aspect of colonialism was always justified in order to maintain the privileged position of the colonizer (Lewis, 1973). Memmi (1967) says colonial racism has three characteristics: 1) the differences in cultures between the colonized and the colonizers; 2) exploitation of these differences to the benefit of the colonizer; and 3) presentation of these differences as "standards of absolute fact" (as cited in Lewis, 1973, p. 583).

William F. Ogburn (1964), a sociologist who studied the problems in societies that occurred due to rapid social change (including that of the North American Indians), had a different view. He found that social changes were akin to "cultural evolution" (cited in Stirbys, 2010, p. 18). Reviewing the components of cultural evolution may be helpful in gaining deeper insight into the power of Memmi's (1967) colonial racism and the process used by colonial settlers to exploit differences and then use them against Indigenous children attending residential schools.

Cultural evolution has four factors: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment. The idea of *invention* is to combine known elements between cultures that come together to form a new cultural base (Ogburn, 1964). In the process of *accumulation*, an individual begins to add new elements without losing anything of the original cultural base (Ogburn, 1964). However, this was not the experience of the majority of Indigenous children placed in residential schools. Colonists mistakenly believed that by introducing a Western school curriculum, they could replace Indigenous children's entire cultural base and ways of knowing. Thus, in their skewed view of Indigenous People, colonial authorities aimed to achieve "the intellectual emancipation of the Indian" (Milloy, 1999, p. 7) by way of imposing foreign cultural norms. The damage of cultural repression was exacerbated by the rapid pace of invention and accumulation resulting in Indigenous children feeling uncertain about who they were as their cultural base became severely distorted, damaging the children's "psycho-social, cultural, and spiritual wisdoms" (Yellow Horn, 2009, p. 20).

Adopting new inventions of foreign cultural norms by way of *diffusion* was a near impossible task for Indigenous children, because they could "neither maintain their own cultural base nor hold a common cultural base with European society" (Stirbys, 2010, p. 18). In the

process of *diffusion*, individuals are meant to profit from the "inventional contributions" of other cultures, but the effects of rapid social and/or cultural change do not necessarily prove beneficial for all people and cultures (Stirbys, 2010, p. 18).

The final stage of cultural evolution occurs during the process of *adjustment*. It is during adjustment that "cultural lags" occur and the balance of one's own cultural norm is disturbed, producing a state of "disequilibrium" according to Ogburn (1964). Accordingly, if Indigenous children attending residential school experience this state of disequilibrium for too long, then this is the point at which they question ownership of their identity (Stirbys, 2010) and where they belong, causing a state of anomie. Anomie denotes "a condition or malaise in individuals, characterized by an absence or diminution of norms (standards) or values—a state of 'normlessness' that leads to feelings of alienation and lack of purpose."[18] The IRS environment created conditions in which there was an absence of cultural, social, and familial norms. The social standards that children would normally live by were seemingly expunged from their daily lives. Consequently, many children were left with a constant feeling of being uprooted without their parents or Elders to provide moral guidance in their lives. Furthermore, many children left school without having any transferrable skills in which to function in larger society, which further contributed to their feelings of alienation. The term *anomie* was used first by Émile Durkheim (in 1893);[19] he observed that anomie in society contributed to the "extinction of an autonomous individuality" (Durkheim, 1893 /1984, p. xxiii) and such a state does not provide stability in either one's mind or one's manner. And according to Durkheim, the only way to overcome a state of anomie is to create new norms and standards by which persons can live their

[18] See: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Anomie
[19] I used W. D. Hall's 1984 translation of Durkheim's book (1893).

lives. Yet, it was unlikely that this would occur since school inspectors found that the school curriculum not only "denigrated" children's cultural knowledge, but that it also was "not aimed at instruction of Indian children" (Milloy, 1999, p. 172). So, many children who attended IRS left without fully developing their skills. They neither held common (cultural) values and standards, or goals that would help them "achieve recognizable success."[20] Furthermore, they did not have the means to achieve their goals.

Therefore, the opportunity for most children to naturally pass through the stages of cultural evolution at residential schools was in effect no opportunity at all. The problem was not so much the timing to reach the final stage of cultural evolution by adjusting to new cultural norms, but the consequences of power, control, and the intent of the colonial agenda. Instead of a cultural evolution, residential schools became a colonized "contact zone," a place where two cultures meet (Pratt, 1992, p.1). It is within this zone of colonial encounters that diverse people who have been geographically and historically separated come together in a space to establish ongoing relations, but the conditions in which they relate are wrought with "coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (Pratt, 1992, p.6).

Deconstructing Indigenous children's identities and then building them back into an image designed by the colonizer was always the goal of residential schools. As Milloy (1999) argues, although the schools were marketed as an educational institution that prepared children for participation in a civilized Canada, they were not designed to deliver a proper education to the children. Colonists did not design the schools to produce doctors and engineers; they designed the schools to produce farm workers and domestic servants. Not only did the schools

[20] See: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Anomie

presume that students could understand English and French, they also failed to account for differences in world view, meaning that on most levels the curriculum was out of reach for many students. This was complicated by the lack of training for residential school "teachers" and the fact that many children were rendered exhausted by an unrelenting chore regime.

When school officials graded children as showing "scant progress, or retardation" (Milloy, 1999, p. 170), they wrongfully codified the flawed and harmful IRS "education system" as personal and cultural deficits of the children. This labelling and pathology of Indigenous children was carried into larger society and illustrates how privilege, (colonial) racism, and standards of fact based on difference intersect. For example, in a 1946 government memo (now located in the Canadian archives), Secretary A. E. St. Lewis states:

> The missionaries have consecrated their lives and have given a lifetime of devotion from the earliest times: — the Christianization, civilization and education of this retarded race and have rendered an incomparable service to the nation as well as to the Indians. (St. Lewis, 1946)

Frantz Fanon, a psychiatrist who worked in Africa in the 1950's and 1960's and was determined to end what he saw as the colonial regime of a society that used pathology to oppress and condition the Indigenous People, wrote of the "altered consciousness" of the colonized (Gendzier, 1976). In his writings and analyses, he illustrates how colonialism is driven by a systematic denial of all human attributes of colonized persons, leaving them with the question: "In reality, who am I?" (Fanon, 1963, p. 250). In spite of his awareness of the social conditions in Africa, and his taking a political stance to practise "socially conscious psychiatry," Fanon felt he could not fully reintegrate his patients into society because, by its very nature, colonial society is exploitative and oppressive (Gendzier, 1976, p. 504).

In some of his later writings, Fanon wrote about his concerns and the problems he saw in the cross-cultural conflicts in medical practice (Gendzier, 1976, p. 506). He identified two general rules that are always followed in clinical psychiatry: 1) diagnose patients under one of the headings of "reactionary psychoses" and 2) list the event that gave rise to the disorder, including the previous history of the patient's "psychological, affective and biological condition" (Fanon, 1963, p. 251). He asserts that

> In the period of colonization … when the sum total of harmful nervous stimuli overstep a certain threshold, the defensive attitudes of the natives give way and they then find themselves crowding the mental hospitals. There is thus during this calm period of successful colonization a regular and important mental pathology which is the direct product of oppression. (Fanon, 1963, pp. 250–251)

Today, the colonial consciousness is still present and feeding its connection to the psychological trauma of Indigenous People. According to Prussing (2014), the adversarial conditions of colonialism promote "morbidity and mortality at personal and collective levels," influencing the state of mental health for [North American] Indians. In the next section, psychological trauma and the intergenerational transmission of trauma will be further discussed.

Historical Trauma and Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma

To traumatize is defined as "to physically wound, disturb or pierce the corporeal boundaries" (Denham, 2008, p. 395). Today, trauma is seen as much more than physical injury; it is viewed as "the emotional insult or shock to the mind resulting from physical and/or emotional injury" (Denham, 2008, p. 395). Denham (2008) states that pathological responses to traumatic experiences have been categorized as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which is the principal psychiatric diagnostic category for trauma. It was first included in the American

Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM-III*) in 1980 to assist with Vietnam War veterans receiving both compensation and recognition for war-related traumas (Denham, 2008).

> According to the *DSM-IV*, PTSD's diagnostic features include development of characteristic symptoms following exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor involving direct personal experience of an event that involves actual or threatened death or serious injury, or other threat to one's physical integrity; or witnessing an event that involves death, injury or a threat to the physical integrity of another person; or learning about unexpected or violent death or injury experienced by a family member or other close associate. (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 424)

Associated features of PTSD include "Panic Disorder, Agoraphobia, Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder, Social Phobia, Specific Phobia, Major Depressive Disorder, Somatization Disorder, and Substance-Related Disorders" (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 425). Often, PTSD is evoked when matters concerning historical trauma are discussed (Denham, 2008).

Historical trauma (HT) further extends the meaning of trauma by conceptualizing the naming of the "event" of colonization and violence against Indigenous People and what is understood to be behind the diagnoses for various mental disorders and/or maladaptive behaviours found in Indigenous communities. The concept of HT, first introduced into the clinical literature in 1995, is defined as the "cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations … which emanates from massive group trauma" (Brave Heart, Chase, Elkins, & Altschul, 2011, pp. 4–6). Brave Heart (1998, 2003) associates the IRS phenomenon with HT.

Like PTSD, it "need not be experienced directly," according to Waldram (2004, as cited in Denham, 2008, p. 395).

Evidence increasingly suggests that unresolved trauma affects not only the people who experienced the original traumatic event but also their offspring, extended family, and community (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2011; Elias et al., 2012; Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004; Whitbeck, Adams, Hoyt, & Chen, 2004). For example, the presence of maternal PTSD has been specifically associated with a higher prevalence of PTSD, mood and anxiety disorders, and substance abuse issues in adult offspring of Holocaust survivors (Yehuda, Bell, Bierer, & Schmeidler, 2008). Thus, even though the offspring had no direct experience of the Holocaust, the experience of their forebears appeared to place them at greater risk for various psychopathologies. In a similar fashion, expectant mothers who developed PTSD in response to exposure to the collapse of the World Trade Centers on 9/11 were more likely to have offspring who displayed biological markers of PTSD risk than were expectant mothers who did not develop 9/11-related PTSD (Yehuda et al., 2005).

The intergenerational transmission of trauma is compounded in the case of the IRS system, given its long history. It is possible today to find families with three to four sequential generations of survivors and descendants of survivors who continue to suffer. Thus, the initial impact of the IRS system, in the first generation, is passed on and then compounded by the personal experiences of the second generation of IRS survivors, which in turn is compounded by the experiences of the third generation, and so on.[21] Wesley-Esquimaux and Smolewski (2004) suggest that IRS survivors and their descendants experience "generational grief," or the

[21] For further information on intergenerational and compounding effects of the IRS experience, see Roselyn Ing (2006), "Dealing with Shame and Unresolved Trauma: Residential School and its Impact on the 2nd and 3rd Generation Adults" (Doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia).

"continuous passing on of *unresolved* and deep-seated emotions, such as grief and chronic sadness" (p. 2). Despite the closing of the last IRS in 1996 (AHF, 2009), the "legacy" of the IRS is exponentially escalating and affecting not only generations of survivors but also their descendants, who did not attend the schools (Ing, 2006; Stout & Peters, 2011).

Assessing Healing Approaches

In the last 10 or more years, there has been growing research in the area of IRS regarding the maladaptive outcomes of the IRS experience for survivors (AHF, 2003b; Chansonneuve, 2005, 2007, AHF, 2009b) and the compounding effects of trauma in future generations (Bombay et al., 2011; Elias et al., 2012; Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004; Whitbeck et al., 2004). Unfortunately, current Western cross-cultural diagnostics and clinical interventions that are utilized without consideration of culture and the context in which the harm occurred can cause more harm than good for Indigenous People (Sotero, 2006). Mental disorders are assessed under "the scientific investigation of psychopathology" even though many validated constructs classified in the DSM do not assure much scientific confidence (Gone and Kirmayer, 2010, p. 74).Without a knowledge and understanding of the intergenerational effects of historical trauma related to the IRS experience, diagnostics and clinical interventions can compound the survivor response to trauma.

Past research has predominantly viewed survivor response through a clinical lens, with a focus on psychiatric criteria for pathological responses such as PTSD (Denham, 2008). Eliminating Indigenous health inequalities is thought to depend on the biomedical model of health, yet this approach has shown to be limiting in its effectiveness (Sotero, 2006). Furthermore, harm is almost inevitable when a pathologizing Eurocentric approach containing "inherent dominant cultural biases" (Sotero, 2006, pp. 101–102; see also Gone & Kirmayer,

2010) goes against the Indigenous view of attaining balance and equilibrium (Boyer, 2009). Therefore, caution must be taken when utilizing a Western diagnostic tool like the *DSM-IV*, which at best can only interpret the symptoms of historical trauma and at worst continues the "colonizing force" (in conversation with Blackstock, 2015) through diagnosing pathology of suffering people.

The influence of these biases can be seen within various colonial efforts, such as legislation of *The Indian Act of 1876*, the federal authority behind the residential school policy, and the enactment of provincial policies such as child welfare. These various policies guide the relationships between Indigenous People and other Canadians. Federal and provincial policies and the dominant world view are responsible for the inculcation of distorted understandings of Indigenous Peoples' customs and of Indigenous People themselves.

Unfortunately, many Indigenous People have internalized these dominant cultural biases. For example, what many Indigenous People now believe is cultural is essentially a perversion of Indigenous knowledge and ways of being. According to Cindy Blackstock, Gitxsan and Executive Director of the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada, in many Indigenous cultures child sexual abuse traditionally resulted in the death penalty (personal communication, April 2015). However, in the aftermath of the residential school system, some people said speaking up against sexual offenders was not considered "cultural" (personal communication, April 2015).

Likewise, in a meeting with a young Inuit woman, I was astonished to hear that she would not take action against the violence inflicted upon her. Her reasoning was that "violence is just a part of my culture" (Ottawa, June 2009). Another version of this mentality came out in one of my interviews for this study. One of my participants relayed her story when she sought out a

psychiatrist because she wanted to resolve her feelings of worthlessness and hopelessness. She said that when a psychiatrist sees an Indigenous person "they label you." She added:

> I came out of there with 10 different labels … I always refused to be medicated. I don't need to be numbed out. … with Western medicine, they want to numb you out. I just want to feel and move on. (story of S15)

But in explaining her story in more detail and to make herself feel better near the end of her session with the psychiatrist, she said, "You must have come across other people who are worse than me." The psychiatrist looked at her seriously and said, "Oh no" (story of S15). The outcome of this sombre response was feelings overwhelmed to the point where she later felt suicidal because of her feelings of shame. Yet, she reported that by returning to her cultural norms she eventually found strength to overcome these feelings: "Everything has to be native now because that's where my answers are." (story of S15). Although this particular participant has a level of awareness such that she could employ her own agency and walk away knowing the value of her own culture, Blackstock says that many Indigenous People have adopted distorted beliefs about their own cultural teachings, even among people who assert themselves to be traditional knowledge holders (personal communication with Cindy Blackstock, April 2015).

These stories illustrate how, through the act of inculcating, practitioners drawing from the dominant (medical) paradigm have essentially made the healing path a colonial undertaking that reinforces stereotypes and labels, and propagates pathological responses by Indigenous People themselves. Without recognizing their own cultural strengths, either because they are unaware of their own teachings or because society does not allow that to happen, Indigenous and non-Indigenous People alike often relegate intergenerational cultural strengths as subordinate to intergenerational trauma (personal communication with Cindy Blackstock, April, 2015).

This downgrading occurs in part because cross-cultural approaches rarely consider the cultural, traditions, the role of gender, or the need for spirituality (WHOQOL SRPB Group, 2006). For these reasons, how (Indigenous) culture intersects with one's lived experiences or life choices is often overlooked (Kleinman & Benson, 2006; Stamm, Stamm, Hudnall, & Higson-Smith, 2004). Moreover, participant recruitment for research studies often occurs in a clinical, therapeutic setting, resulting in a selective sampling of clinical populations (Söchting, I., Corrado, R., Cohen, I. M., Ley, R. G., & Brasfield, C., 2007).

At this time of burgeoning recognition of the harm being dealt with regarding the residential school legacy, Indigenous People are still viewed separately from the rest of Canadians in one of two ways. In keeping with the medicalized approach, it has been observed that Indigenous People are pre-judged on their state of mind (in a trauma state) or judged on what they do to deal with that trauma (healing). This bifurcated perception of Indigenous People is split into "trauma" or "healing" and becomes the defining feature of Indigenous People in Canada. Yet, from an Indigenous context, according to Blackstock, "pain and shame were acknowledged as teachers and life experience"; therefore, "trauma and healing are not meant to be preoccupations and by no means the defining quality of a people" (personal communication, April 2015). According to Gottschalk (2003), "much of the literature regarding historical trauma privileges psychological or psychiatric models and explanations that center around pathology at the level of the immediate family rather than the larger sociocultural and historical context" (as cited in Denham, 2008, p. 398).

As George Erasmus, former President of the Aboriginal Healing Foundation contends, in the larger sociocultural and historical context, Canada was built on human relationships. Through treaty negotiations, Indigenous People agreed to share their land in exchange for an education for

their children. However, the agreement to educate Indigenous children, rooted in a relationship based on "good faith and mutual respect," quickly turned "to a political relationship of convenience, coercion, and advantage" for the Canadian government (AHF, 2009, p. ix). The IRS policy was one of the consequences of this betrayal and it reshaped the relationships "between the Canadian government and Aboriginal [P]eoples, between the abused and their abusers, and between individuals within families and communities" (AHF, 2009, p. ix).

Relationships are strained, not only between Canada and Indigenous People but also between Indigenous People themselves. The evidence of this is seen in the "relationship indicators" found in Indigenous communities such as suicide, addictions, domestic abuse, and ongoing poverty (AHF, 2009, p. x). Poor relationships today are a direct consequence of experiences in institutions in the federal and provincial systems such as residential schools, the criminal justice system, and child welfare. Accordingly, re-establishing relationships based on principles of truth, reconciliation, and mutual respect must be "informed by an understanding of human relationships impacted by historical trauma" (AHF, 2009, p. x). Overcoming historic trauma and creating movement towards healing these strained relationships, says Erasmus, requires "human presence and commitment" (AHF, 2009, p. x).

Prime Minister Stephen Harper addressed all former IRS survivors and their families on June 11, 2008, to apologize for profoundly failing them and asked for forgiveness for instituting policies resulting in tragic outcomes for many children and their families. In his speech he said, "There is no place in Canada for the attitudes that inspired the Indian Residential Schools system to ever prevail again" (AHF, 2009, pp. 358–359). He then spoke about moving towards healing with the implementation of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (September 19,

2007) coming out of the largest class action suit in Canada. The keystone of the Settlement Agreement is the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which provides the opportunity to

> educate all Canadians on the Indian residential school System. It will be a positive step in forging a new relationship between Aboriginal People and other Canadians, a relationship based on the knowledge of our shared history, a respect for each other and a desire to move forward together with a renewed understanding that strong families, strong communities and vibrant cultures and traditions will contribute to a stronger Canada for us all. (AHF, 2009, p. 359)

However, soon after making this apology on behalf of Canada, there were signs that the prime minister's commitment had already waned. Consider first that the RCAP Report (1996) that was published in 1996 had over 400 recommendations to foster reconciliation between Canada and its Indigenous People. Yet few recommendations were implemented. However, the report did contribute to first establishing the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) and then playing a role in the opening of the National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO). Both organizations were non-profits whose mandate was to advance the health and well-being of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People in Canada. The AHF received $350 million in federal funding to do research and provide funding contributions to community-based healing initiatives to address the legacy of abuse suffered in residential schools.[22] NAHO, a knowledge-based organization, worked to advance and promote the distinct (health) needs of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People in Canada.[23]

[22] http://www.ahf.ca/faqs, retrieved May 3, 2015.
[23] http://www.naho.ca/about

At first glance, the funding allocated to these two organizations shows positive steps towards and commitment on the part of Canada to healing and reconciliation. However, funding cuts were made to the AHF in early 2012, ending many of the community-led healing initiatives that had only recently begun. The AHF's mandate finally ended in September 30, 2014. Also in 2012, funding cuts were made to NAHO, and its doors officially closed in June 2012 after 12 years in operation. Health journalist André Picard stated that despite the apology, Prime Minister Harper had shown a "disregard for Aboriginal health" (Picard, 2012).[24] This was just the beginning of what the federal government would do to keep Indigenous People from telling their stories to help release them from the suffering and abuse they had endured.

The TRC was created as a vehicle in which former children of residential schools could tell their stories, since they would never have that opportunity to have their story on record through the courts. The TRC, says Commissioner Marie Wilson, was created as part of an out-of-court settlement coming out of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (http://www.trc.ca). The Commission is tasked with telling Canadians what happened in the IRS, honouring the lives of former students and their families, and creating a permanent record of the Indian residential school legacy (http://www.trc.ca). To bring all the pieces of the stories together, government documents were required and requested by the TRC. The Government of Canada denied these requests.

For instance, it was reported in January 2014 that the federal government sought a sealing order to keep secret any documents that showed evidence of abuse at St. Anne's Residential School—abuse that included the use of an electric chair on children as young as six years old

[24] Picard, A. (April 09, 2012). Harper's disregard for Aboriginal health. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/health-and-fitness/harpers-disregard-for-aboriginal-health/article4223490.

(Alamenciak, 2014). Government officials in Ottawa wanted to withhold the truth of the abuse that occurred by not releasing documents that the Department of Justice has been holding for 10 years and that were requested by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.[25] The TRC had to go to court to have the records released and, in January 2013, an Ontario Superior Court Judge ruled that all archived documents consisting of millions of records must be released.[26] Even with that ruling, Aboriginal Affairs Minister John Duncan was considering an appeal on the ruling. These examples illustrate the Government of Canada's efforts to preserve those adversarial conditions of the colonial consciousness in order to maintain "control over history" without regard for how it might impact the determinations of Indigenous People in Canada ("Ottawa ordered to release records," 2013).[27]

Resilience and Non-Pathological Responses to Trauma Events

The intergenerational transmission of IRS-related HT is an ongoing, critical problem for Indigenous populations in Canada (Bombay et al., 2014; Crawford, 2014; TRC, 2012; Whitbeck et al., 2004). The critical problems remain, especially given the provincial and federal governments' less than enthusiastic support for culturally appropriate responses to deal with trauma. Furthermore, Eurocentric paradigms that focus on individual pathology to address HT are problematic (Walters, Simoni, & Evans-Campbell, 2002). As Prussing (2014) asserts, "pathological outcomes are not universal responses to HT," and studies providing evidence of

[25] Alamenciak, T. (January 20, 2014,). Ottawa pushes for St. Anne's documents to stay secret. The Star.com. Retrieved from http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2014/01/20/ottawa_pushes_for_st_annes_documents_to_stay_secret.html.
[26] Galloway, G. (January 30, 2013). Ontario Superior Court: Ottawa ordered to find and release millions of Indian residential school records. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from: http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-ordered-to-find-and-release-millions-of-indian-residential-school-records/article8001068/
[27] Ibid.

this fact remain limited (p. 446). Focusing on pathological outcomes alone suggests a notable gap in the literature. Thus, there is a paucity of research on the responses of survivors who have not sought out formal, Westernized forms of therapy (Barrios & Egan, 2002).

Accordingly, the research literature seldom reports the significant variations in how "[Indigenous] people experience, emplot,[28] and intergenerationally transmit trauma experiences" (Denham, 2008, p. 391). More recent evidence is now suggesting that despite (post)colonial experiences and often traumatizing circumstances, many Indigenous People find other ways to cope whereby they find the silver lining in the experience and can actually draw strength from it.

Roselyn Ing (2000) completed a PhD on residential school survivors and descendants in the second and third generations and discovered that attaining higher education levels helped Indigenous individuals and families address multiple stressors carried over generations. Issues such as lacking identity, feeling shame, dealing with substance abuse, and living with low self-esteem were better understood and easier to cope with after learning the truth about the history of Canada and how residential schools created conditions for the development of these stressors that were then carried over to successive generations. Indigenous People use their higher education levels to educate their communities on the oppressive policies that led to the fracturing of family networks (Ing, 2000) and draw strength through these efforts to overcome adversity.

Similarly, Denham (2008), in his research study of the Si John family, a four-generation Coeur d'Alene American Indian family, shows how the family contextualizes and then re-frames their historic trauma into alternate and resilient responses. For example, the family "values,

[28] *Emplotment* is a term coined by Hayden White in his work *Metahistory* (1973). This term describes the way in which historians encode historical data into one of four possible plot types: tragic, comic, romantic, or ironic. A single historical event can be emplotted in different ways, depending on the historian's own language and culture, to produce different interpretations (and then reflected in a narrative). Retrieved from http://www.blackwellreference.com/public/tocnode?id=g9781444333275_chunk_g97814443332756_ss1-43.

customs, traditions and memories" that are regularly shared between family members help the younger generations to construct their self-identity in relation to the larger collective (Denham, 2008, p. 398). The family narratives and "social memory," also known as the "collective memory," are demonstrated through different family activities, including commemorative practices that also recount their ancestors' experiences (Denham, 2008, p. 399).

The Si John family describes what they view as their "Rock Culture," the process they use to pass on their oral traditions and family values. This metaphor exemplifies the strength of their family ethos, which is based on teachings that extend back to family who lived prior to contact with Europeans. Through their family narratives, ancestral knowledge transfers to present generations and maintains the grounding and a strong sense of self for individuals in times of hardship. Constructing a sense of self is determined less by personal memories and more by experiences from the "chain of *intergenerational* memories and narratives situated within the larger sociocultural, political and historical context" (original emphasis, Denham, 2008, p. 400).

These memories and narratives go back hundreds of years and include such themes as colonialism, racism, trauma, and murder. However, it is the protective strength of the family circle and the way in which the narratives are "emploted, framed and contextualized" that secure resiliency factors for family members (Denham, 2008, p. 405). Narratives take a strength-based perspective, determining a person's actions that focus on a positive outcome: learning from mistakes, focusing on success rather than failure, surviving instead of suffering, or overcoming challenges in the face of a traumatic event.

Likewise, Ren (2012) offers five case studies of how Indigenous People in China were better able to respond to traumatic events and experiences after a natural disaster through the deep spiritual bond of family, culture, and faith that influenced individual behaviour and views of everyday life. Identifying from "an 'indigenist' perspective of health" that underscores the

strength of culture, family, community, and spirituality has proven to strengthen not only individual identity but also group identity (Walters et al., 2002; Whitbeck, McMorris, Hoyt, Stubben, & La Fromboise, 2002). In a more limited area of HT research, focusing on the return to traditional forms of sexuality and gender mores was found to support an individual's healing potential (Balsam, Huang, Fieland, Simoni, & Walters, 2004).

My proposed research to examine the experiences of Indigenous female IRS survivors and/or their descendants intends to add to the literature of non-pathological outcomes of HT by using grounded theory to inductively derive a cohesive framework that demonstrates how some First Nations, Inuit, and Métis (Indigenous) People in Canada survived, coped, and even thrived following ongoing trauma events. The methodology of grounded theory will be reviewed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: The Methodology of Grounded Theory

This chapter begins with an overview of grounded theory (GT) and debates on its different versions. The next section elaborates grounded theory and how Indigenous principles were incorporated into this study. After discussing the rationale for selecting classic grounded theory, I provide a fuller explanation of the methodology and process. Explaining the terminology and procedures of classic GT is intended to help the reader understand why "discovering the core variable" makes the classic GT methodology different from other research approaches (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The aim of this chapter is clarifying the terminology for anyone who is unfamiliar with grounded theory, explain the criteria used to evaluate a grounded theory study, and situate the findings and the discussion.

Ethical considerations are also discussed along with how the inclusion of Indigenous ontology (ways of being) and epistemology (ways of knowing) can challenge Indigenous researchers and students because of the contradictions in whose knowledge is privileged in a Western academic setting. While this study did not explicitly incorporate an Indigenous decolonizing methodology, I argue that the incorporation of Indigenous principles within a Western methodology provided "ethical space" (Ermine, Sinclair, & Jeffery, 2004) for bringing *decolonizing potential* to the research study. Decolonizing potential in the context of this study suggests that Indigenous women regain their freedom and autonomy as human beings through the process of telling their stories and putting forth their Indigenous world view(s); they break the "colonial force" (personal correspondence with Blackstock, October 2015) as they learn to become change agents in their own lives.

What Is Grounded Theory?

Grounded theory is a methodological process in which the discovery of theory is systematically obtained from and analyzed through social research (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The general method of comparative analysis is used as a strategic method for generating theory and involves the discovery of categories and conceptualizations by examination of (any) data. The constant process of theoretical sampling is required for the simultaneous operations of data collection, coding, and analysis. Establishing what data to collect next and where to find those data is determined by the theoretical framework, which cannot be preconceived but emerges from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The central criteria for a grounded theory are "fit, work, relevance, and modifiability" (Glaser, 1992).

If the grounded theory can meet four criteria—the categories and properties *fit* the realities under study; if the theory *works* it will explain the major variations in behaviour regarding how the participants of the study process their main concern; if the theory both "fits and works" it has achieved *relevance*; and the theory is considered *modifiable* when new data are presented—it will accommodate integration of new concepts and the theoretical framework is considered a well-constructed theory (Glaser, 1992).

The classic grounded theory's underlying philosophical assumption is that "all human behaviour is a series of inter-locking, often deep seated, habitual tendencies. These habitual tendencies will happen whether they are revealed by research or not. They are real and not a result of academic hypothesis" (Lowe, 2011, p. 5). Lowe (2011) advocates that the strength of the method delivers "transcendent conceptual explanations … of human behavior" (p. 5). Therefore, when the methodology is followed correctly, the researcher can explain human behaviour across a range of settings away from "location, time, and context" where the data were

first gathered (Lowe, 2011, p. 6). And since classic grounded theory is about the generation of hypotheses from the data and not about testing theories found in the literature, the final literature review only occurs after the core variable has been discovered and the analyst comes as close to theoretical completeness as they can.

Debates of grounded theory. Before doing field work, novice grounded theorists need to decide which version of grounded theory to use in their research. Like other novice grounded theorists, I found it daunting to choose from classic (i.e. glaserian), straussian, feminist or constructivist grounded theory (Breckenridge, Jones, Elliott, & Nicol, 2012). The different versions of grounded theory can be seen to "exist on a methodological spiral" that also reflects the different epistemological foundations (Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006, p. 2). According to Mills, Bonner, and Francis (2006), the methodological spiral begins with Glaser and Strauss's (1967) original version of grounded theory and currently ends with a newer version, constructivist grounded theory developed by Charmaz (2000, 2006, 2014).

In this section of the text, I will discuss the debates between the most popular versions of grounded theory. In tandem, I will rationalize why Glaser's classic grounded theory was the better fit over other versions of grounded theory, including Charmaz's work, which is thought to have "some of the most value for aligning with Indigenous research approaches given [Charmaz's] emphasis on constructivism and social justice" (personal correspondence with Kovach, October 2015). Therefore, in arguing why I privileged classic grounded theory over constructivist grounded theory, I will utilize/adapt Breckenridge, Jones, Elliot, and Nicol's (2012) framework to speak to the differences found within grounded theory: "philosophical positioning," "interpretive understanding," and "relativism and the co-construction of data."

Philosophical Positioning

Charmaz (2000) states that those researchers who choose to utilize the grounded theory methodology "do so precisely to construct objectivist—that is, positivist—qualitative studies" (p. 522). Yet Strauss and Corbin (1994) reject a positivist position of a pre-existing reality and instead take the position that "truth is enacted" (p. 279). However, it can be difficult to discern the ontological nature of Strauss and Corbin's work. Mills et al. (2006) state that Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) use different language at different times to describe how researchers can position themselves in relation to the participants. For example, they use language like *maintaining objectivity*, suggesting a post-positivist stance, and at other times speak about *recognizing bias*, which assumes a constructivist approach (original emphasis, Mills et al., 2006, p. 3).

In contrast to both Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) and Charmaz (2000), Glaser (2005) states that "GT is not owned by any discipline-perspective," because it is a general methodology that cannot be limited by one discipline (Glaser, 2005, p. 139). In Glaser's (2005) view, "discussions of ontology (what we believe about the world) and epistemology (how we can come to know what we know) are moot within grounded theory" (cited in Breckenridge et al., 2012, p. 68). It is not necessary to take on any ontological or epistemological view, whether it is social interactionism, prepositivist, positivist, post-positivist, etc., in order to justify the use of GT (Glaser, 2005). Yet this is exactly the point at which Glaser gets criticized—for taking a neutral philosophical position (Breckenridge et al., 2012).

Glaser (2013) maintains that researchers are challenged "to staying open to … emergence and earned relevance" (p. 17) when using the classic GT methodology. They often force preconceived notions such as a theoretical perspective that resides within their world view and,

in doing so, may block what is emerging in the data (Holton, 2009). From this novice grounded theorist's perspective, it became clear that I required a methodological process that would accept the ontological and epistemological beliefs of Indigenous women without preconceiving "how the research should be framed, who should be engaged, and what outcomes should be anticipated" (Holton, 2009, p. 38).

While constructivist grounded theory looked promising because of its subjectivist view and emphasis on social justice, it is still defined by a particular perspective similar to Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998). Despite the expectation within the social sciences that researchers should be "explicit about the philosophical position of their studies," it is not seen as necessary with the general inductive method of classic grounded theory (Breckenridge et al., 2012, p. 68). Therefore, the openness and flexibility of the classic grounded method was more appropriate to generate a theory based on the abstract conceptualization of the women's stories "that fits, works and is relevant within the [substantive] area from which it was derived" (Breckenridge, 2012, p. 69).

Interpretative Understanding

One of the tenets of both Strauss and Corbin's (1990, 1998) and Charmaz's (2000) constructivist grounded theory is doing interpretative work. As part of this interpretative work, Strauss and Corbin include "relating participants' stories to the world in which the participants live" (Mills et al., 2006, p. 4). Similarly, Charmaz (2006) states that her constructivist approach "explicitly assumes that any theoretical rendering offers an *interpretative* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it" (original emphasis, p. 10). Charmaz gives an example of her interpretive analysis in an interview with Graham R. Gibbs at the University of Huddersfield in the UK (September 2013) when she spoke about teaching students elements of the coding process. But in this instance, she was concerned that she only held "mundane codes" (Gibbs,

2015). So, by asking the question "What larger story do these codes tell me?" the students were able to come up with "something that was nice and useful" for the larger story that would be presented (Gibbs, 2015). Charmaz's (2000) version of grounded theory "tells a story about people, social processes, and situations. The researcher composes the story; it does not simply unfold before the eyes of an objective viewer" (p. 522).

The whole purpose of (classic) grounded theory, however, is not about telling the stories of participants. In fact, "the 'findings' of a grounded theory study are not about people, but about the patterns of behavior in which people engage" (Breckenridge et al., 2012, p. 65). This is where Charmaz criticizes classic grounded theorists—discovering latent patterns, she contends, should not be the goal; instead she advocates "that data and analysis are created through an interactive process whereby the researcher and participant construct a shared reality … [without seeking] one main concern" (Breckenridge et al., 2012, p. 65).

When Charmaz seeks out the story and not the main concern of participants she is doing "exactly what GT is not—a QDA meaning, story description," according to Glaser (2002, p. 7). Like Strauss and Corbin's theory, Charmaz's development of constructivist grounded theory illustrates the remodelling of grounded theory and shows how she also strayed away from the "original intent of the classic methodology" (Breckenridge et al., 2012, p. 65).

It was important for me to stay faithful to the original intent of the classic methodology and not just focus on telling the story. Telling the story only provides more descriptive narratives about the residential school phenomenon that focus on the deficits of Indigenous People. My aim was to focus on the women's main concern and resolving processes, which help to shift the research to a strength-based approach where Indigenous women have agency. It is unclear how

Strauss and Corbin's or Charmaz's remodelled version of grounded theory would allow this to happen if the story became central to the theoretical framework.

The stories are the participants' reality, and in light of the sensitivity of the substantive area, the use of conceptualization in classic GT would offer anonymity. Classic grounded theory, in the case of this particular study, is about doing ethical research that is respectful to the women who participated in this study. The data was anonymized through the process of constant comparative analysis. Through conceptualization, the latent pattern of behaviours could be brought forward without disclosing the stories of the women and/or breaking confidentiality. In the spirit of ongoing consent, keeping the data anonymized was important to this research process so that the women in the study would not be subject to potential re-victimization. When I use quotes from the participants, I use pseudonyms, which is another layer of protection and confidentiality.

Relativism and the Co-construction of Data

Relativism, according to Charmaz (2014), "characterizes the research endeavour" (p. 13). Taking a constructivist perspective assumes there are multiple social realities and allows the researcher to see that acts of research are "constructed rather than discovered" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13). Likewise, by developing tools such as the conditional matrix to increase researchers' theoretical sensitivity to the data, Strauss and Corbin (1998) demonstrate "constructivist intent … [that allows researchers'] … thoughtful … reconstruction of participants' stories into theory" (Mills et al., 2006, p. 6). Interestingly, Charmaz's constructivist methodological model is found to be influenced first "from the work of Strauss (1987) and [then] Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1994, 1998)" (Mills et al., 2006, p. 7) as Charmaz takes on their relativist position (i.e., no

absolute truths), making the process of theory construction an outcome of (theoretical) interpretations of participants' stories.

Due to this relativist stance, capturing multiple realities and perspectives means abandoning the search for a core category; as a result, participants' concerns may take a back seat to a researcher's professional concerns (Breckenridge et al., 2012). However, Charmaz states that grounded theory can be used without assuming an "objective external reality, [or being] a passive, neutral observer" as in the classic method (Charmaz, 2014, p. 13). Instead, a constructivist perspective takes into account the authority, position, privileges, and perspectives of the researcher (Charmaz, 2014). Then, according to Charmaz (2014), the researcher considers how these perspectives and preconceptions impact the analysis. Conversely, the classic GT researcher's aim is less about neutrality and more about presenting "plausible hypotheses about participant's behavior" (Breckenridge et al., 2012, p. 67). The researcher must remain open to the discovery of the main concern in concurrence with the core category by putting aside any preconceptions (Glaser, 2013). Being open to what the data may be saying "allows the core problems and processes to emerge" (Glaser, 1978, p. 5); otherwise, the relevance of the grounded theory can never be established. It is the core category that anchors the grounded theory, because it is also a dimension of the problem and can explain "what is going on" in the data (Glaser, 1978, p. 5).

In considering the Strauss and Corbin method and Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory methodology, it soon became clear to me that neither was a good fit for my study. The research process could not be about "co-constructing" or influencing the stories of Indigenous women. Social justice cannot be achieved using a constructivist approach if Indigenous women's voices cannot be fully privileged.

Given my personal experience as a descendant of several generations of residential school survivors as well as my professional experience working in the area of Indigenous health, I sought a methodology that could ground my own biases and let me be more objective. In tandem, I had to balance the idea that combining a classic grounded theory methodology with Indigenous principles would challenge the notion that a researcher could achieve objectivity at all. To assist me in this delicate balancing act, like the first author in Breckenridge et al. (2012), I followed the classic edict of "interviewing oneself" in addition to writing memos, so my researcher bias could be taken up with the rest of the data. In this way, my perspective, as the researcher, was never privileged above the women's but was "interwoven into the analysis as simply another perspective" (Breckenridge et al., 2012, p. 66). I needed a method that was systematic in its approach and classic grounded theory seemed to be a good fit.

Grounded Theory and a Two-eyed Seeing Approach

In the earlier section, I provide an overview of the methodological debates over the different versions of grounded theory and why classic grounded theory was a good fit for this study. In this section, I will further the justification by outlining how classic grounded theory fits well when working with Indigenous People and incorporating Indigenous principles and a Two-eyed seeing approach.

First, Indigenous People use stories to orally transmit their history to subsequent generations, and Indigenous philosophies and world views are reflected in and emerge from these stories. The grounded theory methodology starts with the participants' stories, and through the re-telling of the stories the main concern of the participants emerge and are then woven into a common, overarching framework. I was first drawn to grounded theory because the framework departs from a Eurocentric world view where the hypotheses, predictions, and potential

conclusion are decided ahead of time despite the fact that it flows from a Western tradition. The grounded theory methodology is rigorous; it does not expect a researcher to preconceive the study or put any professional concern ahead of the data (Glaser, 1978, 2013).[29] The study does not begin with an interview guide, but asks an open-ended question of participants to have them share their experiences and what is important to them. This approach ensures an emergent framework that reflects the experiences and issues raised by Indigenous women in this study concerning the legacy of IRS.

Second, I was able to utilize a "two-eyed seeing" approach (developed by Elder Albert Marshall of the M'ikmaq Nation), which brings together the strengths of both Western and Indigenous ways of knowing, in my research study (Bartlett, 2012). According to Cheryl Bartlett, using a two-eyed seeing approach makes uses of two strengths: 1) the strength of a Western scientific view of the physical world where patterns are observed and then taken apart, forming the basis of a "reconstructed understanding" of humans' material existence, and 2) the strength of the Indigenous world view where "seeing patterns within patterns and the weaving of yourself and your understandings within the world in which you live" and are not reconstructed, allows a scientific method of compare and contrast common between two different world views (Bartlett, 2012).

Including Indigenous principles and ways of knowing in my research study increases the potential for a decolonizing research process. It is decolonizing because many women in my

[29] In this study, I applied the general rule that any bias I had was put into a memo and included as part of the data. If the data were found to be irrelevant, they were not included in the framework because the code could not be saturated (Glaser, 1978). Only codes that are saturated (i.e., multiple incidents are found in the data to suggest they are relevant) made it into the framework.

study reported that because of their residential school experience, their voices were silenced, but in this research study, their voices—and their collective voice—are brought to the fore. Mindfully using the two-eyed seeing approach allows the strengths of two world views to come together with the use of Western methodology (classic grounded theory) and the inclusion of Indigenous principles. It seemed to me that by combining these elements into a GT study, the research process itself permits a "back and forth … compar[ing] and contrast[ing] a past and a future within the present" (Bartlett, 2012). The inclusion of these elements allows new possibilities and new understandings of behaviours that may not have been previously recognized with respect to the IRS experience.

Indigenous principles of respect, reciprocity, relevance, responsibility, and relational ethics were at the forefront of my research study (Ermine 1995; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001, Deloria, 2004; Wilson, 2008). For example, Indigenous women had the opportunity to tell their stories in a safe environment of their choice (their home, office, or university), give feedback on their transcribed interviews and make changes if required, and/or give feedback and make recommendations to the final framework via focus group meetings. A small gift was given in the form of a $10 coffee card to express gratitude for their time and for sharing their stories.

Grounded theory allows for analysis of data consistent with Indigenous principles: it has an "Aboriginal philosophical orientation" (Hart, 1997) with the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge as part of the research process (Lavallee, 2009), and the method allows space for Indigenous epistemologies to emerge (Kovach, 2010, cited in Kovach, 2011).[30] The grounded

[30] As seen in the PowerPoint presentation (slide 7), "Indigenous Methodologies & Modified Grounded Theory Method," retrieved July 13, 2011, from http://www.thesummerinstitute.ca/wp-content/uploads/Indigenous-Methodologies.pdf.

theory methodology does not preclude the honouring of oral history and ceremony. During my study, ceremony was included and directed by participants who chose to incorporate it either before and/or following the interview.

Because I listened to the stories of Indigenous women, these stories are what guided my research process and established what questions to ask next. The grounded theory techniques of coding and memos can serve as a holistic sensibility (Kovach, 2011). The techniques supported my stance as a Saulteaux-Cree woman who could include her own story along with the rest of the data.

Third, I chose to use the classic GT approach for this study because it is considered innovative in its systematic approach, using both an inductive and deductive method to develop theory that is not "guided by a theoretical perspective" (Evans, 2013, p. 47). According to Glaser (2012), when you work with grounded theory you do not take an epistemological stance. Instead, you simply work with data and actively avoid colouring them with a predetermined viewpoint (Glaser, personal communication, NYC GT seminar, October 2012).

A purported strength of grounded theory is that it supports a more balanced approach of inquiry while avoiding some of the "pitfalls of polarized academic debate" between quantitative (objective) and qualitative (subjective) research approaches (Gatin, 2009, p.9). A criterion of objective knowledge, for example, is prediction—a statistical prediction about other groups of people becomes a function of certain kinds of knowledge (Smith, 1997). For this reason, many Indigenous scholars find that taking an objective stance in (community) research can be a contradictory notion in the process of knowledge creation, which must include forming, building,

and maintaining relationships (Hampton, 1995, as cited in Steinhauer, 2002; Harris, 2002; Little Bear, 2000; Smith, L. T., 1999; Wilson, 2008). If community is about building and maintaining relationships, anyone conducting community-based research must also consider building strong relationships between the researcher and the participants. By taking an objective stance, the researcher may disrupt the relationality in community, potentially causing alienation (i.e., alienating participants from the researcher) (Smith, 1997).[31]

However, in my research study, community comes together because there is not a lone researcher controlling the research process. I, the researcher, facilitate the process, but it is the community of Indigenous women who are the experts of their own lives. Consequently, it is this flexible aspect of GT that allows Indigenous women to share what most is near and dear to their hearts without imposing a pre-determined interview guide on them. This makes the process of participating "emancipatory" for Indigenous women who share their own subjective experiences (Kovach, 2005). Thus, subjectivity was valued as the Indigenous women's voices, experiences, and knowledge became central to the study (Kovach, 2011).

Fourth, I wanted to adopt and implement a research approach that could capture a broad spectrum of outcomes and experiences related to the substantive area of residential schools.[32] To achieve this, I recruited Indigenous women from a non-clinical setting. Had I chosen to use a pre-defined theoretical framework and also recruit participants from a clinic, I would have run

[31] My story has also been included as part of the data. I am not separate from the Aboriginal women who are included in this study; I am part of their community and have experienced some of the effects of the residential school legacy.

[32] According to Stillman (2007), "A substantive area is the original research setting, a group of participants, or unit of study. It is the field where the researcher begins and is usually an area of personal interest" (she refers to Glaser 1998, p. 48).

the risk of limiting the range of experiences and perhaps reflexively problematizing the data coming from the stories.

Instead, grounded theory permits me to explain a range of behaviours "about which the participants in the substantive area themselves may not even be aware" (Glaser, 2001 cited in Stillman 2007, p. 2). It is through participants' stories that their main concern will emerge and subsequently lead to a substantive theory that explains most of their behaviour and how they go about resolving their concern (Glaser, 1998, p. 132). For me, empowerment is built into the method since it allows the participants' words—once put into conceptualized form—to help explain their individual "resolving process" (Glaser 1998, p. 132).

Grounded theory and its suitability for this research project is particularly appealing as the method will generate a theory to learn "exactly what is going on" and what is most relevant to the participants decades after the residential school experience (Glaser, 1998, p. 11). Moreover, the final theoretical framework can be useful for policy makers and participants alike as it can be applied to create "incremental change" in the lives of Indigenous People (Glaser, 1998, p. 55). Consequently, the reference to *change* comes by way of discovering the latent pattern of behaviour found in the women's stories. Thus, the discovery of the theoretical framework happens through a process of induction and emergence, and this process is why the application of grounded theory fits well with the substantive area of IRS.

Like many novice grounded theorists, my aim is to seek out an "explanatory theory for patterns of behavior" for the substantive area of research (Gatin, 2009, p. 1). The discovery of a theory may possibly be useful to Indigenous People and their families, as well as for practitioners

and clinicians working in the field of mental health and trauma.[33] The discovered theory can be used to explain behavioural patterns and can be generalizable and modifiable in its applicability to problem solving beyond the context of residential schools.

The Classic Grounded Theory Approach

Building on what has already been explained in the earlier part of this manuscript, I will use the classic GT approach to situate the study findings and my discussion. By using the classic GT approach to explain the concern of those affected by the IRS phenomenon moves the study beyond mere thematic analysis and descriptive research towards the development of an actionable framework (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In my estimation, this approach is unprecedented. In this chapter, I will explain the terminology, the GT procedures, and when appropriate, how GT is different from other research approaches. I also explain how to evaluate a GT study.

Grounded theory is just one methodology that can be used to carry out research, but it is set apart because it is a methodology in which any data can be used (Glaser & Strauss 1967). The "all is data" maxim means that data can come from "whatever source"—for example, interviews, stories, newspapers, collegial comments, and literature (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p.11). However, the uniqueness of this methodology is in the "conceptual abstraction of the data," which is seen as an essential component in theory development using the classic grounded theory methodology (Holton, 2010, p. 21). The researcher must always go back to the data and pay attention to what the data are communicating; it is critical to "*follow the agenda of those being studied*" and not

[33] While writing my thesis, I attended a meeting for Aboriginal health research and it was clearly stated that Aboriginal communities would only agree to participate in research projects that result in "something good for the community." They want research to be relevant and meaningful to address priority areas like mental wellness (CIHR-IAPH Pathways Advisory Committee, June 10, 2014).

follow any agenda from the professional or research community (original emphasis, Christiansen, 2005a, p.73).

In the classic grounded theory approach, the researcher should begin with as few preconceptions as possible. This may sound like an impossible task, given that as human beings we all have a different lived experience and biases. Glaser states that as GT researchers coming from diverse backgrounds in health, political science or business, and sociology, for example, we bring to the study our own "latent theoretical perspective" (Glaser, 2013, p. 3). But he concluded that "No preconceived research works … for the emergent discovery of GT" (Glaser, 2013, p. 4). Therefore, as much as possible, GT researchers should be open to seeing what the data present as opposed to superimposing a personal theoretical perspective on the emerging framework when interpreting the data. I used several strategies in my efforts to remain objective by avoiding preconception as much as possible. They are outlined below.

Avoiding Preconception while Heightening Theoretical Sensitivity

There are a number of ways to keep preconception at bay while heightening theoretical sensitivity. Shaffir and Stebbins (1991) suggest that students who take time to learn about the research experiences of others can more accurately anticipate "the trials and rewards of their own research efforts" (as cited in Roderick, 2009, p. 58). Therefore, as a novice grounded theorist much like Roderick (2009), I employed a number of strategies to keep me on track and bolster my awareness of and sensitivity to the data. The three strategies included: 1) seeking expert advice, 2) engaging with peers for encouragement and feedback, and 3) knowing thyself (Roderick, 2009). Each of these strategies will be further explained below.

Seeking expert advice. I chose to use the classic grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and because I did not have immediate access to a classic GT mentor, I researched and

eventually located the Grounded Theory Institute in Mill Valley, California (http://www.groundedtheory.com). Through the institute, I was able to apply to attend Dr. Glaser's trouble-shooting seminar. I was invited to attend two seminars—one in New York City (October 2012) and one in San Francisco (June 2013). I was able to learn from fellow grounded theorists, some with their PhDs and others at different stages of completing their dissertations as well as the innovator himself. I was able to get advice on my developing theory and to not settle on a core category too soon. In addition, following these seminars and with the recommendation of Dr. Glaser, I employed a GT mentor (Dr. Helen Scott) with whom I Skyped regularly to ask advice and discuss overcoming struggles in learning the classic GT method. Later in this chapter, I provide examples of how I used memos to work through some of these challenges to limit any preconceptions and work through the methodological struggles.

Engaging with peers. At Dr. Glaser's trouble-shooting seminars I met a number of people with whom I continued a working relationship. The most significant of these newly formed relationships was with Brian Stevens (from Texas), who became my coding buddy. Dr. Scott advised that I look for him when I attended the second seminar. Following this second seminar we communicated regularly not only to ask each other questions about the coding process but also to encourage each other. In the seminars we were warned to anticipate feeling isolated and blocked by confusion, anxiety, and uncertainty but that we should be open to the emergence of new categories and "trusting to preconscious processing" (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p. 11). It was not unusual at times to feel "stupid … out of control and like one doesn't know anything" (Glaser, 1998, p. 50, cited in Roderick, 2009, p. 59). Those moments were when I would call on my coding buddy who would remind me of how the process works and encourage me to stay on track. At other times, it was I who was reminding him that his confusion and anxiety were normal. We would regularly check in with each other to "test the theory" by

comparing it with the GT criteria. We would ask, "Did the theory have fit and 'grab'?" (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p. 21). This two-way learning and teaching enabled me to increase my sensitivity to the data.

Knowing thyself. Roderick (2009) is mindful that grounded theory does not begin with "a defined worldview" but that it requires an "awareness of how you see the world and a willingness to challenge it as you compare your beliefs with incoming data" (pp. 58–59). My belief system was challenged during the first few years of starting my PhD. My stepfather and my biological father died within two years of each other. I could not have anticipated how their deaths would impact the family dynamic. Unbeknown to me, the chrysalis of (family) traumas began to crack and soon secrets were revealed. These secrets greatly affected my relationship with my siblings and our individual relationships with our mother. My siblings (five sisters and a brother) and I discussed that "life was not what we thought it was." What I knew to be true was challenged, and it was confusing, painful, and enlightening at the same time.

Working through the secrets of our family was a humbling experience and made me realize that the notion of certainty is unstable. I was similarly challenged in my study as I struggled with analyzing the data. I constantly asked myself, "Is this really what the data are saying or is there another way to view this?" My learning the classic GT process constantly "stretched me out of my comfort zone" (Roderick, 2009, p. 59) but also fostered a higher level of awareness and sensitivity to the data. "Knowing thyself" came by way of challenges in my personal life, and I had to be open to what I thought I knew about family dynamics and personal relationships. Thus, my world view shifted during the course of accomplishing my PhD work. As a result, I have been sensitized "to critical perspectives and am more aware of the power of societal structures to influence individual experiences" (Roderick, 2009, p. 59).

Relating my experiences to my research, I was able to uphold and heighten my sensitivity to and awareness of the data as I built relationships with people who could offer me guidance, support, and encouragement. Grounded theorists, mentors, and peers alike became very important to my efforts to successfully traverse the simultaneous processes within the grounded theory methodology. Later, during the writing stages, my supervisor and thesis committee members provided another level of critical expertise to ensure I wrote a coherent manuscript. As a result of building and maintaining these relationships, I was better able to assess my own heightened awareness. This awareness informed personal attributes, one of which was insight that ascribed meaning to and understanding of the data, while having the ability to separate relevant data from the irrelevant (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

According to Andy Lowe, Grounded Theorist Fellow of the Grounded Theory Institute, my study had "an embarrassingly abundant amount of rich data to work with" (in communication with Lowe, 2013) and the emerging theory could have developed in different directions.[34] At the same time, "preconceptions" (Glaser, 1998) about residential schools needed to be made explicit and considered during the analysis. At this point, any preconceptions I found emerging during my analysis were noted and written into a memo. This memo was included as part of the overall data. However, it happened on occasion that I overlooked the significance of some data and then, through "constant comparative activities," the rejected data were seen to be important. So for me, theoretical sensitivity was also fostered throughout the process by the ongoing nature of the literature review.

[34] This was the phrase used by Andy Lowe to describe the overwhelming volume of data that I found in my study. As discussed at meeting with Dr. Glaser and other GT Fellows in San Francisco, June, 2013.

Systematic Literature Review

The process of systematic reviews (SRs) was used to inform the initial review. SRs offer "a standardized method to synthesize data from multiple primary studies" (Santos, Pimenta, & Nobre, 2007, p. 510). Following a systematic approach can eliminate the bias that often occurs when undertaking a narrative literature review. This approach "maximizes the recovery of evidence in the database, focuses on the research scope, and avoids unnecessary searching" (Santos et al. 2007, p. 509). As part of the modified PICO strategy and approach, steps were taken to: 1) identify the problem, 2) identify and structure the research question(s), 3) identify different search terms to begin the bibliographic recovery of evidence in the databases, and 4) evaluate the available bibliographic evidence (Santos et al., 2007).

As the systematic literature review proceeded, the problem was identified: There is a paucity of research examining the ongoing intergenerational impacts of the IRS legacy. Moreover, there are even fewer studies that examine the diverse experiences of female IRS survivors and how they and their daughters and/or granddaughters cope (demonstrating different forms of resilience) in response to the legacy of IRS in a way that is non-pathological. In keeping with the principles of GT, the structure of the research questions for the initial key informant was purposefully kept broad (Creswell, 2013). The data gathered through participant interviews were analyzed using constant comparative techniques and the resultant "conceptual generalizations" then became part of the emerging substantive grounded theory (Glaser 2007, p. 68).

Different search terms were identified to begin the bibliographic recovery of the evidence in the databases. The initial literature search terms "female Indian residential school survivor and their female children" used to search Scholars Portal retrieved 320 studies. An advanced search under Google Scholar using the initial indexed key words with the Boolean operator AND

combined with the controlled descriptor "intergenerational trauma" retrieved an additional 712 studies. A total of 1,032 studies were retrieved and reviewed between the years 2002 and 2012 for the initial literature review.

Last, the bibliographic evidence was evaluated. The final number of "hits" found in the literature was recorded and broken down into what bibliographic evidence was useful based on the emerging theoretical framework and what additional information was reserved for possible use during comparative analysis to inform new categories in the emerging theory. In GT, the specific literature to be used in the comparative analysis is not identified before the data are collected from the interviews (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Therefore, evaluating bibliographic evidence was ongoing throughout the GT analytic process, driven by the emerging categories and theory. The guidelines to help avoid preconception throughout the research process are discussed next.

Guidelines to Avoid Preconception

Glaser provides guidelines on how to avoid preconceptions, which form part of the GT procedures I followed while conducting this study. According to Glaser (2013), the researcher should not preconceive: 1) the general problem, 2) the specific participant's problem, 3) what theoretical perspective applies, 4) the interview questions, 5) what existing concepts in the literature will explain the current behaviour, and 6) what theoretical code will integrate the theory (p. 4).

The rule is that the researcher should embark on the research without preconceiving what they may discover. Therefore, grounded theory must also be free from the claims, findings, or assumptions of related literature if the researcher is to conceptualize the data with the best possible fit (Glaser, 1998). To avoid existing concepts of a field influencing how the researcher

will code the data, an extensive literature review should not be conducted prior to the start of the research project. Only after the coding is completed and the theory has emerged should the researcher go back to the literature. It is only at the sorting and writing stage that relevant literature is integrated into the study to round out the emerging theoretical framework (Glaser, 1998) and the theory is then compared to "conceptually related literature" (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 9).

As I stated early in this text, the IRS legacy is part of my family's personal history, dating back to the 1890s. I had already done research before I began working towards my Master's degree and was charged with the IRS file under the mental health portfolio, which I held when I worked in First Nations health. For these reasons, my supervisory committee expressed concerns that perhaps I "knew too much" about the substantive area and was consequently at risk of preconceiving the general problem. I would like to address now why I think I was successful in keeping the six preconceptions defined by Glaser (2013) at bay in the course of this research study.

In the first step towards not preconceiving the general problem, I admitted I studied the history of Canada, and I knew about legislation that was created specifically for Indigenous People in Canada, which included IRS. This meant I was familiar with research that described the horrors and aftermath of IRS. However, I was still hearing directly from community members who were calling for a model that could be utilized to address intergenerational trauma. I often asked "why" we could not overcome the traumas when I knew there was research already out there. But the specific calling from community was for "culturally appropriate" models; another question that was raised was, "What does 'culturally appropriate' mean and can that even be defined?" At the time, I was not familiar with any models that could be utilized by

community members or administered without a clinician or a mental health practitioner. So, with the use of the grounded theory approach, I could begin to "see" what I thought I knew about the IRS phenomenon, but with a different focus.

I could move away from descriptive research that more often reported the deficits of Indigenous People and listen for what people do from a strength-based perspective. This also meant, as per the GT process, that I could neither preconceive a theoretical perspective nor develop an in-depth interview guide. There was no preconception here, because as a novice grounded theorist, I was learning the process. But I also appreciated the openness of not asking predefined interview questions. This meant every interview would be different, and that was an exciting concept to ponder. I did not yet know what I did not know.

Also, if at any time issues arose where I found contradictions to what I thought I knew, I had to memo my concerns. For example, occasionally I would feel overwhelmed and not quite know how to conceptualize the behaviours emerging in the data for fear I could be stereotyping Indigenous women. I would continue the process of coding, analyzing, and conceptualizing and I would write memos. According to the process of GT, if my memo was relevant, it would be taken up in the data; if not, it would just fall away (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Through many frustrating and confusing times, a code would eventually emerge that would help me conceptualize and explain the behaviours emerging from the data. In addition to this, once I started the study I knew the general problem would have to be viewed differently if I was to come up with a different type of framework. Being open to new information helped me keep any preconceptions at bay.

Next, a researcher should not preconceive what theoretical code will integrate the theory. Since I was learning the methodology, I was also unaware of the numerous theoretical codes that

could be applied, hence I could not preconceive them. However, I started to see a pattern between four dimensions (later it became five dimensions) that eventually became the framework. I began to study the theoretical codes after the core category of *moral compassing* emerged. I was utilizing two theoretical codes: a typology and a basic social process, as these seemed to be the best fit for my substantive area (Glaser, 2005). But I was still having difficulty. At this time, I turned to my GT mentor and followed any advice she could provide as I struggled with what I was seeing in the data and concepts of the data. Her main advice was to look at the concepts differently but not go back to the data. I explicate this later in this chapter under GT Criteria.

Finally, it was easier for me not to preconceive a specific participant's problem because I did not know the detailed stories of the women I interviewed. Combining this with the next step—not preconceiving what existing concepts in the literature would explain current behaviour—I will share a particularly challenging time that I wrote about in a memo in 2013.

> "Change the data" Memo October 21, 2013[35]
>
> Against all good advice (from Dr. Glaser) I shared my research with a colleague who happens to be from the Aboriginal community. I told her what I believed was my core variable and that was "Perpetualizing (colonial) Sick Behaviour." The sick behaviour that women are talking about is how it is the women who are perpetualizing it: women inflicting violence against women and girls to the point that some Aboriginal women report fearing other Aboriginal women. … My friend

[35] I reviewed this memo with my colleague and when I asked her for permission to use it, her response was unequivocally supportive. She stated that this memo was "born out of grounded research" and supports the whole of the emerging theory.

and colleague told me to change the data because my research should be empowering to women and although she didn't specifically say it, she also meant, I should not stigmatize my community.

This conversation left me feeling very badly because the last thing I want to do is to stigmatize Aboriginal women. They/we have had to deal with derogatory names and assumptions (sluts, whores, etc.) about us literally for centuries as a means for missionaries and settlers (men) to not be accountable for their own actions … This tells me that "sick behaviour" has been around since the beginning of time.

Advising that I change the data—"you are the researcher and you can do that" she says— is akin to forcing the data for professional reasons and not for reasons of allowing the latent patterns of behaviour to emerge. Preconceiving what I want the research to reveal is NOT the way of classic grounded theory. The truth of latent behaviour will be buried. Therefore, I chose to bring my concern to my classic grounded theory Skype group who advised me "all is data" and to memo my concern because I was being blocked. … To memo my concern will help relieve me and help me to stay the course and to conceptualize based on what the data is saying. Of course, at no time did I even ponder changing the data; I just wondered how I could get around it. … I will let the data and conceptualizations emerge as they may.

What the data are saying: Women are the ones perpetualizing the colonial echo of sick behavior. …

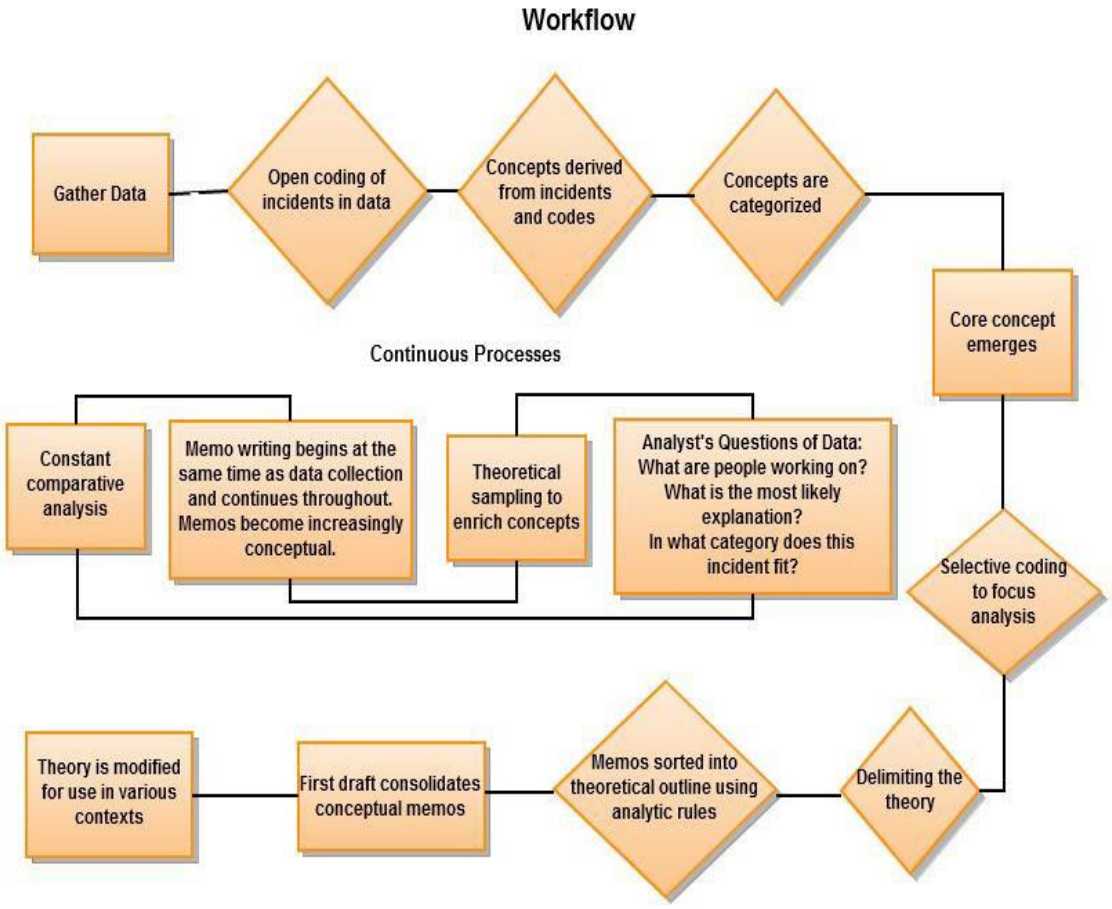
I got through this challenging time by working with supportive people via my Skype group, who were also all working on their own grounded theories. I put my concerns in a memo. This memo and the data included in it informed my final framework. It maintained and stayed true to what women had reported was their main concern. This memo is an indication that I have been diligent and worked at not preconceiving concepts to explain current behaviour, which is of particular significance because the issue of female violence against females is not what I could have preconceived as being the issue. Violence that has historically been dictated and directed towards Indigenous women (learned behaviour), created by men, and viewed as acceptable and appropriate has been brought on by paternalistic influences of colonialism (Martin-Hill, 2003; Wolski, 2009). As an insider in the Indigenous community, I see this as an important issue, because without increased awareness, how will change occur? Indigenous women have voiced a desire to resolve this issue to encourage stronger and more loving relationships between themselves, their families, and the community as a whole. Finally, as I worked through what the women in this study reported was their main concern, I continued the constant comparative analysis to find the core variable.

The uniqueness of this theory-building methodology is that it aims to discover the core variable and then delimit the data to only what is related to the core variable. As Christiansen (2005a) clearly states, the focus of the "participants' *main concern and its recurrent resolving* … are summed up by the *core variable*" (original emphasis, p. 9). Focusing on the emergence of the core variable is a form of latent pattern analysis where either qualitative or quantitative data can be used.

Christiansen (2005a) views a substantive concept as having a hierarchical ordering. For example, the core variable—in this case, *moral compassing*—is the substantive concept that has

the highest conceptual level of all concepts found in the data. Accordingly, Christiansen (2005a) says, "The core variable is what most closely relates to all the other lesser-level concepts, and accounts for most of the variation in the data" (p. 9). There are also sub-core variables that follow the core variable in hierarchy and then categories follow in a descending order. A property can emerge from a category, sub-core variable, or core variable and will always have a lesser conceptual level than the concept to which it refers (Christiansen 2005a, p. 10).

Figure 3.1: Grounded theory method workflow



Note: A continuous and iterative process. Copyright 2009 by Glen V. Gatin, "Keeping your distance: A basic social process" (p. 17). Used with permission, personal conversation and email May 9, 2015.

Figure 3.1 shows a grounded theory method workflow in which the researcher begins by gathering data. The generation of theory happens in the process of data collection, which initially occurs by doing interviews. Tape-recording interviews is not recommended and neither is using a preconceived interview guide. The process follows the activities in the outer structure shown in Figure 3.1: the researcher continues with open coding, conceptualizes the data, and categorizes the concepts. The goal is to discover the core category.

In tandem with the procedures in the outer structure are the simultaneous processes shown in the centre of Figure 3.1. The link between the outer structure of the workflow chart and the centre processes are the activities of the centre processes that actually guide the researcher in all the steps found in the outer structure. Thus, as part of theoretical sampling, the researcher "jointly collects, codes and analyses the data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them" (Glaser, 1978, p. 36). Theoretical sampling occurs throughout the research process in order to develop the emerging theory while at the same time asking appropriate questions, writing memos, and doing constant comparative analysis.

As part of theoretical sampling, then, my ongoing task was to "elicit codes from raw data" as I began the data collection process (Glaser, 1978, p. 36). Using the constant comparative method, I compared all data incident to incident. The basic question was: "What are these data telling me?" I initially ignored the raw data that were telling me from the first interview what the main concern was. It took me up to four interviews to realize the pattern I was seeing was "sick behaviour." The in vivo term "sick" was used by the women and was such a common word that I overlooked it because I was looking for something "grander." However, referring back to my guiding question of "What are the data telling me?" helped me to see the obvious.

Theoretical saturation occurs when it is no longer necessary to continue to gather data. One way of knowing when to stop gathering data is through the constant comparison of interchangeable indicators that yields properties and dimensions of each category or concept (Holton, 2010, p. 32). A concept is derived from incidents found in the data.

"Indicator" is another term for incident, but more precisely, the term represents multiple incidents that fall under a certain concept name and no matter how you interchange the incidents, the concept itself never changes. It meets all the criteria of fit, relevance, modifiability, and workability.[36] For example, with the concept of *arresting development,* I found well over 20 incidents to speak to the ways a mother (and other family members) were unable to express emotion and provide the nurturing that daughters needed.

Some of these incidents included "Mother didn't grow up"; "she [mother] was suppressed as a child"; "mother has a hard time being affectionate"; "mother is very stuck, she's stuck in a victim role"; "we never got hugged"; "my mother never told me she loved me—no hugs, no kisses"; and "It's like I'm stuck in that time and I can't get out of it." Therefore, the *indicator* term is used at the point when a concept becomes saturated. In this example, the concept of arresting development was saturated. When no new properties or dimensions emerge for a concept, theoretical saturation has been achieved.

There are two primary types of concepts (or coding) used in classic GT that are seen as the building blocks of theory development: substantive concepts (or codes) and theoretical concepts (or codes). Substantive concepts are seen as stable, latent patterns that are empirically grounded and "conceptualize the underlying meaning, uniformity and/or pattern" emerging from

[36] My GT mentor, Helen Scott, helped me better understand the meaning of interchangeable indicators.

the data (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 9). Theoretical concepts (codes), on the other hand, signify how the substantive codes relate. So, for example, in one part of the framework I conceptualized behaviours as volitional awareness, self-awareness, learning to emote, and self-esteem. These were substantive concepts that became properties of a higher-level conceptualization of building personal competencies. The theoretical code that showed how the higher conceptualization related to the larger framework was a basic social process. I focused on substantive concepts when discovering codes that conceptualize the data and when searching for the core variable. Later in the process, the theoretical coding will be the focus when theoretically sorting and integrating the memos (Glaser, 1978).

There is a key difference between substantive coding and theoretical coding. Substantive coding encompasses both open coding and selective coding procedures (Holton, 2010, p. 21). Open coding is "coding the data in every way possible" (Glaser, 1978, p. 56) and selective coding occurs when the researcher begins to focus on a particular variable (or problem). That is, when a researcher begins to "selectively code for a core variable" (Glaser, 1978, p. 61). These two procedures are the focus at the outset of a study while a researcher is seeking to discover the core variable. Conversely, theoretical coding does not happen until after the core category emerges. Substantive coding allows the discovery of (substantive) codes that can also include in vivo codes through the process of conceptualizing the empirical data found within the area of study. As Holton (2010) expressed, incidents found in the data are the "empirical data" from which a theory is generated and becomes grounded (p. 24). The process begins with open coding where all data are coded in every conceivable way; by "running the data open," a core category eventually emerges (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p.13).

The process of open coding describes the simultaneous collection and analysis of data using the constant comparative method of analysis (Glaser, 2012, p. 2). Open coding involves breaking down the data by asking one of many questions like, "What is this data a study of?" (Glaser, 1978, p. 57). Other questions would include, "What category does this incident indicate?" "What is actually happening in the data?" "What is the main concern faced by the participants?" and "What accounts for the continual resolving of this concern?" (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p.13). Glaser says that keeping these questions in mind is what keeps the researcher "theoretically sensitive" to the data (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p. 13).

Substantive codes are discovered during the (substantive) open coding process when coding data incident by incident. The aforementioned questions force the researcher to focus on any patterns found among incidents and to code "conceptually above detailed description of incidents" (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p. 13). An incident can be, for example, "a line, page or a document" (Scott, 2007, p. 12). Through open coding, a researcher generates concepts—in my study, for example, "abuse"—and properties or a dimension of a concept—for example, dimensions of abuse. As Scott (2007) explains, "Each incident which indicates a concept or property becomes one of the indices for that concept or property. Thus indices of a particular concept are interchangeable for one another" (personal communication, 2013). Therefore, in this study, some incidents that would indicate the concept of abuse included "While locked away, she was almost 'beaten to death,'" "I saw the abuse … That was very compelling for me to see young girls getting taken out of their dorms at odd hours," and "physical, sexual, psychological,

and spiritual … there were people in my community who had suffered from it all." These in vivo terms became interchangeable indices for the concept of "abuse."[37]

Open coding ends as the (substantive) selective coding begins. The researcher accordingly "delimits his coding to only those variables that relate to the core variable" (Glaser, 1978, p. 61). The main purpose of selective coding is to saturate the core variable and "lesser-level substantive concepts" related to the core variable (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 10). It is the emerging core variable that guides further data collection, theoretical sampling, and analysis (Glaser & Holton, 2004). Memo writing continues and becomes more focused on the "workings and relevance of the emerging concepts" to be used in a parsimonious theory (Glaser, 2012, p. 2). In Chapter 4 I explain how I delimited the coding to only those variables related to the core variable of *moral compassing*.

During the coding process, ideas are stimulated and, according to Glaser (1978), the researcher should stop and apply the rule to "*memo the idea*" (original emphasis, p. 58). What is most important during the memo writing process is to "write conceptually about the substantive codes … do not talk about people" (Glaser, 1978, p. 91). Memo writing[38] helps the researcher realize if the data fit or not; if the data do not fit, they cannot be verified (Glaser, 1978, p. 61). Therefore, when the researcher realizes the core category does not work, s/he continues the process of data collection and constant comparisons to "literally force generation of codes"

[37] Abuse can include physical, emotional, and psychological harm. See Biderman's Chart of Coercion in Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2015), *Reclaiming Connections: Understanding Residential School Trauma Among Aboriginal People* at http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/healing-trauma-web-eng.pdf.

[38] The analytic rules of memo writing were very helpful: 1) ideational development helps with generating theory, 2) write out ideas in any fashion without being concerned about "writing correctly" 3) start a memo file folder, 4) ensure the memos can be sorted very quickly by ideas, 5) keep memos separate as part of the fracturing of the data, 6) the researcher should be psychologically prepared to sort memos and not preconceive an outcome (Glaser, 1978, pp. 84–92).

(Glaser, 1978, p. 57). New codes will ensure that the coding already in place will be modified such that the data fit and work with the emerging core category. If there is no fit between the data and the core category, a grounded theory has not been discovered.

This was my experience on two occasions. Dr. Glaser warns that a researcher must not be "selective too quickly" (1978, p. 61), otherwise there is a risk of establishing a false core variable. I initially believed my core category was "extreming," since I also discovered a typology of behaviours that explained the extreme nature of behaviours (some behaviours were still shown to be abusing and others were shown to be loving and kind), but as I continued my analysis, more codes and conceptualizations emerged. The core variable must explain the participants' main concern and the rest of the data should explain how they resolve it. However, given the historical context of residential schools, the other variables would not fit and the core variable was found to be weak.

The analytic process continued to evolve after iterations of sorting. During sorting, the conceptualizations process and memo writing continued until I believed I had found a second core variable with "creating a new normal." However, "creating a new normal" was not fitting with the typology that demonstrated violent and abusive behaviours. Therefore, I did not achieve the core variable on either occasion, and the process of collecting data, coding/conceptualizing, and analysis continued. According to Christiansen (2005a), theoretical sorting becomes pertinent when "new discoveries from selective coding, constantly comparing and memo-writing do not appear" (p. 11). Mature memos are conceptually sorted, which accounts for the sorting of ideas and concepts and how they relate to other ideas, and then integrated into the final development of the substantive theory (Glaser, 1978, p. 116). Sorting facilitates the establishing of substantive

concepts and the discovery of conceptual level data indicators for theoretical codes (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 11). Sorting is done manually.

Sorting was one part of the grounded theory methodology that I could not immediately grasp. I also hesitated to do sorting not only because it is done manually but also because I did not appreciate the importance of sorting until my GT mentor suggested I write memos in categories. For example, I wrote observational memos, theoretical memos, and methods memos.

I could not understand why writing about my frustrations with the method (i.e., a methods memo) was important to the sorting process. Theoretically, it is not, but organizing memos in this way helped keep clear in my mind what memos do get sorted. My GT mentor, Dr. Scott, told me that it is "only your ideas about codes and their relationships with other codes [that] are sorted."

I eventually learned to sort my theoretical memos, which is crucial to indicating which variables relate to the core variable and also directly impacts the criteria for a grounded theory: When you find fit, work, relevance, and modifiability, you have achieved a theory that is grounded in the data.

Theoretical coding comes later in the research process during the course of sorting once the core category has been discovered. Using the constant comparative method, incidents in the data are analyzed to generate first substantive codes and then theoretical codes (Glaser & Holton, 2004). Like substantive codes, theoretical codes are emergent (Glaser, 1978).

The goal of theoretical coding is to find "interchangeable indicators" that also determine the kinds of relationships between concepts (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 11): Anytime indicators are grouped in multiples of three, the generated concept has the same relationship to the indicators.

For example, grouping indicators such as "diarrhea and perfume both indicate [the concept of] body pollution" (Glaser, 1978, p. 41). Thus, even "*crude indexes [give] the same findings as elegant, perfected indexes based on latent structure analysis"* (original emphasis, Lowe, 2011, pp. 2–5). According to Glaser, in theoretical coding new connections that make ideas relevant are established; theoretical codes thus provide a "new" or "original" perspective because of their "*grounded integration*" (original emphasis, Glaser, 1978, p. 72). Moreover, theoretical codes permit the researcher to uphold a (higher) conceptual level in writing about concepts and how they are related (Glaser & Holton, 2004, p. 13).

The development of theory can only happen around a core category when theoretical completeness occurs. The prime function of the core category is to integrate the theory and render the theory "*dense and saturated*" (original emphasis, Glaser, 1978, p. 93) as the relationships between categories and properties increase. Through continual modification and verification of the categories and properties around the core category, "*theoretical completeness*" (original emphasis, Glaser, 1978, p. 93) captures the variation in the pattern of behaviour (i.e., the main concern) found in the phenomenon under study. Theoretical completeness eventually emerges by delimiting the number of concepts about the core category, "usually 4 to 6 sub concepts are sufficient" (Glaser, 2012, p. 2). Discovering the core category occurs through "saturation, relevance and workability" by grounding the discovery to the main concern or problem held in the data (Glaser, 1978, p. 95). Once theoretical completeness has been achieved, the last stage in the grounded theory process is to conceptually compare the theory to existing literature.

Classic GT Criteria

The classic grounded theory methodology should be based only on its own research criteria, not any other research criteria, since it represents a "methodological paradigm, not a disciplinal-theoretical one" for testing or proving (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 11). The four criteria by which a classic grounded theory is judged are *fit*, *workability*, *relevance*, and *modifiability*.

Fit refers to the generated concepts and how the concepts based on the data fit with the emerging theory. The re-working of data for fit and re-fit is all part of the verification process built into the grounded theory procedures. Data are verified for "fit and relevance" throughout the GT process, so by the time the theory emerges, it has been grounded in the data (Glaser, 1978, p. 61). *Relevancy* implies the "usability or importance" of the theory for those working in the substantive or formal area of research, including researchers, students, and even participants in the study (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 12).

Workability relates to the emerging theory and how the theory explains the main concern with parsimony and scope (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 12; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 111). It also means that the concepts are meaningfully relevant and can explain the behaviour under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3). Lastly, *modifiability* means the theory must be modifiable when new data are introduced.

Following the procedures of classic grounded theory and the criteria to verify that the emergent core category has fit and relevance ensures theoretical completeness. Theoretical completeness suggests the study has been taken as far as it can possibly go. The analyst can now explain with the least amount of concepts, and with the greatest of scope, the variation in the behaviour and problem under study (Glaser, 1978, p. 125). At this latter stage, the theoretical sorting of memos is vital to writing (up) the emergent theory. It is not uncommon when one is new to the GT methodology to struggle with the process. When I began the write-up of the

theoretical framework, I also questioned whether the theory met the four criteria as illustrated in a memo I wrote in March 2014:

> "Theory not Fitting" [Theoretical] Memo March 7, 2014
>
> Today I met with my GT Mentor Helen Scott. I had a few dilemmas that prevented me from finishing the Write-up of my Theory.
>
> My typology did not seem to fit—I kept wondering how I include it as part of the theory. There was overlap on conceptualizations: when I wrote about my basic social process (BSP) I was writing a last piece to every BSP phase to explain what could stop the BSP—I would connect with pre-conditions of "subverting rules" and its consequences of "benign neglect." It felt so laborious and not particularly enlightening. There just seemed to be so many gaps.
>
> Helen explained that an overlap is a sign of under-conceptualization and that a higher conceptualization could get rid of the overlap. She saw that I had too much information and it looked as though I was going for "full-coverage." Perhaps, she suggested, there could be several core categories.
>
> Next Steps: Be working with the Memos and the Concepts (don't go back to the data— that is too much detail). Think about the study differently. Where I have "description—try to lift the description and move to a higher conceptualization."

Discovering that I did not meet the four criteria was disappointing. However, given that the framework must emerge and be grounded in the data, it also told me that I had to continue sorting memos (and writing new ones) as well as looking at how the concepts I already had related to the core variable. As I reviewed how the concepts related, I was also able to reduce the

descriptions and raise the conceptualizations to a higher level. From here I was able to merge the concepts and, in doing so, the numbers of concepts were reduced.

For example, since "subverting rules" and "benign neglect" could have been categorized as either a structural condition of the school environment or a consequence in family life, they were respectively merged with the higher conceptualization of *regimenting* and *perpetuating harms*. Now *regimenting* and *perpetuating harms* both fit with respect to structural conditions, which fed into the framework discussed in the next chapter.

Ethical Considerations

Ethics for this research project was guided by the three main principles found in the TCPS 2 – *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*.[39] The guiding principles of the TCPS 2 are "Respect for Persons, Concern for Welfare, and Justice" (2010, p. 6). Chapter 9 of the TCPS 2, "Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis People of Canada," is especially relevant because the guiding principles are reflected in an Indigenous context. For example, the first principle states that "Respect for Persons" ensures the "securing of free, ongoing and informed consent" for all research participants who have attended IRS or are descendants of a survivor (TCPS 2, 2010, p. 113). As stated in the TCPS 2, Indigenous People believe that respect extends beyond the individual to the distinct world views that encapsulate knowing the importance of ancestors as well as looking forward to future generations (TCPS 2, 2010). "Concern for Welfare" includes concern for the individual in addition to the collective group and more broadly, "requiring consideration of participants…in their physical, social, economic and cultural environments" (TCPS 2, 2010, p. 113). The

[39] See http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/Default.

principle of "Justice" provides a balance of power between the researcher and the participants. It ensures that past injustices in research, whereby local knowledge was devalued or seen as primitive or superstitious, are not repeated.

Concomitantly, these three principles protect study participants from unethical research(ers) as seen in research studies of the past when Indigenous children were used in government experiments. For example, Dr. Ian Mosby's research (2013) revealed that while parents thought their children were being taken care of and receiving an education at IRS, government-employed physicians were doing medical experiments on undernourished children to further their research on the long-term effects of malnutrition. These experiments paralleled the Tuskegee experiment on African-Americans with syphilis who were never offered treatment but whose conditions were being observed (Daschuk, 2013).

As Mosby reports, bureaucrats, scientists, and other experts collectively "exploited their 'discovery' of malnutrition in Aboriginal communities and residential schools to further their own professional and political interests rather than to address the root causes of these problems or, for that matter, the Canadian government's complicity in them" (2013, p. 171). By the end of the study, "the benefits were disproportionately skewed towards the professional interests of … the researchers" and the argument that the added risk to the children's health would result in significant long-term positive effects simply did not happen (Mosby, 2013, p. 169). This example illustrates the extreme steps taken by government to deal with, and exploit, what they considered the "Indian problem" (Castellano, 2006). However, this tragic example of wayward and damaging research exemplifies the need to adhere to Indigenous research ethics, which I have embraced as fundamental to this particular study. Adhering to the grounded theory procedures promises that the emergent theory is grounded in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Embedded in the TCPS-2 policy are the principles of OCAP (Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession), which affirms the rights of Indigenous People to self-determination over research. The grounded theory methodology was used for this study in addition to implementing the principles of OCAP; the data collected via participant interviews guided the research. Participant self-determination was respected by ensuring theoretical concepts emerged only from information freely shared by participants. Participants in this study provided consent for the data to be housed by the researcher and a copy held at the University of Ottawa for seven years following the completion of the study (see consent forms in Appendices C1 and C2). Individual participants own their data and had the option to withdraw it at any time during or following their interview. Following the successful defence and submission of the final manuscript, the thesis will be shared with all participants.

Through the process of constant comparison and exploring hypotheses with existing data, provisional concepts and theories were developed. These were reformulated by checking them against new data until a theoretical framework emerged. This framework is what will "account for the participants' main concern … Grounded theory is what is, not what should, could, or ought to be" (Glaser 1999, p. 840, as cited in Denscombe, 2007, p. 90).

Additionally, in accordance with University of Ottawa Ethics Recommendations, the data will be held in perpetuity versus being destroyed at a specific time. The Research Director at Shingwauk College in Sault Ste. Marie approved this research study data being stored in the college archives, thus allowing access to future Indigenous researchers and community members. He also confirmed that in the future, any community member or researcher (Indigenous or non-Indigenous) would have to follow Algoma University's (Shingwauk College) ethical processes and guidelines to protect the data against any unethical use (May 4, 2015).

When doing research with Indigenous communities, it is crucial that as part of the interview process, trust and the notion of a safe space are established through the initial conversation. The participants were given the opportunity to bring an Elder or friend of their choice to the interview. It was also important to ensure each participant was comfortable with the location of the interview and to address any issues they may have had.

The interviews were conducted at locations where the participants (and I) felt safe and secure. Some appropriate locations considered were local community centres, Friendship Centre, the residence or workplace of the participant, or the Indigenous lounge at the university. Ultimately, I interviewed participants in four different settings in Ottawa: the University of Ottawa's Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies meeting room, a coffee shop, my own home, and the home of a participant. In Sault Ste. Marie, I interviewed one participant in her office and two others in their home.

In total I heard and/or gathered 32 stories but included 29 stories into this study. There were 12 face-to-face interviews in total, 11 stories heard at the TRC Gathering, and another six stories incorporated from the AHF "Where are the children" website, the TRC "Witnessing the Future" video, and Agnes Grant's book of women's stories, *Finding My Talk*. Another three stories were heard at a community event. A few of the stories were from men, and were eerily similar to the ones that the women shared. Because of an overlap of participants at two events (and excluding the men's stories),[40] I included 29 stories in this study.

[40] At the time I heard the men's stories I was working towards finding the core category but was still uncertain. The men's stories affirmed I was on the right track as the men were also concerned about "sick" behavior.

To provide support, I offered to do ceremony. For some participants, but not all, we included ceremony by laying tobacco and smudged either before or after the interview. The research participants guided the research process; I acted as facilitator.

As a researcher, I do not interpret the data alone. The participants had the opportunity to provide feedback throughout the research process and during focus group discussions. The focus groups were composed mainly of individual interviewees, but one focus group also included a Métis woman who is known in the community. A thank-you card and a gift of appreciation, a $10 card for either Tim Hortons or Starbucks, were mailed to the participants after each interview and/or focus group discussion.

When preparing for the recruitment of participants, I created a sample email (Appendix A) and recruitment posters (Appendices B1 and B2) that I distributed to different contacts and agencies that agreed to assist in sending the information to potential interviewees. When I met with participants, I outlined the objectives of the research project and explained the consent form (Appendices C1 and C2).[41] After answering any questions, I asked participants to read and sign the consent form.[42] Participants could also choose to have the consent form read to them and to provide consent in writing or orally. Once I explained the goals of the study, each participant immediately wanted to tell her story. I found trust was established rather quickly as each woman shared her story and felt safe enough to display a variety of emotions.

[41] Each of these Appendices were included and reviewed along with the submission of the Ethics Application Form.
[42] The consent form states information gathered will be anonymized. Participants were also given pseudonyms to protect their identity. However, the majority of the participants requested that their names be published in this text. They felt that having their names published would encourage other family members to talk about the IRS experience and encourage the releasing of secrets.

The interviews lasted anywhere from 20 minutes to a full hour. I took notes and recorded the interviews, which I later transcribed. I started each interview with casual conversation about the participant's interest in the research project or another appropriate topic. From there I asked the participant to tell me about her experience and how IRS affected her life. At no time did I ever ask a participant to tell me about any traumatic event she may have experienced. I let the women know that they only needed to share what was important to them.

Next, I developed different interview questions based on the initial respondents' interviews. The process flowed in a semi-structured interview format. At times, I would prompt a participant for more information by using non-leading questions whenever possible such as, "Tell me more about that." The interview process finished only when saturation was achieved. For this reason, I could not pre-determine at the outset of the study how many interviews I required.

Choosing GT over a Decolonized Methodology

In this section of Chapter 3 I will provide an explanation of Indigenous world views and perspectives and how inclusion of Indigenous knowledge can challenge Indigenous researchers and students doing scholarly work in a Western institution. Comparison between aspects of training in quantitative/qualitative research is contrasted with the classic GT approach.

My study began by examining the phenomenon of the IRS experience. Given the historical and political implications of this substantive area, one may wonder why I chose grounded theory and not a decolonizing methodology like a circle process, or a medicine wheel model as a starting framework. For this reason, I begin by explaining what must be included in a decolonizing methodology and how incorporating this methodology is wrought with conflicts and contradictions for Indigenous researchers and students.

Challenges arise when Indigenous researchers and students are expected to use dominant research methods based on a Western paradigm, which could include training in quantitative and qualitative research methods. By contrasting these different types of research methods with the classic GT approach, I hope to show the importance of transcending the descriptive detail found in most research methods, and avoiding preconceptions. I want to show that by choosing the classic GT methodology, I have not only maintained an ethical approach to my research but also honoured both the Indigenous women as participants and the data that emerged through their stories. Ironically, by choosing the GT approach, I have moved towards a decolonizing practice to research. And whether the reader agrees or not, I have at the very least used grounded theory as a "transformative praxis" when doing Indigenous health research (Battiste, Bell, & Findlay, 2002, p. 84).

Incorporating Indigenous Principles

This part of the chapter focuses on a review of how people perceive the world and how world views come into play while undertaking scholarly endeavours. Given the dominance of a Eurocentric world view in the academic environment, this section elucidates how Indigenous researchers are not the ones leading the research and looks at the conflicts that arise when they attempt community-based research. This section closes with an example of First Nations research approaches grounded in the world views of First Nations people.

Generally, world views are described as "mental lenses that are entrenched ways of perceiving the world" (Olsen, Lodwick, & Dunlap, 1992, as cited in Hart, 2010, p. 2). A person develops a world view over a lifetime through "socialization and social interaction," although it rarely changes significantly; world views often contain incongruities as they slowly alter over time (Hart, 2010, p. 2). A world view is a "set of images and assumptions about the world …

Since a worldview is knowledge about the world, what we are talking about here is the epistemology or theory of knowledge" (Steinhauer, 2002, p. 76). Simply stated, "Self is the axis of 'worldview,'" according to cultural anthropologist Robert Redfield (cited in Steinhauer, 2002, p. 76). In every society, a dominant world view pervades (Olsen et al., 1992, as cited in Hart, 2010, p. 2). Given Canada's colonial history, it is the Eurocentric Self that dominates.

Guided by the "one worldview," Europeans effectively perpetuated the myth of Indigenous People having a "primitive culture" (Henderson, 2000, p. 255). Henderson (2000) explains the prevailing thinking that has created and sustained this myth: By constructing the illusory idea that Indigenous culture remains untouched and is unchanging, the dominant world view of Europeans promotes cultural understandings of how Indigenous People should "look and act" (p. 255). Moreover, "Eurocentric abstract thought," according to Henderson (2000), is assuming that regardless of heritage, all people should come together and move towards a common destiny; thus, those coming from a culture with a "failed savage past" will become part of a civilized future (pp. 260–261). These socially constructed and artificial notions of culture organized by Europeans have shaped the lives of Indigenous People and limited their future (Henderson, 2000). For this reason, Henderson (2000) rejects that the Eurocentric notion of culture is synonymous with world view from an Indigenous perspective. Indigenous Peoples' world view is so much more than what is suggested by Europeans. He avers this sentiment.

> The Aboriginal worldview asserts that all life is sacred and that all life forms are connected. Humans are neither above nor below others in the circle of life. Everything that exists in the circle is one unity, of one heart.
>
> I reject the concept of "culture" for worldview. To use "culture" is to fragment Aboriginal worldviews into artificial concepts. The worldview is a unified

> vision rather than an individual idea. Aboriginal worldviews assume that all life forms are interconnected, that the survival of each life is dependent on the survival of all others. Aboriginal worldviews also note that the force of the life forms is derived from an unseen but knowable spiritual realm. (Henderson, 2000, pp. 259, 261)

Leroy Little Bear (2000) has written about his interpretation of Indigenous philosophy:

> In Aboriginal philosophy, existence consists of energy. All things are animate, imbued with spirit, and in constant motion. In this realm of energy and spirit, interrelationships between all entities are of paramount importance, and space is a more important referent than time.
>
> Constant motion, as manifested in cyclical or repetitive patterns, emphasizes process as opposed to product. It results in a concept of time that is dynamic but without motion. Time is part of the constant flux but goes nowhere. Time just is (p.78).

Contrasting these values with those of Western Europeans, Little Bear considers Western Europeans "as being linear and singular, static and objective" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 82). I have paraphrased Little Bear's summary of these four mores below.

Time is a good example of the linearity of Europeans: Time is shown to move from point A to B and then from C to D. Linearity also shows itself in how Europeans organize socially, in structures that are both hierarchical and power-driven (Little Bear, 2000, p. 82).

Western Europeans' thinking processes are individualized and thus manifest in singular concepts such as "one true god, one true answer, and one right way" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 82).

Singularity also manifests itself in science when the researcher searches for "the ultimate truth, the ultimate particle" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 82).

The static way of thinking is typified by the experiential approach in science. An experiment begins with observation that happens in isolation and in an artificial environment. The experiment is precisely done "at a certain time and place" and will always manifest a conclusion to say "And, that's the way it is" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 82).

Objectivity is said to be essential in the sciences and is viewed as a process based in physical observation and measurement. The aspect of measurement is what is most emphasized, because from a scientific viewpoint, "observation by itself is not good enough" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 83). This, of course, suggests that anything subjective is not scientific because it is not measureable. Objectivity emphasizes materialism and prizes quantity over quality (Little Bear, 2000, p.83).

Some Indigenous scholars suggest caution in adopting the Western perspective of how we perceive knowledge (Smith, H. G., 2000). Smith is not so much arguing against science as much as he is arguing that a more critical perspective of science is imperative so that it will expose its colonizing potential (2000, p. 212). This exposure is important, because a power differential still exists whereby non-Indigenous academic authorities still maintain control over how research is conducted[43] in much the same way as colonialists and missionaries controlled the lives of Indigenous People in Canada. Therefore, the other side of the argument can be made for the decolonizing potential when Indigenous scholars in Canada are fully in charge of their

[43] Stated in conversation with M. K., August 7, 2014.

own research initiatives, developing research *with* and *for* Indigenous People much like the Maori have already done (Smith, L. T., 1999). However, within this "organic community context," the imbalance of power rears its ugly head once again, as Indigenous research is not seen as "real academic work" (Smith, H. G., 2000, p. 213). Often philosophers claim that "Native Americans and other nonliterate peoples do not really have a coherent view of the world because they have not yet conceived of the possibility and/or necessity of sequential and critical thought" (Gill, 2000, as cited in Hart, 2010, p. 4). However, according to Walker (2004, as cited in Hart, 2010, p. 4), one of the major tools of colonization is this marginalization of Indigenous world views.

There are those in leading Western research institutions who believe that Indigenous views and ways of doing research will only "ghetto-ize" Indigenous health research in the long term if Indigenous scholars do not adopt this dominant paradigm.[44] But who is actually doing the ghetto-izing? Certainly, it is not Indigenous researchers who attempt to meet Western scholars halfway, utilizing both Indigenous ways of knowing and learning Western ways of conducting research. It is the researchers maintaining that any world view contrary to the dominant Western paradigm should be "relegated to the periphery" (Hart, 2010, p. 4) who are ghetto-izing. Ultimately, the concern about ghetto-izing is a current-day form of colonial propaganda fuelled by the need to maintain an imbalanced power structure to the advantage of the dominant world view.

And this imbalance of power persists. Indigenous People are expected to "acquiesce to or fit within Amer-European versions of the world" while pushing their Indigenous world views

[44] In conversation with research colleagues in Burnaby, BC, July 2014.

aside (Hart, 2010, p.4). Many in the academic environment argue that there is no such thing as "an Indigenous perspective" (Battiste, 2000, p. xx) because they cannot see that there are alternative ways of viewing the world.

Yet the research landscape is changing and there is a new expectation that researchers submitting proposals for funding Indigenous health research must be inclusive of Indigenous Ways of Knowing and Indigenous communities must be a part of the research design and decision-making process.[45] However, there are still old-school researchers who submit proposals outlining the traditional models of research and who involve community only at the end of the research process. The reason for getting community involved at all is to Indigenize the research results.[46]

Ultimately, this retrofitting of research results is not about empowerment and building community capacity in research. Consequently, non-Indigenous researchers rarely adapt their research paradigms to meet the needs of Indigenous People. All too often, Indigenous scholars are forced to shape their research according to a positivistic research paradigm in order to meet the demands of the academic institutions (Smith, H. G., 2000).

Currently, those dominating and leading Indigenous health research in Canada are not Indigenous scholars but non-Indigenous researchers who have often caused misery and more harm than good for Indigenous People (Kovach, 2009; Smith, L. T., 1999; TCPS 2, 2010). While the word *research* conjures up ideas of new and exciting discoveries about our world and its

[45] As stated in the Canadian Institutes of Health Research Institute of Aboriginal Peoples' Health Strategic Plan. The four strategic directions outlined in CIHR's *Health Research Roadmap: Creating Innovative Research for Better Health* are inclusive of CIHR-IAPH's vision to improve Aboriginal People health outcomes as it aims to "reduce health inequities of Aboriginal People." See: http://www.cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/40490.html.
[46] As observed at a recent relevancy review of research proposals, Ottawa, ON, August 13, 2014.

people, Linda Tuhiwai Smith says, "The word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (1999, p. 1).

At this point the reader has been offered a glimpse into the "differing worldviews" (Stirbys, 2008) between Indigenous and Western Europeans and how they create challenges and conflict for those Indigenous People not adopting the dominant paradigm (RCAP, 1996). Conflict is ever-present for Indigenous People who want to conduct community-based research with their world view governing the research process as well as the development of the methodology.

Indigenous People can and have led research that is "respectful, ethical, correct, sympathetic, useful and beneficial" from the viewpoint of Indigenous People (Porsanger, 2004, p. 108). For example, the First Nations Regional Longitudinal Health Survey (RHS) is a community-based model shown to perform at the highest standards in research and that was developed from an Indigenous research paradigm.

The RHS is the first and only national research project grounded in the world views of First Nations People, including "self-determination, nationhood, self-governance and nation re-building." [47] It is based on the core values of trust and respect for First Nations People, communities, and Nations. The RHS is completely governed by First Nations People and follows the principles of First Nations ownership, control, access, and possession (the OCAP principles, mentioned earlier). Quoted from the RHS "Code of Research Ethics" the OCAP principles are explained below (Harvard Project, 2006, p. iii).

[47] http://fnigc.ca/sites/default/files/RHSPhase2Results-HCpresentationSept272012FINALFORPUBLICATION.pdf

- Ownership refers to First Nations communities own information collectively in the same way that an individual owns their personal information.
- Control refers to the fact that First Nations are within their rights to seek to control all aspects of research and information management processes which impact them.
- Access is the right of First Nations communities to manage and make decisions on access to their collective information.
- Possession is the mechanism by which ownership can be asserted and protected.[48]

The RHS was developed "to support First Nations research capacity and control and provide scientifically and culturally validated information to support decision-making, planning, programming, and advocacy with the ultimate goal of improving First Nations health" (Harvard Project, 2006, p. 1).

In 2006, Harvard University conducted an independent review of the RHS. Its purpose was to evaluate the quality of the research design and the uniformity of the research process that was guided by the principles of OCAP (Harvard Project, 2006). According to the Executive Summary of the Harvard University report, the independent review team viewed the key findings to be notable. They stated,

> In summary, the review team was impressed with the overall quality of the 2002/2003 RHS, its consistency with previously validated survey research practices and its innovations … Compared to other national surveys of Indigenous people from around the world, the 2002/2003 RHS was unique in First Nations ownership of the research process, its explicit incorporation of First Nations values into the

[48] First Nations Regional Longitudinal Health Survey. "Code of Research Ethics." Adopted July 25, 1997; revised January 27, 2004 (cited in Harvard Project, 2006).

> research design and in the intensive collaborative engagement of First Nations people and their representatives at each stage of the research process. (Harvard Project, p. iv)

Thus, the RHS can be said to have effectively utilized Indigenous principles; it employs a process that is inclusive of Indigenous and theoretical approaches, methods, and rules (Porsanger, 2004). This approach demonstrates the decolonizing potential of a community-oriented methodology that incorporates Indigenous ways of "seeing, feeling, or knowing" (Cardinal, 2001, p.181). Conversely, Western academic researchers who seek a greater understanding of Indigenous problems define research generally as "an investigation or experiment aimed at the discovery and interpretation of facts" (Porsanger, 2004, p. 106). In the not too distant past, non-Indigenous researchers have skewed or marginalized the facts about Indigenous People, and have underestimated and devalued the "potential relevance of Indigenous knowledge" (Battiste et al., 2002, p. 83) in order to pursue their own professional research agenda.

Contradictions for Indigenous Researchers and Students

Even when Indigenous researchers are the ones leading a study, they encounter several contradictions when they attempt to carry out a research project within a Western academic setting. Harris (2002) outlines several contradictions that Indigenous researchers and students are faced with in the Western academic environment. The contradictions begin with the Western world view being largely unquestioned as a "knowledge-producing institution" perpetuating what are considered universal truths of Western ways of knowing (Harris, 2002, p. 188).

Indigenous students often ask where the opportunity is to bring forward their own Ways of Knowing, especially when English as the dominant language makes it difficult to convey Indigenous concepts (Harris, 2002). For example, from an Indigenous perspective, time is not found to be linear. “I remember that event which occurred 500 years ago” (Harris, 2002, p. 189) is a perfectly reasonable statement from an Indigenous perspective. From a Western viewpoint, it may sound illogical.

For most of us, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, our educational foundation is ruled by the “paradigm of ethnocentrism” and the three tenets of objectivity, empiricism, and reductionism according to Harris (2002, p. 187). Objectivity is achieved when the researcher who acts as observer can disconnect from those who are being observed; empiricism arises from the belief that “if it is real it can be measured” (Harris, 2002, p.188); and reductionism springs from the notion that “the whole can be known from an examination of its parts” (Harris, 2002, p. 188). However, Indigenous People would have to argue against this paradigm when it comes to knowledge creation. Thus, what follows is a brief review of the ongoing dialogue from different Indigenous scholars’ perspectives regarding the contradictions found within the notions of objectivity, empiricism, and reductionism.

Objectivity is relegated to a much smaller role in the creation of knowledge for Indigenous People. Martin (2002) states that:

> Knowledge is part of the system that is our Ways of Knowing. It is more than just information or facts and it is taught and learned in certain contexts, in certain ways and is purposeful only to the extent to which it is used. For instance, watching or observing is not a passive activity but the strength is in knowing what to observe and when to apply the knowledge gained from such activity. Our Ways of Knowing

> are embedded in our worldview and are an equal part of that system, not an artifact of this. They are socially refined and affirmed, giving definition and meaning to our world. Without "knowing" we are unable to "be," hence our Ways of Knowing inform our Ways of Being. (Martin, 2000, p. 7, as cited in Steinhauer, 2002, pp. 73–74)

Hampton (1995) argues that objective research is simply a falsehood.

> Emotionless, passionless, abstract, intellectual, academic research is a goddam lie, it does not exist. It is a lie to ourselves and a lie to other people. Humans—feeling, living, breathing, thinking humans—do research. When we try to cut ourselves off at the neck and pretend an objectivity that does not exist in the human world, we become dangerous, to ourselves first, and then to people around us. (Hampton, 1995, p. 52, as cited in Steinhauer, 2002, p. 80)

Western empiricism in certain types of research is not a useful approach to knowledge production from the standpoint of quantifying evidence. In research, questions that would apply to an empirical study are not the same questions that can be answered in a GT study and vice versa. Measuring the number of interviews, the pages of transcribed data, or quantifying human emotions is not relevant to a GT study.

From an Indigenous perspective, the elements of Creation like "the Great Spirit, the knowledge obtained from dreams, love of family and community" simply cannot be measured (Harris, 2002, p. 188). Quantifying evidence therefore does not factor in when developing a

framework that supports a broad conceptual snapshot of people's lived realities. Numbers simply cannot accurately measure how emotion or spirituality affect human behaviour.[49]

In addition, Indigenous empiricism is not defined as the measuring of what is real. Instead, it is about "watching and listening" (Castellano, 2000), or the three L's of "looking, listening, and learning" (Miller, 1996) (as cited in Steinhauer, 2002, p. 74). The three L's education system provides an information mechanism and feedback learning loop such that new information is threaded into existing information and, through additional interpretation, allows new (empirical) knowledge to emerge (Steinhauer, 2002).

Reductionism is yet another difficult tenet to follow for Indigenous People, because in the process of examining separate parts of a whole, the "synergy" between the parts gets lost (Harris, 2002, p. 188). Similarly, Wilson (2001) says that it is not the parts, ideas, or concepts that are most important, it is the relationship one develops with that part, idea, or concept (p. 177). Thus, it is the whole of the paradigm that "is greater than the sum of its parts" (Wilson, 2008, p. 70).

Together, the scientific tenets of objectivity, empiricism, and reductionism guiding the collection of data can be a rather limiting way to do research. The approach is viewed as incomplete in Indigenous terms as it does not consider how "spirit, emotion, and intuition" provide yet another source of knowledge and level of understanding (Harris, 2002, p. 188).

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[49] GT is not exclusive to qualitative research. This method can utilize quantitative and qualitative data because "all is data" (Glaser, 1998, pp.42–43). However, notice that I used an algorithm in this study to support the development of a typology of behaviours but that this was only possible after the framework was sufficiently developed.

Types of Research Methodologies

As a First Nations woman who came to the Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies to do research in the area of Indigenous women's mental health, it might make sense that I employ a decolonizing methodology. This methodology could come by way of an Indigenous methodology or a feminist methodology. After all, they encompass similar characteristics congruent with "relational qualitative approaches" (Kovach, 2009, p.25).

In considering possible methodologies, a grounded theory approach is faithful to the tenets of feminist methodology. The relevance of feminism for me stems from Reinharz's broad definition of feminist research as mentioned earlier in this transcript. I work with Indigenous women to bring their voices forward. Therefore, the feminist position I take is that as an Indigenous woman I do research that examines the realities of Indigenous women for the purpose of being a producer of more feminist knowledge (Reinharz, 1992).

While I expressly adopted a feminist stance to this PhD research study, I was not always comfortable doing so, because I was not convinced that it aligned with an Indigenous world view. Questioning my own approach, I asked myself if there was more than one type of Indigenous paradigm, and if so, which one I should employ.

During the years I have been at the Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies, I have read from the works of many Indigenous scholars (Adelson, 2009; Battiste & Henderson, 2011; Boyer, 2009; Cameron, 2010; Kovach, 2009a; Smith, L. T., 1999; St. Denis, 2007; Wilson, 2001, 2008; Yellow Horn, 2009) and I was struck by the similarities between feminism and what would be considered an Indigenous research paradigm. Feminism is about changing women's lives; reforming current research practices; finding one's voice; acknowledging diversity and knowing there is "no one truth"; creating social change and special relationships with the people

who participate in the study; and forging a connection between the researcher and the reader (Reinharz, 1992, pp. 5–18, 240–243).

Feminism and an Indigenous research paradigm are not necessarily incompatible. They are like sister methodologies. But is it possible to Indigenize other qualitative research methods such that they become decolonizing methodologies? This question is explored in the next section where I assess aspects of quantitative and qualitative research in relation to how I have utilized grounded theory in this study.

In the discussion above, I began with the assumption that research with Indigenous People and their experiences required an Indigenous research agenda given the significant differences in Western and Indigenous world views. However, I was pleasantly surprised by how this assumption was challenged when I opted to take a feminist approach and later found another option with grounded theory. GT is loyal to an Indigenous paradigm, and by virtue of its own methodological approach, the research process was found to be a meaningful one because it privileged Indigenous women's voices. This section continues to review decolonizing approaches by examining common assumptions found within normative research methods. The grounded theory method is shown to be distinctive and for this reason, I found this method was a good choice for this particular research study.

Quantitative research is seen to produce accurate evidence when testing theories by using, for example, different modes of statistical analysis to establish the "facts" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 15). Quantitative analysis is considered research that is "systematic" in its research approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 259), but can it be considered to have decolonizing potential? It can only present partial information regarding a substantive area. Questions are prepared ahead of the research study as part of its research design. If, for example,

the researcher asks questions regarding skills that may be helpful in coping with trauma among a subset of the population, the question may be asked: "Are there gender differences between males and females in learning coping skills to deal with or overcome trauma?"[50] To measure gender differences regarding the skills required to help cope with trauma, statistical analysis based on a nationally representative sample may be used to make inferences about that sample based on a probability statement that there is likely a 1% chance that the findings could not be replicated (in conversation with Blackstock, April 2015). However, this type of analysis can lead to a researcher not gathering certain types of data. The researcher may miss learning the "what" and the "how" of the research focus (Ercikan & Roth, 2006). For example, questions like "What types of skills do different groups learn to help them deal with trauma?" and "How do these skills promote resiliency in different contexts between genders?" are important questions to ask when working with Indigenous Peoples working towards overcoming trauma. However, the "how" of overcoming trauma may never be answered using this analytical method as it does not seek to draw a cause and effect relationship.

Using a quantitative method such as the one illustrated above is good for gathering one type of data or testing (an aspect of) a theory, but it is insufficient for the researcher who 1) wants to employ a decolonizing paradigm that is inclusive of macro and micro data, and 2) wants to develop a theoretical framework. Instead, following the rigorous process of grounded theory, which can incorporate all types of data—both quantitative and qualitative—can generate a "multi-concept, integrated theory" (Glaser, 1998, pp. 42–43). Thus, the method of grounded theory gets closer to the truth, evaluates well, is not about forcing data into a predefined

[50] Example based on question posed by Ercikan & Roth, 2006, p. 21.

(scientific) framework, and reduces both deductive forcing of quantitative data and "groundedless interpretations of quantitative fact" (Glaser, 1998, p. 43).

Thus, qualitative data analysis (QDA) -- the inquiry into social or human problems and how individuals or groups ascribe meaning to their lives, provides another option for gathering research data. During data analysis, the researcher must show sensitivity to the participants in the study; therefore, the voices of the participants are included in the emerging themes/patterns of behaviour (Creswell, 2013). The study is situated within the political, social, and cultural context of researchers, participants, and readers of the study, with a call to action built into the (complex) "description and interpretation of the problem" (Creswell, 2013, p. 37). On the one hand, QDA seems more closely aligned to a research process required by a decolonizing methodology; on the other hand, and in light of the "qualitative tussles" prepared by Holton (2009, p. 37), this methodology can also have its limitations.

In contrast, a grounded theory is not laden with descriptive detail; it provides a conceptual abstraction of latent human behaviour and patterns (an issue or concern) in a substantive area of study (Holton, 2009). A researcher using the GT methodology must have the ability to "abstract from empirical indicators (incidents in the data under analysis) the conceptual idea" without merely describing the data (Holton, 2009, p. 42). Abstracting the data to a conceptual level will theoretically *explain* behaviour found in the data rather than *describe* it (Holton, 2009).

Familiar QDA methods include case study, phenomenology, narrative analysis, and ethnography (Creswell, 2013). However, generalizability of findings outside of the research sample is unlikely for these four QDA methods. It is unlikely that any generalizability will occur, because the descriptive method can only position the study in a particular context, and in a short

time the study becomes obsolete (Glaser, 2007). For example, in vivo codes in this study such as *Choosing to love, grow, become whole*; *What I can re-do, is myself;* and *Thinking forward* would most likely remain at the lower conceptual level in a QDA study, but in a grounded theory methodology, they were further conceptualized as "envisioning."

Envisioning is a deeper conceptualization and generates a probability statement about the relationships between concepts: it is "a set of conceptual hypothesis developed from empirical data" (Holton, 2009, p. 43). Consequently, the reporting of facts is not necessary as the detail of the data is left behind and concepts that can explain latent social patterns of behaviour that can be generalized across different contexts are used instead (Holton, 2009). The goal is not a voluminous study filled with facts but a parsimonious theory (Glaser, 1978).

Conceptual methods used in GT may be adopted into any of the aforementioned qualitative research methods or when mixing the methods of quantitative and qualitative research. GT's iterative process and line-by-line coding in tandem with the constant comparison method allow an emerging theory to happen (Glaser, 1978). However, many novice GT researchers cannot maintain the abstraction of the data, often partly because of pressure from a thesis supervisor who follows their own preconceptions and practices of traditional training and partly because a novice GT researcher will lack skill in the GT methodology (Holton, 2009). Therefore, preconceiving the "how" (how the research should be framed), the "who" (who should be engaged in the study), and the "what" (what are the expected outcomes) limits the developing theory's full potential, leaving it thin and incomplete (Holton, 2009, pp. 38, 44). The goal of pursuing a GT study is to find and resolve the main concern of the study participants; thus, each variable that is coded must be relevant and earned as part of the emergent theory (Holton, 2009). A GT researcher cannot predetermine the extant theoretical framework to be

used (Holton, 2009). According to Holton (2009), the conceptual abstraction found in the GT method frees the qualitative researcher from the need to provide detailed descriptions of the data and multiple perspectives.

Towards a Decolonizing Methodology

According to Maurice Squires (1999), "all problems must be solved within the context of the culture—otherwise you are just creating another form of assimilation" (as cited in Kovach, 2009a, p. 75). Wilson (2001) says an Indigenous research methodology (i.e., a decolonizing methodology) has to move beyond just providing an Indigenous perspective. Research must be based on an Indigenous paradigm. But how can Indigenous People be sure they are utilizing an Indigenous paradigm? Evaluating Indigenous research methods begins with a series of questions as suggested by Wilson (2001, p. 78):

- What is my role as a researcher, and what are my obligations?
- Does this method allow me to fulfill my obligations in my role?
- Further, does this method help to build a relationship between myself as a researcher and my research topic?
- Does it build respectful relationships with the other participants in the research?

Likewise, Kovach (2009a) shows how a decolonizing methodology incorporates tribal ethics to ensure 1) that the qualitative methodology fosters Indigenous values, 2) that there is community accountability, 3) that research results benefits the community, and 4) that the researcher, as ally, will do no harm (p. 48).

I will further expand upon Wilson's (2001, 2008) criteria for evaluating an Indigenous methodology and Kovach's (2009a) tribal ethics to show how the grounded theory methodology, while not Indigenized to become an Indigenous methodology, certainly enabled the integration of Indigenous principles, which fostered a decolonizing process in my research. Additionally, my

role and obligations as a researcher will be further explained based on how the core characteristics of tribal ethics comprising inclusivity, relationality, respect, reflexivity, and meaning-making were incorporated within the classic ground theory approach.[51] The role I assumed as an Indigenous researcher was one of facilitating the research process; I took the lead from the women in my study based on what (data) emerged from their stories. Thus, it was my responsibility to ensure that the participants had ample opportunity to reveal what was most important to them from their perspective, experiences, and world view by sharing their stories. The classic GT methodology allowed me to do this while putting aside any preconceptions that may have arisen during the process (as discussed earlier).

"[Q]ualitative research is an inclusive place," according to Kovach (2009a, p. 27). I found inclusivity was built into the research process using the GT method in three ways: It offered ethical space for "tribal epistemologies" (Kovach, 2009a, p. 25); honoured the relational aspects between me, in my role as the researcher, and the participants; and allowed me, as the researcher, to position myself in the research by being self-reflective during the research process.

"Ethical space…describes a space of possibility",[52] (Tait, 2008, p. 33) in which I was able to build the relationship between myself and the participants. As the researcher, I was able to bring forward my Indigenous world view by way of my lived experience as a First Nation woman and fourth-generation descendant of a residential school survivor whose story is also

[51] While Kovach does not include the notions of "relevance, reciprocity and responsibility" (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 2001) I would argue that these additional 3R's are also part of what she calls tribal ethics.

[52] The concept of "ethical space" was developed by Aboriginal scholars in Canada and is most known by the work of Cree scholar Willie Ermine (Tait, 2008, p. 33). Ethical space provides a "space of future possibility" when it comes to ethics in research involving Indigenous People (Ermine et al., 2004, p. 43). Ethical space allows groups with distinct worldviews to take up the scholarly responsibility to begin "thinking and writing about other cultures in a respectful human manner" (Ermine et al., 2004, p. 43).

included as part of the larger research project. While not privileging any one epistemological stance, the GT process "honors multiple truths," which is consistent with what Graveline (1998) terms "*nisitohtamowin"*— a Cree word translated as "self-in-relation" (Graveline, 1998, as cited in Kovach, 2009a, p. 27).

This relational perspective, according to Kovach (2009a), is found within process and content. Characteristics of this include the personal preparations of the researcher: "motivations, purpose, inward knowing, [and] observation" and any other ways the researcher can speak to their own process during the course of the research study (Kovach, 2009a, p. 34). My personal preparations included activities and ceremonies that I carried out as part of my own healing journey. My focus was on continuing to take steps every day to strengthen my body, mind, and spirit. I realize that many scholars would not consider this as part of doing PhD work. However, given the nature of my PhD efforts to develop a wellness framework, I had to do the personal work such that my own body, mind, and spirit were strengthened. My personal healing work will give more legitimacy to the developing wellness framework. The net result of doing healing work was that it heightened my inward knowing and, coupled with my observation of why Indigenous People continue to suffer, increased my ability to feel compassion for others. Greater empathy increased my capacity to work with Indigenous women who have experienced trauma.

Kovach (2009a) says another way to evaluate process is through the inclusion of story and narrative from both the researcher and the participants. "[S]tory is methodologically congruent with tribal knowledges" (Kovach, 2009a, p. 35). As the researcher, my primary goal was to listen to the stories of the women whom I interviewed. I began by explaining the research process and answered any questions before receiving (signed) consent. After the interviews started, I shared both laughter and tears with the women, and in so doing, I could relate to the

stories they presented. I heard the pain and the hope in their stories. Through the constant comparative method, I was able to determine the latent patterns of behaviour from the women's stories and eventually the core category emerged. Discovering the core category enabled me to develop the theoretical framework. Concomitantly, I discovered the women's main concern and resolving process related to the effects of intergenerational trauma.

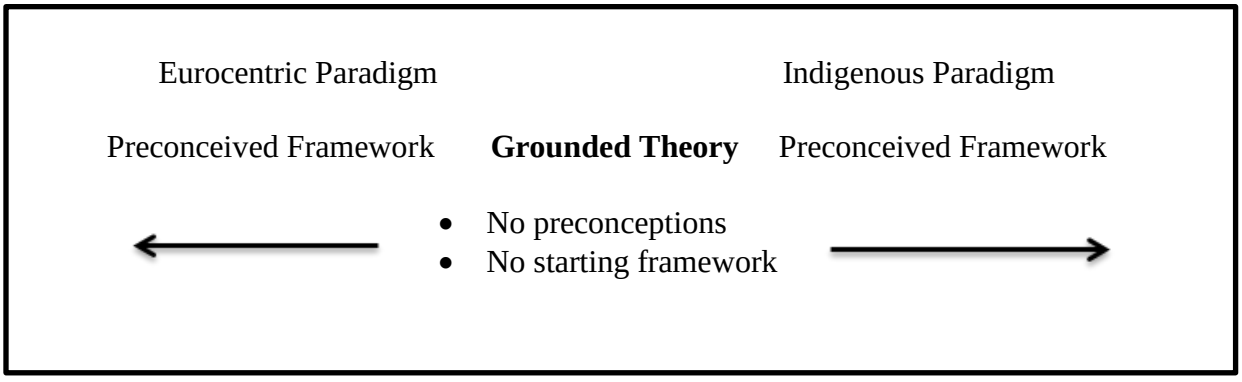
Storytelling and listening were utilized and privileged because the purpose behind the emergent framework was to honour the women's experiences and truths. In this way, respect was shown throughout the research process, because it was done "in a good way" (Kovach, 2009a, p. 35). Wilson (2001) says that when conducting research, "you are answering to *all your relations*" (original emphasis, p. 177). This follows my motivations as a researcher by keeping in mind what I knew about the experiences of my mother, but also the experiences of my grandfather and great-grandfather on my mother's side, of which I know little but could imagine given my knowledge of my mother's hardships. They each in turn involuntarily attended IRS. And I also kept in mind my hope for the next generations that they have greater opportunities to live prosperous lives.

I did not always think that grounded theory was the correct methodology to use for this IRS study. Early on in this research process I was challenged by a committee member about my using ceremony and smudging with participants before the interview process began. It was suggested that I was possibly making assumptions about my participants, assuming they wanted to partake in ceremony as part of my research method. It is true that many survivors and descendants of survivors do not want to engage in cultural ceremonies because of their indoctrination into Eurocentric norms and pernicious teachings about their own ancestral

knowledge. As a result, many Indigenous People learned to fear or outright reject their own cultural teachings (Adelson, 2009).

I had to reflect on my choices at one point and concluded that to insist on doing ceremony would be akin to proselytizing.[53] Later I realized that if choosing one of the dominant research paradigms was leading or biasing the research towards a predetermined outcome, perhaps I was also preconceiving what I envisioned as the decolonizing potential of the study with the inclusion of ceremony. And, had I automatically chosen to use an Indigenous methodology, how could I be sure that the outcome of a cultural framework was indeed authentic?[54] As stated earlier, grounded theory by virtue of its own systematic and rigorous process does not favour any one epistemological viewpoint (Glaser, 1978, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). For this reason, I concluded that classic GT provides a middle ground, as much as possible, to balance epistemological viewpoints and was a good starting point for my research study.

Figure 3.2: "No Preconceiving" Frameworks



[53] Ceremony and smudging were offered but never enforced on any participant. Some participated in a smudging ceremony while others laid tobacco and said a prayer.
[54] The emergent framework in this study is indeed authentic because it was directed by the voices of the Aboriginal participants.

Had I used a medicine wheel model, which is considered a decolonizing methodology, I would have preconceived the framework and possibly biased the research. This potential bias may have prevented me from finding the main concern, which is a greater phenomenon than simply the violence and aggression between Indigenous women. The phenomenon is a result of the colonial experience. The problem with stopping at any of the in vivo phrases—for example, "Bullying is within our families including lateral violence, mental and physical abuses"; "Abuse happened between family members while at school"; "The emotional stuff was so painful, I just could not cope"; "I felt worthless and shameful"; "I wish I had a different family"—is that my study may have implicated Indigenous women as inherently violent or weak.

Any reader who is not aware of Canada's colonial history, and by extension the injustices inflicted on Indigenous women, may draw an incorrect conclusion about why Indigenous women are even dealing with this problem. The problem and manifestation of normalizing violence found within Indigenous communities began outside of the spiritual lives of Indigenous women. But having been caught in the middle of the socio-political forces and "cognitive legacy of colonization" (Henderson, 2000, p. 58) —better known as Eurocentrism—has unfortunately resulted in many Indigenous women exhibiting behaviours reflective of the dominant values of colonial society. Indigenous women, who have been highly stigmatized, now carry the bulk of the burden of this normalization. I feel I must make this statement in defence of all Indigenous women who are still dealing with stereotypes—for example, "she's a drunk because she's Aboriginal"; "lazy Indians"; "stupid Indians brought it on themselves"—and for those working to overcome such statements and educate others about the reality of compounding societal stressors and the racism and discrimination still experienced by Indigenous communities.

I have found that the strength of the grounded theory methodology is that it can eliminate stereotyping of Indigenous women by taking the study farther by conceptualizing behaviours instead of using descriptive research methods (about people). Dominant modes of research (Western medicine, science, government health care policy) tend to marginalize (i.e., stereotype) by *describing* Indigenous People in deficit terms (Battiste, 2000; Tait, 2008) as opposed to *explaining behaviours* through conceptualization. Utilizing GT helps explain the phenomena and the breadth of the problem with conceptualized social behaviours and a discovered core category to resolve the problem.

Many researchers argue that developing an Indigenous research methodology when doing research with Indigenous populations must be ethical, culturally appropriate, and inclusive of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous ways of knowing (Porsanger, 2004; Smith, L. T., 1999; Wilson, 2008; Yellow Horn, 2009). Keeping any preconceptions at bay, I was able to achieve theoretical sensitivity such that my conceptualizations of the data came by way of my sensitivity to Indigenous world view(s) and my compassion for the Indigenous viewpoint from having lived with the consequences of the residential school experience and being a child taken into the welfare system.

In tandem, this sensitivity and my developing skills as a grounded theorist not only made me an ally, but also gave me a greater ability to capture the data in conceptualized form. In addition, when using the GT methodology, whatever is important to the participants will be revealed in time, but the researcher must be patient (Glaser, 1978). Through saturation of data indicators, what is most significant will emerge and what is not significant will fall away (Glaser, 1998). For example, I thought more women would discuss concerns about male violence against women. While some did, saturation was never achieved with these indicators and the data fell

away. What was more important to the women was how women related to *women*, which is pertinent to strengthening familial ties.

Poignantly, in addition to speaking of the aggression that occasionally occurs between Indigenous women, the participants spoke about the importance of female relationships to the well-being of the family. They spoke about the importance of "relational accountability" (Wilson, 2001, p. 177). Accountability and awareness for their own behaviour are what first establish respectful relations with others. When a woman lives well, so does the rest of her family (conveyed by Dr. King in conversation, Ottawa, June 2014).

Given the colonial relationship and imbalanced power structures often in place between academics and Indigenous communities, I believe employing a classic grounded theory was the correct approach—because of its flexibility, Indigenous principles could be incorporated. I was able to foster this decolonizing potential while not stifling the autonomy or self-determining nature in which the women shared their stories (Kovach, Carriere, Montgomery, Barrett, & Gilles, 2015). Thus, my research process upheld the standards of "tribal ethics" (Kovach, 2009a). I met my obligations to follow a research methodology that was accountable to the Indigenous women who participated in the study.

GT allowed for a respectful and relational process to flow and an emergent potentializing framework that is aimed at benefiting Indigenous women and their families. The women's words have been privileged throughout the research process; they had an opportunity to tell their stories and were given an opportunity to review the data either as draft text or emerging conceptualizations and also offer feedback as part of the focus group when I presented the draft framework. I sent out reports at points when progress was made during the course of the study. In doing so, I met my obligations and responsibility as a researcher but more importantly, I

demonstrated how community works by building respectful relationships that continued throughout the study. This process also resulted in feelings of gratitude and reciprocity with the presentation of a small gift as explained earlier in this manuscript.

I found it appropriate that I did not start off this study by centring on any one (tribal) epistemology, since First Nations, Inuit, and Métis women come from diverse cultures. Members from each of these groups became part of the research process. Nevertheless, this framework is not pan-Indigenous, although I heard from various communities about the need for a decolonizing, culturally relevant approach to deal with the intergenerational effects of IRS.

I believe this framework provides a modifiable (or "generalizable") model that is transferable between different Indigenous groups. An aspect of relationship building is shown in the basic social process of potentializing and is inherently a valued part of Indigenous culture. As Leroy Little Bear (2000) states, "there is enough similarity among North American Indian philosophies to apply concepts generally" (p.77). Any theoretical framework devised through a GT methodology must be generalizable across different contexts (Glaser, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Accordingly, how this framework will be used is deeply personal to the individual and will be utilized in different ways to meet their needs for reconnecting with and strengthening family ties. Each cultural group holds that we are all connected and that this interconnection draws meaning into our lives so that all may live well. In the next chapter I will provide an overview of the findings and the discovered theoretical framework that is grounded in the data.

Chapter 4: Findings and Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I explain the findings and the discovered theory. In the first part of the chapter, the findings include the struggles of Indigenous women who participated in this study, their main concern and behavioural typologies conceptualized as living the norm, between the norm, and escaping the norm. The dominant theoretical code that was discovered in this substantive study is a basic social process (BSP). As part of this discussion, the importance of using gerunds in naming phases of the BSP will be introduced. Conceptualized behaviours from residential schools (the conditions) and behaviours brought into the home (consequences) will follow.

In the second half of the chapter, I discuss the emergent core variable and the theoretical framework. The emergent core variable is discussed to illustrate how it resolves the main concern of the Indigenous women who participated in this study and who are finding ways to cope with the experiences and familial effects of IRS. Next, movement through a BSP is discussed in addition to the criteria of a BSP being met. This chapter closes with a summary of the theory.

The Main Concern

The primary core issue and their biggest struggle reported by the Indigenous women in this study was generally “sick behaviour,” manifested by taking on a colonial mentality and, more specifically, committing female violence against females. The women in this study have reported that their lives have been shaped by the conditions and consequences of residential school that created more conditions (and subsequent conditions) in the family home. More details to follow regarding the conditions and consequences, in addition to the different ways women in this study reported coping with intergenerational trauma, later in this chapter.

Study participants expressed a desire to change the family dynamic between females as they longed for a close, loving relationship primarily with their mother but also with their female children. They want a respectful and trusting relationship with their family members (siblings, aunts, uncles, and grandparents) and community members. They want to live by a moral ethic and to purge aspects of colonial socialization whereby they may exhibit *kakwatakih-nipowatisiw* behaviours, the maladaptive behaviours (i.e., colonial sick behaviours) that cause harm to others.

Indigenous women in this study work through the tensions in familial and community relationships by following a basic social process whereby they nurture and strengthen themselves so they do not exhibit sick behaviours and are then better able to cope with the kakwatakih-nipowatisiw behaviours of others. For example, women in this study learn to set boundaries, protecting themselves spiritually, physically, emotionally, and mentally.

In addition, these core issues have been captured in three categories as per the classic grounded theory research tradition: 1) the main concern, 2) discovered behavioural typologies, and 3) conditions and consequences of IRS. Gatin (2009) states, "People respond to conditions in their world in idiosyncratic ways but display patterns of behavior that have common elements" (p. 31). At this study's onset, the first few participants presented a common element but, being a novice grounded theorist, I initially overlooked it. I had asked the participants the grand tour question,[55] "How did the IRS phenomena affect your life?" or I simply stated, "Tell me about your IRS experience." Indigenous women in this study identified early on what they faced as part

[55] Classic grounded theorists eschew a formal interview guide. As a researcher, I start with the "grand tour question" and as new data emerge, new questions can be formulated. In this way, I as the researcher do not impose my professional problem onto the participants, and thus, any level of preconception is kept at bay (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

of coping with the IRS experience, but it took many more months of constantly comparing the data for me to recognize this as their main concern.

The participants characterized this as trying to overcome or avoid ongoing sick behaviours manifested by family members, particularly mothers, aunts, and in some cases grandmothers. The behaviours of family members described by the participants in this study included shaming, blaming, and using guilt, manipulation, and even violence. These behaviours are purportedly sourced in the way IRS administrators and staff treated the children. The Indigenous women spoke about contentious behaviours in a reflective manner. One participant reflected upon her mother's behaviour:

> She was just overly strict. She was so mean. It was like the army in my house. She was really clean and she ruled with an iron thumb …. [Chores] like washing the floor. … 4 tiles was all we were allowed to brush [and] …cleaning was very specific. It had to be spotless. If mother didn't like it, the cleaning had to start over but likely we were hit first. (story of S14)

Another participant who attended residential school spoke about her own behaviour and her own militant drive for "perfection" when performing house and work duties, like "perfectly fold[ing] towels and plac[ing] them in the closet"; she "now realizes how 'sick' this behaviour was and still is" (story of I2). These behaviours originated from the regimented schedules and intolerant atmosphere of the residential schools. Interestingly, perfectionism and militant discipline of daughters who did not correctly follow the cleaning regiment was described in exactly this way in an earlier research study carried out by Stout and Peters (2011).

The women in my study view the mentality of sick behaviours as "internalized colonization" in which former IRS students learned and then internalized negative and violent

behaviours (Harrison, 2009; Maracle, 2003). It was reported in this study how "gangs of girls" transferred the bullying mentality of IRS into their communities as adults (stories of C10, I2, I2[3], K1, M13, S14[2], S15[2]).[56] These behaviours found expression laterally—against one another (Maracle, 2003). "Bullying is within our families, including lateral violence, mental and physical abuses. Going through the IAP and CEP[57] processes individuals would get triggered and recall the abuse in school and how their siblings … hurt them" (story of S12[2]).

Others expressed the fear they still carry since leaving residential school. They have difficulty feeling secure even years after being discharged from school. One participant stated, "[I was] bullied severely by the girls; the girls were the ones who sexually abused me" (story of C10). Another participant says, "bullying was common in [our] family" (story of S14). The participants commonly expressed feeling unsafe or unable to trust others when they reflected on how they had to "keep on guard" (story of C10) or be "cautious with relationships and friendships" (story of S15[2]), especially when in the company of Indigenous women. It was stated by one participant that "one girl … was so abused by her stepmother that she now fears women" (story of J4). Another participant said, "[I am] so fearful of women who are toxic together like little clicks it triggers feelings of unsafety [*sic*] in me that are so high. This triggers nightmares" (story of C10).

Some women reported being generally "not trusting of others" (stories of K1, S12). The women in this study reported how their mothers (or grandmothers) experienced aggressive

[56] Note: the use of superscript should not be confused with footnotes. The superscript signifies a second or third time that a participant was interviewed but also signifies the number of times an incident was raised by the participant. If it was important enough to mention in several interviews, I have recorded it in the pseudonym (i.e. I2[3]) .
[57] These are different parts of the IRS Claims process. IAP is the Independent Assessment Process and CEP is the Common Experience Payment process.

behaviours and involuntarily carried these behaviours over into their own families, such that their daughters either witnessed harm being inflicted upon the mother (e.g., via intimate partner violence) or experienced it themselves as children, either at the schools or via parental or familial abuse. One participant expressed it this way:

> The intense unfairness is what is in my dreams. The reason my dreams are so full of blood is because I bled a lot while I was there. And the intense blood is because I bled a lot while in foster care and at IRS. (story of C10)

This participant also stated she witnessed a lot of blood when her mother was beaten. From these experiences over several generations, the impacts are seen in the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of former students (Harrison, 2009). One participant, a third-generation descendant of survivors, stated:

> I used to have a rage like you wouldn't believe. When I was younger I would go out almost every night and I would fight. I would beat men and women brutally where I would black out and I wouldn't even know what I was doing. (Story of S14)

Additional testimonies of abuse and hardships were heard from survivors during the many TRC gatherings. For many IRS survivors and their families—as reported directly by participants in this study and through survivor testimonies at the TRC—the longer-term effects of the children's experiences showed up in the form of for example, alcoholism, drug abuse, or other forms of self-destructive behaviours. For many children, those who ran the residential schools destroyed their life foundation and affected their personal and cultural identities. And when these children returned home, "[t]he support and validation that these students needed to resolve their painful experiences and reconnect with traditional teachings was often not available

from parents, who were themselves dealing with the trauma of residential schools" (Anderson, 2011, cited in Hansen, p. 6, in press).

Thus, many former students struggle with knowing who they are. Family connections are lost and they question where they belong. One former student questioned,

> Who am I? That's what I ask myself on a daily basis. What do I do with my life? Where do I fit in? Where do I belong? I feel like I don't belong here. I don't know if I'll ever belong here. I don't know if I'll ever be accepted by my people but I'm here and I'm struggling. (Story of I6)

By virtue of sharing their stories, there remained a flicker of hope despite their sadness: "Finding one's identity is important" (story of D17), "one day I will find me (I'm a lost little girl) (story of E23), and "[I'm] still on my journey to healing—crying for my spirit to be whole" (story of SL18). Some women were made to feel unwelcome in their own territory: "Indians were calling Indians 'squatters' on their own land" (story of C9); and others were made to feel small: "I feel hopeless when Mom speaks to me like this" (story of S15). The pattern of internalizing colonial attitudes reflects the conditions of Indigenous People and how they have been so dramatically affected; according to Churchill (1998), they no longer require priests or Indian agents, because they have learned to do the oppressing for themselves (cited in Martin-Hill, 2003). Internalizing negative behaviours and feeling fear and anxiety about relationships with family members that most people take for granted have contributed to the IRS children feeling less secure in their own identity. The study participants expressed having difficulty maintaining personal relationships with their mothers, aunt(s), siblings, and extended community.

Without connections to family and community, cultural knowledge is less likely to be transmitted. With familial connections having been disrupted, the offspring of residential school survivors are challenged to "sustain a sense of self-continuity" (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998, p. 3). Without self-continuity—a positioning of who they see themselves to be within the family structure—Indigenous women in this study reported (sometimes) feeling detached from their loved ones. Concomitantly, without culture and nurturing relationships, they begin to feel a sense of alienation. As stated, many could not cope when they returned to the reserve, since "the residential schools had alienated them from their own culture" (story of E11). And this sense of alienation continues in other ways when certain maladaptive or negative behaviours are not recognized. For example, one participant shared: "My two sisters have shown irrational behaviours over the years and I see they are in great emotional pain [but] neither of them can recognize any form of reconciliatory actions from their siblings" (story of C16).

Thus, it was observed throughout this study that it did not matter if someone was a direct survivor of residential school or many generations removed—the stressors and struggles continued because the pattern was set. What did matter was a level of awareness. Change could only occur if people were aware of their behaviours and how they affected others' well-being. Without awareness, however, the life foundation remained in a crumbled heap and the possibility of feeling whole remained elusive.

Little Bear (2000) explained the fallout from an Indigenous perspective:

> Wholeness is like a flower with four petals. When it opens, one discovers strength, sharing, honesty, and kindness. Wholeness works in the same interconnected way. The value strength speaks to the idea of sustaining balance. If a person is whole and balanced, then he or she is in a position to fulfill his or her individual

> responsibilities to the whole. If a person is not balanced, then he or she is sick or weak—physically, mentally, or both—and cannot fulfill his or individual responsibilities. (p. 79)

Therefore, the in vivo term *sick* is meant to convey how many former residential school students struggle, or are unable, to fulfill their individual and relational responsibilities to their families and communities. Speaking about residential schools necessarily engages symbolic and symptomatic colonial oppression. With that in mind, I initially conceptualized sick behaviours as akin to "perpetuating colonial sickness," since the residential school policy was part of the colonial agenda. However, the depth of the meaning cannot be fully conveyed in the English language as it does not entirely capture the conditions of the schools and consequences of the (historic) colonial pathologization of Indigenous People (as discussed in chapters 1 and 2).

***Kakwatakih-Nipowatisiw*.** One cultural way of thinking about this that helps to nuance the meaning behind *sick behaviour* is captured in the Cree language as *kakwatakih-nipowatisiw*. This Cree term is much like a two-sided coin: one side represents the conditions of residential schools and the other the consequences. One side cannot exist without the other and this co-dependency is understood as the cycling of conditions-consequences and meaning behind sick behaviour. *Kakwatakih* means more than psychological, physical, and emotional abuse; it means torture (as explained to me by Elder Starblanket). In the most extreme cases at IRS, those following the colonial and religious agenda abused children to the point of torture, resulting in the death of a healthy mind and spirit.[58]

[58] Gone (2013b, p. 80) reports that it was not uncommon for IRS staff members to perpetuate acts of violence on the children, including sadistic acts of torture (e.g., "the repeated insertion of a hat pin into a child's rectum," Assembly

The Indigenous women in this study are concerned about their spiritual life and the spiritual lives of their sisters, aunts, mothers, and grandmothers. As stated, "the authorities stripped away the culture and spirituality of the children" (story of S12[2]) and many are now working to regain their spirituality. IRS contributed to deadening their spiritual life, and now many say their spirit feels empty. Indigenous women in this study spoke about the bullying and the violence between Indigenous women; they believe that the underlying causes for this behaviour relate to dealing with the direct and intergenerational trauma of IRS.

It is understood in many Indigenous communities that those who engage in kakwatakih have "sick" minds and spirits. So, the harm of kakwatakih against children over many years burdened them with carrying *nipowatisiw*—the torment of carrying a deadened spirit well into their adult years. Some of them began to behave like many of the former IRS staff or the *okakwatakihiwew* (the one who torments and/or tortures).

In the film *We Were Children*, former IRS student Glen Anaquod reflects on the behaviours of school officials when he asks what kind of god would allow people to do such things to children.[59] Former National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations and Elder Noel Starblanket echoed Anaquod, asking, "What caused these people to do the things they did? What caused their spirits to be dead?"[60] Any examination of this question is well beyond the scope of this thesis, but much evidence has already demonstrated how kakwatakih was directed towards

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of First Nations, 1994, p. 51). And for some children, actual death of their body and spirit occurred. In Chapleau First Nation, featured at the beginning of this text, more than 80 students were estimated to have died at the schools in a 10-year period.

[59] This film was produced by the National Film Board (2012). See http://aptn.ca/wewerechildren.
[60] Personal communication, July 30, 2014.

and affected the lives of Indigenous children and their extended families (see literature review). Much like the myth of the "firewater complex" that erroneously states that First Nations People are "constitutionally predisposed to alcohol cravings, incapable of moderate consumption, and especially given to impulsive, often destructive behavior during bouts of intoxication" (Thatcher, 2004, p. 195), kakwatakih-nipowatisiw is traceable and associated with multigenerational abuse and caustic conditions imposed by colonial elites. No matter what one's emotional capacity, it was nearly impossible to prevent kakwatakih because of its pervasiveness in the schools.

The behaviours of kakwatakih were internalized as nipowatisiw by the children, and the compounding effect of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw was subsequently perpetuated when they directed these behaviours towards their own families in general, and their female children in particular. Consequently, the women in this study conceded the accuracy of Battiste's words: "We discovered that we could not be the cure if we were the disease" (2000, p. xviii). Indigenous women in this study learned/are learning how to overcome the many types and levels of behaviour associated with kakwatakih-nipowatisiw. Their hope is not only to heal themselves but also to prevent the generational transmission of such behaviours. The Indigenous women in this study chose to follow a basic social process to resolve their main concern.[61] This process is further explained below. Next, I introduce the typologies and conceptualized behaviours discovered.

[61] Despite their challenges in dealing with these behaviours, the majority of the women I interviewed did not seek Western approaches or clinical support to address the issues they faced. Instead, they chose to follow a BSP.

Behavioural Typologies

Three typologies of conceptualized behaviours emerged in this study and are shown in Table 4.1.[62]

Table 4.1: Behavioural Typologies

	Living the norm	Between the norm	Escaping the norm
Behaviours	Aggressive	Sometimes aggressive but wants to be less so	Empathizes with those *living the norm*
	*Controlling	Sometimes controlling but wants to take more control of their life	Taking control of their life; achieving autonomy
	Low emotional meter: Inability to emote a range of behaviours	*Medium emotional meter:* beginning to emote but cautiously	*High emotional meter*: High ability to emote; learning a range of emotions
	Cannot express love	Learning to express Love	Feel love for themselves and others
	Low self-esteem	Increasing self-esteem	High self-esteem
	Low volitional and self-awareness (not able to take action)	Increasing volitional and self-awareness (ability to take action is increasing)	High volitional and self-awareness (takes action to create change)
*Note: As observed in this study, Indigenous women internalize the oppression and it manifests as either controlling behaviour or victim behaviour (e.g., being controlled by others).			

The "living the norm" type suggests that aggressive and controlling behaviour is the norm. The norm, however, is paradoxical: While violence and aggression have become normalized, they are not the way of cultural life of Indigenous People but the legacy of IRS. The living the norm type exhibits low self-awareness and how their own behaviours have caused harm to others—especially to other women. People exhibiting these behaviours often experience feelings of helplessness and/or lack the capacity to achieve the life they wish to live by changing

[62] Two typologies came by way of discussion with my grounded theory mentor, Helen Scott, in March 2014.

their own behaviours. Within living the norm, there are two sub-types: the one who controls others and benefits from it, and the one who, out of fear, is controlled by and conforms to the wishes of others. Those who are controlled are often denied opportunities to live an autonomous life. The controller and the controlled are both in bondage to their emotional baggage. Neither is able to achieve a level of autonomy or feel a sense of freedom.

The "between the norm" type may also comply out of fear, but finds ways of managing the norm so that at least part of the time they are living autonomously. Individuals who fall under this type are open to learning new behaviours, because from time to time they may exhibit behaviours of "living the norm." They are also cautious in showing emotion: both anger and love and they are learning it is okay to be expressive with their emotions. The challenge for them is maintaining healthy behaviours and learning new ones while learning how to dissociate from those who exhibit maladaptive behaviours.

The third typology discovered in this study is the "escaping the norm" type. Individuals who fall under this category have changed their own behaviours sufficiently to have escaped "living the norm," and live life without fear of either being controlled or acting in a controlling manner. In this study, Indigenous women who are escaping the norm embrace their birthright to live as autonomous human beings by relearning the Indigenous teachings, spiritual ways,[63] and how to live a life of balance. This process of relearning Indigenous ways of being enables them to (re)create a loving family environment.

[63] Spiritual ways involve more than simply participating in ceremonies or religious events. During this study, I discovered that spirituality can be found in other ways, such as spending quiet time on the land or the water. Walking and feeling the sun can also be a spiritual and grounding experience. Spirituality also extends into feelings of gratitude whereby women can feel thankful for new opportunities to change their lives and work towards more loving relationships.

It should be noted that there is some fluidity within these typologies as they are not fixed. In the Indigenous women's stories that were shared, there is evidence that there may be some movement between living the norm, between the norm, and escaping the norm. The goal for Indigenous women in this study, however, is to change their behaviours enough to move across the continuum and achieve the escaping the norm types of behaviours.

The participants interviewed did not necessarily report lesser maladaptive behaviours (i.e., less-sick behaviours) among the third-, fourth-, or even fifth-generation descendants of residential school survivors, but there were instances of less-maladaptive behaviours among some direct survivors of IRS compared to those among women many generations removed from the experience. From interviews with the children or grandchildren of survivors and with direct survivors, I concluded that maladaptive behaviours were not a result of the IRS experience alone but could be a result of experiencing maladaptive behaviours of family who attended residential school in addition to systemic racism. I also discovered in this study that it is the women's level of awareness that contributes to their being able to differentiate between healthy behaviours and harmful behaviours (see Figure 4.1). The awareness level determines the motivation to make changes.

Figure 4.1: Typologies

Awareness connotes one's ability to recognize how kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (i.e., perpetuating colonial sickness) happens: the conditions, consequences, and behaviours of others in addition to a person's own reflexive ability to recognize how their own behaviours create

blessings or conflict for others. What I discovered initially is that awareness levels and levels of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw are inversely related. Low levels of awareness are correlated with high levels of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw. To add to this developing theory, a third typology eventually emerged and was included:

- When there was a high level of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviours, there was a low level of *awareness* (i.e., living the norm).
- As the level of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviours adjusted, it was equal to the level of awareness adjusting (i.e., between the norm).
- When there was a low level of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviours, there was a high level of *awareness* (i.e., escaping the norm).

  These typologies demonstrate three main patterns of behaviour and relationship.

However, there are many more subtleties of behaviours nestled between each of these main typologies. These typologies emerged from the data and seemed apt to explain a very complex social phenomenon resulting from the residential schools experience. During my analysis, when the typologies emerged, I continued with the use of constant comparison and asked, "What behaviours are consistent between all three emerging types and which behaviours vary?"

What I also observed through the emerging patterns of behaviours is that how Indigenous women in this study decide to learn new behaviours depends on how motivated they are to relate differently to their emerging awareness around their own trauma. In addition, they also weigh the gain that they believe they will achieve by doing so. However, it is important to note that "[w]hile many former students are on a healing journey that involves coping with the past and building the future, many are not" (Harrison, 2009, p. 157). The typologies represent how different the healing journeys are for individuals: "some are more difficult than others, others have never begun,"and some may never begin (Harrison, 2009, p. 158). Therefore, the potentializing theoretical framework may be useful to some, but not to all. Next, gerunds will be

introduced to explain their connection to a basic social process (BSP), and their importance to the emerging theory.

The Significance of Gerunds

According to Kolln and Funk (1998),

> because they are noun-like, we can think of gerunds as names. But rather than naming persons, places, things, events, and the like, as nouns generally do, gerunds, because they are verbs in form, name activities or behaviors or states of mind or states of being.

Gerunds are often used in grounded theories where a BSP is found to be the core category. The emergent theory in this study is based on a BSP theoretical code model (Glaser, 1996, p. ix). Gerunds therefore do well in naming core categories, sub-categories, and properties in a grounded theory study. The naming of behaviours is the ultimate goal of coding the data in conceptualized form. Accordingly, a novice grounded theorist has great opportunity to creatively name in gerund form any type of activity, behaviour, or state of mind in their search for a core category. A brief explanation of gerunds is necessary to fully understand how they relate to the naming of a BSP, categories, and properties in the emerging theoretical framework. Therefore, I will explain more about a BSP and the use of gerunds before introducing the main concern.

A Basic Social Process

Many different theoretical codes (TCs) can be discovered while working with substantive concepts. Glaser (2005) states, however, that substantive concepts must interrelate by way of a TC "to generate more general theories" (p. 98). The emergence of TCs should only occur at the end of a study if the researcher wants to remain true to the "inductive emergence approach" found in the classic grounded theory methodology (Glaser, 2005, p. 98). One common theoretical code found in GT studies is the basic social process (BSP). Some BSPs are

Cultivating Relationships (Simmons, 1993), *Working the System* (Stillman, 2007), *Opportunizing* (Christiansen, 2005a), and *Self-Situating* (Selymes, 2011). BSPs are described as theoretical reflections of the patterned, systematic movements occurring in people's social lives, which can be conceptually derived and better understood through the development of BSP theories (Glaser, 1978).

Glaser (1978) asserts that no sociologist or researcher can rework or change the basic substantive patterns of a BSP—they can only apply the most appropriate TCs to explain the variation of what is really going on. And since no two people can go through a process in exactly the same manner, this variation can be "captured" by a BSP theory, thus illuminating "what condition or variables" lie within these social patterns (Glaser, 1978, p. 100).

Stages or phases that have a temporal dimension are the prime property of BSPs and are known to be stable over time. But stages (or phases) can also account for change over time when different conditions are presented. In order for a BSP to exist, there must be at least two evolving stages (Glaser, 1978). Thus, the "process out" necessity of any BSP will focus on the patterned nature of how social behaviours are organized (Glaser, 1978, p. 97). When a stage of change occurs—that is, when movement at one point in the process begins or ends—adjustments are made by merely accounting for new conditions or consequences (Glaser, 1978).

Both Scott's (2007) and Nilsen's (2013) grounded theory studies enabled me to see the emerging BSP in my study differently. In Nilsen's (2013) study, she explains how changing conditions create consequences either as *phases* or *outcomes*, depending on whether movement continues or ends within the BSP. So, when changing conditions indicate movement over time, a new phase can begin as an earlier phase ends. In my study, movement to the next phase is indicated when an individual perceives a gain is to be made. For example, if by going through

one phase there is an opportunity to emotionally release and this release is achieved, the perceived gain is "releasing," and so it is at this point that the next phase is entered in the BSP.

Scott's (2007) study helped me see that changing conditions can be represented by the conditions of an Indigenous woman's own personal competencies and her personal relational system. And through developing the typologies, I found that changing conditions create consequences experienced as either a gain allowing movement to continue in the BSP, or a loss of or indifference to making a gain if movement in the BSP ends.

Accordingly, when a category, or a property of a category, creates consequences that are perceived as a *gain*, movement is indicated within the BSP; this movement over time is what makes "a CGT modifiable" (Nilsen, 2013, p. 41). This movement is not linear. Any phase or multiple phases of a BSP can result in movement through the categories or its properties. Conversely, if there is no movement to the next category or property in a BSP, this signifies a perceived indifference to or a loss of any possible new consequence. While both a perceived gain and a perceived loss are consequences to changing conditions in the BSP, a consequence only becomes a loss when movement in the BSP ceases to continue.

Glaser (1978) says there are two types of BSPs: a basic social psychological process (BSPP) and a basic social structural process (BSSP). Glaser states,

> A BSPP refers to "social psychological processes such as becoming, highlighting, personalizing, … and so forth. A BSSP refers to social structure in process—usually growth or deterioration—such as bureaucratization, or debureaucratization, routinization, centralization or decentralization, organizational growth, admitting or recruiting procedures, … and so forth. A BSSP abets, facilitates or is the social structure within which the BSPP processes. (Glaser, 1978, p. 102)

Therefore, a BSP can include both the BSPP and the BSSP (Glaser, 1978, p. 103). In my substantive area of Indian residential schools, and in the emerging theory, the BSPP refers to the behavioural patterns of *what* the women do while in the process of potentializing; *how* they do it—through an holistic mind, body, spiritual, and social connection—and *why* they do it—in order to resolve their main concern.

In this research study, the women expressed their main concern as kakwatakih-nipowatisiw, an outcome of the (structural) conditions and consequences of the operational policies of IRS schools.[64] A theory based on a BSP is able to "show theoretical completeness in accounting for the relevant behavior in a substantive area, by showing how the people involved continually resolve their main concern" (Glaser, 1996, p. xi). The BSP in this study was discovered to be potentializing, and to be one with which Indigenous women engage as a grounding force and moral compass to help them live in an ethical and caring manner, enabling new behaviours whereby they no longer tolerate sick behaviours from themselves or others. In this way, they have learned to break any behaviours related to kakwatakih-nipowatisiw. The intergenerational conditions and consequences of the residential experience are explained next.

Intergenerational Conditions and Consequences

While comparing the patterns of behaviour in the stories of the Indigenous women, the typologies began to emerge when I asked the question: "What is different about the women who

[64] Structural conditions also include the effects of discriminatory policies like the IRS policy implemented under the authority of *The Indian Act*. *The Act* can still prevent First Nations women from fulfilling their authoritative roles, as per Bill C-31. First Nations women are not allowed to maintain their customary matriarchal roles when they marry a non-First Nations male; this includes woman being unable to legally pass their status onto their children, make decisions about their children's lives, maintain the home after a marriage breakdown, etc. While I recognize the importance of Bill C-31 and *The Indian Act* as part of the structural conditions that still affect the quality of life for First Nations women, I will not go into further detail because it is beyond the scope of this study.

continue exhibiting kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviour and those who stop the cycle of perpetuating this type of behaviour?" Reflecting on the compounding structural conditions and consequences over generations that Indigenous women have to cope with assists in understanding the different behaviours found in the aforementioned types. When trauma is found throughout the generations, it creates compounding stressors along with the trauma.[65]

Therefore, the conceptual behaviours that emerged throughout the study and were found to be either a condition or a consequence will be included as part of the theoretical framework. This is important to demonstrate how IRS conditions and subsequent consequences are reflected in the intergenerational effects of IRS. These patterns of behaviour are explained in conceptualized form. The behaviours of the authority figures running the schools culminate in two conceptualizations and properties that explain the structural conditions found within residential schools. After a brief explanation of each of these concepts I will then name conceptual behaviours found within the homes of Indigenous families.

Structural Conditions of IRS

The main conceptualizations naming *the structural conditions* of IRS are "regimenting" (education, militant controlling, daily life) and "exerting force or power" (rules and relationships). Concomitantly, these conceptualizations are conditioning and oppressive phenomena. The structural conditions in process are the socializing structures used by the schools for Indigenous girls (or at home by survivors of IRS).

[65] See also www.wherearethechildren to listen to interviews with IRS survivors who explain their difficulties in coping with multiple stressors following IRS.

***Regimenting*.** Regimenting is found within the school and refers to the numerous ways in which staff regulated, controlled, and used intimidation to direct children in their daily lives. Having to live by a regimented schedule under the control of authorities (including school, Church, and police) meant that children had to learn a foreign world view imposed through the school curriculum. They learned that those in authority both inside and outside of the schools were considered to have superior knowledge systems. Those in authority rendered inferior the children's own cultural mores and value system. As a child, one former student was told, "We are here to kill the Indian out of you; we are here to kill you; we are going to kill your people one at a time because you are all heathens, savages, and pagans" (story of L7).

Regimenting was akin to jail time, as one former student remarked: "I did my time for seven years, and there were four significant lessons I learned in that institution: 'how to be silent,' 'how to be obedient to authority,' 'being Indian is to be inferior,' 'how to read and write'" (story of M13). Some state appreciation for the learning, but it is coupled with great sorrow: "I learned to read and write and speak English but at what price?" (story of M8). As a number of former students stated, they had to cut their hair and wear a uniform (story of M25), so in daily life they became "like little soldiers [and] had to obey" and the children were "controlled even when eating" (story of J24). Children did not have access to a "telephone to call home and letters were read by staff before they were handed to the student. Letters sent home had to be filtered and stamped by staff" (story of I2).

Many cannot reconcile the power that authorities held over them and the trauma they carry as a result of that. Some former students in the telling of their stories, report that in earlier generations "Indian agents and school principals exerted control over Aboriginal people" so much so that they chose marriage partners for the students following school life as another

means of maintaining "tight control" over their social lives (story of E11). In a similar way, this reigning control was extended over to Indigenous families when one participant stated, "My mom has zero patience. My mom was very militant [and] [t]here was no room for error as children" (story of S15). Another participant in this study reported that her mother "was just overly strict. She was so mean. It was like the army in my house. She was really clean and she ruled with an iron thumb. … [Chores] like washing the floor. … 4 tiles was all we were allowed to brush [and] … cleaning was very specific. It had to be spotless. If mother didn't like it, the cleaning had to start over but likely we were hit first" (story of S14).

This militant control is also demonstrated with threats following a violent experience: "the [RCMP] Officer had said that if I said anything about this assault my parents would end up in jail and I would go to jail" (story of C5). This same former student is angry that for half her lifetime she has carried "a filthy little secret and it's not just some schmuck that worked in the residential school, it's an RCMP officer, [and] it's really hard to face up to it" (story of C5).

Therefore, children at residential schools were regimented in education by learning a foreign curriculum and in their daily lives by having to obey like unquestioning little soldiers and to also keep secret experiences that traumatized them. Many lament the life they knew before residential school.

Exerting force or power. Exerting force or power refers to the repressive rules that children had to follow and speaks to how children were directed "to be" in relationships at residential school. For example, one of the rules was "might makes right" (story of M13), which justified the behaviours of the authorities, staff, and some students. These behaviours—inflicted by authorities/staff on students and by students on students—included abusing, bullying, controlling, sexualizing children, violence, shaming, blaming, and discarding (for those children

who died at IRS). For example, one of the women in this study reported that she was "[b]eaten up by older girls because the supervisor told them to" (story of C5). As another former student said, "I had never known violence before I went to Indian residential school" (story of I2).

Exerting force or power extended to not only government representatives but also school supervisors having authority over and above parents when it came to the children's welfare. Parents had no rights (Milloy, 1999). They were not given the courtesy and respect of being informed that their child was being transferred to live in a non-Indigenous home following school. As one former student said, "I was raised without my family. … They just took me from there [IRS] and they placed me in with … complete strangers" (story of I6). Most parents were also not informed when their child had died while in school.[66]

Thus, it follows that parents would not be aware that their children were being harmed by those same authorities expected to provide an education and a safe living environment. Young girls at residential school could not expect to be protected by school authorities, including nuns. One student recounted that a nun put a bag over her head and pushed her into the cigar-smoke filled room that she instinctively knew was the Bishop's. She stated that even 50 years later she remembers the abuse and can still feel him. When she became pregnant a short time later, the nuns, in an attempt to have her lose the child, strapped her and beat her, claiming she had tried to run away. Surprisingly, she was allowed home for a short time during the summer but she could not tell her mother about the sexual abuse. Upon her return to the school, the same nun would walk the young girl back to the Bishop's room, where she continued to be molested on a monthly basis for the next six years. She once asked the Bishop if she could also have some wine and he

[66] See the interviews on the AHF website in addition to the works of Miller (2006) and Milloy (1999).

replied, “You are much too young for that”; when she asked, “Then why am I here?” he obliged her and after that she drank wine with him during every visit (story of M21). She was an alcoholic by age 12. Another former student reported that she became bitter due to her residential school experience and that at one point she held such anger that she thought she “could kill,” especially when she saw a priest in a long robe (story of MS19). One student explained that she held a lot of anger but it was towards her grandmother whom she admitted she hated for the longest time without understanding why. Later in life, she realized that it was because her grandmother willingly sent her to residential school, where she was subsequently abused (story of R20). By the end of her time at school, this student had learned to hate herself as well as those who had authority over her.

Former female students had to learn how to cope with those who exerted force or power over their lives. The power was seen in the rules young female children had to follow while at the same time having to avoid speaking their truth and exposing the perpetrators or expressing their anger or trauma. In turn, this greatly affected the female children’s relationships with others, including those (females) who had authority over them inside the schools (nuns) and outside of the schools (grandmother, mother), and with their female peers within the schools. The “perpetuation of female on female violence and abuse” is not a well-understood phenomenon in Indigenous communities; it began in residential school and was then carried over by survivors into their families (Hansen, p. 15, in press).

In the next section I will outline the naming of other behaviours that became the *consequence* of living with the aforementioned conditions and the behaviours that were carried into family life. Participants spoke about the behaviours of their mothers and/or grandmothers. These behaviours were conceptualized under the term *perpetuating harm.*

Perpetuating Harm

Perpetuating harm conceptualizes how the conditions of IRS led to long-term consequences when girls became mothers and their maternal behaviours weakened the bond between themselves and their daughters. Perpetuating harm included such behaviours as the "no talk" rule, arresting development, cocooning, and denying the truth.

The "no talk" rule. The "no talk" rule is a socially conditioned behaviour learned at IRS and one that was often transferred into the family environment. Survivors were forbidden to speak about IRS and the abuses they experienced. As one participant stated, "You see how much IRS is totally an emotional topic and to be able to feel comfortable to tell stories that are so sacred … is a difficult challenge for some—including myself" (story of S12). One set of sisters who all attended residential school commented that they could not comfort each other: "My sister won't talk about it and my other sister won't talk about it" (story of C10). Another participant stated that there was "a lot of silence, no one talked about it" (story of J24). One told her story and admitted that she "could not talk without puking six years ago … I just want to have my life back" (C22). IRS survivors had learned not only that their needs were not important and would rarely be met, but also that they could be punished for expressing those needs. One woman recalled a memory of observing another student in the dorm: "While she stood there [being victimized], we treated her as if she was invisible … We were well trained to ignore [the humiliation and shaming] and remain silent*"* (story of M13). As children, they could also "be punished for someone else's action" (story of R20). Another former student expressed how she "could never tell her story to [her] mother or [her] children" (story of M25). Later, this "no talk" rule was transferred onto the offspring. Often, family members did not recognize the "no talk" rule as maladaptive but rather came to view it as normal behaviour. Offspring of IRS survivors also learned not to address their mother's behaviours that brought harm to them. However,

descendants and survivors alike expressed their determination to "break the 'no talk' rule" with the sharing of their stories (stories of C5, K1, I2, L3, J4, I6, L7, M8, C9,C10, E11, S12, M13, S14, S15, C16, D17, SL18, MS19, R20, M21, C22, E23, J24, M25, L26, M28, M29). The participants expressed a need for family members and greater society to know about the history of residential schools: "Our stories have to be shared for generations to come" (story of E23).

Arresting development. Arresting development is the consequence of children's maladaptive coping responses to trauma when their childhood emotions became "frozen," as many participants reported throughout this study. *Arresting development*, therefore, is a conceptual term used to explain how girls who became mothers had impaired parenting skills and a lowered emotional capacity. For example, one participant spoke about her mother and her frustration with their relationship:

> My mother was "stuck in a space, frozen in time." She was child-like and emotionally stunted … she didn't seem to grow up because she was suppressed as a child. There was often [an unnatural] role reversal [between us]—of mother and daughter. (Story of K1)

In speaking about her relationship with her children, one former residential school attendee said,

> My daughter had something to tell me but because … I was so distant from my own children … I couldn't hear them, I couldn't see them. And that comes from not knowing how to be in a family, in a community. (Story of I6)

One woman interviewed expressed her sadness about how her mother relates to her:

> Mother is very stuck, she's stuck in a victim role. Mother didn't get what she needed as a child, which is evident even now at age 56 … my uncle is similar in behaviour … They always say they never got hugged and were never told they were loved … Nobody talks about what really happened. Everyone in my family is emotionally stunted. (Story of C9)

Another participant expressed how limited her mother was in recognizing her own behaviours in not protecting her daughter: "And when I did tell my mother about the sexual abuse she said to me, 'Why didn't you go to the police?' I said, 'Mom, I was nine years old ... sorry, I didn't have my driver's licence'" (story of S15). Arresting development may explain impaired emotional development that affected women's parenting skills but the conceptualization of *cocooning* further explains the ways in which mothers attempted to parent without having any role models to guide them.

Cocooning. Cocooning is a term used to explain the parenting style that many mothers (and aunts and grandmothers) adopted following their experience at IRS. Cocooning closely aligns with arresting development such that the mother's emotional immaturity is reflected in her parenting skills and her attempts to protect her daughters from abuse. As the mother tries to protect her daughters, she inadvertently harms them, as this type of protection stifles the daughters' normal emotional growth. This strategy was so extreme that mothers ended up duplicating the arresting conditions of *regimenting* and *exerting force or power* they had endured at the hands of the nuns and priests. Grandmothers who thought they were doing right by their granddaughters inadvertently put them in harm's way. One former student stated that she forgives her grandmother for sending her to residential school where she was abused as she now realizes that her grandmother's intent was to support her in getting an education (story of R20).

Another participant commented that "I was not allowed to show affection; mother kept me cocooned from the outside [world]" (story of K1). This participant continued to say that as young women, she and her sisters were told "if we became sexual we also became vulnerable [to men]" (story of K1). So her mother did what she could to suppress her daughter's sexual maturation as a means of what she considered protecting her daughters from being abused by men. But the women in this study explained how violence was also used as a way to teach a lesson: **"**[My aunt] beat me so bad with a baseball bat … I was all black and blue. She did that because my marks were low" (story of S14). One mother began to realize how her inability to parent—and the inability of others like her—was causing maladaptive behaviours to emerge in her children: "We have watched our children become very dysfunctional because of us, …because of me, my girlfriend, and how she interacts with her family, her children" (story of I6). As a result, daughters of survivors can carry a sense of feeling unworthy: "I didn't realize how I have an innate belief that I am not likeable. I think I got this from my mother; this stems from the belief that 'I am not good enough to be loved'" (story of C16). Some mothers often used harsh language towards their daughters as a means of controlling them. For example:

> I watched as she would call down my older sisters. They were both called sluts. … Eventually, I was called a slut by my mother. …When my younger sister went through puberty, she went through the same thing as my older sisters and myself. She was also a slut according to my mother. (Story of C16)

Another participant says that there was a lot of name calling from her mother who called her "[a] slut, whore, cock sucker" when she was only 16 years old (story of S14[2]).

These stories illustrate how daughters also had to deal with the consequences of IRS. For them, maltreatment from their mothers resulted in an inability to express love and/or sadness

because they did not learn appropriate modes of expression from their mothers. Instead, they did what they could to cope with their mothers' sick behaviours. A mother's harmful behaviours consequently created an inability for daughters to be close to their mother. This is not how a natural relationship between a mother and daughter is expected to be.

Denying the truth. Denying the truth is a mechanization of how kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviour is perpetuated and then passed onto the next generation. Through denial and holding secrets, mothers and/or grandmothers continued to exhibit kakwatakih-nipowatisiw rather than being accountable for their actions. In a reflection of what children learned at IRS, rules were based on untruths and, combined with the force of controlling behaviours, resulted in dire consequences for Indigenous communities. One participant relays what she sees as denial: "And nobody is spiritual. Everyone is lost or self-medicated. Everyone is not looking at themselves in the mirror—it is all denial" (story of S15). Another participant saw the issue in this way:

> People are not getting real. Because they don't want to deal with their own issues. Alcohol issues [coming from] residential school issues [are] numbing everything …
>
> You see a lot of people going from one addiction to the next: alcoholics to drug abuser to wife beater. They give that all up and become hard-core Christian [but] they haven't dealt with their issues. Now because of the Church they say "Everything is okay now, I am okay now." … Church has now become a substitute for people's addictions. (Story of C9)

A mother who unintentionally maintains a sterile home environment, lacks love and affection for her daughters, and raises them in a militaristic, aggressive style is said to be exhibiting behaviours of kakwatakih. And sometimes a mother's parenting style was less

aggressive but just as damaging as it perpetuated harm in more indirect ways. For example, as one participant remarked, "[my] mother who was once open became manipulating [and] suspicious… [she] treat[ed] her daughters like they were not trustworthy, and not truthful. Her daughters [were constantly] interrogated just answering questions" (story of K1). Another participant stated,

> Our mother controlled the relationships between her daughters and in fact, she worked to ensure we didn't bond as sisters normally would. Instead, half of us were not trusting of the other. … I believe my mother didn't want us to be close to each other. At one point, our mother admitted, "You can never have a better life than I had." (Story of C16)

I observed during this study how mothers mistreat their daughters in varying degrees consistent with the militant and forceful treatment, often more subtle but insidious, they experienced from nuns and other authorities when they were in school.[67] Some of the phrases that emerged in the study relating to what daughters or granddaughters experienced at the hands of their mothers/grandmothers were: "bullying", "violence", "mean and vicious" behaviour, "no love or affection" demonstrated within the family, "put-downs", and name-calling such as "whore" or "slut" (stories of C9, C16, C22, I2, I6, J4, K1, M25, S12, S14, S15). According to Martin-Hill (2003),

[67] For some who were first-generation attendees of IRS, they would not have reported maltreatment from their mother or grandmother but did report having to deal with their own controlling ways or "sick" behaviours of other Aboriginal women following their school experience.

> Internalization of patriarchal notions of the silent subordinate woman gave rise to the She No Speaks "traditional" woman, which has been embraced by our twenty-first-century communities.
>
> The counterpart to She No Speaks that is also being embraced by Indigenous communities is the stereotype of the "Villainous Woman." The Villainous Woman is touted as a master manipulator with a golden tongue who has malicious intent against all Native people. This stereotype was advocated by missionaries, Indian Agents, and those colonial agencies that felt threatened by the leadership that Indigenous women demonstrated. (p. 111)

Thus, the shaming that was carried forward was as damaging as the internalized negative and violent learned behaviours from the colonization process (stories of L3, S12[2], M13, S15[2], C10, S14, C9, J4, C16). These behaviours often escalated at the point of puberty when young women were attempting to exert their independence and autonomy. Mothers (and grandmothers) were found to cause physical, emotional, and psychological harm to their daughters and granddaughters when they showed signs of entering puberty.[68] In turn, new conditions emerged in the family by way of the next generation because they had to deal with compounding consequences from the earlier generations.

No Reality Relationship

The main conceptualized behaviour as part of the compounding consequences is "no reality relationship" between mothers and daughters (or between family members). This is the

[68] For some mothers, grandmothers, or aunts who showed kindness towards their daughters and children, many still did not have the ability to prevent abuses in their home, thus they were unable to protect their children.

generational consequence of perpetuating harm. As the direct survivor unconsciously engages in behaviours of perpetuating harm towards and between her children, the added consequence is that her daughters cannot in reality (easily) build a trusting relationship with their mother, siblings, or others in their community. And when there are attempts to bring the truth out and reconcile the past, there is a cost. For example, one participant says,

> My mom … address[ed] past issues that she has had with her family and it's just caused such a huge divide in our family. But it has also provided recognition that our family has been fragmented for years … When I look back I don't think we have ever been close. We've been there at family dinners, seeing each other all the time. … my counsellor said just my presence alone and by me moving in with my grandma to help her is enough to disturb their "normalcy" … they feel guilty because they are not helping her. (story of C9)

The net effects in terms of behaviours are then transferred from the older generations of IRS survivors to the next generation of females.[69] They pay the price as they attempt to cope with kakwatakih behaviours in addition to dealing with their own feelings and behaviours of nipowatisiw, which they may not wholly understand. For example, many of the feelings that the original survivor group was dealing with at IRS—loneliness, fear, shame, and humiliation, but also anger, rage, and depression, for example—are now being felt in the families of their daughters and granddaughters. The negative feelings and maladaptive behaviours (from the first

[69] Interrupting factors can be seen in the different phases of the basic social process, which is explained later in this chapter when the theoretical framework is introduced.

generation to the fourth or fifth generation, if not resolved) have compounded and/or morphed into new maladaptive consequential behaviours.[70]

The related feelings reported in this study include powerlessness, helplessness, insecurity, fear, shame, and worthlessness, or feeling unwanted. These feelings, combined with other behaviours of emotional abuse or distrust within families or the community, prompt female children to ask, "If you can't trust family or strangers, who do you trust?" The main strategy that female descendants take on is self-isolation in order to feel safe and secure. However, this strategy is admittedly flawed, because they all report suffering from loneliness, experiencing feelings of loss or not being loved or not belonging, and living at a distance from their family or community. Hence, the IRS phenomenon continues. The participants report the importance of learning to trust, love, and be in a healthy relationship with family (and others) once again.

This study has shown—in conceptualized form—how the conditions of IRS transmuted into consequences and began an intergenerational cycle of maladaptive behaviours expressed between family members. The conditions of residential schools created initial stressors for the children who attended them; through a variety of coping mechanisms acquired while they were in school, the children eventually formed maladaptive behaviours. These behaviours and conditions were then carried away and duplicated within the home. Through this melding of maladaptive and negative behaviours, conditions, and consequences, stressors accumulated and the compounding effect was brought forward to the next generation. This cycle continues to create new conditions and consequences, which in turn feed new forms of maladaptive and

[70] There are a few studies that have shown maladaptive behaviours compounding through the generations even if later generations were not direct survivors of IRS. See Ing (2006) and the Aboriginal Healing Foundation's work, which both similarly found that 13 original stressors of survivors compounded into 34+ stressors by the third generation of descendants of the original survivor.

negative behaviours and subsequent consequences for generations of descendants of former students.

As a result, there has been a breaking of bonds in many families, especially between aunts and nieces, mothers and daughters, grandmothers and granddaughters. These conditions were conceptualized as regimenting and exerting force or power (as described above), and have culminated in consequences of perpetuating harm (the "no talk" rule, arresting development, cocooning, and denying the truth), which have continued the generational consequences of many Indigenous families having no reality relationships. These combined behaviours promote the cycling of conditions (kakwatakih) and the subsequent consequences (nipowatisiw) of sick behaviours. These maladaptive behaviours ultimately cause harm, and can undermine the (authoritative) roles of and respect for Indigenous women, especially the bonds between mother and daughter.

Throughout my study, it became clear to me that higher levels of good mental health were related to higher levels of awareness about the IRS phenomenon and whether women maintained any level of cultural knowledge or connection to their family and community. This discovery follows the work of researchers like Whitbeck, McMorris, Hoyt, Stubben, and La Fromboise (2002) and Chandler and Lalonde (1998), who found that maintaining cultural ways is a protective factor against psychological distress.

The Chandler and Lalonde (1998) study found that youth suicide remained low or virtually nonexistent for First Nations communities that made "a collective effort to rehabilitate and vouchsafe the cultural continuity" of their traditional ways (p. 2). Moreover, the study showed that "personal and cultural continuity" was achieved when a community had control over and held decision-making authority in the areas of traditional lands, self-government, education,

police and fire protection services, delivery of health services, and maintenance of cultural facilities (Chandler and Lalonde, 1998, p.2). They also found that Indigenous women who were involved in the decision-making processes in government and advanced stages of self-government were significant variables that enabled retaining cultural continuity (Chandler and Lalonde, 1998 cited in Blackstock, 2009). The Chandler and Lalonde study (1998) reveals that achieving personal and cultural continuity is related to the rebuilding and restoring of cultural norms, which is significant to this study and its substantive theory.

The next phase of the theoretical framework will now be introduced to explain how Indigenous women address their main concern and are learning to break the cycle of trauma in doing so. The core variable and the emergent theoretical framework are outlined next.

Core Category and the Theoretical Framework

My research aim was to discover the main concern identified by female Indian residential school survivors (or their female descendants) and to theoretically explain *how* they continually work to resolve this main concern, which was found to be kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviour. The substantive theory to address the main concern comprises three key categories: building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues. This part of the chapter will begin with a brief overview before introducing the findings of the emergent core category and a summary of the theory.

Overview.Using the constant comparison method, a core category and a substantive theory of potentializing emerged. For Indigenous women in this study, resolution of their main concern begins with building personal competencies. Through the phase of moral compassing (the core category), the emotional, spiritual, physical, intellectual, and social dimensions are modelled and processed by the women who are potentializing. Concurrently, Indigenous women

participating in this study are fostering the virtues allowing them to learn and practise healthy behavioural patterns. Potentializing is the process by which Indigenous women in this study foster (virtuous) behaviours and (re)learn to focus their moral compass at the same time as they cultivate their personal competencies to help resolve their main concern and create more meaningful relationships. The emergence of three typologies revealed that the Indigenous women in my study each perceive (and react to) the intergenerational effects of IRS differently: living the norm, between the norm, and escaping the norm. These typologies will be woven into the explanation of the many phases of the theoretical framework where appropriate. The core category is explained next.

The Core Category

As a researcher using the classic grounded theory methodology, my first task was to listen to the women's stories, and the second was to simultaneously open code and conceptualize the data with the goal of discovering the main concern in concurrence with the core category. In the course of doing interviews with the participants and/or collecting women's stories from other data sources, *moral compassing* eventually emerged as the core category.

In classic grounded theory fashion, it is the core category that accounts for the most variation in the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Moral compassing was discovered to be the latent pattern of behaviour that emerged from the women's stories and explained all variations of behaviour the women use(d) to deal with their main concern. Throughout my study, the women indicated that their main concern was kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviour between women and within families. From the women I interviewed and the stories I heard, I learned that the women wanted the freedom to live a life of their choosing. They were concerned with morality and "doing the right thing," and saw the world (both their community and larger society) as

being controlled to a certain degree via sick behaviour, which included inflicting fear, shame, guilt, and violence towards each other. They recognize how they have been affected through their residential school experience, and through the process of moral compassing they began a new way of living.

In this study the discovery of moral compassing met Glaser's (1978) criteria as the core category: It was central; it reoccurred frequently, establishing a stable pattern; it meaningfully and easily fit with the other categories and properties of the categories; it has carry-through by its relevance and explanatory power; and it has "clear and grabbing implications for formal theory" (Glaser, 1978, pp. 95–96). The core category is also a dimension of the problem, and I found this to be true because it took more time to saturate (Glaser, 1978). Through constant comparative analysis, I saw how moral compassing as the core category was relating to all other categories; it eventually emerged as the core, since it fit best as an explanation of all the variations of behaviour and patterns discovered in this study. This and the related sub-categories of building personal competencies and fostering the virtues[71,72] relate meaningfully and easily to the theoretical framework of potentializing.

The Theory

Potentializing is simply a conceptualization of the holistic approach Indigenous women take to live a life with moral vision.[73] Potentializing in the context of this study (see Figure 4.2)

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[71] The term *virtues* means "decency, goodness, honor, impeccability, integrity, morality, power or strength" (Cayne, 1988, p. SA64). *Fostering a virtue* is greater than a value: "appreciate, cherish, or consideration" (p. SA65).
[72] One can hold values but still maintain sick behaviours. Hitler, for example, valued the Aryan race above all others (Covey, 1989).
[73] Initially I found "moral compassing" to be the core category but I had to ask myself how "building personal competencies" and "fostering the virtues," which acted like bookends to moral compassing, could be expressed as a

can be defined as a basic social process by which moral compassing is utilized as a tool to build one's personal competencies and to remember[74] virtues that enable a constructive change in behaviour. The Indigenous women in this study who utilize the BSP in search of a new norm feel empowered to change their lives and live a principled, virtuous life such that knowing how "to do the right thing" (Liszka, 2002, p. 402) for themselves and for others becomes natural and intuitive.

Building Personal Competencies

Distinct patterns of behaviour emerged in the data. These patterns of behaviour, which the women utilized to solve their main concern, are espoused in their everyday lives. The discovered patterns of behaviour that have been coded and categorized inform the three-part BSP that the Indigenous women follow (see Figure 4.2). The sub-core category of building personal competencies has four properties: volitional awareness, self-awareness, learning to emote, and self-esteem. Volitional awareness and self-awareness are found to be the primary properties that start the BSP process and are what facilitate engagement in finding a new norm through potentializing. Volitional awareness suggests that when a person becomes "aware" of what is really going on, a shift occurs in their consciousness and they want to take action based on this new awareness. Consequently, for survivors and descendants alike, once they become aware and know the truth of events of history (of residential schools) and its consequences they "can't *unknow* this." [75]

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theory. When I took this to a higher conceptual level, "potentializing" emerged such that it could encompass all three categories and explained well how Aboriginal women overcame their main concern.

[74] I use the term "remember" because the virtues that the women practise come from their own cultural teachings.

[75] As stated by Honorary Witness Shelagh Rogers at the TRC Gathering, Montreal, Quebec, April 2013.

Volitional awareness and increased self-awareness of Indigenous women acts as the catalyst for the women to make adjustments in their lives. Once the women understand that they have within themselves the capability to make a conscious choice, they take action based on an active will to make change in their lives. The first step in changing patterns of behaviour relies on this awareness—without it, the incentive to begin the process most likely does not exist. Volitional awareness[76] creates a new state of mind for women who begin to recognize they have free will and can make their own choices. Studies have shown that having a sense of autonomy is crucial for identity formation (Gatin, 2009, p. 19). Women who attended IRS (or their female descendants who carry the IRS imprint) never before had the freedom to choose as school authorities disallowed the children to act as autonomous human beings (TRC, 2012).

While there are other dynamic elements found within the potentializing framework, volitional awareness and self-awareness are the primary elements that start the process. This is part of the feedback loop[77] that cultivates the other properties—learning to emote and develop self-esteem—as well as the other phases in the BSP. As the Indigenous women in this study have gained awareness, positive actions have been taken, which causes a better outcome, such as learning to cry or laugh. Thus, this feedback loop works in tandem with the perceived consequence as a gain because learning how to express oneself acts as a constant reinforcement with the outcome of having better self-esteem. So, constructing positive consequences

[76] Background information on volition was sourced from Bopp and Bopp (2001, p. 36).
[77] A "feedback loop" is derived from the theoretical code "amplified causal looping" (Glaser, 2005, p. 9) that is part of the "effects family" of theoretical codes. A condition can lead to certain consequences that may be the cause of new conditions; hence, this causal-consequence model can loop in either a positive or a negative direction. The conditions of IRS led to negative consequences and in turn new conditions emerged that led to other negative consequences.

encourages building personal competencies and engagement with all other elements and modes of behaviour found in the active process of potentializing.[78]

Moral Compassing

The core category of *moral compassing* is categorized by five patterns in the emotional, spiritual, physical, intellectual, and social dimensions whereby women learn new behaviours and modes of being while involved in *releasing*, s*piritual (re)generation, powering heart, envisioning,* and *gender re-socializing* respectively. Indigenous women in this study engage in the multiphase process of potentializing that derives an holistic approach to living. It is these efforts that strengthen study participants' "moral competence" (Liszka, 2002) and the point of "psychic integrity" (Gatin, 2009) when they feel they have become whole, fully functioning human beings. This term generally states the importance of potentializing*:* As women work through the phases at their own pace, they are working towards achieving balance and becoming who they are meant "to *BE*" (Yellow Horn, 2009, p.66) at the same time as overcoming or blocking sick behaviours. Thus, balancing all the phases may make up for what was lacking in their formative/educational years.

However, while balancing is strived for within this process, it can never be fully attained, because it is asymptotic: We are always moving towards balance but never fully reaching it. And there are reasons for this. Being human means dealing with uncertainty, which can easily derail balancing efforts; this is especially true for Indigenous women, since uncertainty involves the compounding added stressors and effects of the IRS experience. This uncertainty is part of what

[78] The theory of potentializing wellness offers possibilities to counter the negative causes/consequences of IRS and promotes new ways of being that support ongoing positive outcomes for Indigenous women and their families.

Piaget (1960) calls the "cognitive disequilibrium" (Piaget, 1960, cited in Flavell, 1996, p. 201), and speaks to how Indigenous women have been challenged in finding their place in the world, as their gender and race were maligned during school. One survivor commented that tutelage at residential school meant directly learning about racism and sexism: "In our culture, we traditionally honoured all women. Mother Earth and Life Givers are all loved and protected. We honour the women, mothers, grandmothers, aunties. Instead, we learned how to dishonour our women" (story of M29).

Consequently, the women in this study must constantly move and pace between each of the phases of moral compassing as they move through the uncertainty of life and construct their lives in a new way. One dimension such as the emotional dimension may be the primary focus based on what a woman needs most at that time, or she may work all five dimensions of moral compassing simultaneously. This multiphase process does not follow sequentially and no two people experience the phases of moral compassing in exactly the same way. I will explain the phases in more detail, beginning with the emotional dimension.

The *emotional dimension* is where Indigenous women in this study most direct their focus and is related to the behavioural phase of releasing feelings that do not serve their emotional well-being. The women in this study focus on the emotional patterns initially in order to purge "the bad, the sad, and the ugly emotions."[79] The study participants are working to release any feeling associated with the "emotional distancing" (Stout & Peters, 2011, p. 13) between themselves and their mothers. Releasing explains feelings associated with compounding loss: feeling alone, feeling unwanted, and not knowing where they belong. Throughout this

[79] A First Nation woman performer spoke at the Red Jam Slam event at the Vanier-Richelieu Community Centre and shared her experience of learning to cope with the IRS phenomenon (November 8, 2013).

study, the Indigenous women described not only the hardships they endured within the school environment, but also the difficulty of being raised by a mother (and/or grandmother) who was affected by the IRS experience and who was unable to show them affection. Stout and Peters call this the "emotional chasm" (Stout & Peters, 2011, p. 30) that daughters have to deal with. The arresting development of a mother who could not express loving emotions, left many daughters struggling with expressing their own emotions.

Daughters learned not to show emotion or speak about their feelings or needs, as this was considered a flaw in personality: "There was [*sic*] no emotions, no feelings; my mother never told me she loved me: no hugs, no kisses, we were being beaten regularly. … I was raised to not show emotion because that was a sign of weakness" (story of S14). This learned behaviour had long-term ramifications for all of their relationships wherein the women were unable to express love or connect emotionally, particularly with their siblings and, for some, their children: "One of my daughters came up to hug me and I flinched. I asked her, 'What are you doing?' And she [said], 'Holy, Mom, I can't even hug you'" (story of I6). Another participant relayed how her mother "has a hard time being affectionate" and they nickname her "Ice Queen," which this participant says "is appropriate" (story of C9). Another participant says, "there was no emotional or physical abuse but I did find the mental and emotional feelings … were either lacking or not shown between family members" (story of S12). However, many are learning to express themselves through releasing: "Dropping the baggage [and] releasing the puritan past. [I'm] choosing to love, grow, become whole, to become a woman" (story of K1). Another says that by "getting back to nature" she is "releasing [her need for] drugs or addictions" (story of D17).

The IRS phenomenon, coupled with the consequences of dealing with the lack of an emotional connection between family members, has been an extraordinarily taxing experience

for Indigenous women in this study. It is through the emotional dimension that the women start the process of releasing. This first phase has two properties: breaking the "no talk" rule and creating stability with its additional sub-properties of setting boundaries and being accountable.

Women in this study specifically stated, "We are going to break the 'no talk' rule" (story of J4). Breaking the "no talk" rule is an indicator that these Indigenous women are going through the phase of releasing since they are able to speak more openly about their experiences**.** Some may view it as a means of survival: "I need to tell my story because it's eating me from the inside out" (story of SL18). Yet the women report finding strength by speaking out: "I think every time I talk about the story of mine, it unburdens me. It makes me stronger, I believe" (story of C5). A part of this strength includes the personal competency of learning to emote a range of feelings, as the women are readily expressing their needs for safety, love, and companionship. As a researcher, I observed that the participants generally cry when they tell their story, and for many this is significant: "I never used to cry. I used to have a rage like you wouldn't believe … But [I learned] how to cry" (story of S14).

Under the concept of creating stability, the study participants are setting boundaries as a strategy to protect themselves from sick behaviour, whether it is explicitly or implicitly implied. Mainly, Indigenous women participating in this study were found to do their best to avoid taking on the sick behaviour of others and to practise being accountable for their own feelings and actions. This means that as they are increasingly accountable for how they feel and take measures to make "social change" (story of C22), they are less likely to engage in maladaptive or negative behaviours. Creating stability includes setting boundaries by disengaging from or limiting contact—verbal or physical—with anyone who exhibits sick behaviour, including family members. For example,

> She could not "control" us … after [our dad] died and her behaviour became extreme with name-calling and threats towards us … her behaviour took its toll and we have limited contact with her now … [we] will no longer allow the drama back into our lives. I guess in an extreme way we have set the boundaries with her. (Story of C16)

Creating stability also means finding ways to become closer to family and siblings. One participant shared that as her kids grew, "she was close with her sisters [because] it's important to have family around and loving relationships" (story of L3). Another says she chose "to connect with her siblings as an adult. It took a while to bend and it is still a work-in-progress" (story of I2).

It is possible that family or community members who engage in behaviours of living the norm could undermine a woman's ability to create stability during the releasing (emotional) phase and stop the BSP by destabilizing an affected Indigenous woman's efforts to express her feelings and emotions. If this occurs, no movement in the BSP happens and the consequence is unchanging awareness or a perceived loss. This consequence is what results when emotional work is initially prevented. However, the promise to create movement from the releasing phase remains. When there is success in breaking the "no talk" rule and creating stability, movement in the BSP occurs and the consequence is increased awareness and movement towards changing behaviours or a perceived gain. Thus, releasing is the (emotional) phase left behind as the women choose to move towards the next dimension: the spiritual dimension of moral compassing.

The *spiritual dimension* found within moral compassing reflects the Indigenous women's behaviours in relation to their spiritual (re)generation. In this phase, the women in this study

engage in restorative activities and focus on love. One participant delighted in stating, "One side of my family does not drink anymore; they are living spiritual lives and healing from their experiences" (story of J4). Restoring activities that Indigenous women engage in include giving thanks, feeling the connection to the land, participating in ceremony, and connecting to their culture and language and to themselves. Yet, some of the Indigenous women are struggling to regain this connection. Therefore, the women who practise this phase of moral compassing are working through the contradictions of their school/family life induced by a new awareness that under the "colonialist-induced regimes" their subordination and silencing were engineered and justified (Martin-Hill, p. 2003, p. 107).

Restorative activities in the spiritual dimension begin with prayer or giving thanks. One woman stated that "what you give out is what you get back" and that she always "thanks [the Great Spirit] Gishemnido" (story of E23). Study participants are remembering cultural teachings: "No community event ever starts or ends without giving thanks and saying a prayer" (story of C16). Giving thanks extends to connecting with "Mother Earth," as it is part of Indigenous spirituality (Johnston, 2011). As one participant stated, "I believe all Nations have spirituality which is a connection they have to the landscape … the connection to earth and land is spirituality" (story of C9). Another says, "I believe ceremony is important and spirituality is important" (story of J4). Some of the women in my study participate regularly in ceremonies such as "sharing circles" (story of S14); others participate less frequently or their cultural participation may be less formal. For example, some report that they do their own ceremony and "smudge" on their own as "any space can be made a sacred space" (stories of C9, J4, & C16). Practising spiritual (re)generation through ceremony is but one part of the healing and restorative processes. How one practises spiritual (re)generation is limitless and hopeful. One participant says that anyone can "surpass head and heart space to soul space" as it allows "feeling privileged

to live well" (story of K1). She is reassured that "tapping soul space can occur at any point in time" and when one taps into their spirit self, they are better able to push their limits "beyond time, space, and fear" (story of K1). Another says, "you can have optimism … hope, you can have the power of your recovery. You can reclaim your soul [and] own that soul" (story of C5).

These narratives follow what Martin-Hill (2003) says about pre-contact culture: Indigenous women were regarded as "Sacred Women" since they held spiritual, economic, and political authority in their communities (p. 107). The matrilineal authority and, most significantly, the authority held in the spiritual realm are viewed as "the foundation of our power and our knowledge" (Martin-Hill, 2003, p. 110). Focusing and reconnecting with one's culture and spiritual ways helps eliminate shame as one participant stated: "Speaking the language again connects a person with their Spirit and it eliminates shame" (story of J4).

The women are finding meaning and purpose by living in a traditional manner. Namely, they are living a (w)holistic lifestyle that emphasizes engaging in the emotional, spiritual, physical, intellectual, and social ways of being. Combined, these dimensions including spiritual (re)generation engenders a new psyche for the women who are "tapping soul space" (story of K1) and are reporting, "I found my identity; found who I am" (story of S15); thus, they are revived human beings with a stronger spiritual base. Spiritual patterning helps the women recognize that the problem of sick behaviour is outside of them. Spiritual grounding enables these Indigenous women to deflect the sick behaviours of others, which is desirable as a means of protection.

I observed throughout this study that when Indigenous women spoke about their spiritual (re)generation phase of the BSP, they were more often showing an increased awareness, which for them resulted in a positive consequence or gain. However, during this phase of the BSP,

unchanging awareness (or indifference) could occur if any restorative activities are thwarted, which then has the potential to stop the BSP. For example, since ceremony is important to many of the women in my study in order to reclaim their spirituality, any shaming can cause them to stop participating. One participant reported her experience of shaming: "Mom used to make fun of me for going to sweats and stuff" (story of S14). If, however, focusing on love increases one's awareness level sufficiently to overcome shame, then a gain or a positive consequence is achieved. That is, there is movement in the BSP and the women are able to move from one dimension of the BSP to another.

The *physical dimension* is linked with the behaviours of powering heart, which simultaneously involves engaging oneself and community members in activities to release grief from the body (and especially the heart). These activities encourage feelings of gratitude and freedom with the grounding that occurs by being on the land, hunting, fishing, and attending ceremonies and sweat lodges along with drumming and singing with loved ones. However, when challenges and/or traumas surface as a memory, they must be followed by a reminder of the strengths of the Indigenous People.

> There were many forms of physical and intellectual abuse at residential school. You heard things like "you are stupid," "you are nobody," [and] "savage and squaw." You learn to carry the invisible wounds with you. Later you discover that you are not the only one who suffered trauma and hold a deep grief in your body. [Yet] we have strong forms of resilience in our culture. We are learning to discover our beauty and great diversity. (story of M29)

Basil Johnston, an Ojibwe Elder, tells us through storytelling that our ancestors would say that "to have intellect you must have peace of heart"; otherwise, one's thoughts and actions

cannot be good (Johnston, 2010, p.3). Concomitantly, the physical patterns are closely related to the spiritual patterns because Indigenous People's culture and ways of knowing are spirit- and heart-centred (Johnston, 2010, pp. 3, 7). One cannot do physical activities in nature without remembering the spiritual patterns and giving thanks to the Creator for all that we were given. Therefore, grounding occurs by engaging in activities on the land and gratitude is shown by engaging in these activities in tandem with providing spiritual teachings to support others' healing as well as one's own. Davis (2002) states that focusing on gratitude makes it possible "to appreciate rather than resent a circumscribed relationship" (p. 219). As one participant stated, "It is what it is" (story of S15); she resents her mother less and can show her love despite her mother's emotional limitations to reciprocate. This participant's ability to empathize with her mother was reportedly strengthened by participating in healing ceremonies with her siblings.

It is through grounding and gratitude that the stepping stone towards freedom is created. Freedom is expressed through living autonomously and engaging in laughter. Exercising one's autonomy allows Indigenous women in this study to express their wants and needs. This is how the physical dimension and ability of expression are related to the spiritual element. As Gatin (2009) states, identity formation can only happen through having a sense of personal autonomy. Moreover, autonomy is defined as "having protection away from the indiscriminate use of authority [that prevents] … a person's human need to be self-determining" (Gatin, 2009, p. 47). Within this study, it was found that as autonomy becomes unrestrained, so does the Indigenous women's ability to express happiness with laughter. Laughter creates lightness of heart, as I observed during all the interviews. The participants may have expressed grief during their interviews, but their laughter was rich with the expression of gratitude for the lives they are now able to create despite their challenges. Laughter, in addition to moments of tears, was found to be very healing; one participant stated that for Indigenous People, "laughter is our healing!" (story

of S15). As families come closer together (physically, emotionally, spiritually), they begin to live a life that enables them to live, laugh, and love one another in a more connected way.

IRS survivors and their descendants see an opportunity to develop their own autonomy through grounding and gratitude, which is a perceived gain to changing behaviours. Movement occurs in the BSP because, with new awareness, those affected can see themselves making healthier choices with the directional tool of moral compassing. Through the BSP, the gain these Indigenous women make is in finding their identity and finding who they believe they are meant to be. They are no longer burdened with sick behaviours, as they are learning how to relate to others and express themselves in a more healthy and loving way.

Mental/intellectual dimensions are seen in how the women are envisioning through informing and knowing. In a macro sense, women are constructing change in their communities through informing. Informing is, as one participant stated, "changing what people know" politically and culturally (story of C9). The property of informing is shown when women engage with community to inform either themselves or others about the political history of Indian residential schools and why this policy was implemented as a means to assimilate Indigenous People. Therefore, in terms of the intellectual patterns that emerged, the women are taking back their power by knowing "what is really going on" politically and demonstrating the virtue of supporting others to do the same. The other act of envisioning entails knowing the language: The women are speaking at least one of their traditional languages as they take back what was taken away by laws that made cultural practices illegal. These two envisioning strategies are results that start with active cognitive work. Informing is telling others what we know to be true politically, thus freeing the secrets and behaviours of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw. The property of

knowing ties to the cognitive as it relates to knowing one's first language as well as the political history that prohibited speaking it.

The consequences of the envisioning phase are the perceived multiple gains, and so movement in the BSP will continue. At this point, the women in this study automatically engage in multiple phases of moral compassing or other aspects of the BSP. They may choose to do deeper work, or their envisioning may have extended to outside of themselves, making them available to support other Indigenous women and their families. When Indigenous women in this study reach this point of finding a new norm, it is highly unlikely that they will stop movement in the BSP, because their level of building personal competencies—which include volitional awareness, self-awareness, and ability to emote and develop self-esteem—is high. As a result, their propensity to relate is high as well.

The social dimension is shown in gender re-socializing that encompasses the properties of taking control and building trusting relations. The goal is for the Indigenous women to re-socialize themselves to be the glue that binds and strengthens the family (even if the family becomes smaller as a result of following the BSP). Part of the women's creating a new life (i.e., a new norm) is their taking control of it (as opposed to being controlled or controlling) by creating a sense of belonging. There are myriad ways in which they do this. Some report that their family members are "building relationships with siblings despite being fractured" (story of J4) and others ensure "family connections with [their] kids are very strong" (story of L3). Some may have a more narrow focus; one participant reported building "a strong relationship" with her sister (story of S14[2]). Others will "save anyone [they] love and care about … [to help] people cope with threats" (story of K1). Gender re-socializing includes formalizing collective efforts by bringing survivors together and providing emotional and spiritual supports. Thus, the "Children of Alumni" was formed (story of I2).

Many of the participants in this study are striving to build trusting relations with their family and community, with bonds being strengthened:

> A lot of "I love you's" get thrown out now. Saying these words provides a sense of belonging and that you know you are not alone. It's like you've got your family back since Indian residential school was an assault on the family (story of J4). It's important to have family around and loving relationships (story of S12).

Taking control means shaping a new life in which these Indigenous women are building reciprocal trusting relationships. The consequences of the gender re-socialization phase are the multiple gains when the Indigenous women work together to create their own safety in society. The new norm created is perceived as a positive gain. Engagement in the BSP remains as the women continue to support other women and their families and/or feel supported. The only way movement will stop at this point in the BSP is if an individual misrepresents herself and her controlling behaviour emerges. It is unlikely, however, that the other women would tolerate this type of behaviour and they would utilize the strategy of knowing and informing (intellectual dimension) to provide the opportunity for such an individual to re-engage in gender re-socialization. Then it would be up to the individual to decide if she will continue to move through the BSP.

Fostering the Virtues

Another strengthening factor of the BSP comes from the last sub-core category, fostering the virtues. At this conceptual level, the women in this study begin to model the virtues of listening, loving, respecting, truth-telling, being trustworthy, and supporting others as they actively move through other aspects of the BSP. Where volitional awareness and self-awareness were the catalysts for change when building personal competencies, each of these virtues is

shown to be continuously utilized. The virtues strengthen both the way of moral compassing and building personal competencies in the BSP of potentializing as explained below.

The act of listening has been very powerful for the Indigenous women, and they have reported that it has contributed to their healing efforts. Since children were relatively ignored at residential school when they voiced concern about their need for food, companionship, or protection, for instance, being listened to and being heard are part of the women's recovery from trauma. The aspect of others listening and hearing their story tells the women that their experience matters. But many of the women who finally found the courage to speak to family members, authorities, or counsellors about their earlier school experiences were often not believed.[80]

Listening to others' stories helps the women begin to understand they are not alone: "Healing began when my family started listening to each other" (story of J4); "By listening to each other, and being encouraging and supporting [of each other] gets us through the hard times" (story of MS19); and, "Always give thanks to those who listen to your story" (story of E23).

However, since many of them acknowledge a lack of trust in family and community relationships, when they do not feel safe to tell their story they turn to cultural teachings and spiritual ways. The teachings remind the women that the ancestors and the Great Spirit will "always listen" (story of S12[2]). This brings comfort and guidance for the women, because in Indigenous philosophies, people are both physical and spiritual beings and so belong in two

[80] As recounted in the stories of survivors at the TRC Gathering in Montreal, Quebec, April 2013. The abuses seemed too horrific to be true, and denial was rampant since it was often those charged with safeguarding the children who were the perpetrators: authorities representing the federal government (RCMP), the Church (nuns and priests), and some family members (as stated through the women's stories).

parallel worlds (Four Worlds, 1982b). In the teachings of Indigenous People, the physical world and the spiritual world (i.e., the earth plane and the cosmos) are separate aspects of one reality, and when both aspects are honoured, a secure life is more easily achieved (Four Worlds, 1982b). The fourth- and fifth-generation descendants are encouraged to listen to the stories of their parents and grandparents "because so often they feel alone" with their past experiences (story of L7).[81]

One challenge for many of the women practising the virtue of loving is the love they give themselves. Many of them stated that lack of self-love was an issue they had to overcome. Choosing to be a loving human being is what facilitates transformative change, but feeling uncertainty shows there is a need for guidance in how to do this. However, as a part of Indigenous ethics, the Elders say, "follow the guidance given to your heart" to be put on the right path; guidance will come to those who embark on the journey of self-development and actively participate in fostering their own potential (Bopp, J., Bopp, M., Brown, L., and Lane, P., 1989, p.76). Guidance can come in many ways, such as prayers, dreams, and solitude, as well as through the words and actions of Elders and other trusted friends (Four Worlds, 1982a). It is by practising this virtue that releasing shame and anger becomes possible. One participant stated, "I am a caring, loving person. And I don't think I was growing up. I was lacking. But I now choose love and not shame" (story of S15).

Part of practising the virtue of respect is showing gratitude and giving thanks to the Great Spirit every morning and every evening before bed. Respect means "to feel or show honor or esteem for someone or something; to consider the well-being of, or to treat someone or

[81] As heard at the TRC gathering in Montreal, Quebec, April 2013.

something with deference or courtesy" (Bopp, et al., 1989, p.76). The Elders remind us that showing respect is more than a virtue; it is a basic law of life. Respect is shown by setting boundaries:

> We now have boundaries. I don't cross her boundaries and she doesn't cross mine. … So we know now because it is now based on Respect. … I trust my sister. She is my second part of my life. I had to mourn the loss of [most of] my family but now I'm in a safe place. (story of S15)

Respecting is the benchmark the women in my study use to determine what kinds of people they will surround themselves with. This virtue, practised in the emotional and intellectual dimensions, must be mutually understood to guide the building of healthy relationships, including setting boundaries. If not, the women limit whom they trust (including unhealthy family members who are seen as exhibiting behaviours of the okakwatakihiwew, the one who torments/tortures) and whom they include in their circle of influence. For the women in this study, setting boundaries (as shown in the releasing (emotional) phase of moral compassing) creates safety and healthy relationships and shows self-respect.

The women see truth-telling as paramount to making change. Change cannot happen if people continue denying that kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviours have infiltrated community life. For the Indigenous women in this study, working towards creating change and building trusting relations (as shown in mental/intellectual phase of moral compassing) requires that they be accountable by telling the truth.

> So everybody in my family was mad because I called him out. So there is denial and that is not where I'm at. I am just all about truth because we lived a lie. Everything is a lie. Who my family is, who my mother is, it is all a lie … we do not

> have to continue to be victims. We can empower others to share their truth and know that healing is possible. (story of S15)

Many Indigenous women in this study reported being bullied or intimidated by family members (or officials) into holding secrets, but others are embracing the Indigenous philosophy of truth: "Be truthful at all times, and under all conditions" (Bopp et. al., 1989, p. 77). When addressing trauma, Herman (1997) explains that remembering, recognizing, and then telling the truth about severe traumatic events is the point at which a person can begin the healing and recovery process (p. 1). Similarly, this is a time of remembering and (re)learning moral values: As Indigenous women in this study become volitionally aware of the truth of their experiences, they also recognize that as adults it is never too late to build up their moral competencies. Similarly, participants in this study express feeling great freedom in being truthful; no one can ever intimidate them if they live by the virtue of truth-telling.

The Indigenous women in my study spoke about the issue of trust in various ways: "People in authority are not to be trusted," "that experience taught me that you cannot trust anyone," "I know many, but trust few," and "If you can't trust your family who do you trust?" Yet, the participants of this study want to be trusting of others, especially within their families. They may not trust easily and they are selective about whom they trust: "There are people that I trust who are my sounding boards" (story of S12). They learn that creating change begins with changing their own behaviours if they want to relate differently. I listened to how the Indigenous women nurture this virtue as Covey (2009) states: "You can't have trust without being trustworthy" (3rd paragraph).[82] Trustworthiness is another way the women build up their personal

[82] http://www.franklincovey.ca/FCCAWeb/aspx/library_articles_gen5.htm.

competencies as part of engaging in all elements found in the BSP. They recognize that it is only through their own volitional awareness—being accountable and changing their own behaviours—that they will achieve loving, trusting relationships.

Supporting others is a virtue that the women in this study demonstrated in various ways. They demonstrated it in the workplace and at home between friends and family. This virtue was shown at every level of the potentializing framework. For example, supporting others is one aspect of building trusting relations (as shown in the social phase of gender re-socializing). Supporting others is reinforced in the social phase such that it garners new behaviours to replace maladaptive ones, including bullying, shaming, or employing lateral violence. Supporting others is also found in envisioning (as shown in the mental/intellectual phase of moral compassing). As the women actively work towards knowing the political nuances and how communities are being affected, they demonstrate the virtue of supporting others through informing and "changing what people know" (story of C9).

The net result of the Indigenous women fostering the virtues at the same time as they are building personal competencies and following the phases of the BSP is an expression of empathy for others who may still be engaged in "living the norm" behaviours. Reaching the point of empathy is also a marker for Indigenous women that they have moved beyond living the norm and are now moving towards escaping the norm. Compassion can only come from a place of wholeness (Davis, 2002) when emotional reserves are strong and the challenge of facing living the norm types can be met. If reconciling the norm never allows reconnection with certain family members, empathy allows one to mourn the losses. Empathy is also for oneself, (Davis, 2002) as it is recognized that one may contribute to behaviours of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick)

behaviour. Therefore, one must be open to learning how to release feelings of shame and inferiority (Davis, 2002).

Movement in the BSP, Types and Perceived Consequences

In this section, I refer back to the emerging typologies and the perceived consequences of the BSP of potentializing. Following this explanation, I will conclude with the criteria for a BSP and some closing words.

***Escaping the norm*.** The escaping the norm type perceives there to be a high(er) cost of managing the norm, one that they are no longer willing to pay. Even if at some point the cost decreases,[83] the individual who moves towards "escaping the norm" behaviours is no longer interested in managing the norm (i.e., aggressive behaviours of others). Instead, integrating new behaviours allows potentializing as a form of empowerment and freedom to live in an autonomous fashion. The cost of integrating new behaviours is perceived as low. Thus, the perceived gain of integrating new behaviours is greater than the perceived loss (i.e., gain > loss).

The consequence—and cost—of integration is a loving but often smaller family unit. The gain is a new norm, which demonstrates a high degree of increased awareness that satisfies the need for relating differently and a high degree of personal competency such that volitional awareness and self-awareness are constantly increasing. Indigenous women who participated in this study and who have the propensity to want to relate differently are closer to or are achieving escaping the norm. The gain is perceived as greater than the loss and suggests continuous

[83] A way to lessen the cost of managing the norm is to allow a greater physical proximity away from others who exhibit sick behaviours. Gatin (2009) calls this *Keeping your distance* and it means keeping away from any "perceived threats to personal safety, personal autonomy, emotional stability, and psychic integrity… [and is also used to] preserve physical and emotional energy under conditions of unacceptable demands" (p. 38). *Keeping your distance* does not ultimately change the relationship; it is only a strategy to manage the norm differently.

movement in the BSP of potentializing and achieving new behaviours that result in healthy trusting relationships.

***Between the norm*.** At some level when integrating new behaviours, the perceived gain comes at a cost. The cost is the perceived loss when continuing a relationship with certain family or community members is no longer deemed possible. When the propensity to relate differently increases, it signifies movement from "living the norm" to "between the norm." Between the norm types may oscillate, at times exhibiting controlling behaviours and at other times being controlled by others. Nonetheless, individuals who exhibit between the norm type behaviours are experiencing increased awareness and achieving a higher level of personal competencies.

The condition of increased awareness is also a consequence as between the norm types come to realize that they have the ability to create change in their lives: As they integrate new behaviours, they also learn how to manage the norm differently. Although a high cost for managing the norm, as well as a cost for integrating new behaviours, is perceived, the gain of integration is greater than the perceived loss as between the norm types move towards living autonomous lives. Despite the perceived loss of no longer relating in the norm, the gain suggests there is movement within the BSP of potentializing, because there are more positive behaviours emerging as awareness levels increase.

***Living the norm*.** If the propensity to relate differently is little to none, it is an indicator that there is no perceived gain or loss to integrating new behaviours and, therefore, potentializing cannot be actualized. When the need for relating differently is low and the degree to which increased awareness satisfies the need for relating (i.e., awareness is low and the need for relating is low), it signifies that women in this typology are indifferent to changing their behaviour because awareness is lacking. In this category, suffering continues as the women

continue living the norm. As one of the women expressed it, there are "women who still lead lives of quiet despair" (story of M13).

Even though it is possible that there is a high personal relational system, the basis of relating is rooted in dysfunctional or sick behaviours. There is no movement in the BSP of potentializing, because some benefit from the status quo—either they are the aggressor and have control over others, or they are the ones being controlled by the aggressor.

There is, however, still an opportunity to create change if those living the norm at some point show an *intention* to increase both their self-awareness and their volitional awareness. When this occurs, the value of relating as a means of satisfying the need to relate differently will increase as the need for relating differently and the degree to which increased awareness satisfies the need for relating differently also increases. The consequence will be a much higher propensity to relate differently and the opportunity to create a new norm that is based on behaviours that exhibit loving and caring ways.

Meeting the Criteria of the BSP

In my study, the BSP of potentializing uncovered three distinctive but interconnected categories: building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues. Each of these categories makes up the BSP, with each category supporting the others. To meet the first criterion in a BSP, there should be two or more phases, according to Glaser (1978). Building personal competencies and fostering the virtues are like the bookends that support the participants of this study engaging in the phases of moral compassing: phases of releasing (emotional), spiritual (re)generation (spiritual), powering heart (physical), envisioning (intellectual), and gender re-socialization (social). Therefore, the potentializing framework met

this criterion with the phases of moral compassing, which would not have been possible without the various properties of building personal competencies and fostering the virtues.

The second criterion for a BSP is determining movement or change over time. The three categories of building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues met this criterion. Increased volitional awareness and self-awareness led to strengthened personal competencies; this enabled the Indigenous women to move through each phase, or simultaneous phases, of moral compassing at the same time as they engaged in fostering the virtues in search of a new norm. Following the BSP, the Indigenous women who changed their behavioural patterns gained a greater opportunity for establishing loving, respectful relationships. Their personal relational system improved because they learned to emote,[84] and then they were able to move to the next phase. Moreover, since a BSP connotes a temporal dimension, the three categories of building personal competencies, fostering the virtues, and moral compassing only occur over time, and the BSP remains an enduring state no matter where and how it occurs and regardless of the conditions (Glaser, 1978). Thus, the second criterion of a BSP has also been met.

Glaser (1978) states that in order to meet the last criterion for a BSP, there must be both conditions and consequences present. The three categories and their respective properties

[84] As the 2012 documentary *The Dark Matter of Love* shows, when children are abandoned and left in an orphanage, their ability to express emotion is stifled because they quickly learn they have nobody to whom they can express their sadness. This infers that when children are raised in an institutional setting, it is highly probable they will experience problems expressing emotions, which is what I found in this research study. The hopeful side, however, is that when trust is built up over time, and when a child feels love and safety, emotions can be re-learned. This is also what was discovered by interviewing Indigenous women. They are consciously (re)learning how to love and show emotion in healthy ways: crying and laughing when appropriate. This documentary was the result of the work of Dr. Robert Marvin, Professor Emeritus and Developmental Psychologist, who has spent a lifetime developing a scientific intervention to help children learn to love. His framework draws on experiments on the attachment patterns of monkeys, birds, and humans.

fulfilled this final criterion. There were structural conditions behind every category that the women had to move through in the potentializing BSP. Movement was dependent on whether the women perceived a gain in the process. As the Indigenous women worked through each phase of the BSP, any gain made was the (positive) consequence; as the built-in feedback loop mechanism reinforced the continuation in the BSP, new, improved conditions were also created. For instance, as the Indigenous women were building personal competencies, they learned to love themselves and, in turn, learned how to become loving human beings. These consequences were the positive gains that allowed a strengthening of familial ties and created new constructive conditions (i.e., releasing controlling behaviours) and moved the women towards escaping the norm and living more autonomous lives.

The Substantive Theory of Potentializing Wellness

The substantive theory of potentializing wellness was discovered after careful examination of the data. Other theoretical codes emerged, such as the "conditions and consequences" model (Glaser, 1978, p. 74) in conjunction with the "amplifying causal looping" and, finally, "balancing" (Glaser, 2005, pp. 9, 28–29). The dominant theoretical code that emerged from the data to establish a general theory was a "basic social process" (Glaser, 1978, pp. 100–104).

According to Glaser (1978), substantive theory "concerns a specific group of people in a particular setting who share a problematic experience" (as cited in Nilsen, 2013, p. 63). Moreover, substantive theory can explain not only the phenomena under study, but also how people resolve it (Nilsen, 2013). Accordingly, substantive theory "fits the real world, works in predictions and explanations, is relevant to the people concerned and is readily modifiable" (Glaser, 1978, p. 142). I therefore sought a better understanding of how the Indigenous women

lived their lives and coped with the aftermath of IRS by examining their shared history with the IRS phenomenon. The discovered substantive theory of potentializing facilitates how Indigenous women resolve their main concern of kakwatakih- nipowatisiw (sick) behaviour.

This theory fits the Indigenous women's real-life experiences. Working through the BSP—categorized as building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues—also explains how the Indigenous women (i.e., escaping the norm types) resolve the problematic phenomenon of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviours learned at residential schools. The BSP can envisage consequences of modifiable conditions—that is, the BSP can be modified depending on the situation (Nilsen, 2013). In my study, the BSP was easily modifiable depending on where the women were at in the BSP and whether they perceived a gain or a loss from changing their behaviours. However, of the three typologies discovered, not all will engage in the BSP. And of those who do, not all will choose to work the BSP in exactly the same way since they follow it at their own pace. Potentializing is the substantive theory I discovered while I listened to Indigenous women's stories for this IRS study,[85] but it could easily apply to other contexts where behavioural change can make a difference to one's quality of life.

Conclusion

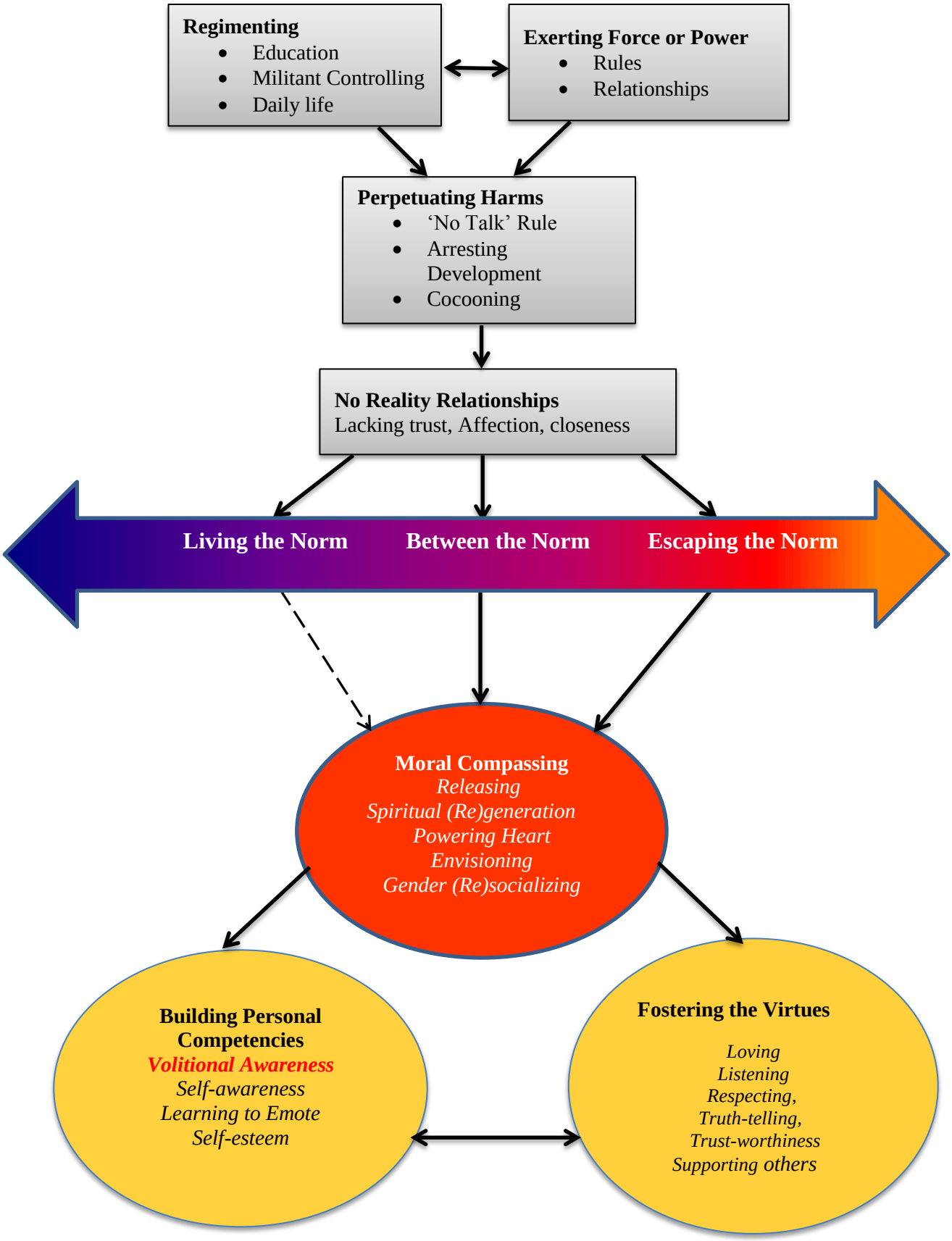
This study began with the stories of a group of Indigenous women and their responses to how they experienced the IRS phenomenon, as either a direct survivor and/or as a descendent of one or more generations of IRS survivors. The women's stories were analyzed in search of their main concern and how they resolved it. Theoretical memos and additional data from published

[85] Some students reported having good experiences at IRS, but they were in the minority. Students will perceive different consequences from their residential school experience. Therefore, in this study I aimed to develop a substantive theory that will encapsulate a range of experiences.

stories and stories heard while attending community events were included in the analysis as part of theoretical sampling and confirmed that the women cope with the IRS through a process of various (re)socializing behaviours.

The findings that emerged in this study were the main concern, a basic social process (BSP), the core category, and a substantive theoretical framework to address the Indigenous women's main concern of kakwatakih-nipowatisiw (sick) behaviour. Moreover, three typologies emerged from this study: living the norm, between the norm, and escaping the norm. The organizing BSP has three sub-categories: building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues. The core category and substantive theory were discovered to be potentializing wellness, which enabled the Indigenous women to address their main concern by learning new modes of socialization (see Figure 4.2). In doing so, the women reported feeling a greater freedom to live autonomous lives and learned to emote a fuller range of emotions such as anger, love, sadness, and happiness. The net effect produced an ability to laugh and empathize with others. In the next two chapters, I will situate the findings of this grounded theory study within existing literature, explain its implications, and provide recommendations for new research and final conclusions.

Figure 4.2: Potentializing Wellness Framework



Chapter 5

Discussion: Integrative Literature Review

This chapter builds on the explanation of the discovered grounded theory of potentializing wellness and contains an analytical comparison to the literature. As per grounded theory methodology, the integrative literature review is completed only after the fieldwork is done and the theoretical framework has been sufficiently developed. Before knowing the theory, a researcher who does a literature review may preconceive the findings as they relate to the substantive area of study in addition to expending unnecessary effort on searching non-focal literature (Scott, 2007). However, reading and reviewing other literature is not forbidden during the research process as it hones the theoretical sensitivity of the researcher (Urell, 2005). Consequently, it is only after the data analysis is complete and the core category and the theory have emerged that a researcher undertakes the final integrative literature review, in which the extant literature is reviewed as it relates to the theory (Urell, 2005). Therefore, in this chapter I provide an overview of the integrative literature review to situate the emergent theory—in this case, the theory of potentializing wellness—with other relevant literature and to make the comparison to the discovered conceptual behaviours found within the data.[86] Table 5.1 seeks to identify how the potentializing theory contributes to knowledge.

Comparison to the Extant Literature

In the review of the extant literature, 14 studies were found to be significant as they adopted parallel concepts to the ones developed in the potentializing framework. The main conceptual themes identified in the literature are gender, skill-building, virtues, finding "a new

[86] I followed Christiansen's (2005a) process of doing a final comparative literature.

normal," ecological models including morality and autonomy, and spirituality. Concepts of culture, family, and taking a decolonizing approach are important in addressing mental health and well-being. This chapter further explains how each of the studies shapes the theory of potentializing wellness.

Gender. Five of the 14 studies reviewed for this literature review have a gender focus. Women in these studies (many Indigenous women) learned new skills and attitudes to address their health/life/trauma challenges (Bainbridge, 2011; Fallot & Harris, 2002; Fallot et al., 2011; Kirlew, 2012; Ren, 2012; Stout & Peters, 2011). Learning new skills and attitudes is akin to gender re-socializing in the potentializing framework.

Scott's (2007) grounded theory study from the pedagogy literature became the most significant study to conceptualize the category of building personal competencies and explain the gender component in the potentializing framework. The potentializing study contributed to typology emergence. I found it initially difficult to conceptualize the different behaviours because the behaviours appeared to be in extremes. All participants reported different modes of sick behaviour from psychological to physical abuse and in tandem the women in this study focused on behaviors that were polar opposite as they yearned for relationships built on trust. These extreme conditions were important to record to show the reality of the conditions and consequences of the residential school phenomena but the fact that Indigenous women were focused on creating strong, loving and supportive kinship ties, spoke to their resilience to overcome hardship. Consequently, Scott's (2007) study helped me broaden my view of the relationships between the dimensions of typologies that emerged in my study. Atypical behaviours were included to show the full realm of relationships between the dimensions of the typologies that emerged, the structural conditions the women had to contend with, and the costs

and benefits of maintaining the status quo (e.g., conflict and divisive families; maintaining control). Eventually, I was able to formulate propositions for each behavioural type that emerged from the data and show how each one shared similar behaviours. But it was also possible to explicitly show how and why each type was different.

Scott's (2007) study was useful as I analyzed the different (and similar) behaviours of women (i.e., their competencies) and their propensity to relate differently from the norm. The women's main concern in this study was sick behaviour and its consequences, which were ultimately keeping families emotionally disconnected from one another. I asked what would make the difference in addressing their main concern as it related to the residential school phenomenon.[87] Consequently, the variation in the data initially complicated the analysis, although in time I appreciated that the Indigenous women were all at different stages of their healing journey. Hence, I was better able to understand the reasons for the overlap of experiences and at times polar opposites in the women's behaviours. These behaviours could be explained by the three emerging typologies: living the norm, between the norm, and escaping the norm.

These emerging typologies may contribute to a greater understanding of the process of healing from trauma. It is not a simple process: Behaviours that emerged from the study are "confusing and contradictory" (Seamands, 1991, p. 13). Simply stated, within these typologies are "wrong programming" (i.e., ongoing trauma) that interfered with present behaviour (Seamands, 1991, p. 13). The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) "views

[87] The main concern of the women in my study was stated as "colonial sick behaviour" (i.e., *kakwatakih-nipowatisiw*) in reference to the violence, bullying, or aggressive behaviours that women experience from other women.

colonialism and patriarchy as underlying root causes that perpetuate racialized gender targeted violence" (Wolski, 2009, p. 723).

What underlies the women's main concern is changing the norm without violence or aggression. How the women do this is through the basic social process of potentializing: skill-building by way of building personal competencies,[88] which is a supporting category of the core process of moral compassing in addition to fostering the virtues. The intent is to unlearn the systemic programming by "relearning and reprogramming" through traditional family mores that restore balance and gender cultural norms (Seamands, 1991, p. 14).

Virtues. Another element of skill-building is through the second category, fostering the virtues. It supports the core process of moral compassing and the secondary category of building personal competencies. Different studies showed how Indigenous women found ways to be loving, respectful, good listeners, and supportive. For example, in Cameron's (2010) study about the child welfare system, participants want the cultural practices of "respect" and "listening" to be integrated into the child welfare model in order to change the relationship between the welfare workers and themselves (p. 17). Participants in the Cameron (2010) study are also reminded of the importance of carrying these practices into the relationships they have with their children. Corresponding to the potentializing study, the virtues that Indigenous women in my study practise naturally align with and support the different dimensions of moral compassing. Displaying cultural behaviours that derive from love include respect and listening; these virtues were found to be important to Indigenous women in this study who aim to strengthen relations with their families.

[88] Building personal competencies include having volitional awareness, self-awareness of one's own behaviour, self-esteem, and an ability to emote (voicing one's needs).

Likewise, in the Stout and Peters (2011) study, the findings revealed that daughters learned resilience from their mothers and that love is a management tool to address compounding struggles between mothers and daughters. In Kirlew's (2012) study, where she interviewed Indigenous women in northern Ontario who have experienced intimate partner abuse (IPV) at the hand of their male partners, it was found that spirituality and feeling "love for others" aided women in overcoming domestic abuse (p. 159). There were many ways that mothers expressed love in the Kirlew (2012) study—for example, having love for their children, learning from love and experience, feeling deep love can be transformative, feeling love brings meaning, seeing love as hope, and feeling "worthy of love and care" (p. 158).

Other aspects of love shown in the studies were "supporting each other" (Stout & Peters, 2011, p. 74), support by way of "promoting the empowerment of others" (Bainbridge, 2011, p. S28), and "support other women" (Cameron, 2010, p. 7). I found "support" to be an important component for healing in many studies, including my own. I saw how "support" was threaded throughout the three main categories of the theory of potentializing wellness and so I added the sixth virtue of supporting others (which is also a saturated code) to the fostering the virtues category. I realized I had to raise its conceptualization from just "support," because there are bigger implications for the women in my study who engage in supporting others. The virtue of supporting others is one in which women practise new behaviours as part of building trusting relations. Fostering the virtues is a part of developing new skills to learn how to relate differently to members of one's own family.

The literature also points to skill-building as a strength-based approach versus deficit-focused approach. For example, Fallot et al.'s, (2002, 2011) Trauma Recovery and Empowering Model (TREM) incorporates a skills- and strength-based group intervention for addressing mental health, trauma, and substance abuse. This model enhances existing personal strengths

without focusing too long on the re-telling of trauma narratives. TREM as a group therapy model deals with emotions and interpersonal relations and focuses on empowerment, trauma education, and skill-building. As a researcher, it is my belief that re-telling of trauma can do more harm than good for some. For that reason, at no time during the interviews for my study were participants asked to talk about their trauma experiences. Instead, they were asked to share how they experienced the residential school phenomenon. The trauma emerging from their experiences and recounted through their stories also demonstrated the women's resilience. This became an area of focus during the interviews. Culture and the historical context of trauma emerged from the women's stories and were incorporated into the framework. Thus, the women's identification of the behavioural changes they sought to make has been conceptualized to show their strengths. The women follow the self-regulating basic social process at their own pace. The emerging components of the potentializing framework were found to be empowering to Indigenous women because of their decolonizing effect and self-determining nature.

Gone's (2013a) interpretative analysis of historical trauma (HT) also takes a strength-based approach. Four themes emerged from Gone's interview data, which align with the potentializing social process: emotional burdens and cathartic disclosure (relating to releasing in the emotional dimension of moral compassing), self-as-project reflexivity (relating to awareness in the building personal competencies), and impact of colonization (relating to the mental dimension of moral compassing).

An important insight offered by Gone (2013a) concerns the conflicting political objectives between the evidence-based practice (EBP) movement in psychology and the Indigenous culturally sensitive therapies (CST). Psychology practitioners' goal is simply to help

clients in need of mental health services. Conversely, the Indigenous focus on a decolonizing agenda goes far beyond this goal:

> Decolonization is the intentional, collective, and reflective self-examination undertaken by formerly colonized people that results in shared remedial action. Such action traces continuity from "traditional" (precolonial) experiences even as it embarks on distinctive, purposeful, and self-determined (post-colonial) experiences. The key to decolonization is community emancipation from the hegemony of outside interests. (Wilson & Yellowbird, 2005, cited in Gone, 2013a, p. 90)

Gone's insights into how Indigenous Peoples' healing views (CST) are differentiated from Western approaches (EBP) (2013a, pp. 89–90) remain grounded in the epistemology and therapeutic discourse of Indigenous People. CST focuses on healing rather than on treatment and/or clinical concerns of coping. According to the program staff interviewed for Gone's study, the Indigenous form of healing was thought to "neutralize the pathogenic effects of colonization" (2013a, p. 78).

The concept of HT in Gone's (2013a) study resonates clearly with culturally relevant approaches to mental health research. Focusing exclusively on Indigenous experiences and explicitly identifying colonialism in the etiology of trauma, Gone's study aligns with the potentializing study and the discovery of the core category of "colonial sick behaviour." The Indigenous women in my study take a cultural (i.e., a decolonizing) approach to deal with the dual effects of kakwatakih and nipowatisiw. In review of Gone's healing principles, it is clear that the potentializing framework similarly challenges conventional scientific standards of what constitutes evidence for healing. The potentializing framework remains culturally grounded and community-based and supports the de-colonizing efforts of local Indigenous People. The

potentializing framework may be considered a CST and an example of a "grass-roots therapeutic alternative" (Gone, 2013a, p. 91).

***Finding a new normal*.** The conceptualization of "finding a new normal" was not only revealed in my study but was also apparent in the literature (Atkins, Colville, & John, 2012; Sandsund, Pattison, Doyle, & Shaw, 2013; Shannonhouse et al., 2014). These three studies have all developed theories related to "finding a new normal" following hospital rehabilitation. Atkins, Colville, and John (2012) developed a family recovery model following a paediatric intensive care admission, which culminated in reaching a "new normal" (p. 139). This model showed the importance of the integration and consideration of the individual child recovering from a trauma as well as their family's holistic needs. However, the effects of "pathologising recovery" meant families felt pressured into a societal norm of recovery, resulting in many avoiding discussions of their experiences with people outside of their family (Atkins et al., 2012, p. 138). In turn, feelings of isolation emerged and stalled the family's social and psychological recovery. As in my study, feelings of isolation have been one of the crippling conditions that prevent some of the women from finding their new normal.

In contrast, in a grounded theory study by Sandsun, Pattison, Doyle, and Shaw (2013) entitled "Finding a New Normal," it was found that cancer patients find support as they move through the cancer rehabilitation process. Having family support encourages recovery as the individual confidently and systematically paces through the different phases of recovery. Likewise, Shannonhouse et al. (2014), in their study of the experiences of 14 female cancer survivors, revealed a process in which women felt encouraged despite their health crisis. The participants joined a wellness-oriented psychoeducational support group called Finding Your New Normal (FYNN) as part of the Shannonhouse et al. study. The results of having participated in FYNN showed that working in groups became an empowering process for the women. What

is significant from reviewing these studies, and related to the potentializing study, is the need for individuals to take charge of their own well-being. Individuals who do so feel a sense of empowerment as their awareness of how to manage change increases.

Relevant to my study is how healing from trauma is understood. For example, the Stout and Peters (2011) study confirms what women in my study reported as "needing to find a new normal" after experiencing decades of trauma. They reported how the experience of aggressive and violent behaviour by females (which could include mother, aunt, grandmother, or other females in the community) who attended IRS became normative, and their recovery required a re-setting to a healthier norm. The normative experience of toxic behaviours catalyzed the passage of dysfunction from generation to generation as those affected did not know that there were healthier options. For instance, one daughter in the Stout and Peters (2011) study reported that she believed "violence was normal" (Stout & Peters, 2011, p. 30). This type of behaviour became normalized within and between families and was shown in two of the three typologies—living the norm and between the norm — that emerged in my study. The paradox, of course, is that this type of behaviour is not normal behaviour in a family that is close and loving. Increasingly, Indigenous communities are recognizing where this violence and aggressive behaviour was learned. The following comment from the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (1999) sums up the complexity of this learned behaviour:

> Inter-generational or multi-generational trauma happens when the effects of trauma are not resolved in one generation. When trauma is ignored and there is no support for dealing with it, the trauma will be passed from one generation to the next. What we learn to see as "normal", when we are children, we pass on to our own children. Children who learn that physical and sexual abuse is "normal", and who have never dealt with the feelings that come from this, may inflict physical abuse and sexual

> abuse on their own children. The unhealthy ways of behaving that people use to protect themselves can be passed on to children, without them even knowing they are doing so. (AHF, 1999, cited in Stout & Peters, 2011, p. 11).

Kirlew's (2012) study recognized that domestic violence (DV) occurs between women as well as between women and men:

> All of the researchers … have implicated colonialism as a root cause in the present multiple forms of conflict Aboriginal women are faced with. To this end, the most effective remedy seems to be one that must encapsulate the re-education of both Aboriginal males and females. This re-education must be in culturally relevant terms that promote values and beliefs that seek to preserve indigenous family structure, physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health. This is important as although Aboriginal women experience more DV or IPV than men, according to Murdock (2001) they are also perpetrators of it. (p. 153)

This observation affirms what the Indigenous women in my study report about female violence against females, and about where it began and ways to eliminate it. Throughout my study, the women have demonstrated, in a variety of ways, the reclamation of culture and its importance to changing behaviours. This process of reclaiming cultural norms has helped the women in this study learn how to relate differently to others and, more specifically, how to relate differently to their female relatives. Since practising cultural ways of knowing is found to be grounding, it is anticipated that any changes in behaviour will have long-term and positive effects on family life. The Indigenous women in this study no longer need to continue with the status quo (i.e., "the norm"), which leaves them feeling helpless and hopeless when family

members are estranged. However, the degree to which creating a new normal is achieved depends upon an individual's motivation to make change and wherewithal to do so.

Fleury (1991) identifies and conceptualizes this motivation as part of *empowering potential*. In her study, empowering potential is the basic social process explaining an individual's motivation to sustain cardiovascular health behaviour. This ongoing process initiated and sustained patient growth and development, which fostered new and positive health patterns. Fleury's grounded theory of empowering potential had three main categories: appraising readiness, changing, and integrating change. When commencing the "appraising readiness" stage, subjects assessed for themselves their preferences and values as well as which of their resources were available to assist them in initiating change. Fleury's conceptualization of appraisal of readiness includes the properties of re-evaluating, identifying barriers, and owning change.

Similarly, "readiness" in Kirlew's (2012) study is described as thoughts and actions taken to initiate change (p. 103). Once readiness has been established, women in Kirlew's study go through a psychic transition whereby they "break the trance" and take action to break intimidation tactics, adjust their thinking, and act on their own intuition (p. 148). In both the Fleury (1991) and Kirlew (2012) studies, readiness is seen differently. Thus, there are different aspects to one's motivation when considering how to go about creating change. However, what is most important for Indigenous women in this study is how they derive a process whereby they constantly negotiate and construct new and authentic ways of being (Bainbridge, 2011).

Moreover, there comes a time in the process when subjects put forward the intention "to initiate and sustain health behavior" (Fleury, 1991, p. 288). From here the intentions can then become actualized into taking personal action, which naturally flows into the next phases of what

Fleury calls *changing.* Following this stage, integrating new behaviours helps in achieving certain goals. Therefore, *integrating change* for subjects in Fleury's study was best accomplished when health-related changes were incorporated into their regular everyday lives. Soon the subjects saw that their new behaviours had become part of what they considered a "new normal" (p. 290). But this cannot happen without readiness to make change.

The conceptualizations of "readiness" and "breaking the trance" are seemingly a higher conceptualization of what encompasses both the volitional awareness and self-awareness found in the potentializing study. Through volitional awareness, the women start believing in their own change-making abilities and start adjusting their behaviours. They become change agents for themselves and for others. There are implications for making change as the women move from living the norm to escaping the norm (this is part of the new reality they want to create). Individual change has broader implications for the entire community, because the women are building on a different belief system, knowing that change can be made in a good way and for the greater good of the community.

Long before this final integrative literature review was undertaken, I believed finding a new normal was my theory. By continually doing comparisons, I realized that while the Indigenous women in my study had the intent to actively work towards a new normal, they were doing more than this. They were actually surpassing finding a new normal as they nurtured their own potential by working through the different dimensions of the basic social process: building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues.

***Ecological models, morality, and autonomy*.** In order to create a new normal, many of these studies showed the necessity of following ecological or holistic models of wellness that help establish new ways of coping with change (Atkins et al., 2012; Bainbridge, 2011; Elizondo-

Schmelkes, 2011; Sandsun et al., 2013). Atkins et al. (2012) developed a "biopsychosocial model of recovery" that considers the physical, emotional, and social needs of individuals and families, while Sandsun et al. (2013) took the holistic approach further by addressing the physical, emotional, social, and spiritual perspectives. In her *Authenticizing the Research Process* study, Elizondo-Schmelkes (2011) developed a holistic model that shows how students demonstrate different behaviours to deal with the research process and find ways to match their needs and wants. As students authenticize, they engage in "compassing" and accordingly exhibit patterns of behaviours in the intellectual, emotional, and physical dimensions (Elizondo-Schmelkes, 2011). Compassing is what students do as they attempt to finish writing their dissertation and obtain their degree. Throughout the different dimensions of compassing, the students will struggle, but eventually they reach the point where they can more easily attain what they have been striving for. They finally feel a sense of accomplishment and have a sense of freedom because they learned how to compass; thus, they learn how to authenticize their own research process. The students can "handle [any barriers encountered from this point] from a self-governed or self-ruled authentic and autonomous stance" (Elizondo-Schmelkes, 2011, p. 10). Autonomy in this study is what sets the baseline for establishing "moral responsibility over one's decisions and actions," implying an actualization of the potential of an independent human being (Elizondo-Schmelkes, 2011, p. 15).

Review of this particular study was very important to me during the development of the potentializing theory. I saw compassing occurring throughout my study with similar patterns of behaviour. There were also consistent feelings expressed by participants in this study, such as feeling a sense of freedom once they reconciled their experiences regarding IRS and/or feeling this freedom with the realization that it was in their power to become autonomous human beings. Moreover, I observed how women in my study needed to live in a guided fashion determined by

a moral ethic. Eventually, with my reading of the Elizondo-Schmelkes (2011) study to boost my theoretical sensitivity, I was able to similarly derive a core process and category of *moral compassing*. Moral compassing is what guides the women in my study to construct a new life and enables them to rebuild their self-esteem and identity and form healthy loving relationships with their family and others. Moral compassing comprises not only intellectual, physical, and emotional dimensions but also two others: gender (re)socializing and spiritual (re)generation, culminating in social and spiritual mindfulness.

Social and spiritual mindfulness includes a moral consciousness and moral concern for others: an allegiance to Indigenous People, humankind, and the environment (Bainbridge, 2011). Likewise, Bainbridge's "seeking authenticity" embodies a spiritual sensibility, and the "authoring narratives of self" share a moral consciousness with seeking authenticity such that the women in this study find ways to increase their quality of life and take on their rightful roles as Indigenous women (2011, pp. S27–S28). Thus, Indigenous women in this study are reclaiming "the values, beliefs and practices of Sacred Woman" (Martin-Hill, 2003, p. 111). In Indigenous cultures, moral compassing is a necessary component of becoming a wholly functioning human being embodying a vitality of wellness.

Wellness from an Indigenous perspective captures "a wholistic view of health that includes the spiritual, emotional, physical, and mental dimensions of a person's and collective's being" (Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2014, p. 5). The term *wholistic* indicates how a person becomes "whole" and captures a more "comprehensive, balanced and circular" meaning of wellness (Canadian Institute of Health Research, 2014, p. 20, footnote iii). Overcoming trauma and returning to a state of wellness is about balancing the physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual aspects of self. Well-being comprises the social, cultural, and intergenerational collective, since an Indigenous person "is enmeshed in and inseparable from a network of

relationships with family, community and the world" (Stout & Peters, 2011, p. 13). Thus, wellness can be achieved through the five dimensions that comprise moral compassing, yet it is the spiritual dimension that strengthens the other four dimensions.

***Spirituality*.** Similarly, in the Shannonhouse et al. (2014) study, women reported that spiritual growth was the most salient factor in achieving wellness. In other related studies, from an Indigenous perspective, spirituality is viewed as an essential part of holistic healing (Cameron, 2010; Kirlew, 2012; Ren, 2012). While the distinct manifestations of spirituality across different Indigenous cultures must be acknowledged, there are some similarities. For example, from Cameron's (2010) study it appeared that spirituality cannot be excluded from an Indigenous person's life, because in the Indigenous context, spirituality is what helps maintain a strong identity. Identity culminates from the Indigenous world view that a person is connected to all of nature; nature sustains a sacred force and as such, identity has a spiritual/sacred dimension (Cameron, 2010, p. 15). Thus, an important factor reinforcing a strong tribal identity is the (re)learning of "Aboriginal culture" (Cameron, 2010, p. 9). Correspondingly, Indigenous healing and wellness are indicated by "strong Aboriginal identity, cultural reclamation, spiritual well-being, and purposeful living," according to Gone's study on Indigenous healing (Gone, 2013a, p. 89).

Culture in Kirlew's (2012) study is conceptualized as "introduce[ing] or recall[ing] the teachings" (p. 68). Consequently, returning to traditional teachings strengthens how Indigenous women in Kirlew's (2012) study perceive the attainment of a meaningful spiritual life. For this reason, Indigenous women who have experienced domestic violence (DV) may buffer the effects of DV through the practice of "spirituality and religious-based coping strategies" (Kirlew, 2012, p. 6). Similarly, women in China utilized spirituality to cope with and overcome a traumatic

event with the aftermath of the earthquake that hit southwest China (measuring 8.0 on the Richter scale in May 2008). Ren (2012), a clinical psychologist, discovered that spirituality in Chinese communities represents the deep bond held between family members and the culture and faith system. Consequently, spirituality is contained within all behavioural routines and experiences of everyday life and is what strengthens an individual's resolve to respond to traumatic events (Ren, 2012, p. 975). Ren reports that spirituality should not be seen as an abstract notion; his experiences in China taught him that spirituality can pervade every aspect of an individual person's life to the degree that defining it is nearly impossible. He states that, "Some might even assert that it is the foundation of being human" (2012, p. 976). While working with Chinese people following this natural disaster, he observed that clinical practitioners and researchers (i.e., outsiders) must "encounter the culture itself," in order to feel the essence of Chinese peoples' spirituality, which helps maintain a cohesive family structure (Ren, 2012, p. 976). Ren also observed: "The notion of spirituality represents a diverse range of experiences, including one's sense of family and cultural responsibility as well as a spiritual connection to one's ancestors" (2012, p. 987). In addition, Bainbridge (2011) found that Australian Indigenous women used the cultural mores of "Performing Aboriginality" (p. S26) in carrying out their perceived responsibilities.

The basic social process emerging from the potentializing study supports what Ren (2012) concluded from his work in China. He states that psychotherapy is not the preferred process or method utilized by Indigenous People to process and express trauma or grief; instead, they draw on the innate spiritual ways that "cultivate moral character" and in turn guide social and familial relationships and all aspects of ethical behaviour (Ren, 2012, p. 978). Thus, spirituality is one of the means by which Indigenous People are guided in living a meaningful life.

In another study, Glenn (2014) discusses the importance of spiritual meaning-making as it relates to sexual abuse survivor resilience. Spirituality can be a meaningful protective factor for individuals born into at-risk environments according to Werner and Smith's (1982) longitudinal study on resilience (cited in Glenn, 2014). Abuse at a young age can cause "fragmented spiritual identity … sense of purpose … [it] assaults a child's ability to trust and depend on others" (Lyon, 2010, as cited in Glenn, 2014, p. 46). Secret acts of abuse affect all aspects of a child's notion of self: "This secret act steals the child's reality as a sacred being with soul capacities for autonomous thinking, wonder, imagining, creating and growing in relationships with others … made sacred in their creation by God" (Lyon, 2010, cited in Glenn, 2014, p. 46).

Glenn (2014) states that survivors can reframe their language in spiritual terms as part of their coping strategies to voice their experiences, and thus rebuild a sense of community, belonging, connectedness with God, and interpersonal relationships. Sigmund (2003) concurs following her review of the literature[89] that reframing language with the help of clergy can be helpful given the "spiritual challenges of the experience of trauma, patients; [they] could benefit from spiritual assessment and intervention as part of their overall treatment plan" (p. 221). Clergy are increasingly being asked to perform spiritual assessments and conduct interventions for clients seeking to address PTSD. Since trauma experiences can "result in both mental illness and spiritual crisis," it is recognized that additional training of professionals is required if they are to be more effective at addressing a patient's spiritual needs (Sigmund, 2003, p. 227). The outcome of this literature review revealed that patients with PTSD did benefit from treatment

[89] Literature from different disciplines such as family therapy, nursing, psychology, pastoral counselling, and medicine was reviewed.

when spiritual issues were addressed in a safe environment. Patients worked through feelings of distrust, vulnerability, fear, anger, self-blame, and a negative self-concept and world view. As individuals create a more spiritual way of being, they are more able to reconnect with and be in relationships with others (Sigmund, 2003).

Similarly, in Cameron's (2010) study, "strengthening spirituality" (p. 78) feeds into wanting a "change in behavior" and to "maintain a connection" (p. 7) with the Great Spirit. In my potentializing study, spirituality is of great importance in overcoming trauma because this is where Indigenous women who participated in this study found themselves and who they really are: sacred beings who hold their place as part of all of Creation (Cameron, 2010).

Aligning with the aforementioned studies, the importance of culture (or reclaiming culture) is found in all dimensions of the potentializing framework. Spirituality provides a guiding compass for living a good life. One participant in my potentializing study shared how her healing work must incorporate culture, because "that's where my answers are" (story of S15). The potentializing framework emerged through the women's stories as they "were their own therapists" (Ren, 2012, p.989) and, in doing so, learned how to live autonomous and virtuous lives. As a result, the participants in my potentializing study used their voices as a form of empowerment to not only co-construct the research process but also, in their different ways, to help build "a community of caring" (Jager & Carolan, 2009, p. 306), which is at the heart of Indigenous culture.

In the next section, the findings of this grounded theory study will be summarized and situated within existing literature and a table will outline the contributions to knowledge. Implications and limitations of the study, recommendations and further research possibilities, and the conclusion will follow in the final chapter.

Situating the Findings within Existing Works

Situating the findings of this grounded theory study within existing literature involves the use of new literature and new search terms based on the discovered theoretical framework. Search terms included, for example, "finding a new norm," "empowering potential," "potential and wellness," "spirituality and trauma," and "overcoming trauma." In this final stage of my literature review, the use of bibliographic evidence for my study is based on whether the chosen literature aligns with the discoveries of the grounded theory.

The literature included in the final review for my study resulted from searches in databases for psychological and psychiatric research, pastoral psychology research, public health research, nursing research, and mental health research. The literature in the final review is applied in two ways: 1) to round out the emerging theory, and 2) to do a comparative review of the emerging theoretical framework and its concepts to the extant literature. Thus, for this final stage in the literature review, I was able to draw from multiple primary sources, including models regarding trauma, motivation research, biopsychosocial (ecological) research, resilience and empowerment models, and other studies from the professional literature.

The aim of my research study was to uncover the latent patterns of behaviour (Glaser, 1998) found within the substantive data and to compare potentializing wellness with different holistic wellness models with similar concepts found in the literature. Like many grounded theories, my research suggests that when comparisons to similar models are reviewed, they rarely denote a "main concern and its recurrent solving for real-world people in real world [conditions]" (Christiansen, 2005b, p. 75). Thus, the theory discovered in my study was derived from the social process of potentializing wellness grounded in real-world experiences versus through "logical elaborations, derivations and conjectures" (Christiansen, 2005b, p. 75). It provides a conceptual explanation of "how" the women in my study overcome traumatic events.

The women reported an array of strategies that may not have surfaced if I had used a preconceived structured questionnaire.

The following criteria were used to assess the literature during the final comparative review: 1) the literature must relate to the emergent theoretical framework, 2) the literature must be derived from the aforementioned search terms, and 3) the literature must relate to the examined concepts found within the theory rather than specific contexts found within the literature (Christiansen, 2005b). Accordingly, only when significant "conceptual relatedness" occurred within literature from other contexts or disciplines was that literature included (Christiansen, 2005b, p. 85). In other words, literature was eliminated if it was seen as irrelevant for comparison to the concepts that emerged in this study. Conducting a literature review at this stage in the grounded theory research process is an opportunity to examine new data that are also compared with concepts in the emerging theory (Glaser, 1998; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Continuing the constant comparative process against new literature led to new properties of the theory emerging. When new properties emerged, the theory itself became modifiable. New properties do not necessarily have to emerge, but when they do, they affirm the concepts and properties already developed.[90] Therefore, when I was completing the final literature review, I continued the process of doing constant comparisons with related concepts found in the theory until I found the theory achieved sufficient theoretical coverage and further modifications were

[90] New literature did affirm the concepts and properties already developed in this study, although it turned out that the study was modifiable many times over as I gathered new data. For example, "Finding a New Norm" was the first core category to emerge, and I located "Finding Your New Normal: Outcomes of a Wellness-Oriented Psychoeducational Support Group for Cancer Survivors" (Shannonhouse et al., 2014). Yet, as I continued with constant comparisons, I further conceptualized and modified the emerging theory to "Potentializing" and my focus group stated they liked "Empowering Potential" as the naming of the theory. However, what emerged in the next literature search was "Empowering Potential: A Theory of Wellness Motivation" (Fleury, 1991). Since it was preferable to have an original name for the theory, I included this particular study as part of the final integrative literature review before arriving at the *Potentializing Wellness* theoretical framework.

seen as unnecessary. Since considerable literature comparisons were conducted at the start of my research, the comparative literature review at the end of the study is relatively short (Christiansen, 2005a).

Contributions of the Study

Previous researchers looking at residential schools typically relied on a remodelled grounded theory approach versus adhering to classic grounded theory methods developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Some studies were found to be pre-framed using other theories or were preconceived in ways that relied heavily on data descriptions devoid of conceptual explanations (Christiansen, 2005a, p. 183). However, despite the methodological differences, the findings of these studies confirmed the grounded nature of my study. My study moves beyond data description to a higher conceptual level revealing a different viewpoint about how Indigenous women work through intergenerational trauma. Thus, my greatest contribution to knowledge is the emergent theoretical framework of potentializing wellness consisting of a basic social process for building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues. Other contributions made by the potentializing wellness framework are outlined in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Contributions to Knowledge

Contributions	Supported	Added	Challenged	New
Qualitative Data Analysis	**Stout and Peters (2011)** qualitative study on the intergenerational effects of Indian residential schools and women's concern that violence is normalized.	A higher conceptualization of behaviours in the potentializing study.		Developed a theory from the stories of Indigenous women, but went further than the narratives by developing conceptualizations of behaviors that allow a generalizability of the theory of potentializing across contexts.
	Cameron's (2010) qualitative study on how families were utilizing	Cameron's study helped round out and add "Supporting	Cameron's 39 concepts and 3 frameworks; concepts could be taken	The framework of potentializing has broader and more general

	culture to overcome systemic barriers found within the child welfare system and to maintain cultural identity.	Others" to the *Fostering the virtues* category of the potentializing basic social process.	to a higher conceptual level and reduced to one framework.	implications for how traumatized women become change agents in their own lives.
	Kirlew's (2012) qualitative study and how women find reconciliation by utilizing spirituality and religious-based coping strategies to resolve (reconcile) their experiences of domestic violence (DV).			The theory of potentializing is a parsimonious theory reflecting the women's main concern and how they resolve it.
Empowerment Literature	**Bainbridge's (2011) "Becoming Empowered"** – a grounded theory ecological model: importance of social capital (cultural competency); human capital (increased skills and knowledge); social inclusion, and the role agency plays in how women participate in change processes. Spiritual sensibility guiding moral and ethnic consciousness.	Aligned with understandings of awareness levels and strategies applied within the bounds of colonization and patriarchy (women) and how causes, conditions, and notions of Self are implicated in change processes.	I do not challenge the findings in this model that emerged from the stories of Indigenous women in Australia; instead it affirms my theoretical framework that reveals the self-determining behaviours of Indigenous women in Canada.	This grounded theoretical framework has a decolonizing component: following the BSP allows purging behaviours derived from the effects of "colonial sickness."
Wellness Motivation Literature	**Fleury's (1991) "Empowering Potential" –** a grounded theory of emphasizing healthy behavioural change as a process.	Other dimensions (e.g., spiritual and cultural) are considered besides the psychological and social processes that would garner positive behavioural (health) patterns.		My study considers both the historical context and the cultural relevance to address ongoing colonial effects and impacts on the physical, emotional, spiritual, social, and cognitive aspects of Self.
Pedagogy Literature	**Elizondo-Schmelkes's (2011), "Theory of Authenticizing"** – a grounded theory defining the process of encompassing consisting of intellectual, emotional, and physical dimensions.	In the potentializing theory, two more dimensions of social and spirituality were added. The core category of moral compassing was rounded out with the aid of the theory of authenticizing.		The BSP of potentializing – determined by a moral ethic and a decolonizing component. BSP consists of emotional, physical, intellectual, spiritual, and social dimensions.
Pedagogy Literature	**Scott's (2007) "Temporal Integration" –** a grounded theory about adult online distance learning.	Scott's study helped further develop the typologies to explain what Indigenous women do or do not do to resolve their main concern.		Typology developed shows women's behaviours and propensity to relate differently depends on whether they have the level of awareness to become change agents by following a decolonizing BSP.
Theoretical	**Atkins, Colville, and John**	From an Indigenous	The "holistic" aspect of	A self-directing culturally

Literature - biopsychosocial model	**(2011**) – biopsychosocial model of recovery culminated in reaching a "new normal": the integration and consideration of the physical, emotional, and social needs of families recovering from trauma.	perspective there are more dimensions to a holistic approach than presented in this model.	this recovery model; it does not take into account the role of spirituality and culture in coping with and recovering from (historical) trauma.	relevant process by which Indigenous women continue to engage in modifying their behaviours. It provides explanation of an (w)holistic framework to understand the process of wellness for individuals and families. It considers multiple dimensions of Self in relation to others' well-being.
Trauma Literature	**Fallot & Harris's (2002) and, Fallot et al., (2011**) **Trauma Recovery & Empowerment Model** (TREM) group intervention for traumatized women: skill-building and enhancing existing personal strengths without focusing too long on the re-telling of trauma narratives.	My study adds the cultural dimension and historical context of trauma given that the model is based on the women's lived experiences and what they require to change behavioural patterns.		In addition to the cultural components and historical contexts, this model is empowering to Indigenous women because of its decolonizing effect and self-determining nature. Women follow this self-regulating process at a pace best suited for them.
Trauma Literature – Transcultural Psychiatry	**Gone (2013a)'s Community-based Treatment for Native American HT**: Explicitly identifying colonialism in the etiology of trauma, Gone's study aligns with the discovery of the core category of "colonial sick behavior" and Indigenous People' taking a CST approach to deal with *kikwatikih* and *nipowatisiw*.	Highlighted Indigenous women's experiences of historical trauma and what they do to address a specific outcome of HT.	Challenge conventional scientific standards for what constitutes evidence in healing practices.	Specifically promotes Indigenous women's priorities and perspectives. Fosters an Indigenous self-determining approach that is transformational and innovative. Considered to be a CST. The potentializing framework has sustained "culturally grounded, community-based, decolonization efforts" (2013a, p. 91).
Professional Literature – Psychology	The potentializing study supports **Ren's (2012)** conclusion that psycho-therapy is not the process or method that Indigenous People utilize to process and express trauma or grief.	Potentializing incorporates a process that an individual can follow at their own pace to address acute stress disorder symptoms related to trauma. The process involves more than just the physical or emotional aspects.	The standard of care of Western medicine: prescribing mood adjustment medications and symptom-specific medications.	The potentializing wellness framework shows how Indigenous women process and express their grief without clinical interventions and without use of a biomedical model. This framework emerged through the women's stories as they "were their own therapists" (Ren, 2012, p.989).
Professional Literature – spirituality in mental health	The potentializing framework supports the findings of **Glenn (2014)** in how spirituality can strengthen resilience of those who experienced childhood trauma.			Indigenous women intuitively follow an Indigenous process towards wellness.
Professional Literature –	The potentializing study aligns with **Sandsund et. al.**			Indigenous women were found to empower

Cancer Care.	**(2013)** "finding a new normal" from a patient's perspective: they feel a sense of empowerment as their awareness of how to manage change increases.			themselves based on a cultural model of wellness. Having family support encourages healing, but even in its absence Indigenous women can create a "new normal."
Professional Literature – Specialists in Group Work	Similarly, to the study above, the **Shannonhouse et. al. (2014) "Finding Your New Normal"** (FYNN) shows how spirituality enhances the skill-building aspects of FYNN.			As in the Shannonhouse et. al. study, the greatest gain made by Indigenous women was when they incorporated spirituality and skill-building (from a cultural context).

Table 5.1[91] summarizes how the extant literature was integrated into the potentializing framework. The extant literature includes studies using qualitative data analysis (QDA), empowerment and wellness motivation literature, pedagogy literature, theoretical literature (biopsychosocial models), trauma literature, and professional literature. The table also indicates what literature supported the findings in this study, how the extant literature contributed to the shaping of the potentializing framework, in what areas the potentializing framework challenged other study findings, and what new contributions were made to the literature with the development of the theory of potentializing wellness.

In the next and final chapter I discuss the implications of the research, its limitations, and recommendations for future research. The contributions to knowledge from Table 5.1 will be woven through the concluding statements.

[91] My GT mentor, Helen Scott, recommended including this table to organize the extant literature and show the contributions to knowledge.

Chapter 6: Implications and Conclusions

The discoveries made in this research coupled with the final integrative literature review suggest that Indigenous People's cultural ways of knowing have an (w)holistic component addressing all wellness levels. When (w)holistic health is followed by, or happens concordantly with, reclaiming cultural norms grounded in community and spiritual life, effective strategies to deal with intergenerational trauma can emerge. When the women participating in this study followed the basic social process of potentializing wellness, there appeared to be broader implications for wellness extending beyond any individual.

As the women began adjusting their behaviours and experiencing a better quality of life, they were more apt to share what they had learned (i.e., changing what people know) and to help others also become change agents. What started with one person extended beyond that individual as many were compelled to support others as part of their personal de-colonizing efforts. Consciously or not, the women were creating a community of care central to spiritual and cultural norms.

The discovery of an emerging framework from the experiences of the Indigenous women, who did not seek clinical interventions to deal with their personal trauma, revealed that behavioural change was possible. The extent of the change the women reported was creating a new life or moving towards a life they always wanted. One of the implications for clinicians and professionals who aim to provide Western interventions or cross-cultural therapies for intergenerational trauma is that it is not enough to Indigenize a Western intervention and call it culturally sensitive. Focusing on the spiritual as well as emotional, physical, intellectual, and social aspects of self appears to be the best approach for Indigenous People when dealing with intergenerational effects of trauma.

Limitations of the Study

The potentializing framework was created through various processes that Indigenous women undertook in order to overcome their main concern. Since the conceptualization of data is akin to putting puzzle pieces together to form a framework, it is not entirely clear if the Indigenous women in my study follow the phases of a BSP in its entirety. They may stop at certain phases if they feel discouraged and not use the BSP to its full potential or use alternative processes to unknown effect. Since the framework begins with the individual, there could be a chance that an individualizing effect could occur whereby Indigenous women may not come together to form a community of care or work together in the envisioning phase where they develop alternative structures that are more powerful than the system in place. Thus, an individualizing effect may limit the development of community required to overcome systemic factors that contribute to the marginalization of Indigenous women as a whole**.**

The other limitation is that I am a novice grounded theorist. I had to learn the jargon and the method of classic GT as I progressed through my research. I often questioned my progress and even hesitated to move to the next stage due to my uncertainty about the GT process. Had I more experience with this methodology, I am sure my theory would have emerged differently.

However, what consoles me in this regard is that Dr. Barney Glaser states that any one theory can actually have a second theory built in and that the time and resources available will often determine the outcome (as stated in his Trouble-shooting Seminar, San Francisco, 2013). That said, as I acquire more experience in the classic grounded theory methodology, my theory still has the possibility to be modified and perhaps strengthened in its approach.

My study focused on Indigenous women who were either direct survivors of Indian residential schools or female descendants of residential school survivors. The stories of the women demonstrated how the IRS system, run by colonial authorities, was “purposely gendered

to undermine and remove Indigenous women's traditional authority, agency and roles within families" (Hansen, p. 3, in press). The women who participated in my research study reported how the IRS system has affected their familial relations and undermined the female members of their communities.

Thus, a limitation in the utility of this framework may be that it is restricted to those who attended residential schools. In North America, there are many Indigenous People who have also endured historical trauma and racism who did not attend residential school. Consequently, I cannot fully determine if the behaviours emerging through this study are distinct to this population "versus what behaviors may be shared more broadly with Indigenous women who are not IRS survivors or descendants of survivors" (in personal communication with Cindy Blackstock, April 2015). For example, Denham (2008) has shown how one North American Indigenous family experienced generational historic trauma and racism yet do not exhibit similar behaviours to those found in this study. Instead, their "trauma narratives transmit strength, optimism and coping strategies" (Denham, 2008, pp. 392–393). Consequently, the limitations of the study can only be asserted through connection with a gender-specific oppression, latent within the colonial experience (in personal communication with Amelia McComber, May 2015). Therefore, more research needs to be undertaken to look at the potential utility of the framework with populations where trauma has resulted outside the residential school experience. In addition, further examination of this framework could be useful in addressing a possible individualizing effect in addition to other systemic and structural factors that have contributed to the oppressed growth of Indigenous People in general and Indigenous women in particular.

Recommendations/Future Research

Future research may include the creation of a longitudinal study that follows survivors and/or descendants to track and assess overall changes in wellness and potentializing outcomes.

There is evidence to suggest that group interventions offering social support are promising and could greatly enhance the process of recovery (healing) to implement new norms and behaviours (Atkins, Colville, & John, 2012; Shannonhouse et al., 2014). Tracking the progress of participants over a longer period may identify gaps in the framework that need to be addressed. A new study could also include a broader sample to evaluate how men work the BSP, how youth work the BSP, and how Elders work the BSP. This would provide additional data to determine how the potentializing BSP has created positive change for both individuals and entire communities. Finally, further research exploring how the main concern of male survivors and their male descendants compares to the women's view of sick behaviour and the dual effects of *kakwatakih-nipowatisiw* could result in a new theory and perspective on the effects of residential schools.

Conclusion

> I am returning to my People's ceremonies and celebrating our diversity and beauty, that gives us strength to carry on. It will be the strength of our People that enables us to rise. Understand this was Canadian law and policy and it is the responsibility of all Canadians to carry this burden … The onus should not be on our People to embrace reconciliation. Because of the impacts of IRS, it has affected our knowing our language, having pride and to have trust in our relationships … we have challenges to renewing our identities and our morality. The opportunity is to renew our spiritual traditions for healing. (Viola Thomas, Red Jam Slam – IRS Survivor Stories, November 9, 2013)

The classic GT approach was used to study the IRS phenomena. My study conceptualized how female Indian residential school survivors and their female descendants work through the

intergenerational effects of the IRS experience. The initial interview question invited participants to share their stories of IRS. They were asked a grand tour question: "What was your experience of Indian residential school?" (direct survivor) or "What affect did the IRS phenomenon have on your life?" (descendant of a survivor). The principle assumption underlying my study is that there is ongoing community concern regarding intergenerational transmission of trauma. Consequently, the participants' stories are what shaped the research and the final outcomes of this research study. But what is it specifically about this intergenerational transmission that is of most concern? Additional questions I explored were: a) "What do female IRS survivors and their female descendants (FIRSS-FD) report as their biggest struggle with respect to the IRS experience?" b) "How have the lives of FIRSS-FD been shaped by the IRS phenomena?" and c) "What are the different ways FIRSS-FD cope with reported accounts of intergenerational trauma?"

Analysis revealed that the Indigenous women's greatest struggle and main concern was perpetuating colonial sickness through aggressions and violence between females and that this colonial socialization has had detrimental effects on Indigenous families and community members. They want to overcome this main concern as they work towards changing how they see themselves and how they relate to other women. In addition, they want to prevent kakwatakih-nipowatisiw, the cycling of the conditions-consequences that was derived from the experiences of residential schools. The consequences are intrinsically linked to the conditions. *Kakwatakih* means more than psychological, physical, and emotional abuse; it means torture resulting in the death of a healthy mind and spirit. It is understood that those who engage in kakwatakih behaviours have "sick" minds and spirits. The harm brought against children burdened them with carrying *nipowatisiw*: children were tormented and carried a deadened spirit

into their adult years. As a result of colonial socialization, having a sick mind and spirit had some behaving like the *okakwatakihiwew* (the one who torments and/or tortures).

Because of the IRS experiences, the lives of female IRS survivors and their female descendants have been shaped by having to deal with shame, blame, guilt, and emotional, psychological, and/or physical violence. Lateral violence is another challenge when Indigenous women undermine each other and make each other feel small. Over a lifetime of dealing with compounded stressors, they can be challenged to emote or show affection. Many experience feelings of low self-worth and many reported having an inability to trust. At times, their feeling unloved has disconnected them from family.

The Indigenous women in my study reported concerns about their spiritual life and the spiritual lives of their sisters, aunts, mothers, and grandmothers, because many have experienced their spirits feeling empty. Studies from the extant literature suggest that some Indigenous women create a "new normal" by focusing on the reclamation of cultural norms and spirituality. By taking an ecological approach to wellness, the Indigenous women in my study have found ways to improve their mental health and overall wellness as they learn to respond to their personal needs in the physical, emotional, psychological, social, and spiritual realms. Spirituality is a catalytic force strengthening the dimensions of building personal competencies, moral compassing, and fostering the virtues and guiding the Indigenous women in this study to live in a way that is consistent with their moral ethic.

The Indigenous women in this study negotiated the phases of potentializing wellness to assist them in establishing healthy relationships and leading autonomous and prosperous lives. Skill-building is an important element of each potentializing wellness approach. In addition, the gender component shows how participants in this study are finding ways to support other

Indigenous women in an effort to reunite family and strengthen familial ties. The framework illustrates and defines how Indigenous women in this study process and express their grief without the use of a biomedical clinical model. Each aspect of the BSP is cultural in nature and is part of the tenets of Indigenous philosophy. Thus, for this study, the Indigenous women who engaged in cultural teachings and expected modes of behaviour were more likely to be able to cope with traumatic experiences and overcome many levels of colonial socialization (i.e., perpetuating sick behaviour) in addition to having to cope with kakwatakih-nipowatisiw.

As part of the development of the framework, three typologies emerged, showing the stages at which the Indigenous women are located: living the norm, between the norm, and escaping the norm. The emergent typologies reveal the different yet similar ways in which female IRS survivors and their female descendants cope with reported accounts of intergenerational trauma. Analysis showed "between the norm" and "escaping the norm" types were more likely to follow the BSP than those "living the norm." However, it is possible for those living the norm to learn new modes of behaviour and new ways of relating if they embrace personal change motivation. This intent is shown through building personal competencies when Indigenous women in this study work towards improving their own level of self-awareness and volitional awareness such that they believe in their own capabilities. The other two types pace through the phases of the BSP, creating many gains for themselves and for the people they choose to include in their social circle. Learning to trust their own instincts and tacit cultural knowledge helps women to transform their lives and find ways to perpetuate blessings instead of harming themselves or others.

As a researcher, I can never fully achieve theoretical completeness, which implies that I have taken the study as far as it can go (Glaser, 1978). Completing the integrative literature

review, I found that the literature supports many of the discoveries from my study in addition to informing the expansion of many of the concepts and properties of the categories. For example, one study aligned with understandings of awareness levels that were necessary to develop strategies, and through building upon social capital (cultural competency) and human capital (increased skills and knowledge) determined how women participated in change processes (Bainbridge, 2011).

Moreover, other models identified in the literature included strategies and processes derived within the bounds of colonization and patriarchy (Bainbridge, 2011; Cameron, 2010; Gone, 2013a; Kirlew, 2012), some studies demonstrated models of empowerment (Sandsund, Pattison, Doyle, & Shaw, 2013; Shannonhouse et al., 2014) and the role of spirituality and how it strengthens personal assets to overcome adversity (Bainbridge, 2011; Glenn, 2014; Kirlew, 2012; Ren, 2012).

A number of the studies helped round out some of the properties of the potentializing wellness framework. For instance, Cameron's (2010) study showed ways in which family was "supporting others" and this led to the addition of this same conceptualization as I observed this same virtue in the participants in my study. The "supporting others" property was subsequently included and helped supplement the fostering the virtues category of the basic social process.

The Elizondo-Schmelkes (2011) study defined three-dimensional (physical, emotional, and mental) processes that PhD students undertook to finish their PhDs, termed "encompassing." I saw a similar process emerging in my study. While the conceptualization was similar, though, my study was differentiated by the moral ethic the Indigenous women were reclaiming in order to support and guide how they lived their daily lives. Eventually, "moral compassing" is what conceptualized the discovered core category. This discovery is partly attributed to comparing

Elizondo-Schmelke's conceptualizations from the pedagogy literature to the concepts in my study.

Likewise, studies reviewed from the empowerment and the theoretical literature report the development of models that are considered holistic (Atkins et al., 2011; Bainbridge, 2011). However, the potentializing framework is in some respects more robust than other models reviewed because of the inclusion of the spiritual as well as the social dimensions. These additional dimensions are seen as necessary, from an Indigenous perspective, if one is to achieve an overall sense of wellness and a sense of belonging within the community. Additionally, the potentializing framework is seen as a cultural tool (since it includes Indigenous ways of knowing) that Indigenous women utilize to re-socialize (i.e., gender re-socializing) and pattern new behaviours that result in closer and more meaningful relationships with their family and others.

From a methodological standpoint, the constant comparative method enabled the conceptualization of behaviours coming from the stories of the Indigenous women. The discovered theoretical framework was grounded in the data, enabling consideration of the historical context and cultural relevance in addressing the ongoing colonial effects and impacts on the physical, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and social aspects of self. Therefore, the decolonizing component specifically promotes the Indigenous women's priorities and perspectives.

This theoretical model can be empowering to Indigenous women in my study because of its transforming and innovative self-determining nature. Following the BSP of potentializing wellness allows Indigenous women in my study to purge dysfunctional behaviours derived from (colonial) socialization and "perpetuating colonial sickness." Indigenous women in my study who choose to follow this self-regulating process do so at a pace best suited for them, without the

pressure of meeting a societal standard. The BSP allows the women to follow their own cultural mores determined by a moral ethic and includes a decolonizing component.

Potentializing also moves beyond the individual and has broader implications of wellness for the entire community. This framework could be considered a culturally sensitive therapy, since it has sustained "culturally grounded, community-based, decolonization efforts" (Gone, 2013a, p. 91). Moreover, the potentializing framework explains a self-directing culturally relevant process by which the Indigenous women continue to engage in modifying their behaviours. Potentializing provides some explanation of an (w)holistic framework by which to understand the process of wellness for individuals and families.

The typologies of behaviours developed explain the women's behaviours and their propensity to relate differently. Relating differently depends on where they are located within the spectrum of the three typologies. Those women found to be beyond the first typology of living the norm have a high level of volitional awareness and self-awareness, which considers multiple dimensions of self in relation to others' well-being.

The framework explains how the Indigenous women process and express their (historical) grief without clinical interventions and without the use of a biomedical model. This basic social process emerged through the women's stories as they became their own therapists (Ren, 2012). It can be both a teaching and a learning model to engage the Elders and support the youth by providing teachings (moral compassing and fostering the virtues) as well as being an example to others (building personal competencies). Therefore, the potentializing framework supports an intergenerational and family therapeutic approach.

Finally, the theory of potentializing wellness is a parsimonious theory reflecting the women's main concern and how they resolve it. Consequently, I have explained as few concepts as possible with the greatest possible scope to reflect variations in the behaviours explored and

the problem under study (Glaser, 1978). Scholarly completeness will never be achieved, but this is neither the intent with the classic GT methodology nor necessary for a GT study (Glaser, 1978).

Nevertheless, this parsimonious study contributes to the literature without having to "master" the literature (Glaser, 1978, p. 126). Most importantly, using classic GT allowed me to perform an analysis of the data, which resulted in an original substantive study of potentializing wellness. This theoretical framework can help female IRS survivors and their female descendants and families cope with (and hopefully to overcome) intergenerational trauma. The framework has broader and more general implications for how traumatized women become change agents in their own lives, and allows a generalizability to cut across contexts. Thus, potentializing can be useful in other areas such as business, child care, teaching, or coaching sports, for example.

Epilogue

To the women who participated in my study: I began writing this manuscript by situating myself in the study and with the inclusion of a story and the witnessing of a commemoration event. I would like to conclude by sharing a legend[92] as my final words to the women who participated in this study and with whom I have shared tears and laughter. I feel honoured that you agreed to share your stories with me. This legend is really an analogy for how I view the experiences of IRS survivors and descendants of survivors and how the colonial mentality infiltrated our communities.

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[92] As told by Sister Dorothy Moore in Agnes Grant, *Finding My Talk*, p. 71.

> According to the legend an Indian Brave came upon an eagle's egg, which had somehow fallen unbroken from an eagle's nest. Unable to find the nest, the brave put the egg in the nest of a prairie chicken, where it was hatched by the brooding mother hen. The young eagle, with its judicial strong eyes, saw the world for the first time. Looking at the prairie chickens, he did what they did. He cawed and scratched at the earth, pecked here and there for a stray grain and husks, now and then rising in a flutter a few feet above the earth and then descending again. He accepted and imitated the daily routine of the earthbound prairie chickens. And he spent most of his life this way. Then as the story continues, one day an eagle flew over the brood of prairie chickens. The now aging eagle, who still thought he was a prairie chicken, looked up in awe and admiration at the big bird soaring through the skies. "What is that?" he gasped in astonishment. One of the old prairie chickens replied, "I have seen one before. That is an eagle. The proudest, the strongest and the most magnificent of all the birds. But don't you ever dream that you could be like that. You are like the rest of us and we are prairie chickens…
>
> And so shackled by this belief, the eagle lived and died thinking he was a prairie chicken."

My decision to share this legend is to reflect my hope that you see yourselves as the courageous and strong women that you are. In earlier times, you may have "accepted and imitated" unhealthy behaviours of your mother and/or IRS staff or officials. However, you began to recognize that these behaviours did not serve you well. Each of you stated the importance of living from a place of love versus a place of fear. We are aware that not all of our community members will see themselves as a majestic eagle. Nevertheless, what is most important is that

you recognize that you have many gifts to share far beyond what limited lives may have been crafted for you through the writing of various assimilation policies.

You are all potentializing and doing it as the proud Indigenous women that you are. I thank you for daring to break out of the confines of living with a kakwatakih-nipowatisiw mentality. You have chosen to release old ways of socialization and welcome a new set of beliefs (i.e., "What you believe you can achieve"), and I have been the proud witness to all that you do and have done. You may have once been shackled, but through your own efforts you are now living free and autonomous lives.

What each of you has individually brought forward has ultimately contributed to a collective understanding of wellness. Not only does the potentializing wellness framework encourage hope, but it is culturally appropriate by design; a design that was once latent but has now been (re-)discovered through your stories. You have raised the standard up to your own ancestral ways, values, and cultural teachings. I am so proud of all of you. You have been nothing short of inspiring! *Chi Miigwech!*

Cynthia Niioo-bineh-se-kwe Stirbys

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Appendix A: Sample Recruitment Email

Greetings,

I am writing to inform you of a research project being conducted by Cynthia Stirbys, PhD Candidate at the Institute of Women's Studies at the University of Ottawa. During this study, the intergenerational impacts of the Indian residential school experience will be investigated. If you are a female Indian residential school survivor with female children or a female descendent whose mother or grandmother attended Indian residential school I would invite you to participate in this important research project. This is an opportunity to contribute in one of two ways: either as an interview participant or as part of a focus group.

For more information regarding criteria and timelines for this research project please see the attached recruitment poster(s). You need not have prior research experience but just have a willingness to provide details of your experiences. Your participation will provide support in the development of a culturally-relevant framework that fosters a wellness model to break the intergenerational cycles of family disruption.

Your identity will remain confidential and a pseudonym will be used with no identifying information during the analysis phase. In the final thesis, all data related to persons, time, or place will be in abstract terms only, which provides another element of confidentiality and privacy to the participant. Participation in the research is entirely voluntary and the participant is free to withdraw at any time. This means that even if you initially agree to the interview, you may withdraw from it at any point.

If you are interested in participating in this research study, please contact Ms. Cynthia Stirbys at [redacted] (please include "**Research Project Participant**" in the subject line). Or, if

you can forward this onto anyone whom you believe may be interested in participating, that would also be helpful and appreciated.

Miigwech!

Appendix B1: Recruitment Poster For Research Participants

Dear Potential Participants,

I am a PhD Candidate in Women's Studies and I am seeking participants for a study examining the intergenerational impacts of the Indian residential school (IRS) experience. This is an opportunity to contribute in one of two ways: either as an interview participant or as part of a focus group.

The ideal participant must meet the following criteria:

1) be a female IRS survivor with female children or a female descendant whose mother/grandmother attended IRS;
2) be willing to share their experience of IRS and its impacts;
3) be over the age of 18 and be fluent in English; and
4) be willing to be interviewed in person during the months between January and August, 2013.

The interview will take approximately one hour based on how much the participant is willing to share of their experience. An interview participant may be asked to be interviewed a second time over the telephone as new interview questions will emerge as part of the iterative research process.

You need not have prior research experience but just have a willingness to provide your experiences, opinion, and input. Your participation will provide support in the development of a culturally-relevant framework that fosters a model to break the intergenerational cycle of family disruption. Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary and you are free to leave this research study at any time. If you are interested in participating in a unique research project concerning Indian residential school impacts, or if you have any questions, please contact me:

Cynthia Stirbys, PhD Candidate in Women's Studies at [redacted].

This research project has received ethics approval from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Committee. Thank you and All My Relations!

Appendix B2: Recruitment Poster For Focus Group Members

Greetings,

I am a PhD Candidate in Women's Studies and I am seeking participants to join a focus group for a study examining the intergenerational impacts of the Indian residential school (IRS) experience.

The ideal focus group member must meet the following criteria:

1) be a female IRS survivor with female children or a female descendant whose mother/grandmother attended IRS;
2) be willing to review and comment on the final research findings;
3) be over the age of 18 and be fluent in English; and
4) be willing to meet a minimum of two times: March, 2013 and to review the final analysis (date to be determined later in 2013).

The first orientation meeting will be scheduled in March, 2013 for 1.5 hours and be held at Algoma University in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. The second meeting will take about 3 hours depending on how much time is required for review and discussion by the focus group members. The researcher may follow-up by telephone but only to clarify any comments made during the second meeting.

You need not have prior research experience but just have a willingness to provide your experiences, opinion, and input. Your participation will provide support in the development of a culturally-relevant framework that fosters a model to break the intergenerational cycle of family disruption. Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary and you are free to leave this

research study at any time. If you are interested in participating in a unique research project concerning Indian residential schoolimpacts, or if you have any questions, please contact me:

Cynthia Stirbys, PhD Candidate in Women's Studies at [redacted].

This research project has received ethics approval from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Committee. Thank you and *All My Relations*!

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Appendix C1: Consent Form For Participant

Title of the Study: Examining the Lives of Female Indian Residential School Survivors and their Female Descendants[93]

Student Conducting the Research: Cynthia D. Stirbys, PhD Candidate in Women's Studies, University of Ottawa: [redacted].

Professor supervising the Research Project:

Dr. Michael Orsini

Associate Professor

School of Political Studies

Director, Institute of Women's Studies

University of Ottawa

613-562-5791

Email: [redacted]

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the research project entitled, Examining the Lives of Female Indian residential school Survivors and their Female Descendants. This project conducted by Cynthia D. Stirbys, PhD Candidate in Women's Studies is being supervised by Dr. Michael Orsini.

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[93] This was the original name of the study but was further nuanced closer to completion.

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Purpose of this study: The goal of this research project is to examine the effect of the Indian residential school experience. I will be asked to share my personal story and how Indian residential school has affected my life.

Participation: As a participant, I will be asked to share my experiences either while attending Indian residential school (or being a descendant of a survivor) and how I think the Indian residential school experience has affected my life or my daughter's life (if applicable). The interview will take approximately 1 hour and will be audio-taped to provide a record of our conversation. I may be asked to be interviewed a second time over the telephone for this research study.

Risks: I may volunteer to share personal information during this interview that might stir up a variety of emotions such as discomfort, uneasiness, or empowerment. I have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to reduce any potentially negative responses to the clarifying questions posed. I have been assured that I need only speak about experiences that I am most comfortable with sharing and what is most important to me. I am aware that I can bring a trusted friend or Elder with me into this interview for support.

Benefits: I have been told that my participation will provide support and inform the development of a wellness model that includes a cultural approach. This wellness model is intended to break the cycle of family disruption. The findings of this research study will be seen in the published PhD Thesis and shared with participants. Findings will also be used to

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promote the use of cultural tools to support the renewal of Aboriginal women's place in society. At the completion of my first interview, I will be given a token of appreciation in the form of a coffee card even if I choose to withdraw from the study following the interview.

Privacy: I have been assured that the information I will share will remain private. I understand that the contents will be used for purposes of this study and the promotion of cultural tools. During the research process code names will replace any identifying information. The researcher and her supervisor will be the only persons who will see the original data. In the final thesis, all data related to persons, time, or place will be in abstract terms only which provides another element of privacy to the participant.

Storing the data: After the data is collected it will be locked in a secure location in the researcher's private office and a copy at the University of Ottawa. Seven years following the completion of data collection, all data will be transported to the Shingwauk Archives at Algoma University where it can be accessed by other Aboriginal researchers and communities who also want to examine the effects of the IRS experience.

Voluntary Participation: I have been given the option to start the session with ceremony and prayer. I have been told that my participation is entirely voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time for any reason in the research process and my data will be destroyed. I may ask questions of the researcher at any time and I may refuse to answer any of the questions.

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Informed Consent

I have read the letter describing the research project. I understand the purpose of the study and what is required of me, and I agree to participate. I have been assured that my participation is voluntary and that my identity will remain private. I agree to participate, and I am aware that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without negative consequences. There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

I am aware that any inquiries about the research study may be addressed to: Cynthia Stirbys at [redacted] or her supervisor Dr. Michael Orsini, (613) 562-5791, or [redacted].

I am aware that any concerns about the ethical conduct of this project may be addressed to the Protocol Office of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa, 613 562 5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Participant's Signature

_____ Date: _____

Researcher's Signature

_____ Date: _____

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Appendix C2: Consent Form For Focus Group

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Title of the Study: Examining the Lives of Female Indian Residential School Survivors and their Female Descendants

Student Conducting the Research: Cynthia D. Stirbys, PhD Candidate in Women's Studies, University of Ottawa: [redacted].

Professor supervising the Research Project:

Dr. Michael Orsini

Associate Professor

School of Political Studies

Director, Institute of Women's Studies

University of Ottawa

613-562-5791

email: [redacted].

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the research project entitled, Examining the Lives of Female Indian residential school Survivors and their Female Descendants. This project conducted by Cynthia D. Stirbys, PhD Candidate in Women's Studies, is being supervised by Dr. Michael Orsini.

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Purpose of this study: The goal of this research project is to examine the effects of the Indian residential school experience from the personal stories of female IRS survivors and their female descendants.

Participation: As a focus group member I will be required to attend a minimum of two meetings at a location suitable to focus group members such as a private room at Algoma University. At the first meeting (March, 2013) I will meet other focus group members and listen to the researcher explain the purpose of the project. I will have the opportunity to ask questions. This first meeting is expected to last about 1.5 hours. The second meeting will follow the completion of the interviews and the final analysis (date to be determined). Materials may need to be reviewed via a password protected system beforehand. I will review the research findings and provide comments. The second meeting will last about 3 hours depending on how many questions or discussion of the analysis is required. The researcher may follow-up by telephone but only to clarify any comments made during the meeting.

Risks: I understand reviewing materials may trigger a variety of emotions. I have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to reduce any potentially negative responses to the questions posed. An Elder will be present at the meetings for additional support. I agree to keep the discussion and any reactions of other focus group members confidential.

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Benefits: I have been told that my participation will support and inform the development of a wellness model that includes a cultural approach. This wellness model is intended for IRS survivors and their descendants who aim to break the cycle of violence and family disruption. Findings of this study will be seen in the final PhD Thesis and shared with participants. Findings will also be used to promote the use of cultural tools to support the renewal of Aboriginal women's place in society. As a focus group member, I will receive a token of appreciation in the form of a coffee card after attending my first meeting even if I withdraw from the study.

Privacy: The researcher will ask all focus groups members (including the Elder) to sign or give consent for their participation and their promise to keep private all discussion matters. Privacy will be protected during the review process as a code word or alias will be provided to all focus group members before the taping of the discussion begins. In the final thesis, individual focus group members' comments will not be identifiable: all data related to persons, time, or place will be in abstract terms only, providing another element of privacy.

Storage of data: The data will be locked in a secure location in the researcher's private office and at the University of Ottawa. Seven years following the completion of data collection, all data will be transported to the Shingwauk Archives at Algoma University where it can then be accessed by

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other Aboriginal researchers/community members who want to research the effects of the IRS experience.

Voluntary Participation: I have been given the option to start the session with ceremony and prayer. I have been reassured by the researcher that my participation is entirely voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time for any reason in the research process. However, given the nature of group discussion, if I withdraw my data may still be included as part of the overall data collection. I may ask questions of the researcher at any time and I may refuse to answer any of the questions without negative consequences. I understand that the focus groups will be audio-recorded.

Informed Consent:

I have read the letter describing the research project. I understand the purpose of the study and what is required of me, and I agree to participate. I have been assured that my participation is voluntary and that my identity will remain confidential. I agree to participate, and I am aware that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without negative consequences. There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Any inquiries about the research study may be addressed to: Cynthia Stirbys at [redacted] or her supervisor, Dr. Michael Orsini, (613) 562-5791, or [redacted]. I am aware that any concerns about the ethical conduct of this project may be addressed to the Protocol Office of the Social Sciences and

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Humanities Research Ethics Board at the University of Ottawa, 613 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Participant's Signature:

_____ Date: _____

Researcher's Signature

_____ Date: _____

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Appendix D: REB Ethics Approval Certificate

File Number: 11-12-09 **Date (mm/dd/yyyy):** 01/17/2013

Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice

Social Science and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

First Name	Last Name	Affiliation	Role
Michael	Orsini	Social Sciences / Political Science	Supervisor
Cynthia	Stirbys	Social Sciences / Women's Studies	Student Researcher

File Number: 11-12-09

Type of Project: PhD Thesis

Title: Examining the Lives of Female Indian Residential School Survivors and their Female Descendants

Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)	Approval Type
01/17/2013	01/16/2014	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments:
N/A

550, rue Cumberland, pièce 154 Ottawa (Ontario) K1N 6N5 Canada
550 Cumberland Street, room 154 Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5 Canada
613-562-5387 • Téléc./Fax 613-562-5338
http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/index.html
http://www.recherche.uottawa.ca/deontologie/index.html

File Number: 11-12-09 **Date (mm/dd/yyyy):** 01/17/2013

Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the application for ethical approval for the above named research project as of the Ethics Approval Date indicated for the period above and subject to the conditions listed the section above entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the study the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove subjects from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the study (e.g. change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment documentation, should be submitted to this office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at: http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.html.

Please submit an annual status report to the Protocol Officer four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to either close the file or request a renewal of ethics approval. This document can be found at: http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.html.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension 5387 or by e-mail at: ethics@uOttawa.ca

Signature:

Kim Thompson

Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Barbara Graves, Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB

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