“Telling Our Stories”: schitsu’umsh Undergraduates Explore Place-Attachment and Identity Through Visual Narratives

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Authorization to Submit Dissertation

This dissertation of Julie Uistienne Poynsenby, submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a Major in Education and titled "“Telling Our Stories: schitsu’umsh Undergraduates Explore Place-Attachment and Identity Through Visual Narratives," has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates below, is now granted to submit final copies to the College of Graduate Studies for approval.

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Abstract

This narrative research explored place attachment as an aspect of identity through the perceptions of Native American undergraduate students. Six Native American undergraduate students aged 18-25 who are members or descendants of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, took photographs of places that had meaning for them and to which they felt attachment and created detailed narratives to explain their choices. Psychoanalytic, Indigenous and environmental theories were used to examine aspects of understanding identity, Native American identity, attachment to place and a sense of belonging. This study made clear that the perception of identity in these undergraduates and their connection to places that have meaning is complex, comprising of intimate choices made at the discretion of the individual, but influenced by cultural folkways, norms and mores. A critical aim of this study was to adopt Indigenous methodology throughout the process to prevent participating in the perpetuation of "othering" minority groups, as has been historically the case. By positioning the undergraduates as research collaborators throughout the production, design and analysis of the narratives, the intent was to empower and facilitate them to make sense of the process towards decolonization.

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Lim Lemt'sh

Dedication

To my Father who insisted I go on this journey; to Trwstrynd, without whom the journey would have been impossible, and to Harper, whom this journey may inspire.

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Prologue

This prologue is intended to provide a glimpse of who I am, and an indication of what inspired and motivated me to begin this research journey.

Situating Self: Changing Identities

I recently became a grandmother, acquiring a new label that is at once, unfamiliar and conflicting. My youngest son sent me a video of his day-old daughter; a doe-eyed bundle, wriggling, one arm jerkily reaching out, uncoordinated movements of a being attempting to make sense of its new environment. In that moment, my understanding and sense of my identity changed; my constructed character of identity shifted and with it my personal landscape. According to Durrell (1971) "human beings are expressions of their landscape" and a 'personal landscape' is a place "where you suddenly feel bounding with ideas" (p. 160). He places an emphasis on the combination of identity (through imagination) and landscape merging to make new stories. The use of 'landscape' is not simply as a description of the physical; what you see, the geography. Durrell specifically links landscape to identity and in doing so, re-emphasizes the narrator's comment in his novel *'Justine';* "we are the children of our landscape; it dictates behavior and even thought in the measure to which we are responsive to it" (Durrell, 1969, p. 41).

Throughout our individual lives we journey through self-identity, creating stories inexorably linked to the physical places we encounter and, in our interactions, become parts of others' stories. Stories give us foundation and shape us. This story, my story, is one of journeys and discovery; sometimes tangible, more often than not an aspect of an evolving self-discovery. It begins as an imaginative child of nature, the formative years spent indulged in the natural world, breathing clean air, running unhindered among heath and mountains;

learning with the senses. In later years I will live on the coast and find exhilaration in the changing moods of the ocean. My father passed away in 2017, ending the invisible security we all have when our parents are alive, and leaving a mixture of feelings that one passes in and out of on a daily basis. Grief is a strange emotion: An image, a name or more often, a scent can bring an overwhelming memory to the fore, tinged with loss, familiarity and a wavering sense of instability; unanchored. Being 'orphaned' as an adult brings a fleeting emotion that is at once both childish and selfish – the unfairness of being left by both parents. For a brief moment I am 5 years old again and feeling bereft as my Mother leaves me at the school gates. However, the tragedy of my father's passing led to my journey back into academia, pursuing first an MA, and culminating in this PhD.

"Identity", from the Latin root *idem,* implies sameness and continuity; the two major theories of identity – psychodynamic (Freud, 1900/2010; Adler, 1927; Erikson, 1950) and sociological (Mead, 1934; James, 1907) – assume identity has an essence that remains more or less constant throughout life. Both theories emphasize the invented and constructed character of identity, while retaining fundamental differences as to the source; psychodynamic theory is based upon the interaction of drives and forces *within* the person, and between the different structures of the personality, while sociological theory points to identity created through placing ourselves in socially constructed categories. Therefore, if identity implies sameness and continuity, changing identities must still reflect the essence. Gee (2001) considers the person others recognize at a specific time and place, "can change from moment to moment in the interaction, can change from context to context, and, of course, can be ambiguous or unstable" (p. 99). Furthermore, Gee states that while individuals possess a "core identity" that we hold on to across contexts, all people may have multiple

identities that are connected to “their performances in society” (p. 99). Such “performances” exist in the stories we inhabit, create and rewrite, and simultaneously our relationship to the places we think of as “special” transforms or metamorphosizes into a stronger attachment or none at all. The myriad happenings, gestures, tragedies, successes, disappointments, travels and homecomings; these every day, busy navigations may result in a failure to acknowledge the paths we tread and the stories that we make. Events can pass unseen, scarcely visible, or slip past our consciousness, barely audible; tantalizingly close, yet never more tangible a memory; an empathetic recall. For many, the places we encounter can leave a profound effect, which in some cases finds expression through art, poetry, and music. How many painters through the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, such as Turner, Constable, Frederic Church, Albert Bierstadt felt a compulsion to capture the scenic grandeur of the Swiss Alps, rural England, Niagara Falls or the Sierra Nevada? What inspired Mendelssohn’s concert overture “The Hebrides”, 1830; Vaugh-Williams “Sinfonia Antarctica”, 1952; and Debussy’s “La Mer”, 1905, and what of authors like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Burns, Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson? In modern times, technology has advanced to a point that we can all be “artists”, capturing and sharing images of places with little skill or talent. I wonder though, if this mania to show the world where and who you are and what you see has diminished and even eroded the meaning people attribute to places.

Anchoring my Landscape

One of the best decisions that my father, ever made, was to move his family from the brash, unattractive, working class streets of the North East, of England to the quiet market town of Kendal situated in the English Lake District National Park. My father’s action enabled the young, impressionable child version of me to begin to recognize that some places

meant more to me than others. I am grateful to have grown up among mountains and lakes in both England and Scotland. My mother was Scottish and some of her ancestors were crofters on an island archipelago to the west of the Scottish mainland, battered by North Atlantic storms. Raising livestock and sparse crops in landscapes that challenged their everyday, these stoic people passed qualities of strength and determination across the generations. My sons, now adults, raised in the freedoms I enjoyed, remember these stories as they are creating new ones. As I journey and my discoveries expand, there are always people; always relationships. My doctoral research journey is as much a journey about stories and places as it is its own story. The ghosts of the colonizers accompany me from the point of departure in the South West of England, aboard an ocean liner, past Ellis Island, through Penn Station, Union Station and aboard the ‘Empire-Builder' a name with nuanced undertones of violent associations. People in transit share my physical journey but relationships are fleeting; the guests at dinner, thrown together for a brief moment, share something. The young Mennonite couple, recently married, shyly asking if I would take their picture so they could document their first adventure together; thereafter chatty on the occasions we sat together at breakfast.

As a Caucasian, British woman of Scottish/English heritage, residing temporarily in the American northwest and a full-time graduate student; I am a representative of the dominant culture - indigenous in my homeland, a settler in this land. Like many researchers, I am immediately positioned as an outsider to the community to which my participants belong. Coming from a country with a long history of colonial behavior, it has taken me at least two years of study and conversation to begin to understand the far-reaching consequences of colonization for Native American people. This knowledge drives me to aspire to become a trusted ally, in the decolonization of educational spaces. My personal journey of discovery

has led me to Idaho, Dr. Meyer and the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. For over four years, Dr. Meyer has believed in me and honored me with her friendship. She understands that I mean what I say when I talk about the issues faced by disaffected, disenfranchised and underserved youth. Dr. Meyer and Dr. Mitchell, both Coeur d'Alene Tribal members have welcomed me into the project team and shown me genuine friendship to the point I feel less of an outsider. In a factual sense, as an International student I am a "colonizer"; I reside here as a non-Indigenous person. Finding myself thus labeled is uncomfortable but allows me a lens to look through and the opportunity to begin to understand how labels can impact self-identity.

Idiosyncratic Cartography

Throughout our lives we experience the power of places; the mystique of physical ties to aspects of our personal landscapes. As we negotiate through our individual life-paths, it will generally be the case for some places to have a greater impact than others. Despite the positive or negative impact on our psyche, these places remain in our imaginations as safe harbors to return to in empathetic recall, or as places of fear that we shun. When asked to choose a place of meaning it would be easy to settle on the obvious – attachment to a childhood home for example, where one remembers fondly, people, feelings, objects; altered somewhat because we look back into our memories through the lens of nostalgia. Some of the places that shaped my childhood no longer retain the significance that caused a strong feeling of attachment. They are altered, physically, perhaps through development but more often altered because the people who made those places special are no longer there. The places and landscapes that have special meaning to me were established long ago; intangible, evanescent connections that seem to exist without effort, retained in my personal, idiosyncratic cartography.

Great-Grandpa's Stories

As a small child, the summer holidays meant a long road-trip to Scotland, usually to some remote cottage where my Father could go fishing and where my brother and I could run free, unhindered. My Mother's family lived in the Highlands and so every year we would visit the Scottish relatives, including Great-Grandparents, who were well into their 90's. Proud of his Clan, Great-Grandpa Cumming would delight in telling stories about the family, while gently teasing my Dad because he was English. From Grandpa Cumming I learned about the terrible things that happened during the Jacobite Rebellion (1745), the Battle of Culloden, and the Highland Clearances (1770 – 1882). However, it was the tales from Uncle Jimmy, that I loved the best. With a wonderful, mischievous talent, this mercurial storyteller weaved a spell that combined animated movements and an array of voices to convince my six-year-old self the Kelpies[1] lived in every river and stream, Haggis were shy creatures that could be caught with salt and breadcrumbs, and he, Uncle Jimmy, had seen the Loch Ness Monster. Great-Grandpa Cumming and Uncle Jimmy were great storytellers who understood the importance of instilling in my brother and I the connections to our personal Scottish heritage. "Listen, wee-Bairn[2], and never forget," Great-Grandpa Cumming would gently chide if I became restless listening to a story.

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[1] Kelpies are mythological shape-shifting water spirits that inhabit the lochs and deep pools of rivers and streams of Scotland, preying on humans it encounters. It appears as a beautiful, powerful horse and will drown anyone foolish enough to climb on its' back.

[2] "Bairn" is an old Scottish word for child; "wee" Scottish for small. "Wee-Bairn" is a term of endearment for a small child

Glencoe

From the first time that I saw Buachaille Etive Mòr[3] I literally stopped in my tracks (Figure 1). As my Father stopped the car for a well-earned break, turning off the engine and opening the doors, I was up and out of the car, running headlong towards a mountain stream, my cautious, sensible, elder brother in hot pursuit, fearing a misfortune. On the edge of the clear water I happened to look up and come face-to-face with the Buachaille for the first time. At a little over 3300 feet this conical mountain is impressive because it rises from the floor of the Glen – to a small child it seemed infinite. Once Grandpa Cumming had told me its name, I only saw an anthropomorphic mountain, the silent guardian.

Figure 1

Buachaille Etive Mòr

Note. "Buachaille Etive Mòr (in morning light)" by Kenny Barker

[3] Great Herdsman of Etive – *English translation*

The Buachaille marks the entrance to the valley but does not prepare you for the grandeur and wildness of Glencoe. Mountains well over 3000 feet rise straight up from the floor and both sides of the valley, their Gaelic names exotic, evocative: Gearr Aonach (Short Ridge), Aonach Dubh (Black Ridge), Beinn Fhada (Long Hill); Am Bodach (old man); Meal Dearg (red hill); Sgor nam Fiannaidh (Rocky peak of Fian's warriors) and the impressive Aonach Eagach ridge (the notched, steep hill). I loved this place, but later, when Grandpa told me the story of the massacre in Glencoe, it altered the landscape, and the place was forever tinged with sadness; the mountain stream, a little less cheerful, the peaks a little more secretive and the silent stillness, deafening[4].

Figure 2

Glencoe, Scottish Highlands

Note. Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland. Personal collection

[4] Massacre of Glencoe**,** (February 13, 1692), the treacherous slaughter of members of the MacDonald clan of Glencoe by soldiers under Archibald Campbell, 10th Earl of Argyll.

Outer Hebrides

My brother and I have a love of wild places, thanks to the immersion we received from our parents. He is a meteorologist and having had a long career in broadcasting, now devotes his time to improving the public's knowledge about climate change while championing environmental sustainability. With his posting to a Royal Air Force base on the Outer Hebrides off the coast of NW Scotland., little did we know that his being there would lead us to discover long forgotten connections. At the insistence of my brother, my parents and I ventured out to the islands on what was to become the first of many journeys. The discovery that many of our maternal ancestors had lived and died in this place was exciting, and oddly familiar; an old, rocky pile that was once an ancestor's house, evoking long-hidden memories. If Glencoe was my awakening to landscape, Benbecula, Eriskay, Harris and Uist

Figure 3

North Uist

Note: Am Bagh Mor, Eilean Uibhist a Tuath / North Uist by Seán Ó Domhnaill

were my homecoming (Figure 3). My attachment to these wild, wind-swept islands is difficult to explain and perhaps it exists through ancestral connections felt across the generations and visible through empathetic recall. In writing this narrative, I have been able to revisit my personal connection to landscapes and places. I have learned that the stories told to me by Grandpa Cumming and Uncle Jimmy are not so different from the Coyote stories told by a Tribal Elder; the impact and the purpose are the same. By indulging myself and reflecting on my own experience, I increased my understanding of the importance of place. Understanding how a landscape can impact you, being able to look inwards and unpick the complex thoughts and emotions, is to begin to know who you are.

The birth of my granddaughter caused a shift in self- perception and a change in how others' perceived me. Being in another country at the time she was born, caused me to reflect upon whether the places we inhabit are inexorably linked to our sense of identity, and to question why it is we form attachment to some places and not others. The physical journey that led me to the United States, Idaho and the schitsu'umsh community, has enabled me to learn about and understand other worldviews and the importance of traditional knowledge. The Native American and First Nations adults I have met openly speak of deep connections to the land and to places of significance. Working with young Native American undergraduate students on a project exploring environmental issues, I was curious to know if they also had feelings of place-attachment and how this impacted their perception of identity. What follows is the dissertation documenting a study which explored this theme and sought to present the findings, in part, in the words of the students who participated.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Why This Study?

Identifying the Problem

In the United States the existence of Native American people through forced colonization, due to ignorance and prejudice, has often been reduced to little more than a reminder of a distant past. The cruel and devastating effects of historical trauma continue to be passed down the generations (Brave Heart et al., 2011; Whitbeck et al., 2004). Researchers have demonstrated that traumatic events suffered by previous generations has impacted the current generations leaving them at an increased risk of experiencing mental and physical distress (Brown Rice, 2013; Child, 2018; Rehyner, 2018). The cumulative effect can be manifest in ways that prevent the youth from gaining "strength from their indigenous culture or [able to] utilize their natural familial and tribal support system" (Brown Rice, 2013, p.123; Big Foot & Braden, 2007). In Native American culture, information and history is often passed down from generation to generation in oral form, leading Brown Rice (2013) to conclude that "transmission of [trauma and] historical loss could occur via this pathway" (p.124).

Understanding and accepting one's identity can be complicated and takes time to achieve and be able to recognize and accept our strengths and limitations (Seltzer, 2011). For adolescents the period to come to "self-acceptance" can be troubling due to the need to even realize self-strengths, and limitations are yet to be recognized and then even accepted. For young Native Americans this can result in a daily struggle to inhabit two worlds: 1) the 'White' world, where they go to school, college and work, 2) the Native world of family and community, tradition and culture (Barnhardt, 2008; Garrett, 1995; Isaacson et al., 2018).

Navigating both worlds successfully can exacerbate and prolong the process towards self-acceptance and lead to confusion about self-identity. While some studies have looked at cultural identity among urban populations of Native American youth, such studies purpose may be to highlight deficit behaviors (Brown et al., 2016) or be specifically measuring levels of the strength of ethnic identity (Kulis et al., 2013). Young Native Americans may have few opportunities to express their thoughts independently and, in their voice, as they are often the subject of others' research. These youth are often passive participants that are observed, documented and written about in studies that often either highlight deficit behaviors, or perceive Native American students as victims of inequity in an unequal education system (Dickerson & Johnson, 2012; Huffman, 2001; Jaquez & Vaughn, 2012; Patterson Silver Wolf et al., 2019; Shalka, 2019). Participatory Action Research (PAR), focuses on bringing about societal change, particularly addressing injustice and emancipation of marginalized groups (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Mertens, Cram & Chilisa, 2013). PAR is described as a suitable practice for ethnographic, social justice research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and for narrative research where the aim is to bring about change in the power dynamics (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). Tuck and Guishard (2013) propose a Decolonizing Participatory Action Research model (DPAR), focused on limiting the acquisition of knowledge from participants, reframing ethics away from procedures that offer to protect researchers and institutions while claiming to safeguard participant rights, thereby generating a model that offers to give participants more control over their involvement in research.

Driving this study was the desire to empower Native American, schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene) undergraduate students and facilitate space for them to tell their stories. Using the DPAR model approach, the study was designed to encourage the students to consider their

perceptions of identity, through choosing to photograph places that have meaning for them. The goal of decolonizing the research study was pursued through, a) participants becoming empowered through the creation and ownership of their images, b) participants interpreting their images, and c) participants collaborating with the researcher to choose themes for their narratives. Thus, this study aimed to reverse the research stereotype of a minority group "being researched" by positioning the participants as research collaborators through narrative and visual data production.

"Telling Our Stories": The Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how Coeur d'Alene Tribal undergraduate students perceived their identity and what it means to them to be Native, by considering places that hold positive meaning for them. For young, Indigenous undergraduates; members and descendants of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe from Northern Idaho, the question of identity is complex and not without controversy (Weaver, 2001). It is not simply a case of belonging to the same community; different stories impact the way that individuals interpret their own feelings about what it means to be Native. Self-perception is a key component of identity (Weaver, 2001) and cultural identity will move through stages that cause an individual to develop a changing sense of who he or she is; this may lead to a rediscovered sense of being Native (Weaver, 2001, Dukes & Martinez, 1997).

Tribal education departments were developed to support the educational opportunities for tribal members. Examples of programs and services include early childhood education, child advocacy, achievement and graduation assistance, and administration of federal funding and grants to support education growth and opportunities. Since 2006 the Coeur d'Alene Tribe's leadership have set an agenda for determining the best way to strengthen the capacity

of their people to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life on the reservation (Coeur d'Alene Department of Education website, https://www.cdatribe-nsn.gov/education/). The Coeur d'Alene Tribe Department of Education (referred to as CdA-DoE) states its mission is to "implement the Tribe's commitment to education which includes the enhancement of the social, moral, and economic well-being of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe and its membership" (Coeur d'Alene Department of Education website, https://www.cdatribe-nsn.gov/education/). To accomplish this mission, the CdA-DoE has developed an education pipeline to direct the department's priorities and programs. The pipeline acknowledges the Tribal Council has to be the primary decision-maker in the way its people are educated (at all levels) and must focus on the root causes undermining the ability to craft a capable workforce. As such, the pipeline features 15 chronologically sequenced, educational groupings from Early Child, K-12, GED programs, post-secondary, graduate degrees and professional degrees. The goal of CdA-DoE personnel is to support Tribal members as they move through one educational stage to another, to become a productive, skilled member of the Tribes workforce and community.

During the summers of 2019 and 2020, the undergraduates worked closely with Tribal middle and high school students on the *Voices to Hear*[5] (V2H) project; creating podcasts about environmental decision-making on current topics impacting the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. Through the V2H project the undergraduates re-examined connections to their heritage and community while focusing on environmental problem-solving and as these

[5] Voices to Hear (V2H) is an NSF-funded, collaborative project between the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, University of Idaho and State University of New York (SUNY) with an overarching goal to deepen the connection of future Native American decision-makers to their land, their community, and the scientific processes directly related to their everyday lives.

connections developed, my interest in identity and place-attachment led to the formulation of a narrative/visual narrative study. I asked the undergraduates to consider becoming collaborators on my study by taking photographs of places which, for them had special meaning and they felt attachment to. In conversations with me they would explore the reasons, emotions and experiences that guided their choice of images. These conversations around the photographs would become the undergraduate's stories.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework provides a general representation of relationships between things in a given phenomenon. Crotty's (1998) constructivist epistemology provides the perspective for this qualitative study, where meaning is a constructed concept rather than something "discovered" and because human perceptions are prone to error, there can be no perfect truth (Crotty, 1998; Creswell & Poth, 2018). Constructivism places emphasis on a phenomenon world that can be interpreted rather than accurately and exactly understood (Kalof et al., 2008). The theoretical framework in which this study sits, draws on theories related to the concepts of, or having influence on identity, social interaction, and place attachment; specifically, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) and Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954). Although there is no definitive theory that recognizes positive ties to a place, different concepts used in relation to place have evolved from research on behavior settings (Barker, 1968), personal experience (Tuan, 1977) and identity of place (Canter, 1977; Relph, 1976), and may have similar definitions, for example, "sense of place," "place attachment", "place-identity", and "place dependence". For this study, I have mainly used the term "place-attachment" because the goal is to explore if the Native American undergraduates perceive attachment to place(s) to be part of their identity.

Conceptual framework

If quantitative research seeks a singular truth from objective observation, qualitative research acknowledges multiple truths discovered within contextualized realities. However, these two broad categories of research and the sub-categories within each discipline, are paradigms "defined and nuanced by Western thought" (Kovach, 2009, p.26). A research project based within an Indigenous community with Indigenous research participants must honor Indigenous epistemologies and decolonize the research process and content. Thus, any research paradigm, approach, and method must not be extractive; nor must the research disenfranchise Indigenous participants from any knowledge they share; neither must research by non-Indigenous researchers highlight alterity - knowingly or unknowingly – so as to perpetuate related stereotypes.

An indigenous framework is one where relationships matter because respectful, reciprocal relationships lie at the heart of community life, "The use of an Indigenous research paradigm when studying Indigenous peoples requires the holistic use and transmission of information" (Wilson, 2008, p. 32). When Kovach (2009) says: "Story as methodology is decolonizing research" (p.103), I felt confident that underlying my desire to co-author a narrative project with Native American undergraduates, "story" would provide the foundation that is accordant with indigenous methodology and decolonizing research. Kovach (2009) writes that stories are both method and meaning that come from a holistic epistemology; they are "the relational glue in a socially interdependent knowledge system" (p. 108). Perhaps our co-authored narrative project will foster confidence and encourage the undergraduates to recognize that as they create and share *their* stories, they are sustaining cultural knowledges and adding voices to the future archives of their community.

The Five Core Values of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe (membership, guardianship, stewardship, scholarship, spirituality), represent the heart of the Coeur d' Alene people. It is the aim of the Tribe for the Core Values to be "so deeply rooted in our children's heart that we will see them carried out in a relational, reciprocal, respectful and responsible way for generations immemorial" (Coeur d'Alene Tribe Department of Education, 2020). The Native American undergraduate stories were analyzed through the framework of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe's Five Core Values. The decision to use the Tribe's own value system as a rubric for analysis, aided my efforts to place this research study within a decolonizing framework.

Research Questions

In seeking to understand how attachment to place may be related to identity and wanting to embrace participant-driven imagery as a vehicle to encourage discourse, there are three questions driving this study:

1) How do place-based photograph~~s~~ taken by tribal undergraduate students reveal their perceptions of their Native American identity?

2) How does Native American identity connect to place?

3) How do discussions about place attachment and identity facilitate the students participating in the study to make sense of the process towards decolonization?

To explain the fundamental aim therefore, through visual and oral methods, did the study provide sufficient evidence to suggest Native American identity is connected to place and the Native American undergraduate students demonstrate place attachment; did the undergraduate students reveal their perceptions of their Native American identity, and furthermore, did the discussions about place attachment and identity facilitate these students in the process of decolonization?

The relationships I built with the undergraduate students was critical to how they viewed me as both a member of the team, and as an independent researcher. By establishing an environment where we are able to share our ideas, thoughts and concerns, I understood and committed to an "ongoing process of authentic and deliberate relationship-building, cross-cultural learning, open communication, trust, and reciprocity" (NCAI, 2012, p.5). My goal was to become a trusted outsider whose interest in the project(s) is secondary to a desire to see the undergraduates explore and develop aspects of their identity, crucial to becoming Tribal leaders of the future. I acknowledged being able to guide my research in ways that "co-construct knowledge, human agency and voice, diverse perspectives, moments of vulnerability, and acts of listening", (Paris & Winn, 2014, p.23) and remained open to the shift in positionality that must occur as relationships are strengthened. I accept that I am a "white researcher" and acknowledge the insinuations that may come with that label. I aspire to become an authentic ally by understanding that research must be decolonized before I can attempt equity work with the students and their community.

Definition of Terms

When referencing people, knowledge systems and cultural aspects, I use the terms "Native American" and "Indigenous" interchangeably. My study participants/collaborators expressed a preference to be known as "Native American", "Native", or "Coeur d'Alene" when referring to their ethnicity. They expressed dislike for the terms "American Indian", "Indians" and "Native American Indians", citing the inaccuracy of the word "Indian" and its colonial connotations. In reference and respect to the Native American Tribe, whose community I engaged in this study, I use the Tribes' original name in their own language, "schitsu'umsh" ("Those who were found here"), and the name used by 19th century French-

Canadian trappers, “Coeur d’Alenes” (“Heart of the Awl”) which carried into the present day (Coeur d’Alene Tribe, 2019).

Significance of the Study

Using narrative inquiry as a base for my data collection, analysis and reporting, I present an alternative view to other narrative studies due to the study being centered within a decolonizing framework. Narrative inquiry explores the experiences of people and the meaning they give to those experiences as expressed through their voices (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Moen, 2006). This study combined elements of visual narrative to focus participant stories, while encouraging collaboration between the researcher and participants to choose suitable themes for each story. Through conversation more akin to the oral tradition of sharing information, Native American undergraduates told their stories and interpreted their thoughts *for* the researcher. Thus, their rich, personal narratives are presented in full, privileging their perspectives over those of the researcher.

Limitations of the Study

Several limitations to this study are notable. First, any conclusions I make about the relationships between identity and place-attachment with regard to Native American undergraduates are limited to the participants in this study and cannot be generalized to populations of a) undergraduate students, and b) Native American undergraduate students. Second, the number of participants in this study was small and constrained by the limited number of undergraduate students from the Tribal community, and by the overall purpose of situating the study within one, rural Tribal community. This can have benefits however, as there is a good degree of relationship-building that must occur when pursuing research with Indigenous communities that leads to a more intimate and trusting relationship with the

participants. A broader study with a more diverse set of participants, for example Native American undergraduates from urban environments, or from much larger Tribal communities, or younger, school-age adolescents, could yield more comprehensive answers to the research questions. Third, the stories that participants shared have to be considered as fluid, told at the moment and in the context of this study, but subject to alteration in interpretation with the passage of time.

Overview of the Following Chapters

In presenting this dissertation, I endeavored to combine the discourse and method of narrative research through the lens of Indigenous, decolonizing methodology, with that of more traditional research methodologies. In respect of those differences and my audience, I organized my study to provide the information in a format conducive to research, which also respects the stories of the participants. The remaining chapters in this dissertation are organized to enable the reader to gain an understanding of how Indigenous methodologies used in this research study, empowered Native American undergraduates to explore place-attachment as part of their identity. Chapter Two offers a literature review to situate the study in the larger context of identity and place, with a focus on Native identity, decolonization and Indigenous values. I present evidence for a lack of collaborative research with my target group (Native American undergraduates), that does not highlight deficit behaviors or portray participants as victims. Chapter Three presents the research design, methodology, selection of participants, procedures, inquiry processes, and validity and trustworthiness. In Chapter Four, I present the participant's stories in full. The stories are in the undergraduate's own words, as told to me in conversation, and arranged into mutually agreed themes that highlight the participant's photographs and help the narrative flow. I provide a brief introduction about

each student. Chapter Five discusses my findings, in response to the research questions. The Five Core Values of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe is used as an analytical framework to yield discussion of common themes among the stories. Chapter Six provides a summary of the study, my conclusions as researcher and implications for future study with similar groups from Native American communities.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

The Problem

Primarily, this study will seek to examine the thoughts that Coeur d'Alene Tribal undergraduate students have about identity and relationships to place and landscape, while also considering how their voices contribute to nation-building. While there is a growing body of young Indigenous voices available through many digital platforms: speaking through art, music, activism and environmentalism (For example, Martinez, 2017; Hutter, 2016); there is a lack of traditionally published research that looks closely at the perceptions of young Indigenous adults concerning identity and what it means to be Native. Moreover, there are fewer studies that look specifically at this population's attachment to place, and place-identity, with insufficient documentation of young, Indigenous adults perceptions in *their* voices. Therefore, the question that will drive this review is, "How are relationships to places dynamic in nature and how do they become means through which young people explore their evolving identity?"

Through examining relevant literature, this review aims to explore identity and place-attachment as it is relevant to the population under study. Through relevant literature, I hope to find validation that people actively engage with places and the creation of meaning, and in doing so, consciously foster relationships to places. Much of the literature written concerning place and place-attachment theory comes from the fields of environmental philosophy, geography and sociology and as with the topic of identity, the repository is very large. However, it is important to note the study of place has developed from an understanding of space and time, to include complex, interrelated social dimensions (Gieryn, 2000; Urry, 2004). I focus this review on the sociological aspects as I am interested in understanding how

attachments to place are formed and maintained. The first section of the review will be limited to the following; defining identity, and briefly explaining differences between the various theories of identity, including Social Identity Theory and Social Comparison Theory. Secondly, the review will consider Indigenous Identity, first through the colonizer perspective of Native identity including blood quantum; the importance of Native identity - including the influence of biculturalism in young Indigenous adults - and literature that includes perspective on Indigenous youth and identity. The third section of this review will focus on place-attachment, place-identity and will investigate landscape as a social construct and as a reflection of cultural identity, including the Indigenous perspective of belonging.

Identity

The etymology of "identity" traces from late 16th century French (in the sense 'quality of being identical'), through late Latin *identitas,* from the Latin root *idem*; curiously, implying sameness and continuity (Scott & Marshall, 2005). This state of being the same; absolute sameness; that relation which anything bears to itself, produces an interesting conundrum: the common assumption that contemplation of individual identity suggests an element of uniqueness, yet collective identity, for example ethnicity, race, or species, contains elements of sameness. Identity is sometimes described as the specific, unique character or personality of an individual and is linked to aspects of self-definition (Hauge, 2006); whereas "self" is a more abstract concept (Deaux, 1992). McMartin (1995), however, considers personality and self to be synonymous while Grauman (1983) believes identity has to be attained and maintained in a process of socialization. Hauge (2006, citing Lalli, 1992) specifies that identity is a condition and identification is a process. Humans are uniquely self-aware, and the myriad psychological theories deal in some way or another with self-

perception and identity. However, there are differences within these theories of definitions of "identity", "self" and "personality" – though other related theories are often categorized by one or other of these foci. Hauge (2006) identifies five broad categories that literature about identity theories can be divided into: 1) Psychodynamic theories; 2) Cognitive theories; 3) Social learning theories; 4) Humanistic/existential theories; 5) Interpersonal aspects (Hauge, 2006, P.46). Originating with Freud (1900/2010) and most closely associated with psychoanalysis (exploration of unconscious thoughts and emotions), psychodynamic theories explain personality in terms of unconscious psychological processes and contends that childhood experiences are crucial in shaping adult personality. Freud's (1900/2010) background was in neurology and this first version of psychodynamic theory was primarily biological, with Freud (1900/2010) seeking to explain phenomena in terms of neurological function (Bornstein, 2019). Since Freud (1900/2010) psychodynamic theory has evolved, but theorists agree that the majority of psychological processes take place outside conscious awareness (Bargh & Morsella, 2008; Bornstein, 2010; Wilson, 2009). The psychodynamic model expresses that early experiences determine personality processes and affect individuals throughout their life (Blatt & Levy, 2003; McWilliams, 2009). Borstein (2010) has commented that psychodynamic theory may be the closest thing that exists to an overarching theory and framework for psychology.

Leary and Tangney (2003) state that how information relevant to the self is structured and retrieved, forms the focus of cognitive theories, while the influence of culture and society create interpersonal aspects of identity. Finally, McMartin (1995) discusses theories that focus on meaning and personal constructs as being essentially humanistic. Relevant to this study is Hauge's (2006) question: "Can well-known psychological identity theories cover

this [self/place] aspect of identity, or do we need to create identity theories solely to explain the place aspects of identity?" (p.46).

One important aspect that should be emphasized is that the formation of identity is very much an aspect of youth. Young people are forming their identity from the moment they become self-aware in childhood and start understanding themselves as separate from but related to their environment. As people mature, the struggle to understand identity recedes, although adults may revisit different aspects of identity and recognition; for example, when I became a grandmother, it influenced self-perception and how others might now perceive me. Gee (2000-2001) describes everyone's interactions as having "multiple identities" that are connected to their "performances in society"(p. 99).

Social Identity Theory.

Tajfel (1981) explains "social identity" as an individual's concept of self that comes from belonging to certain social groups. This "identity" includes the emotions and values belonging to the group conveyed to the individual and will depend on the quality of the group. Examples of social identity could include nationality, culture, family, gangs etc. Group behavior might manifest as a result of the social identity individuals acquire from their social group. What Tajfel and Turner (2004) are specific about is that an individual may produce different self-images and self-concepts depending on the group or the situation. This can lead to some elements of individual identity being deliberately kept hidden or silent in order to identify with the social group; showing that behavior is more influenced by group membership in some contexts, for instance when experiencing inter-group conflicts or discrimination (Turner, 1982). People define themselves with qualities that characterize the

groups to which they belong, and this is never more pronounced than when considering social groups of adolescents and the often desperate desire to "fit in".

Social Comparison Theory.

Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) assumes that individuals determine their own social and personal worth based on how they compare to others. According to Festinger (1954), people rely on these comparisons with other people to accurately assess their own skills, abilities, beliefs, and attitudes. They see themselves and their group in a positive rather than negative light. In-group attributes are more likely to be characterized as positive when individuals' comparisons with others are seen as a method for self-improvement and fostering a positive self-image. In groups where positive self-esteem is not preserved, individuals may leave and join other groups. If leaving is not an option, they may deny or reinterpret negative characteristics as positive self-concepts (Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982).[6]

Native Identity

It is important to review the literature regarding how Indigenous identity is defined. This can be contentious as there is evidence that much is still influenced by descriptions of colonial-era Native Americans, as defined by Euro-American colonists. For example, invisibility in the media on how Indigenous and non-Natives understand what it means to be Indigenous in contemporary society is going to have a psychological impact. Such invisibility "contributes to the homogenization of identity, development of identity prototypes, and deindividuation and self-stereotyping among contemporary Native

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[6] Both social identity theory and social comparison theory are considered as essential, holistic elements within the overall theoretical framework, discussed in Chapter 3.

Americans" (Leavitt et al. 2015, p. 44). For young Indigenous adults, limited and narrow representations in the media are rarely discussed and made worse because as a group, Indigenous groups have little control over how they are portrayed. The psychological consequences of this are difficult to measure and for better or worse, could depend on whether an individual resides on a reservation or an urban setting where contact with non-Natives may be more meaningful.

Native Identity From the Colonizer Perspective

The majority of culture definitions of what a Native American is manifests in several ways, including academic literature, fiction, photographs, within movies and television, through mascot representation and stereotypical costumes. Since the times of European expansion around the world, including "discovery" of the Americas, individuals of European descent have attempted to provide depictions of the indigenous populations encountered. Grande (2004) notes that the approach to writing educational works depicting Indigenous history have on the whole, been written by non-group members. Reference and depictions of Indigenous communities are a product of (Western) researcher observations disseminated to the majority population. This creates a majority culture definition for a misinformed population of how Native Americans should act, look, and speak. Thus, a Euro-American definition of what a Native American is becomes a form of colonization of Indigenous identity, confining ways in which Indigenous people are allowed to define themselves in non-Native settings. Much of this educational literature has been written by non-Indigenous "allies" who make little effort to provide findings back to the communities in which they base their research and therefore fail to follow what Kovach (2009) calls the five "Rs" of Indigenous research: relationship, respect, relevance, responsibility and reciprocity. At the

turn of the 20th century, many anthropological studies resulted in erroneous and destructive constructs. Ruth Benedict (1932) for example has been criticized for the degree of abstraction and generalization inherent in her culture and personality approach with some arguing that particular patterns she found may be only a subset of the whole cultures. This colonizer approach continues into the present; particularly in the field of psychology where research that has concentrated on drug and alcohol issues and other problems for Indigenous groups, has contributed to institutional criteria for who is to be labeled as a Native American. Additionally, identities do not exist before they are constructed (Sayyid & Zac, 1998) and most theorists agree that identity exists not solely within an individual, but through difference in relationship with others (Hall, 1997). According to Durham (1993), there was no Indigenous identity prior to contact with Europeans and even the immigrant Europeans had to learn to define themselves as "white" rather than according to their national origins. Hall (1997), comments that, "Before contact, indigenous people identified themselves as distinct from other indigenous people and constructed their identities in this way" (p. 242). Thus, the term "Native American" could be viewed as the product of colonizer language and an attempt to homogenize all Indigenous tribes in North America. The constructionist approach to representation states that meaning is constructed through language (Taylor, 1994) and so words such as Indigenous and American Indian not only reflect, but shape identity. Today, many Native people do not speak or use their original language and with the exception of some tribes working hard to include and revive language within the schools and communities, tribal members often learn about their culture in English and therefore are bound to adopt some stereotypes and distorted meanings (Durham, 1993).

The prevalence of the colonizer perspective has also served to classify all Native Americans as the same and has failed to recognize the indigenous distinctiveness. Steinman (2016) comments that scholars need to bring attention to this especially "in the context of difference as a means of justifying inequality *within* societies" (p. 232). He continues by stating that although Indigenous society and dominant American society are both aware of the difference, there is a lack of sociological representations of understanding and meaning. The reality is that Indigenous people have to deal with overlapping identities and social contexts that have been (and continue to be) structured by dynamics that are both racializing and colonizing.

Portrayal of Native Americans: an Uneasy Past

The knowledge that most people have about Native American people does not come from direct experience. The sources information limit what people know and, unfortunately, a good deal of the information about Native Americans springs from popular culture (Fleming, 2006). This mis-information can be traced back well before Hollywood's stereotypical portrayal of "Indians" in movies of the Western genre, as 18th and 19th century figures who were primitive, aggressive and requiring of civilizing by the white man (King, 2008; Lomawaima, 1999). Furthermore, these representations only depict Native Americans as particular types and from certain tribes (e.g., Sioux, or Apache), which as Leavitt et al. (2015) point out "not only define Native Americans as a homogeneous group "frozen in time," but also render invisible hundreds of diverse tribal cultures" (Leavitt et al. , 2015, p. 43).

Depiction, portrayal and (mis)representation of Native Americans can be seen as early as the 1500s, during the colonizers arrival. The tradition of proper recording or

documentary art did not begin until the 1820s so examples of original documentary drawings of North American Indians during the colonial period are scarce (Lubbers, 1994). All of the surviving material is mostly in the form of engraved book illustrations some of which are based on the description of voyages, and others are copies made from actual documentary sketches. One such artist, John White, sailed to Roanoke Island in 1585, acting as artist and mapmaker to the expedition. He made several watercolor sketches during his time at Roanoke of the landscape and the local Algonquin people and his work has been called accurate. However, the engraver Theodore De Bry altered the original illustrations "to "tame" and civilize the savages" (Lubbers, 1994, p.147). De Bry never actually traveled to the Americas, and his depiction of the Indigenous peoples was a combination of the work of other artists, who *had* accompanied Europeans to the New World. Citing art historian Jesse Poesch (1983), Lubbers (1994) points out two features of a drawing by the French cartographer Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, completed after his return to Europe: "1) the Native Americans have Europeanized features, 2) the artist has "enriched" the details of his drawing from memory to advance his theme – the hoped-for coexistence of whites and natives" (p. 148). The image is striking and depicts the Native people on their knees worshipping a European symbol of power (Ribault's column) while European plants, symbols of friendship, strength, victory and peace encircle the column. This rather allegorical artwork desires to make the colonies attractive and places of potential prosperity. Lubbers (1990, p. 152) encapsulates the hidden mechanisms behind these early expressions of art as he comments, "Colonial documentarians had seen the inhabitants of the New World across the ocean of their European cultural prejudices".

The new documentarians of the nineteenth century, still influenced by the clichéd stereotypes of Native Americans, became cognizant of the need to explain why, during the continued and rapid expansion West, simultaneously the Native populations were rapidly disappearing. Lubbers describes artists from this period as "depicters of the West-of-the-imagination, of the West-as-romantic-horizon, of homesteaders-as-the-new-chosen-people" (p.152). Similarly, just as the early documentarians had "Europeanized" the features of Native people in their drawings and paintings, artists of the nineteenth century romanticized the reality of what they witnessed and used imagery that often placed Native Americans in opposition to their white "saviors", and perpetuated the myth of progress as Manifest Destiny (e.g. John Gast's "American Progress" 1872). As the bison became a favorite motif of the West, by the end of the 1880s the plight of the bison had become metaphor for the vanishing Native American (Barness, 1977). However, Dippie (1990) suggests that patronage may have played an influential role, by undervaluing work of a documentarian style causing artists to abandoned truthful representation in favor of the romantic, dramatic, or allegorical.

With the move West, spurred through the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, art and literature sometimes portrayed the Native Americans as innocent and in need of the benefits of civilization, including Christianity (e.g. Cooper's "The Last of the Mohicans"). Many artworks, mostly paintings or lithographs claimed to be documentary in nature but continued to be heavily influenced by stereotyped images. Nancy Hathaway (1990, p.1) describes one popular representation as images "of the bloodthirsty barbarian, often caught on the verge of scalping a young blond woman, and the noble savage". While such paintings provided the artists' interpretation of the world of the Native American, often with the specific purpose of promoting expansionism as a good thing, the invention and rapid growth in the use of

photography created a glimpse into purported realism. Photographers were often hired by the railroads, or government expeditions, to document the land and the people. With the forced removal and relocation of Tribes, many Native people found themselves in unfamiliar places far from their homelands. A great many of the portraits of Native American people taken during the mid to late nineteenth century are questionable because they do not always depict Native people in their own environment, or even in their own clothing. It is tragic to consider and acknowledge that during the time these photographs of individual Native Americans were taken, these same people were witnessing the attempted genocide of their entire civilization and were living in a time of uncertainty, fear and despair.

Photography was seen as a "true" representation of reality, when in fact a photograph only appears to represent reality. The photographer can shape the vision of reality they wish us to see by what they choose to include and what they choose to omit. The photographs of Indigenous people taken during between the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal the perceptions (and motivations) of the photographers at the time when "Native Americans were still widely thought of by whites as primitive people whose time had passed" (Hathaway, 1990, p. 13). However, one could argue that the objectification of Native Americans (and many other Indigenous people around the world) continued through the twentieth century and into modern times with the increased interest and ability to travel and has created a new kind of exploitation in which the Native American remains an icon, a stereotype, to be documented in tourist holiday snaps.

Acculturation

There are many complexities associated with Native American identity such as, who is recognized and enrolled within a federally recognized tribe; the extent to which one holds

Native American philosophies and worldviews; one's self concept as a Native American; who fits the historical, European perception of "Indian", and who is assumed to be "white"; how deep one is grounded in Native language and culture (Horse, 2005). For adolescents and young Native American adults these complexities can have a profound impact on self-identity, adding additional layers at a time when all adolescents begin to struggle with identity. Native American's relationship with their cultural heritage and ethnicity can vary significantly (Garrett et al., 2009) and can be related to acculturation, the geographic setting (urban, rural, or reservation), and socioeconomic status (Garrett et al., 2013; LaFromboise and Rowe 1983). Acculturation can be defined as the process of change that happens as a result of being in a dominant culture and adopting the attitudes, behavior and norms of that culture. ''The cultural change that occurs when two or more cultures are in persistent contact''(Garcia & Ahler, 1992, p. 24). In a five-level model of acculturation, Garrett and Pichette (2000) identify the following,

- **traditional:** where people speak and think in their native language and practice only traditional customs and beliefs.
- **marginal**: people speak both the native language and English but may not fully accept the cultural heritage and practices of their tribe and feel caught between two worlds.
- **bicultural:** generally accepted by dominant society and able to accept and practice both mainstream values and the traditional values and beliefs simultaneously.
- **assimilated**: embrace only dominant culture and values.

- **pantraditional**: assimilated, but who have made a conscious choice to return to the "old ways". Accepted by dominant culture but seek to embrace lost traditions and cultural values.

Some scholars believe that Native Americans who fall into the marginal level are the most likely to experience conflict between their native culture and dominant culture, leading to a crisis of identity (LaFromboise et al., 1993, Garrett & Pichette, 2000; Moore, 2003). In contrast, those who exist at the bicultural level suffer less identity crises having learned to adapt and communicate in different contexts. All of the Native American undergraduates in my study have at one time expressed that this is where they exist. They learned to fit into the dominant society of their institutions, while keeping true to their traditional culture and values. Two of the undergraduates, Charlie and Jamie, both described this as "learning to live in two worlds" and acknowledged the feelings of being lost and unanchored during their first semester at college.

Blood Quantum

When the Bureau of Indian Affairs was created, its purpose was to regulate government relations with sovereign tribes and to monitor the legal status of Native Americans (Getches et al., 2004). The United States government began maintaining records of blood quantum ancestries of the Indigenous population in the nineteenth century, and in doing so, created systems and terminology on how to identify Native American individuals (Reyner, 2012). Within these colonially constructed systems, the requirement for tribal nations to have a certain degree of blood quantum produced government mandated terminology to refer to the quantity of blood to describe members that had no genetic relation to any other ethnicity. This single act of colonialism impacted and altered Indigenous identity

in such a way as to limit the parameters of existence for some tribes, with individuals either included or excluded from their tribal community as a result.

Blood quantum has had a major effect on Indigenous identity and with interactions within tribal communities as well as with majority culture (Pewewardy, 2002). Within tribal communities this issue has been one of the factors that drives lateral oppression and can have further, wider-ranging consequences. While the concept of blood quantum was initially set up by the federal government, it is a matter of tribal choice as to what the measure of membership is. If a tribe requires a member to be one fourth blood quantum in order to vote in tribal elections for example, those with less than one quarter will be excluded. The problem can also arise when a tribal member has a child with a non-tribal member especially if that person is non-Indigenous; limited governmental financial resources that are divided among tribal members, so the view might be that it is fair for a descendent child (one who has tribal ancestry but insufficient blood quantum) to lose some tribal privileges. On some reservations allotted land is held in trust for individual tribal members and remains in trust[7] when passed to a descendant who is a tribal member. The problem of fractional ownership arises when descendants with varying blood quantum inherit allotted land; land passing to a child without sufficient blood quantum to be a tribal member, is held in fee[8]. The consequence is some land shares are held in trust, some in fee and if all descendants are non-tribal members, the land is lost to trust status. Pewewardy (2002) comments that the higher

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[7] The US Department of the Interior classifies trust land as a land ownership status in which title is held in trust by the Federal Government with restrictions on use and disposition of the land.

[8] The US Department of the Interior classifies restricted land, or restricted fee land, is a land ownership status in which an individual or tribe holds title, but there are restrictions on use and/or disposition of the land.

the blood quantum required for certification, the less dispersed the financial support, which leads to contention and alienation between tribal members.

Pratt (2005), describing the rule of hypo-descent, or the "one-drop rule"[9] commenting that the rule still operates at a structural level, although covertly, to construct Indigenous Identity. Pratt (2005) thinks that "law has utilized the master narrative of white supremacy and black inferiority to construct Indigenous identity in a way that presently enforces the rule of hypo-descent" (p. 1243) with the purpose of furthering a white agenda and advancing white supremacy. Using the Seminoles as the example, Pratt (2005) explains how the discourse referring to the Seminoles has privileged whiteness through the use of language, raising the point that literature tends to only use color to describe Black Seminoles, normalizing all others (e.g. red or white Seminoles) by the deliberate act of *not* attributing a color adjective. People with fair skin color, recognized by most Americans as white, are described in literature as simply Native American; their whiteness is deemed irrelevant to their status as Native American. However, those who have both African and Native American ancestry are referred to as the "Black Seminoles." This example of the Seminoles may be less relevant to other Native American Tribes, but it highlights an undercurrent of colonialism that is still very much in play.

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[9] The rule of hypo-descent, also known as the "one-drop rule," was codified as law in many states in an effort to define the group of people who were black and therefore subject to the deprivation of liberty through the institution of slavery and later subject to social, economic, and educational subjugation through Jim Crow. Although the rule has been repealed from the statutory compilations of law in those states that once had such a rule, it continues to operate on a cognitive and cultural level in American law and society. (Pratt, 2005, p. 1241)

There can be little doubt that the introduction and subsequent continued use of blood quantum has served political interests by deliberately obfuscating the actual character of the US population as a whole, as Forbes (2000) remarks;

> ...the recording of blood quantum is both a product of white racism and of white social science theories of a racist nature, and also a product of a plan wherein Native nations are expected to vanish when the white blood quantum reaches a certain level (above three-fourths, for example). For this latter reason alone, the use of blood quantum is exceedingly dangerous for Native Nations (para. 5).

Churchill (1999) is equally damming, concerned that native people's internalization of Euro-America's conception of race, "represents a culmination of federal policy initiatives originating nearly two hundred years ago" (p.13). He concurs with Forbes (2000) in stating that Native American tribes have effectively become self-colonizing and, unless there is a major change in attitudes the future could see more Native Americans disappearing. This concern about the future is echoed by Ellie Bundy-Mcleod, a member of the Tribal Council for the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, who claims that it is one's lineage, not blood quantum that makes one Native. In agreement with Churchill (1999) and Forbes (2000), Bundy-McLeod (2020) claims the U.S. government-imposed system of blood quantum is "designed to get rid of the tribes" (Irvine, 2020, Salish and Kootenai Tribal Council Member Ellie Bundy-McLeod, para. 1), backing up her words with this startling observation, "We can't keep marrying within the tribe. People need to marry outside, but that weakens bloodlines. Under this system when that happens, we'll be gone, and that opens up all our resources. … We risk losing everything we fought so hard to keep" (Irvine, 2020, Salish and Kootenai Tribal Council Member Ellie Bundy-McLeod, para. 1).

Importance of Native identity.

A study by LaFromboise et al. (2010) highlighted that individuals who identified with their Indigenous culture, accompanied with identification with White culture, demonstrated good mental health, but maintained a greater sense of well-being when they are able to identify as Indigenous. Huyse et al. (2018) found that certain aspects of reservation life (common across the sample) may be protective against mental health distress. They cite the existence of tribal-specific social networks made possible by the geographic space of reservation homelands. Further, such networks "may promote resilience within individuals and have the potential to connect individuals to positive social support beyond the nuclear family" (Huyse, et al., 2018, p. 8; see also, Denham, 2008). In a 1998 study that looked at the cultural identification of more than 2,000 Indigenous youth, Oetting and Beauvais (1989) found that the youth's cultural identity is deeply rooted in their family's cultural identity, regardless of environment or place. Building on this study Moran et al., (1999) found that within their sample of Indigenous adolescents, those who reported a bicultural identity, reported high identification with both Indigenous culture and White culture. This study adds to the LaFromboise et al. (2010) findings concerning mental health and well-being and in addition, found the students reporting high levels of social competency and self-esteem. In comparison, those students who reported low levels of both Indigenous and White culture had the lowest levels of social competency and self-esteem. This study revealed other interesting findings; the importance of Indigenous culture was revealed in that those who had reported low levels of Indigenous culture had lower scores of self-esteem and social competency than those who solely reported an identification with White culture. Bicultural identity may prove to be an important aspect of how adolescent and young adult Native

Americans reflect on what it means to be Native. In the same study, LaFromboise et al. (2010) found that bi-culturally competent Native American students scored lower on hopelessness than those who identified solely with Native American culture, and that enculturation was associated with prosocial outcomes and lower rates of drug and alcohol use. By contrast, those participants who did not feel a part of White culture, but were also not participating in Indigenous ceremonies, had the most problems with substance abuse. Coupled with the difficulties many adolescents face while struggling to find an identity, this could be evidence of additional struggles when their identity is not accepted by either culture. Native American youth and young adults face difficulties associated with operating in both the White world and the Indigenous community and what these studies have demonstrated is the importance of having a firm idea of identity that incorporates an identification of their culture of origin regardless of characteristics acquired from other cultures. The sense of membership in a community is so integrally linked to a sense of identity that Native people often identify themselves by their reservations or tribal communities. This stands in striking contrast to the practice of many members of the dominant society who commonly identify themselves by their professional affiliations.

Foucault's (1977) work on discourse, introduces an element that has become central to recent accounts of identity – the insistence that individuals inhabit multiple identities. He rejected the view of a person having an inner and fixed 'essence' that is the person's identity and instead identified the self as being defined by a continuing discourse in a shifting communication of oneself to others. There are two key dimensions to Foucault's (1977) assertion. The first is that the multiple identities we inhabit are themselves linked to larger structures of identity (e.g., ethnicity, class, gender, race), which are not discrete and

interact with each other. The second claims that different discourses generate particular positions for identity and are often divergent. For example, discourses associated with religion, the State, or sport, produce discrete and often contradictory versions of the self. It therefore follows that in this perspective, a range of possible versions of the individual exist (e.g., a believer, taxpayer, supporter). The ability of Indigenous youth and young adults to exist in a bicultural reality, would seem to fit with the ideas inherent to Foucault's (1977) discourse theory.

A further development of the interfusing of identities has emphasized the hybridity of cultural identities as described in the studies by LaFromboise et al. (2010). Hybridity suggests that identities are not pure but the product of mixing, and fusion of culture, but not as the product of the assimilation of one culture or cultural tradition by another. The hybridity of cultural identity is allied closely to accounts that describe diaspora identities, (Scott & Marshall, 2005) and as Rushdie (1991) points out, "having been borne across the world, we are translated men" (p.17); being 'in' but not entirely 'of' the West. This point can be applied to the Indigenous struggle to exist in and be accepted by the dominant culture of America.

Gone and Trimble (2012) maintains that a tribal identity is an important aspect of Indigenous culture and fundamental to the survival of traditional cultural practices. In particular, they emphasize the importance of who identifies as Indigenous while exploring why such an identity is critical to the future of Indigenous cultures. They raise the issue, that widespread self-identification of Indigenous heritage has threatened the commonalities in orientation, outlook, and experience that were forged among formerly disparate indigenous peoples as a result of the policies and practices of colonial subjugation. In order

to avoid confusion of what it means to be an individual within a specific tribe, there needs to be an understanding of commonalities on the tribal level, that still affords each tribal community a voice with which to describe their own traditions and experiences. It is important to provide Indigenous communities their own voice with which to convey their own perspectives and characteristics in the move towards reclaiming identities. In an article focused on bringing attention to the epidemic of suicide within Indigenous communities, EchoHawk (1997) expresses the sentiment that Indigenous tribes should be afforded the opportunity to reclaim themselves as thoroughly as possible. This involves evaluating self-determination and providing tribes with the opportunity to find compatibility between cultural values and medical services. Indigenous communities should be afforded the opportunity to express their own views and evaluate what is required for each individual tribe. This is an attempt to correct for historical instances of improperly conveying Indigenous values by dominant culture and academia (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Deloria, 2003). Critical to reclaiming identity and Native sovereignty is the concept emphasized by Cook-Lynn (2001), of exerting jurisdiction over stories and other cultural elements. Cultural sovereignty is the effort of Native peoples to exercise their own norms and values in structuring their collective futures. Thus, cultural sovereignty is an internal phenomenon, and Native understandings of sovereignty are rooted within the way of life from which each emerges (Thorpe, 1998). Cultural identity is not static; rather, it progresses through developmental stages during which an individual has a changing sense of who he or she is, perhaps leading to a rediscovered sense of being Native (Dukes & Martinez, 1997). Developing a cultural identity consists of a lifelong learning process of cultural awareness and understanding (Zimmerman et al, 1996). Because the formation of

identity takes place over time, a strong cultural identity may increase with age (Dukes & Martinez, 1997).

Native Youth and Identity.

Research has shown that Indigenous youth constitute an extremely high-risk population. Studies mainly from the 1990s show that in almost all areas of "life problem", the incidence rates for Indigenous youth exceeds that for all other children (Epperley, 1991; Herring, 1992; Potthoff, Bearinger & Skay, 1998; Safran, Safran & Pirozak, 1994). However, some more recent work suggests that this is still an issue (Kelley & Lowe, 2012; Rees, Freng & Winfree, 2014; SAMSA, 2017). In a multicultural society, Indigenous youth face conflicts on a daily basis and may be confronted with a feeling of incompatibility of their cultural values and traditions; confusion that could lead to further alienation and feelings of isolation and rejection. Such feelings contribute to and exacerbate low self-esteem, which can then trigger a cycle of self-destructive behaviors. Markstrom (2010) introduces a conceptual model for Native American adolescent identity, which includes three levels of social influence - local, national and global. This model incorporates the impact of colonial oppression, historical trauma, and pressures to develop bicultural, multicultural, or hybrid identities – subcultures developed through access to technology.

Safran et al. (1994) contrast dominant culture's obsession with competition and the value placed on individuality and achievement (the latter measured by acquisition of material goods) to the Indigenous view of success, which sees contribution toward a harmonious group identity as the goal. A common thread in Indigenous culture emphasizes non-competitive, cooperative living seeking to acquire only enough to satisfy present current needs of the individual and their neighbour. Garrett (1995) describes a problem that many

Indigenous students face in mainstream schools, of being caught between two worlds. Citing Good Tracks, (1973), Garrett (1995) highlights one example of conflict being the approach to relationships and the practice of noninterference. The highest form of respect for another person is respecting his or her natural right to self-determination; “Patience is the number one virtue governing Indian relationships” (Good Tracks, 1973, p.33). A clash of folkways arises when students who have been taught respectful and appropriate ways to interact, face the mainstream expectation to be outgoing and assertive.

Indigenous culture has always recognized the role of adults to encourage, support and nurture the younger members of the community. What dominant culture now refers to as “fostering resilience” is a concept that has been taught in Native communities for centuries; “The word is new; the meaning is old” (HeavyRunner & Morris, 1997, p.1). Native Americans tend to view the world through a cultural lens, which gives rise to cultural identity becoming a source of strength. Critical to supporting young Native Americans is the understanding from non-Natives (especially educators, social workers and researchers) of the positive and valuable role culture plays in cultivating resilience. In schools, Campbell Wilcox (2015) calls for a “different social ecology” (p.349), with staff understanding that Native youth have cultural values that are embedded in deep histories and therefore the approach must be in line with what Castagno and Brayboy (2008) call “culturally responsive schooling”.

For many Indigenous youth, racism is a pervasive and consistent element in their school experience. In a mainstream setting, this may manifest from peers as prejudice, harmful assumptions, stereotypes, and violence. In the wider school context, this can also mean teachers having low expectations and biased curricula materials (see, e.g., Deyhle,

1995; Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003; Sparks, 2000; Ward, 1998). In an Indigenous Tribal school, the assumption that the experience will be trauma-free is misguided as youth could be victims of lateral oppression. Hilliard (1978) comments that the use of euphemisms in schools against Indigenous youth is another example of racial oppression. Presenting issues of concern through the use of euphemism is designed so that dominant social group (i.e. non-Indigenous) do not feel uncomfortable. This mirrors a larger culture issue that predominates in most schools across the U.S., namely that whiteness predominates through faculty, norms, expectations and access to quality education (Castagno, 2006; Lee, 2005; Sleeter, 1996; Ladson-Billings, & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997). Castagno and Brayboy (2008), suggest Brayboy's (2005) work on Tribal Critical Race Theory and Grande's (2004) Red Pedagogy as examples that offer more detail on the various forms of colonization affecting Indigenous students.

Perceptions of Power; Historical Trauma, Overt and Subtle Racism

From previous research, including comparative research I had engaged in back in the U.K., I was aware of issues regarding Native American students graduation rates. Nationwide, Native American and Alaska Native (NA/AN) students face some of the lowest high school graduation rates, and even fewer enroll in and graduate from college. The 2016-17 adjusted cohort graduation rate (ACGR) average was reported as 85 percent, with NA/AN at 72 percent across all ethnic groups (McFarland et al., 2017, p. 121). While overall dropout rates have declined from 2006, in 2017, NA/AN students had the highest dropout rate of all ethnic groups at 10.1 percent, almost two and a half times higher than their White peers at 4.3 percent (McFarland et al., 2017, p.131). The public school experience for many Native American students, relative to their peers, are often to be the only representative of their

culture in a class. This may lead to incompatibility of cultural values with their peers and a growing feeling of isolation and anxiety that exacerbates low self-esteem (Safran et al., 1994). Low self-esteem often contributes to low academic achievement (Sanders, 1987), setting up a vicious cycle of perceived failure, which can lead to self- destructive behavior such as substance abuse. Unfortunately, as Williams (2013) explains, "the cross-cultural issues at stake in the schools and community are rooted in centuries-old historical transgressions and as such, are deeply entrenched" (p. 40). According to some researchers, one reason Native American students may encounter difficulties in school is a district or school-level neglect for the culture of students and a lack of understanding about learning styles that do not fit the dominant culture norms (More, 1987; Morgan, 2009; Pewewardy, 2002; Rhodes, 1988). Results from a study by Turner et al. (2019) also indicate that a strong relationship exists between school climate and achievement motivation among Native American high school adolescents; this becomes problematic if students perceive the school climate is unwelcoming or hostile and can cause some Native American students to abandon their education. Turner et al. (2019) highlight the positive impact of good communication between school counselors and students and also with parents. However, Suk et al. (2019) state how important it is for educators and counselors to reflect on their own cultural values and beliefs before practicing any form of cultural responsiveness. Although focusing on college transition planning, the findings from Suk et al. (2019) should be considered more generally in respect to Native American students in school. Many indicators in State performance of postsecondary outcomes correspond with White cultural norms and do not recognize options that are often highly correlated with diverse cultures such as staying home and family responsibilities. It is critical for the cultural values and beliefs of Native American

students to be considered and respected especially when federal mandates and curricula are grounded in dominant culture (Halley & Trujillo, 2013).

Native American students face additional complexities in their academic career such as "overt/subtle racism, a Eurocentric curriculum, and an academic culture that fails to honor academic, social, cultural, and spiritual factors specific to the American Indian culture" (Flynn et al., 2013, p. 125). Historical background continues to impact Native American students, with school experience and Native American achievement rooted in this history (Gee, 2001; Said, 2012; Schooler, 2014). Native American cultural assimilation through the boarding school program that forcibly removed children from families for years at a time, continues to have far-reaching implications. Research and conversation with Indigenous scholars here in Idaho, Montana, Arizona and British Columbia, has uncovered a dark history chronicling the experience of formal schooling for Native American youth (Anthony-Stevens & Stevens, 2017). The history of a colonial legacy of indoctrination that deliberately and systematically denied the legitimacy of Native culture, language and being (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006) and devastated Indian children and communities (Brayboy et al., 2014). Many Native students continue to be taught by non-Native teachers with limited knowledge of these students' cultural background (Williams, 2013). Further, non-Native teachers often lack sufficient cultural competency to incorporate and contextualize the experiences of Native American students thus contributing to the poor educational performance in public education in the U.S. (Cleary & Peacock, 1997; Dehyle & Swisher, 1997; Klug & Whitfield, 2003, Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Pewewardy & Hammer, 2003; Reyhner & Jacobs, 2002).

Most education systems, including transition to high school or college are grounded in White cultural norms (Suk et al., 2019; Wilcox, 2015) and fail to recognize options often correlated with Native American culture such as home and family responsibilities. I am acutely aware of perceptions of power. I am a European researcher; a "settler on others' lands" (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2019, p. 95), to which I have no claim nor citizenship, and enjoying the privilege of full-time, sponsored study. Naive to the subtleties underlying what others may perceive about me, and ignorant of factual events versus the alternative history peddled by dominant culture, this enlightening statement from one of my Native American friends caused me to think deeply and accept some uncomfortable truths:

> People forget, no, actually they don't think about it. They talk about decolonizing Africa, India and other places and how terrible the British Empire was, so now they have their countries back. The truth everyone ignores about America is that the colonizers *never left* our land. We live with that truth every day! (B. Davis, enrolled Tribal member, personal communication, February 19, 2020)

Understanding the myriad disparities that affect people of color can only be achieved by concerned engagement with the factual research demonstrating those disparities and accepting that even though I may have roots in humble beginnings, I still have something that gives me power in relation to people of color – "whiteness". By engaging personal empathy, I can align myself to the suffering of others, but I cannot purport to fully understand. One of the undergraduates explained, "You can never know what it feels like. You will never know what it's like to hear someone dispute your very existence. I live in fear every single day" (Charlie, enrolled Tribal member, personal communication, January 25, 2020). This statement exposes the darkness of the historical trauma experienced by Native American

people; the darkness of overt and subtle racism that spills over into the everyday experience of a college student at an American university in the twenty-first century.

Tribal ownership of the online environment co-created by the undergraduates goes some way to decolonizing the space; though I remain mindful of the warnings from Tuck and Yang (2012), "Decolonization...is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools" (p. 1). That was not my intention. There are different levels at play here; using my skills in ways that will increase efficiency perhaps, but always within the framework of relationship, respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; Kovach, 2009). The aim was to work with the mentors to create a useful online learning space that provides engaging ways for them and their mentees (middle school students) to interact and gain knowledge. Through this medium we were able to enhance the face-to-face interactions and interviews by using audio and video resources that showcase aspects of cultural heritage (for example, students can access recordings of Tribal Elders, long since passed, speaking the Tribe's language). Another aspect to this work is the personal development of the mentors and middle school students. Aside from learning new digital skills, the project engages the students with environmental and natural resource decision-making; learning from Tribal experts the unique responsibilities as stewards of ancestral lands and waters. The key to decolonizing spaces, shifting the power balance and starting to heal from historic trauma, is to embrace nation-building through the growth of young tribal members. In my role as a graduate research assistant I have been able to learn with the mentors as they become consistent and effective problem-solvers. Through mutual respect and through honest, authentic relationships, these young people have gained confidence and

self-belief that will take them into the leadership roles critical for building successful communities and strengthening their sovereign nation.

Nurturing College Aspiration, Building Cultural Responsiveness

Brayboy and Maaka (2015) argue academic achievement for Native American students matter beyond graduation from high school. Key among their findings is the paradox that shows increasing numbers of Native American/Alaskan Native students with a desire to go to college but there remains a low number of students who complete college (de Brey et al., 2019). There are a complexity of factors impacting this population and the ability to complete post-secondary education, thus the creation of a college-going culture is essential but must include teachers, parents, and tribal leaders to be effective. It is essential to work towards developing the Native American undergraduate students to be young people who will be successful as student to help them to achieve academically while retaining their cultural integrity. Huffman, (2001) reiterates, “learning to relate to both Native and mainstream cultural settings using traditionalism as an emotional anchor” (p. 12). Critical to persistence and success in college, Native American students must develop the ability to interact on two cultural levels simultaneously, (i.e. dual operation at the Native American level and a college mainstream level), but requires support from home (both family and the tribal community) as well as social support on campus (Adelman et al., 2013; Joseph & Windchief, 2015). Using value systems rooted in Indigenous knowledge, educators and the community can provide support to their young people and assist these students to create a sense of belonging and accepting home and college as one community.

Native American students may feel uncomfortable as the only representative of their culture in class, which is exacerbated by a lack of understanding by western trained

instructors (Williams et al., 2018). By changing teacher education, leadership and administration programs in western Universities to reflect Indigenous knowledge, values and beliefs, more appropriate and culturally responsive programs can be designed to facilitate Native American students pursuing post-secondary education opportunities (Lansing, 2014; Williams et al., 2018). Teachers of Native American students should create systems of schooling, including culturally appropriate curricula that align with the communities they serve (Anthony-Stevens et al., 2020). This is something the Tribe that I worked with, has been successfully integrating and implementing in their elementary and middle school social studies curriculum. While Tribal communities naturally interact as family and community-centric, Tachine et al. (2016) indicates much of the college experience for Tribal students is individually focused. Rodriguez and Mallinckrodt (2018) note that many Native American students generally experience very high anxiety during the initial six to eight weeks on campus, tending to rely on established relationships with family and close friends off-campus to cope. College programs that focus on providing Native students with experiences to allow them to feel less disconnected from their culture (for example mentoring programs that connect senior Native American students with incoming Native American freshmen) help to address issues such as isolation, lack of awareness of resources and lack of support (Mosholder & Goslin, 2014). One of the mentors cited such a mentoring program that helped her transition to university, coupled with the provision of space on campus, where Native students and staff could meet, creating a community to help link home and school. Flynn et al. (2013) found that many Native American students were unaware of opportunities and role models were few, often family or peer; therefore, Native American students living in tribal settings are not receiving an appropriate level of career guidance. Brayboy and Castagno

(2009) affirm students must be “knowledgeable about and comfortable within both the mainstream culture and their home culture” (p. 37). It may follow therefore, that those students who have grown up off the reservation and have lived in more mainstream, urban neighborhoods, find simultaneous operation of two cultures easier to achieve, however, a strong self-identity is required for what Huffman, (2001, p.19) terms “transculturated” students to succeed.

Traditional values and practices seen in a modern context could be significant assets to improving learning and post-secondary persistence. Post-secondary transition must be intentional and employ effective strategies involving positive adult cultural role models to help aid students to understand personal strengths and weaknesses. Higheagle et al. (2018) found talking with a counselor had a negative impact for Native American students when the counselor is not adequately trained in understanding Native values, beliefs and culture. Many interventions and indeed school curricula tend to be Euro-Centric rather than culturally responsive (Adelman et al., 2013). Several of the mentors agreed this was an issue, commenting on how they had never been taught by or ever seen a Native American teacher until they attended college, and added it was their desire to become the role models for the younger students in the Tribe. Their experience corroborates claims that school programs for Native American students need to be carefully constructed, include collaboration with tribal communities, and are best when delivered by Native American personnel who have the understanding and cultural empathy to recognize the impact of factors such as colonization (Grande, 2004; Lane & George, 2018; Turner et al., 2019; Wilcox, 2015; Williams et al., 2018; Yamamoto & Black, 2015).

For Indigenous youth the question of identity is complex and not without controversy (Weaver, 2001). It is not simply a case of belonging to the same community; different stories impact the way that individuals interpret their own feelings about what it means to be native. Self-perception is a key component of identity (Weaver, 2001) and cultural identity will move through stages that cause an individual to develop a changing sense of who he or she is; this may lead to a rediscovered sense of being Native (Weaver, 2001, Dukes & Martinez, 1997).

Building Relationships: Acknowledging Indigenous Values

Relationship-Building Through Community Insiders

Are researchers ever anything other than outsiders? Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith claims "there is no inside" (Smith et al., 2019, p. 12) even if someone claims to be from the community under study, because the label of "researcher" sets one aside. Aguilar, (1981) questions what it is that an insider is insider of? "All cultures (including subcultures)," he notes, "are characterized by internal variation" (p. 25). In an Indigenous community, this label can have negative associations due to past negative experiences of being "the researched". Merriam et al. (2001) suggest that the question of positionality is grounded "on two interrelated assumptions" (p. 411), the first of which assumes "that a culture is not a monolithic entity to which one belongs or not", and the second, that "one's positions vis-à-vis the culture can change" (p. 411) Like many researchers, I am immediately positioned as an outsider to the Native American community I work with. Cruikshank (1990) describes outsiders as exhibiting characteristics and experience of culture, education, lifestyle that are different from the communities with which they choose to work. Furthermore, Cruickshank (1990) believes outsiders have "chosen to become involved" and have the

“option of leaving a community, if and when they wish” (p. 245). To engage in the less dominant community. In reference to social work practitioners, Henderson and Thomas (1980) claim there is a basic human desire in the outsider to be accepted, which lends some outsiders to "not always appreciate the extent to which they are strangers to the communities they wish to serve" (p.110). Further, Henderson and Thomas (1980) warn that outsiders “may be unaware that their feelings of attachment or belongingness are not reciprocated” (p. 110). Thus, the evidence shows outsiders must build positive working relationships with the community if they are to be effective. Like a social worker, Henderson et al. (1980) suggests the status of a researcher is "someone who is less than a full member of the community and of the groups with whom he or she works," (p. 9). Trust takes time but one needs to prove themselves to become a positive member of the community, understand the value in the contributions of others, be receptive and circumspect about the agenda, or that of the project: “Walk softly and listen carefully” (National Congress of American Indians [NCAI], 2012).

Relationships as the Foundation

Researchers and Native American people have a sordid past with historic and present-day ethical violations evident in both the methods of collection, and use of data and knowledge (Couzin-Frankel, 2010; Dalton, 2004; Drabak-Syed, 2010; Gulliford, 1996; Mello & Wolf, 2010; NCAI, 2012; Riding In, 1996; Thomas, 2000,; Santos, 2008; Sterling, 2011). If such exploitation were represented on a scale, at one end would be the “helicopter researchers” and “fish-bowl” participants; projects where a research team drops into a community, gathers data while promising benefits or solutions to problems, leaves with no intention of follow-up or actual commitment to those promises, and publishes findings, but fails to provide information or resources to the community to help solve local problems. A

researcher wishing to conduct research within a Native American community should commit to a viable research partnership built on mutual respect. Of equal importance is to acknowledge the potential benefits of the research project to the community. This must be in concert with the Tribal community.

Historic research abuse can be traced back to the 17th and 18th centuries when military doctors collected Native American skulls from battle sites and claimed that phrenology (a discredited pseudoscience) revealed native character and mental capacity (Thomas, 2000). Such examples of research abuse and the tragic and shameful history of colonial America's treatment of Native American people, has fostered a deep-seated Native American skepticism toward research and researchers (Hodge, 2012). However, Native American communities understand the benefits that can be gained from participating in research, such as gaining desired knowledge about a certain issue, hiring and training tribal research staff, and building local research capacity through the inclusion of Native students (NCAI, 2012).

From early 1970s to the 1990s, tribal councils served as the gatekeepers for the review of research requests and researchers would often present results to the tribal council at the end of a project. This changed around 2000 with the creation of formalized tribal Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) modeled after the requirements of the Belmont Report, (1979). The aim was to create some common ground of procedure and understanding between the tribal IRB committee and a research team more familiar with IRB processes (Henderson, 2018). With this understanding, I was careful to apply for IRB approval from the Tribe for my proposed study in addition to the already granted IRB through my university. I spent time talking with members of the tribal community with whom I had developed friendships, asking for their guidance in developing a respectful and responsible

study. Their input was invaluable and essential, enabling me to explicitly demonstrate who would benefit from participating in the project and how and why this may benefit the tribe.

Paris and Winn (2014) conceptualize relationships at the heart of research as "humanizing approaches...that involve the building of relationships of care and dignity and dialogic consciousness raising for both researchers and participants" (p. xvi). Having built meaningful and trusted relationships with the mentors, my intention was to achieve a genuinely collaborative approach to a narrative project. This aligns with a suggestion from Kovach, (2009) for ensuring strong narrative elements in research that uses a tribal-centered indigenous methodology. Relationships benefit from face-to-face communication because it is easier to gauge a person's honesty and motives; this may be crucial regarding relationship building with a group who may feel uncertainty caused by a lack of interaction with those who exist outside of their familiar circles. Paris and Winn (2014) relate that "...research for equity with young people happens in processes of human relationship, respect and care" (p. xix). Given busy schedules and geographical distance, it occurred to me that mentors recently recruited for the project might feel very disconnected from the process. If relationships are so critical to developing honest research, then there has to be more effort made on the part of the researcher. In addition, if I am positioning myself and my research as genuinely collaborative and based in indigenous methodology, then I need not be part of the "...continued and longstanding efforts to make the process and product of qualitative inquiry fit into positivist notions of what research is and how it should look..." (Paris & Winn, 2014, p. xix).

In utilizing an Indigenous research method approach, my graduate partner and I initiated regular video meetings with the mentors as a way for them to learn about the research project and to learn about each other. After proposing an initial video call, and being

hesitant to presume it successful, affirmation from the mentors to continue with weekly video calls was a relief. Lomawaima (2016) reminds me that "Relationships carry moral, ethical, political, and pragmatic challenges" (p. 250), and by revisiting her work I am reminded of the implications around silence – what is not said – and the recognition and respect of such silence or absence. Lomawaima asks; "What does a respectful relationship with silence call for? Pressing on? Pulling back? Eliding its existence?" (2016, p. 250). These are ethical questions and although in the example from Lomawaima, related to interviews with older subjects, what I must learn from this is to be sensitive to the possibility that the students with whom I interact may have a personal relationship with absence and choose to respond with silence. Additionally, they too may encounter silence and absence from Tribal members whom they elect to interview.

Place

Through presenting relevant literature, I am looking for evidence that people actively engage with places by creating meaning, and in doing so, consciously foster relationships to places. It is important to note that the study of place has developed from an understanding of the space and time, to include complex, interrelated social dimensions (Gieryn, 2000; Urry, 2004). I will focus this review primarily on the sociological aspects as I am interested in how attachments to place are formed and maintained. I have chosen to focus briefly on (a) place, (b) place attachment, and (c) place identity as more western constructs, followed by consideration of (d) sense of belonging as an indigenous perspective of identity and place.

Identity manifests itself on many levels, including place. A sense of place can describe a feeling or perception held by people; it may be a symbol that causes a place to become exclusive or define certain characteristics of the place. A sense of place also

manifests in the way people experience, express, imagine and know the place in which they live. Distinctive features can define place, both tangible and intangible. It can allude to the complex relationship between humans and their environment; a relationship that includes both the impact of the natural environment on humans as well as the development that human activities have placed on the environment. Qazimi (2014) believes that "creating and developing a strong relationship... [with] a place shapes our identity" (p.307). As Tuan (1974) described, "diffuse as concept, vivid and concrete as personal experience" (p.4), the emotional human relationship to landscape is elusive. Perceptions of place change, depending on the context, the time, and the social interactions. 'Space is what place becomes when the unique gathering of things, meanings, and values are sucked out' (Gieryn, 2000, p. 465), suggesting that place exists only when humans believe a "space" has value and it is constructed and reconstructed over time by different groups of people (Cheng, 2003; Gieryn, 2000; Milligan, 1998; Stedman, 2003; Tuan, 1974, 1977). Human perception, cognition, self-concept, social dynamics, economies, cultures, and histories all influence the construction of place (Bott & Cantrill, 2003). Self-concepts that are based in part on place start when attachment to place grows. People begin to identify with these places, both at a larger scale (e.g., nation, city, etc.) and at a smaller scale (e.g., neighborhood, workplaces, homes, rooms) (Giuliani, 2003). Place therefore is a social construction of meaning produced by experience (Manzo, 2005; Milligan, 1998; Tuan, 1975), "strong visceral feelings", and an "emotional commitment" (Tuan, 1975, p.152). Stedman (2003) similarly conceptualizes place and reinforces the idea place is constructed through symbolic meanings attributed to the physical environment.

Environmental psychology is a field that has developed theories regarding different perspectives of place. Over time, and in most fields, theories in general are criticized, reviewed and altered. Environmental psychology is no exception, having progressed in the 1960s from thinking that the physical environment has direct effects on behavior, to a view that sees humans as having an interactive relationship with the environment (Franck, 1984; Freid, 1963; Guiliani, 2003; Hammitt, Kyle & Oh, 2009; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010). Where people have lived influences their environmental preferences, but people also influence places with their identities by personalizing their homes and workplaces (Hauge, 2006; Despres, 1991; Nasar & Kang, 1999). According to Canter (1977, 1997), place is created through a combination of human conceptions and activities, and the physical attributes of the space. By comparison, Stokols and Schumaker's (1981) "transactional view of settings" emphasize the relationship that people have with the environment as interdependent and reciprocal (as cited in Hauge, 2006, p. 45). Stokols and Schumaker (1981) focus less on the separate entities of people and environment, but rather on the interface *between* people and environments. The relationship and dynamics between social processes and physical form is a complex reinforcing system. Place is not static; it is not an unchanging space where social interactions occur, rather it holds a key role in those social interactions (Gieryn 2000; Dixon & Durrheim 2000; Mehta 2007).

Place Attachment and Phenomenology

Williams et al. (1992) and Eisenhauer (2000) describe place attachment as a personal identification with a place or landscape on an emotional level. Brooks et al. (2006), offer the metaphor of relationship to explain why some people view places as entities to be valued. Place attachment may manifest itself in an individual or in a member of a community.

Schumaker and Taylor (1983) agree, suggesting creation of a bond between person and place that evolves from certain specific conditions of the place and the characteristics of people. Milligan (1998) calls place attachment, "*the emotional* link formed by an individual to a physical site that has been given meaning through interaction*"*(p.2), (or behavioral intention; see Jorgensen and Steadman, 2001) and in addition to its cognition and behavioral components, Altman and Low (1992) describe place attachment as primarily an affective, integrating construct, incorporating several interrelated and inseparable aspects of people-place bonding. As can be seen, place attachment has no one unifying or accepted definition (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2011). A basic definition, however, relies on the idea that people associate emotions with various physical spaces, what Riley (1992) describes as an "affective relationship between people and the landscape that goes beyond cognition, preference or judgment" (p. 13), or a state of well-being experienced by a person as a result of the mere presence, vicinity, or memory of the place (Churchman & Mitrani, 1997; Sharpe & Evert, 2000). Such a bond where the strong feeling of attachment is evoked through memory, can be described as "empathetic recall", the obverse of which would be indifference.

More specific definitions of place attachment include as an affective bond or link between people and specific places, "the main characteristic of which is the tendency of the individual to maintain closeness to such a place" (Hidalgo & Hernandez 2001, p. 274), perhaps akin to "empathetic impetus: a driving or moving force accompanied with a strong incentive to specific constructive activity in that place" (T. Aylsquythe-Poynsenby, personal communication, December 27, 2020). Korpela (2012) suggests that aside from individual attachment to places, there may exist "collective, shared group and cultural attachments" (p.

149) leading to the presumption that place attachment may not just be restricted to the physical environment but also "the social relations that a place signifies" (Korpela, 2012, p. 149). Feldman (1990), and Lalli (1992) identify different types of settings may contribute to the way some people feel attachment to specific places (what Korpela refers to as "settlement identity") and Ryan (2005) discusses the notion of conceptual versus place-specific attachment, for example, rather than attachment to a particular place, the attachment is attributed to a type of environment or landscape (e.g. coastal or mountains).

Some key researchers who have studied positive attachment to place and a sense of place include Relph (1976) and Tuan (1974, 1977). Both authors used the similar terms of *insideness* and *outsideness* to describe people's feelings of being part of a place (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974, 1977), however, Tuan (1974, 1977) makes the separation between *sense of place* and *rootedness* with sense of place described as an awareness of positive feelings for a place and rootedness as a feeling of being home. The different concepts that have been used in relation to place such as "sense of place," "place attachment", "place-identity", and "place dependence" can be difficult to separate, but they may have similar definitions that recognize mainly positive ties to a place. Milligan (1998) suggests it is the meaningfulness of social interactions in a place that determine the strength of the emotional attachment. This echoes Proshansky et al.'s (1983) notion of place identity and the importance of an environmental past as a central component of the relationship between place and self-identity. Prohansky et al. (1983) explain an environmental past as the "places, spaces and their properties which have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs" (p. 59).

Place Identity

Place identity refers to the emotional or symbolic meaning a particular place has to an individual (Kyle et al., 2005). In the concept of place identity, the physical landscape or place becomes part of a person's self-identity (Prohansky et al.,1983; Warzecha & Lime, 2001). Thus, place identity can be seen to be different and more "personal" than place attachment. Hauge (2006) calls it "a substructure of self-identity, much like gender and social class" and "comprised of perceptions and comprehensions regarding the environment" (p. 46). Place identity develops much in the same way as individuality develops in that we learn, as children, to see ourselves as related to, but different from a physical environment. Lewicka (2010) suggests that social and physical attachments may develop at a different pace. The home becomes the first place to which a child will develop an attachment and within which his or her identity will be formed. Thus, the first "places" a child becomes aware of and attached to occur within the formative years of development. It follows the impact of the environment or the home can have a lasting influence on identity, negatively or positively. Proshansky and Fabian (1987) suggest place-identity changes occur throughout one's lifetime, with five central functions: i) recognition, ii) meaning, iii) expressive-requirement, iv) mediating change, and v) anxiety and defense function, forming a cognitive index against which every physical setting is experienced (Proshansky et al.,1983). However, Hauge (2006), Speller et al. (2002), explain that this theory of place-identity is weak and difficult to translate into a clear research agenda. However, it has been theorized that certain environments may elicit automatic emotional responses causing some to feel fear, and dislike, while others feel calmness or attachment. Furthermore, how a person responds may

affect cognitive, physiological and behavioral responses to the environment (Parsons, 1991; Ulrich, 1983; Ulrich et al., 1991).

Clearly, place cannot be categorized as an element of identity when compared to gender, social class, or family. Twigger- Ross and Uzzell (1996) point out all aspects of identity will, to some extent, have place-related implications. Places contain symbols of different personal meanings and represent identity on different levels and dimensions and should be considered as a dimension across other identity categories and not as a discrete category (Grauman, 1983; Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

Sense of belonging (indigenous perspective)

The Indigenous worldview accentuates connectedness to the creation/universe, sense of self, and recognizes the interdependence and interrelatedness of everything within the creation/universe (Lowe, 2002). Indigenous ontologies view humans as only one part within a network of sustainable relations (Ferguson & Weaselboy, 2019). In epistemologies that unite land and language, Land comes first and everything else – humans, non-human beings and languages, rise from it (Ortiz, 2018; Watts, 2013). Connectedness encompasses sense of belonging through interpersonal relationships with, and the well-being of, family and community; what Hill (2006) calls, "a dynamic phenomenon of social significance" (p. 210). The community is an extension of the family and many community members have family ties. This connected relationship is extended to the animals and the natural environment; the ones who cannot speak for themselves, but whose existence is essential to human survival:

> We are the land ... that is the fundamental idea embedded in Native American life the Earth is the mind of the people as we are the mind of the earth. The land is not really the place (separate from ourselves) where we act out the drama of our isolate

> destinies. It is not a means of survival, a setting for our affairs ... It is rather a part of our being, dynamic, significant, real. It is our self ... (Allen, 1979, p. 191-192)

The extended community includes all relationships, human and nonhuman, and is reflected in interdependence; the tradition of thinking as 'we' instead of 'I' is the strength of Indigenous culture (Sutton & Broken Nose, 1996). Cultural identity may have an impact on the promotion of tribal traditions and cultural values, including the sense of belonging. Writing as an Anishnaabe and Haudenosaunee woman, Watt, (2013) raises the problem of the Indigenous worldview being "continuously tested against the colonial frame" (p. 21) and the need to adopt a "Pre-colonial" mindset (p. 22). Explaining "Place-Thought" (Haudenosaunee and Anishnaabe cosmologies) as opposed to "epistemological-ontological" (Euro-Western frame) (p. 22), Watt (2013) concludes,

> As Indigenous peoples, it is not only an obligation to communicate with Place-Thought (ceremonies with land, territory, the four directions, etc.), but it ensures our continued ability to act and think according to our cosmologies. To prevent these practices deafens us. It is not that the non-human world no longer speaks but that we begin to understand less and less... we have within us the ability to communicate with the land, but our agency as Indigenous peoples has been corrupted within this colonial frame (Watt, 2013, p.32).

This perspective is also represented by the Indigenous Medicine Wheel, the Wheel of Life, and the Circle of Life, (Bopp et al., 1984; Poonwassie & Charter, 2001); these are symbolic of life and universal connectedness (Poonwassie & Charter, 2001). The circle represents the cycles of life with no beginning, end or time; it is symbolic of interconnectedness; it is symbolic in talking circles, plant roots, plant stems, sky, sweat

lodge, the sacred pipe, the sacred hoop, and the Medicine Wheel (Fontaine, 2000). Saylor and Aries (1999) found belonging increases based on the strength of ethnic identity and association with an individual's ethnic group over time. Struthers et al. (2003) maintains the dynamics of relationship within Indigenous communities is comprised of connectedness and a sense of belonging. Hagerty et al. (1993) posits this notion in their Theory of Relatedness: that belonging is a state of connection between a person and the environment; it is an element of connecting one's self to people, places, and things (Hagerty et al., 1992). Likewise, Struthers (2000) stated, "...deep knowledge of self comes from interconnection with nature . . ." (p. 272).

McCarty et al. (2012) talk about "geographies of social meaning and identity" (p.51) as an element that, combined with language, ground an individual's lived experience in cultural history. Basso (1996), holds that the importance of Indigenous language is that it often attributes social meaning to places, localities and features of a landscape. Indeed, there are many examples of Indigenous place-names that pre-date the recognizable anglicized labels and have no actual "translation". Indigenous or traditional names are generally entwined with the landscape, are part of the land, and go far beyond mere description (Palmer, 1993; Webster, 2017).

Hunn (1996) describes place-names as "storehouses of cultural information about people's relationships with the land" (p.22). Hunn (1996) noted, unlike English names and their tendency to be biographical, Sahaptin[10] place-names refer to plants or animals that would have been found at those sites. Being that Sahaptin Indigenous peoples reside in the

[10] Columbia Basin Indigenous Tribes

Columbia River Basin, many of the traditional place-names reflect Sahaptin words for water. Hunn (1996) informs, “Statistical analysis of place-name distributions provides clear evidence of culturally distinctive land-use strategies and settlement patterns” (p. 22). This tendency to create place-names that have meaning is echoed in many Indigenous communities and reflect profound significance for traditional peoples. They exist as “a framework for cultural transmission and moral instruction, as a symbolic link to their land, and as ground for their identity” (Hunn, 1996, p.4). Authors who have contributed to the idea of place-names having sociological significance, include Keith Basso's studies of Western Apache (1984, 1988, 1996), Watt and Basso (2004), Cruikshank (1981,1990), Thornton's (1995) Tlingit work and Tunbridge's research on Australian aboriginal place-names (as cited in Koch & Hercus, 2009; 1988). O’Connor and Brown (2014) highlight more recent work that has emphasized the processes by which places come to be seen as meaningful, as well as the pliancy of those meanings, (Nicholas, 2009; Teves, 2011; Wyman, 2012).

Landscape

Human nature looks for fixed, physical landscapes in which to ensconce itself; a house, town, or community, but whether those landscapes remain “fixed” is arguable. Life inflicts a certain amount of attitude change, whether you like it or not; *you* are the random element; over time *you* change. Time changes perception in *everybody*, including those who stay in places and those who leave. People seldom factor this when returning to places; the place-connection in their minds turns out to be nothing more than nostalgia, leading to disappointment for something that once was. Dynamic personalities are their own landscape and this internal panorama is in a constant state of potential; a perpetually unrolling horizon. “Landscape” *is* personality and you face the landscape that you have created; thus, inner

landscape becomes the personal representation of reality. The inner landscape is a map that contains historical references based on our emotions, sensations, ideas, and habits that we use to give meaning to the facts of everyday life. Human understanding of nature and of relationships with the environment are really cultural expressions used to define who we were, who we are, and who we hope to be at this place and in this space. "Landscapes" both physical and internal, are the reflection of these cultural identities, which are about us, rather than the natural environment.

As Social Constructs.

In a social constructionist perspective, aspects of phenomenology and symbolic interactionism define "landscape" as the symbolic environment created by conferring meaning on nature and the environment. In this respect, every landscape is a symbolic environment, reflecting self-definitions that are grounded in a culture of particular values and beliefs. As individual definitions of identity change, the physical environment also changes into landscapes that reflect these changing definitions. For example, a forest is a forest, but it has multiple symbolic meanings, depending on the values that people use to define themselves. Thus, the forest – the physical environment – is transformed to reflect those self-definitions. Symbolic meanings and definitions are sociocultural phenomena, not physical phenomena; it is *they* that transform the forest into a symbolic landscape.

As Reflections of Cultural Identity.

The natural environment is transformed into landscapes by cultural groups through the use of symbols that accord different meanings on the same physical objects or conditions. As mentioned above, these symbols and meanings are sociocultural phenomena and constructions resulting from ongoing negotiations in a cultural context (Berger & Luckmann

1967). Meanings are not inherent in the natural world; the environment is meaningless until cultural groups define their relationships to it and confer symbols to represent it. Such subjective phenomena become the reflections of how people define themselves within the culture. Bennett (1976) holds that "humans are constantly engaged in seizing natural phenomena, converting them into cultural objects, and reinterpreting them with cultural ideas" (p.4). Greider and Garkovich (1994) concur, stating, "by defining themselves, [people] create their own landscape" and "....these landscapes are created out of the natural environment as reflections of our cultural definitions of ourselves" (p.8). Reflecting on how important a sense of belonging and relationship to the environment is to Native Hawaiian identity, Kanaÿiaupuni and Malone (2006) make the point that, ties to the land and sea "nourish Hawaiian well-being" (p. 281) and emphasize that "place is critical to the cultural survival and identity of a people" (p. 282). The Navajo called their land "the Great Self" (Casey, 2009), eliciting an idea that separation from the land results in a separation from self. Justice (2016) attests that "...place always matters, and for Indigenous peoples – and the forces of imperialism and settler colonialism – it matters profoundly" (p. 21) and highlights the intimacy and complexity that connects Indigenous people to places, " Indigenous people's complex and overlapping sets of relationships, obligations, legacies, loyalties, and languages that deepen as they extend outward in time and space are intimately tied to and dependent on specific places and their meaningful histories" (Justice, 2016, p..21).

It is the case that in Indigenous cultures, there is a strong relationship between ancestors and descendants, leading the Navajo poet Luci Tapahonso to comment, "The land that may appear arid and forlorn to the newcomer is full of stories which hold the spirits of the people, those who live here today and those who lived centuries and other worlds ago"

(in Fast, 2007, p.203). Every aspect of a landscape had a story that rooted it to both the landscape and to the people's psyche; Silko (in Halpern, 1987) and Basso (1996) have both asserted that stories were often triggered as people passed by a specific landmark or exact place where a story took place. Places carry the energies of people, history, and cultural significance; in turn, people carry the energy of places as some part of their being (Memmott & Long, 2002). So many Indigenous peoples have suffered the loss of land through forced relocation, setting up a loss of memory and connectedness to ancestors, which can only produce deeper feelings of disorientation that potentially become irreversible. Such estrangement from land that held profound meaning results in a feeling of not being at home, without a place and translating to a feeling of non-existence. Faced with change, there has to be a process of negotiating new self-definitions, but these negotiations occur within the context of existing landscapes that frame the directions that the new self-definitions may take (Greider & Garkovich 1994).

Summary

The purpose of this review was to explore how the existing literature addresses the question, "are relationships to places dynamic in nature and do they become means through which people explore their evolving identity?" The second purpose of this review was to identify literature that seeks to understand young Native American adults' perception of what it means to be Native; how they situate their personal landscape, and whether and in what ways they demonstrate place-attachment. The first observation is to emphasize the lack of current academic literature that addresses these topics directly. Much of the work on identity is based on earlier theories that are still respected, and where progress has been made, newer theories (for example on place-identity) are at least ten or more years old. This could be for

several reasons; either the topic does not generate sufficient interest in new research, or it has been demonstrated over time, that the original theories are still considered viable and established. The fields of environmental psychology and sociology have coalesced successfully and offer useful insight regarding identity and interactions with place and the landscape. Blaeser (1999) adds an Indigenous perspective commenting; "the focus on natural history or a storied landscape has long been a key element in Native philosophy, oral literatures, and written works in everything from treaty language to ceremonial songs to contemporary autobiography" (p. 93). Blaeser's work provides an early example of the growing body of literature providing Indigenous perspectives, written by Indigenous scholars, whose primary focus is often in the fields of education or healthcare (For example: Campbell Wilcox, 2015; Castagno, 2006, 2007; Castagno and Brayboy, 2008; EchoHawk, 1997; HeavyRunner and Sebastien Morris, 1997; Hill, 2006; La Fromboise et al., 2010), but whose work references how important retaining a "sense of belonging" with places and landscapes is to the well-being of Indigenous people. Masta, (2018) notes challenges faced by Indigenous scholars that include "difficulty in engaging with the broader research community because of the social and educational urgency of tribal focused research"(p. 841). Masta (2018) further highlights the existence of "academic snobbery" arising from a distain for Indigenous methodologies because they are unlikely to be positivist or post-positivist; the very methodologies that have served to marginalize and damage Indigenous communities. Bernal (2002) describes the experiences of students of color having been devalued, misinterpreted and in some examples, deliberately omitted within educational settings. Using critical race theory and Latina/Latino critical theory, Bernal (2002) recognizes "students of color as holders and creators of knowledge" (p.105).

One area not well-represented in the traditional academic literature concerns young Native American adults' perception of what it means to be Native; even more elusive is research reported in the *voice* of this population. Another area that seems to be lacking in published research is relevant to the second part of the inquiry; how young Native American adults' situate their personal landscape, and in what ways they demonstrate place-attachment. The lack of demonstrable research or inquiry in both of these areas lead me to surmise that the inquiry proposed in this project is worthy of further study. Low (2003) describes embodied space as a "model for understanding the creation of place through spatial orientation, movement and language" (p. 9). Through the creation of visual narratives, this inquiry aims to give voice and the creation of embodied space to young Native American adults as they consider their role in nation building.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

In Consideration of Positionality

A key responsibility for researchers is to be aware of one's positionality in relation to the research participants and how personal bias may influence what they do (Merriam et. al, 2001). Thus, to be transparent with my positionality, I am a Caucasian, British woman of Scottish/English heritage, residing temporarily in the American northwest to attend a doctoral program. I am a full-time graduate student and a representative of the dominant culture - indigenous in my homeland, but a settler in this land. Qualitative research calls for me as a researcher to have a continuous, ethical, non-judgmental awareness that relies on what I see and what I am told by the participants in my research (Brayboy & Dehyle, 2000). Conducting research in Native American communities requires additional sensitivity, such as transparency because of the damage done to those communities through unethical practices (Pacheo et. al, 2013; Smith, 2013). Brayboy and Dehyle (2000) cite in, Our Voices, Our Vision: American Indians Speak Out for Educational Excellence (College Board, 1989), how dominant culture has exploited the culture of Native Americans as an economic commodity and continues to cause great harm through cultural appropriation – for example, using Native American imagery and names as tools for marketing non-Indigenous owned business. The report calls on Tribal people to "safeguard the borders of their cultural domains against research and publishing incursions" (p. 6). Coming from a country with a long history of colonial behavior, it has taken me over a year of study, conversation, and learning to begin to understand the far-reaching consequences of colonization for Native American people. This knowledge drives me to aspire to become a trusted ally, in the decolonization of educational spaces (Anthony-Stevens, 2017; Tuck & Yang, 2012).

It is essential to acknowledge the role played by Dr. Meyer, the Director of Education for the CdA-DoE, in enabling this study to take place. Dr. Meyer is the driving force behind the development and sustainability of the Tribe's education pipeline. Her vision, along with directives from the CdA Tribal Council was to focus efforts to develop and support a capable, skilled workforce to move the Tribe's mission towards self-determination. Critical to this mission, is the need to nurture and grow Tribal members, preparing them for leadership roles, thus contributing to Nation-building. The CdA Tribal Council anointed Dr. Meyer as someone who lives by the Tribe's values system and acknowledges and understands the needs of the Tribal youth. As an insider, Dr. Meyer has negotiated the complex relationships within the Tribal community, which can result in her having to make difficult choices and decisions. As an outsider, I had to negotiate the insider/outsider relationship while being consciously aware of "cultural interpretation that often locates the meaningfulness of culture in its internal coherence" (Samuels, 2001, p. 277). Many Native American Tribes share similarities in their value systems and worldviews, (for example, sustainable management of natural resources and interconnectedness) but importantly, each Tribe retains its uniqueness in the mores, norms and folkways which constitute that community. An outsider must be sensitive to this accept that they may never fully understand the nuances involved in the ways meaning is made. As Samuels (2001) explains, " If cultures make the world meaningful by categorizing experience, that is only half the story. That is, people do not create meaning only by making categories, but also by unmaking them" (p.294). Dr. Meyer was the conduit that allowed me to develop productive, trusting relationships with Tribal youth, due to her belief and trust in me.

Theoretical Perspective

It has been argued the label of qualitative research can lead to confusion because people will interpret it differently (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). To help create a definition for qualitative research, Strauss and Corbin (1998) offer a "nonmathematical process of interpretation" (1999, p.11) that looks for patterns within data and from which theory can emerge. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) comment that qualitative researchers "stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry" (2000, p.8). Kovach (2009) stressing the interpretative nature of qualitative research says, " the stories of both the researcher and the research participants are reflected in the meanings being made" (2010, p. 26). Using a qualitative approach demands that researchers be continually aware of their own bias and be sufficiently circumspect to use this awareness to locate and re-locate themselves in the research. Rossman and Rallis (2003) call this approach reflexivity. For this qualitative study, the researcher identified with a constructivist epistemology as defined by Crotty (1998). This epistemology holds that meaning is a constructed concept rather than something "discovered" and because human perceptions are prone to error, there can be no perfect truth (Crotty, 1998; Creswell & Poth, 2018). Constructivism puts emphasis on a phenomenon world, which can be interpreted rather than accurately and exactly understood (Kalof et al. 2008). As Crotty, (1998) explains: "being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (p. 42). Additionally, Guba and Lincoln (1989) refer to the constructionist paradigm as: "naturalistic, hermeneutic, or interpretive" (p. 83). Social constructivism aims to garner understanding by considering individual participants' perceptions and opinions.

Constructivism in psychology emphasizes the socio-cultural aspects of perception and cognition; local culture is shaped by and also shapes what sense people give to situations. According to sociology, the idea of "symbolic interactionism" sees the social world ongoingly constructed and re-constructed through the use of symbols as humans interact with one another (Blumer, 1969; Berger & Luckman 1969). This view emphasizes how different cultures formulate the world symbolically in diverse ways, thus rendering multiple, constructed realities. A criticism of this view is that it ignores the "real world" and suggests people are free to construct alternative realities through discursive practices. Within this study, this epistemology is relevant because the place-based images created by the participants are unique and individuals are able to develop their own perspective of meaning derived from those images. Based on personal experiences, that influenced the choice of place-based images, participants introspection of their own reality does not consider anyone else's unique experiences of the same place. This study is also grounded in both an interpretative and transformative paradigm, that is; interpretative in respect of being concerned with understanding the world from the subjective experiences of individual participants; transformative in that it centers on the experiences of members of a marginalized community, recognizing that realities are constructed and shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, and racial/ethnic values. In this instance a transformative paradigm is recognized as having the potential to facilitate empowerment. Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory (1986) explain that the concept of self, arises from the groups to which that person belongs. Similarly, cultural identity theory (Collier & Thomas, 1988) deals with the study into how individuals use communicative processes to construct and negotiate their cultural group identities and relationships in particular contexts. While the

study research question seeks to investigate the individual response to self-generated images, it is possible that through discussion of interpretations, the Native American undergraduates, may discover areas of shared knowledge relating to identity and place.

Indigenous Epistemology and Methodology

If quantitative research seeks the singular truth from objective observation, qualitative research acknowledges multiple truths discovered within contextualized realities. However, these two broad categories of research and the sub-categories within each discipline, are paradigms "defined and nuanced by Western thought" (Kovach, 2009, p.26). A research project based within an Indigenous community with Indigenous research participants needs to find ways to honor Indigenous epistemologies and decolonize the research process and content (Burkhart, 2004).

The term 'Indigenous methodologies' is chosen by Kovach (2009) to "describe the theory and method of constructing research that flows from an indigenous epistemology" (2009, p. 20). Epistemology (how knowledge is created and what knowledge is possible to know) is inextricably embedded within the social relations of knowledge production; it becomes a way to express a particular worldview. Indigenous methodologies emerge from knowledge frameworks, making them people and place-specific (Smith, 2012; Smith et al., 2019; Tuck & McKenzie, 2015).The relationship between method and paradigm becomes a critical element in an Indigenous worldview, where interconnectedness encompasses epistemology. Thus, Indigenous research methodologies are built upon what Wilson (2008) calls, "relational accountability" (p.77). To be more explicit, what is most "important and meaningful is fulfilling a role and obligations in the research relationship – that is, being accountable to your relations" (Wilson, 2008, p.77). In choosing to study a phenomenon that

includes Indigenous participants, it was essential that I, as a non-Indigenous researcher "adjourn disbelief and, in the pause, consider alternative possibilities" (Kovach, 2009, p. 29) therefore placing my study within the framework of an Indigenous research paradigm, outside the Western tradition.

Decolonizing Approaches

The term "decolonial" is often used to explain the process of deconstructing and challenging knowledge production that grants legitimacy to certain forms of knowing while invalidating others, such as indigenous knowledges (Agboka, 2014; Dei, 2000). Decolonial approaches endeavor to highlight "how colonialism has worked and continues to work to subjugate, commoditize, and otherwise exploit culture, knowledge, and other resources of unenfranchised people, groups, and nations" (Agboka, 2014, p.302), through the production of new knowledge. Smith, (1999, p.20) insists this must offer ". . . a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values which inform research practices". Decolonial approaches have as their goal, social justice and therefore acknowledge colonial influences of research, seeking to achieve approaches that are of mutual benefit to both researcher and participants (Mutua & Swadener, 2004). According to Smith (1999), decolonial approaches present a framework for self-determination, decolonization and social justice. For Indigenous people (scholars, researchers and participants) Smith suggests "knowingness of the colonizer, a recovery of ourselves, and an analysis of colonialism . . ." (Smith, 1999, p. 7). For Smith, "talking back" requires participants (colonized) to express agency, created through reflexivity and thoughtful processes rather than "offered" by the researcher. To achieve a decolonial framework, objective and positivist approaches must be rejected in favor of a foundation that

acknowledges the diverse ways of disseminating knowledge, while making sure reciprocity is adhered to by making sure research reaches the people who helped to make it (Agboka, 2014; Smith, 1999). A decolonial approach recognizes the existence and dominance of colonial tendencies through Western-influenced research traditions; that is, through methods of inquiry and the application of these methods (Agboka, 2014, Gorski, 2008). Through applying a decolonial approach to both research design and research methods, the Western research traditions can be deconstructed by honoring Indigenous knowledges and practices, decentering Eurocentric perspectives, and thinking about new possible futures that are non-oppressive and non-hierarchical. Agboka, (2014) states "it is only the active agency of the colonized that will complete the process of liberating participants in specific research sites from the legacies of the past" (p. 304). It is essential therefore, that I approach my study through a decolonial lens and ensure the design and methods I choose create a safe, shared and equitable space for myself and the undergraduate student research partners to share our stories.

Narrative Research Methodology

The Power of Narratives

Vygotsky (1978) articulates that individual psychological development is inherently a relational process, whereby individual minds develop within the context of other minds by which they can be influenced. Narratives, or stories are useful pathways for merging the influence of others and serve to incorporate experience across time, marked by core themes. Polkinghorne (1991) maintains that storied narratives are limited to transmitting emotional experiences and therefore cannot provide true knowledge. Bruner (1985) disagrees, arguing that narrative knowledge is a legitimate form of reasoned knowing and far more than just

emotive expression. However, Bruner (1985), along with Polkinghorne (1991, 2015) agree useful and valid knowledge can be generated through both paradigmatic and narrative cognition; both being part of the human repertoire for making sense of the self, of others, and of the world.

The Oxford English dictionary gives the origin of the noun *narrative* from the late Latin *narrativus* (telling a story) form of the verb *narrare* to recount or tell. Narratives, therefore, are simply stories that tell a sequence of events, which are significant to the narrator and/or their audience. When an individual is telling their story, the context is always forefront in their mind. In fact, an individual is exclusively connected to their social, cultural and institutional setting (Wertsch, 1991), which suggests that narratives capture the essence of both the individual and the context simultaneously. Moen (2006) points out a major characteristic of narrative research is "the collaboration process between the researcher and her or his research subjects" (p. 61), and suggests there are several researchers (Altork, 1998; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Heikkinen, 2002; Kyratzis & Green, 1997) who see the merit in a collaborative relationship between researcher and participants. Furthermore, Moen (2006) stresses the "necessity of time and space to develop a caring situation in which both the researcher and the research subjects feel comfortable" (p. 61), with the ideal being a joint understanding of the narrative is reached during the process (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

Narratives focus on the stories people use to describe aspects of their lives and features. In social research, narrative refers to a diversity of topics and methods of investigation and what are assumed to be 'individual, internal representations of phenomena – events, thoughts, feelings to which narrative gives external expression' (Andrews et al, 2008, p.5). Narratives can be studied as recollections of experience, rather than descriptions

of events; this experience-centered approach can be useful as it focuses on the constructive power of narrative (Squire, 2008). What Georgakopolou calls ‘small stories’ will be relevant and useful to this study, particularly as they are ‘stories we tell in passing in our everyday encounters’ (Georgakopolou, 2006: 123) or, according to Bamberg, ‘narratives-in-interaction’ (Bamberg, 2004, p.367; 2006, p.146). As Wetherell (2005) comments: ‘Personal standpoints are built from often contradictory and fragmented patchworks of cultural resources’ (p.170). Rose (2001) observes that ‘there is no single way to do narrative research, just as there is no single definition of narrative’ (p.155). I propose that the methodology suggested for this study could be defined as a type of visual narrative. The true concept of visual narratives may relate to a sequence of photographs, or a film or video, where images taken sequentially in rapid succession, re-create a moving image. Such media creates sociological narratives where the story is told through the sequence of images (Harper, 1987, 1988, 2001). In this study, the participants are building a narrative around the photographs they have taken, to explain their choices and why the places in the photographs matter.

Lincoln (1992) highlights the ontological stance of constructivist research as being that “realities are constructed entities” (p.379) and emphasized the subjective nature of its epistemology. Narrative inquiry is positioned within a constructivist stance, but Denzin (1997) points out there are complexities in the writing of narrative because of “(a) the ‘real’ and its representation in the text; (b) the text and the author; (c) lived experience and its textual representations, and; (d) the subject and his or her intentional meanings” (p. 5). Furthermore, Denzin (1997) challenged the assumption that an author/researcher is able to accurately capture an experience, a reality, because:

> Language and speech do not mirror experience: They create experience and in the process of creation constantly transform and defer that which is being described. The meanings of a subject's statements are, therefore, always in motion. (p. 5)

Supporters of narrative inquiry argue that stories are the closest we can come to a shared experience; Clandinin and Connelly (1994) argued that, " Experience...is the stories people live. People live stories and in the telling of them reaffirm them, modify them and create new ones" (p. 415). To use narrative inquiry methodology is to adopt a particular view of experience as phenomenon under study (Clandinin & Huber, 2010).

Narrative research is aligned with feminist research and theory because narratives, or stories enable the feminine side of human experience to have a voice (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Witherell & Noddings, 1991; Elbaz, 1991; Carter, 1993). Women often exhibit different ways of knowing, connected through a blend of intuition, emotion and relationship, which likely influences their approach to thinking and learning. Thus, for women, the development of self, mind and voice are inseparable and intricately interwoven (Belenky et. al, 1986). Such ways of knowing, though subjective, are valued by women; personal empowerment is linked to feminist ways of knowing; yet these ways have been neglected, even ridiculed, by a patriarchal society (Yang, 2011). Narrative research provides a way to have such voices heard.

"Photovoice" as Methodology

Photovoice, a concept conceived by Wang and Burris (1997) could be an effective visual narrative methodology that combines elements of an indigenous research paradigm; the self-generated images, leading to discussion and interpretation from the creators through oral narratives, and not interpreted by the researcher. This methodology could be an example

of one that Smith et al. (2019) say can ‘deconstruct the power of research and researcher to construct knowledge that is valid for empowered communities’(p. xvi). Within my research project I sought to adopt a combination of two models created by Smith, (1992) – *tiaki,* where mentoring and guidance for the research is provided by (in this case) authoritative Tribal members, and Smith’s third model of ‘power sharing’, where researchers and the community (in this case, myself and the participants) share the development of the research. Photovoice in its simplest form helps to promote effective sharing of expertise and knowledge. The visual images act as a starting point for creating critical dialogue among participants, sometimes in order to enact change within communities. In the context of this study, Photovoice is considered less in relation to sharing expertise and knowledge, and more in relation to situating self-perception and identity within the community. While appearing to be a non-traditional methodology, Photovoice is situated within a constructivist paradigm. The epistemology and epistemological assumptions are interpretivist; i.e., the investigation of phenomena within a social context that can have many interpretations. Through an interpretivist approach, knowledge therefore is not necessarily an accurate representation of the external world; it is an interpretation based on social contexts and by those in the contexts. The focus of interpretative research is on those life experiences that radically alter and shape the meanings persons give to themselves and experiences (Denzin, 2001). The social constructivist approach does not prescribe a particular way of doing research or collecting data although “almost all the research under this heading uses qualitative data collection” (Robson & McCartan, 2016, p.25). It is research concerned with the aim of understanding. My study could be described as an emic investigation (particularizing, as opposed to generalizing) and therefore idiographic (Alport, 1942; Pike, 1954), seeking to

study experience using narratives, attempting to capture the meanings and experiences of participants in certain situations. The visual narratives (i.e. the photographs) provide a starting point for participants to provide additional oral or written narrative that explains and interprets their images – my position as researcher, is not to offer interpretation, but to document other's interpretations. Through the actions of participants creating and interpreting their images, Photovoice not only meets this definition of interpretivism, it hints at critical theory through practical issues that can construct the knowledge leading to social change. The ontological position – the researchers' relationship with the reality of their study – would tend towards relativism and a position that reality is socially constructed, and therefore subjective. In the interpretivist ontological view, the world in social phenomena has different meanings (Guba & Lincoln, 2000) – in this case, meaning constructed and interpreted subjectively by the Native American undergraduates. Therefore, different researchers may arrive at different conclusions from the same observation; this is likely also true when participants are creating and interpreting their own images. Photographs can be deeply personal and therefore interpretation, highly subjective. The immediacy of the visual image provides evidence while promoting an effective, participatory means of sharing experiences and knowledge. Taking pictures and telling stories as they relate to these images is empowering (Palibroda, 2009) and Wang (1999) asserts that taking images to share stories causes individuals to become the seer, the holder of knowledge and the creator, thus becoming potential catalysts for change, "people ought to participate in creating and defining those images that shape public discourse" (p. 191).

The creators of Photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997) use their methodology as the vehicle for adopting social change within the communities of their participants. In this

respect, one could argue that the critical theory paradigm is adopted as it sees the participants' world as something that needs to change; based on the criticisms from interrogation it sees the social phenomena under investigation as something that will change at the social and individual level. My study did not investigate a phenomenon with regard to social change; change, if present, will be at the individual level or possibly at the peer-group interface.

Lysaght (2011) highlighted the researchers' necessity of identifying a theoretical framework:

> A researcher's choice of framework is not arbitrary but reflects important personal beliefs and understandings about the nature of knowledge, how it exists (in the metaphysical sense) in relation to the observer, and the possible roles to be adopted, and tools to be employed consequently, by the researcher in his/her work. (p. 572)

Wang and Burris (1997) explaining how their concept developed from three main sources, reference the sources of theoretical influences thus: "the theoretical literature on Freire's education for critical consciousness[11], feminist theory and documentary photography. There is also strong influence from critical theory, in that the aims of Photovoice is to facilitate giving minority groups a voice to effect change in their communities. Lincoln and Denzin (2000) describe critical theory as: "radical restructuring [of] society toward the ends of reclaiming historic cultural legacies, social justice, the redistribution of power and the achievement of truly democratic societies" (p. 1056). Critical theorists claim that society, in

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[11] a socio-political educative tool that engages learners in questioning the nature of their historical and social situation, which Freire addressed as "reading the world"

its current form, is oppressive, with thought fundamentally mediated by power relations constituted historically and socially (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Wang and Burris (1997) argue that the Photovoice projects "may be particularly powerful not only for women but also for workers, children, peasants, people who do not read or write in the dominant language, and people with socially stigmatized health conditions or status" (p.370); an affirmation of the critical theorist claims above. To further analyze the theoretical underpinnings of this study, it is necessary to take each in turn to explain how they frame the research.

The works of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire have greatly influenced thinking about participatory development. Freire's theory of critical consciousness (1970, 1973), grounded in post-Marxist critical theory, explored liberating educational methods that he believed could allow the poor and oppressed to intervene in reality in order to change it; resulting in freedom from the oppression. Freire (1970, 1973), noted that visual image was a way to get people to think critically about their community and to start discussing everyday influences in their lives. As the next step on from Freire, Photovoice enables the images to be created by the people in the community – by the oppressed. However, in relation to the research question, Photovoice is not being suggested as a vehicle for Native American undergraduates to gain freedom from oppression, rather it is providing a medium for self-expression, self-exploration, and agency to tell individual stories. With this methodology, participants co-construct knowledge with the researchers and with each other; as Smith-Maddox and Solorzano (2002) suggest, they are seen as "active agents engaged in the discovery and development of their own knowledge" (p. 70). Basing the concept on Freiere's methodology, Photovoice draws on the method of documentary, but in contrast to the traditional method of documentary, the cameras are given to those who are often the subject of other's images. In

this way, the method allows participants to move from being passive subjects of others' interpretations to active creators interpreting their own worldviews. The images produced reflect the participants' own interpretation of their lives and the connections to their community; as Stryker (1963) comments, "The things to be said in the language of pictures" (p. 371). Rosler (1987) has described documentary photography as the social conscience presented in visual imagery, and this aligns well with what Wang and Burris are trying to achieve.

Wang and Burris (1997) suggest that Photovoice "offers several distinctive contributions to [participatory] needs assessment" (p. 372), importantly, valuing the knowledge people in communities have and acknowledging this as a source of expertise. In this, they affirm their epistemological and ontological assumptions and theoretical perspective. As they point out, Gaventa (1993) has noted that the participatory process assumes the legitimacy of popular knowledge produced outside a formal scientific structure. In this respect, the 'popular knowledge' shared by those who produce and interpret such knowledge, is legitimized. I find the methodology conceived and used by the authors to be grounded in the epistemology, ontology and theoretical concepts that they position this work in, namely that the nature of the research is participatory, with an emphasis on empowerment; it is research conducted *by* and *with* participants instead of research that is *done to* the participants. This type of participatory research, along with other approaches, such as critical ethnography, collaborative interviews, public science (Guishard & Tuck, 2014), "deconstruct the power of research and researcher to construct knowledge that is valid for empowered communities" (Smith et al., 2019, p. xvi). To authentically engage with decolonizing participatory methods means to first acknowledge the settler colonial behavior

of university institutions in the way data on Indigenous (and non-white) communities is collected (Tuck & Yang, 2014). Simpson (2007) describes this is evidence of knowledge being territorialized. To counter Indigenous data and knowledge becoming "part of an academic knowledge territory" (Smith et al, 2019, p. xvi), Tuck and Guishard (2013) propose a Decolonizing Participatory Action Research model (DPAR), focused on limiting this acquisition and reframing ethics away from procedures that attempt to safeguard participant rights "toward conversations about relational ethics in which partnership, commitment, accountability, and social justice are its central tenets" (Tuck & Guishard, 2013, p. 3).

Research Design

As a research assistant on a National Science Foundation (NSF) grant-funded project, I am a member of a project team working in partnership with a Tribal community. The Tribe has approximately 2,190 members, 50% of whom live on the reservation in the northwestern United States. One of the project's objectives was to develop a mentoring model, where Native American undergraduate students from the Tribal community serve as mentors to middle school and high school interns during a summer work program. Being one of two Ph.D. students, I am part of a second layer of the mentoring model, providing support and guidance to the student mentors on the project. Initiating and developing a productive and trusting relationships with the mentors was crucial to the success of the NSF project, but also created the potential for their participation in my dissertation research project.

The study combined narrative and visual methods to address the questions, 1) How do place-based photographs taken by tribal undergraduate students reveal their perceptions of their Native American identity? 2) How does Native American identity connect to place? 3) How do discussions about place attachment and identity facilitate the students participating

in the study to make sense of the process towards decolonization? Participants in the study (tribal undergraduate students) were invited to consider places that had meaning to them as individuals, and as Native Americans; that is, places that in some way represented their perceptions of their Native American identity. Participants were asked to take photographs, using their own devices, of those places. Once the photographs were taken, I scheduled a face-to-face meeting with each participant to have them share their photos and describe what they had taken and why. Each participant was also given the option to create a written narrative to accompany each of their images. The narratives were to describe and explain how the participants perceive the image as representative of a particular place and what meaning they attach it. Initially, individual meetings were conducted through video calls simply because the students were geographically distributed across two states and at several institutions. I had planned for us all to meet as one group in person, at the Tribal Department of Education with the purpose of sharing individual stories through the medium of storytelling. This proved to not be possible, frustrated due to the rapid expansion of the Covid-19 pandemic and the difficulty of getting all participants together on video at the same time (a variety of school schedules, plus connectivity issues being in rural locations).

The group was asked if they would be willing to share their narratives with their community through the creation of visuals and accompanying quotation-style narrative extracts (i.e. large format banner-style posters) to be posted in public places within the community. At a future date, there was also the possibility of sharing through the oral method of storytelling with elders and other community members. At the community level, I anticipated the Tribal Council would see the study as worthwhile in enabling the

undergraduates to have their voices heard through the telling of their stories.

Participants

Participants were recruited from an existing group of undergraduate student mentors with affiliations to the Coeur d'Alene tribe, working on the Voices to Hear (V2H) project (https://voicestohearcdatribe.org/). Given the nature of this research study, and in keeping with the Indigenous research paradigm, a purposeful sample approach was the most effective, with relationships of trust already established through the involvement in the other project. Six undergraduate students agreed to be part of the study; four worked as mentors with the V2H project during year one (2018-2019) and year two (2019-2020) and two new mentors joined the project at the beginning of year two. Three of the undergraduates are enrolled members of the Coeur d'Alene tribe (Idaho), one is a descendent of the tribe, and two are enrolled members of the Spokane tribe (Washington) but with family connections to the Coeur d'Alene tribe through maternal ancestry.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection began during the 2019 Spring semester from January 2019 to November 2020. This time period covers two summer program sessions where the undergraduates mentored younger students in their quest to learn about environmental issues in the community. Mentors and interns researched and gathered audio recordings from Tribal and non-Tribal experts in various fields of environmental science. The majority of the data collected for this study was obtained through specific individual conversations in-person during the summer programs and online via audio/video calls. These conversations gave each individual unhurried and uninterrupted space to talk about their images and the reasons for choosing them. Additional data sources included notes and memory elicitations from

occasional conversations (both individual and group), that occurred throughout the summer program of the Voices to Hear project. The memory elicitations were of memories shared between me and the participants while we facilitated the summer programs in 2019 and 2020, and during a two-day conference in the Fall of 2019, where some of the undergraduates presented. Glesne (2011) emphasized the importance of recording hunches and thoughts, stating that it is "important to capture analytic thoughts when they occur" (p. 189). While I did not keep a strict journal, I did write many short notes, memos and jottings which included, hunches, and questions pertaining to my thought processes in real-time.

Conversations versus Interviews

Interviews may be thought of "as the process of getting words to fly" (Glesne, 2011, p. 102). However, interviews have the potential to be ambiguous as written and spoken words can have multiple connotations (Schwandt, 2007). Fontana and Frey (2008) state that, "interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand fellow humans" (p. 118). In an effort to gain an understanding of the intricacies of people's lives, interviews are conducted or perhaps, negotiated between two or more people (Fontana & Frey, 2008; Glesne, 2011). Of significance to an Indigenous methodology, Kovach (2010) suggests the use of the "conversational method" because "it is a method of gathering knowledge based on oral story telling tradition congruent with an Indigenous paradigm" (p. 40). In support of this, Wilson (2001) emphasizes the "strong relationship" (p.178) that develops between the speaker and the listener. Conversations, rather than interviews were crucial to gain an understanding of the student's lived experiences, including their perception of place-attachment and its role in the complexities of personal identity.

There are three types of commonly designed interviews in qualitative research: structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and unstructured or conversational interviews (Schwandt, 2007). Structured interviews are interviews in which the researcher prepares the questions before the interview and sticks rigidly to those questions and format throughout the interview. The semi-structured interviews are more flexible. Here, the interviewer has a set of pre-determined questions but may add to or replace questions based on how the interview proceeds. An unstructured or conversational approach occurs when researchers create questions as the interview takes place, without any pre-determined set of questions, generally much like a conversation (Fontana & Frey, 2008; Glesne, 2011; Schwandt, 2007). In this study, it was deemed most appropriate to use unstructured, conversations to prompt the participants to elicit responses, which could later be analyzed to answer the research questions. While Fontana and Frey (2008) claim through the exchange of questions and answers the researcher and the participant experience the "creation of collaborative effort called the interview" (p. 116), I would argue that by taking a more natural, conversational approach, free from the unnatural stops and starts effected through questions, caused greater elicitation of narrative and was more appropriate given the desire to embrace Indigenous methods. Since this is a narrative inquiry study, responses that lead to developing a story were the desired outcome of the "interview" process.

Initial "interviews" were for 30 minutes as a means to re-establish rapport following a break after being together during the summer program. These initial conversations were conducted via video due to the undergraduates being back at their respective colleges and the difficulty coordinating physical in-person meetings. One benefit of video meetings was the ability to record both audio and video data for future reference. In these initial

communications, I explained my project and why I would like the undergraduates to be co-participants in the study. During this conversation I briefly explained my personal thoughts about place-attachment and described photographs I had taken of places that helped to reinforce my connection to those places. I also went some way to explain how my perception of who I am was influenced by my feelings of attachment to the places I consider important. This initial "interview" was designed to explain what I was hoping to study and how by being co-participants, the undergraduates would have an opportunity to tell their stories unhindered, without giving up ownership and interpretation of their words to me, the researcher. Additional individual meetings were scheduled once the participants had chosen their images and were ready to discuss why the places in the images had personal significance to who they are as young, Native Americans. These conversations had no time limit and ranged from 45 minutes to 90 minutes. There were several guiding prompts intentionally developed as open-ended in order to elicit thoughtful storied responses to the main prompt, "Tell me about your photos of these places"? During each conversation, my role was mainly to listen and give respect to the story-teller. Depending on the individual, it occasionally became necessary to interject with questions or prompts from a vague, pre-determined list to further probe for longer, uninterrupted narratives. Following are examples of the prompts (Appendix A) used as an initial guide for the conversations with the participants:

1. How did you choose this place?
    a. Can you describe it for me and what you know about it (history, etc.)?
2. What meaning does this place have for you?
    a. Are there multiple meanings? (such as spiritual, economic, social, etc.)
3. Do any of these meanings have more importance to you than others?
    a. Can you talk about that?

Each conversation was transcribed upon completion, with the initial 30 minute meetings documented via recording of the video call. Following the transcription process, notes of potential themes were recorded to synthesize the data and to develop questions that required further elaboration. Prior to a follow-up meeting, the participants were sent a copy of the transcript and the interview prompts (noted above) and encouraged to communicate to me any further elements they wished to add to their story. This process enlisted participants to conduct the first of two member checks (Creswell & Poth, 2018), which the researcher to check for accuracy of the transcripts and any inferred meanings they made based on confirmation from the participants. In qualitative research, member checking is an essential process as it leads to increased accuracy, credibility, and rigor during data collection, data analysis, and data re-presentation (Patton, 2002; Turner & Coen, 2008). If participants are to be designated co-narrators of their experiences, then it is imperative that what is reported about their experiences was not done so based on the researcher's perspective only. Recognizing the authority of my participants to have ownership of how their stories are presented is to acknowledge one of the ways "educational researchers can interrupt coloniality" (Patel, 2015, p.61).

Data Management

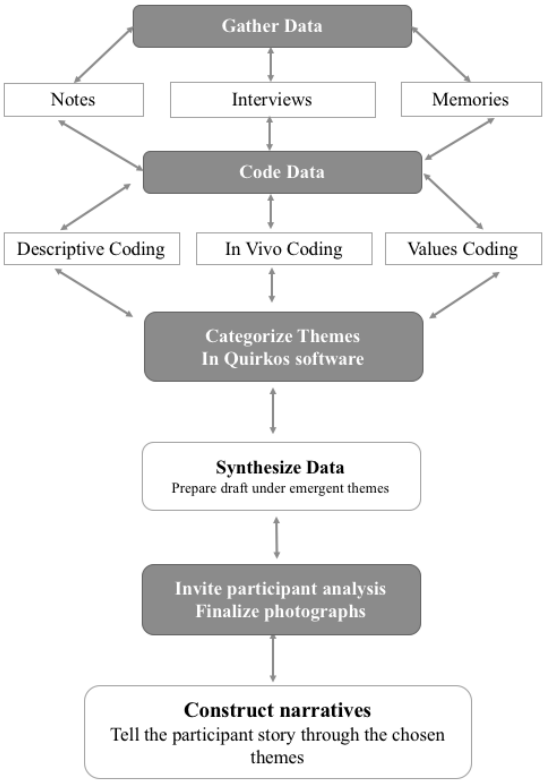
Data management involves the steps I have taken to manage all the data that I collected. It was easier to keep electronic data in order, for example, saving files by date and storing these within a named electronic filing system, sorted by file type. Thus, within the overall project master folder, sub-folders held documents, audio, video and image files. The master project folder was backed up to an external, password protected hard drive on a daily basis. Some of my data was in the form of hand-written notes, in various notebooks. These

notes were mainly observations or musings captured in real-time and where a participant quote was written, these were typed up and stored electronically. Emails remain saved on a password protected server via the university email system, with copies saved to an external hard drive. Text messages and other electronic communications have been saved through a regular backup of my cellphone to my main computer with the permission of my participants.

I began to tentatively analyze my data in a timely manner after collecting it by writing

Figure 4

Data Analysis Flow Chart



short, descriptive field notes (Figure 4). Once the data was stored and organized and had undergone initial coding (first cycle) I used “Quirkos” software to assist in the categorizing

of text into themes and to look for commonalities that existed within and between the categories and between the individual transcripts.

Saldaña (2009) defines coding as a process which reduces data by assigning a short word or phrase "just as a title represents and captures a book or film or poem's primary content and essence, so does a code represent and capture a datum's primary content and essence" (p. 3). Developing codes assists in the reducing the data to a form conducive to the emergence of patterns . I began with In Vivo coding, before then attempting to apply Values coding, however, applying formulaic codes to the rich oral stories I have been privileged to share did not seem appropriate; it was not, as Kovach (2009) states, "congruent with an Indigenous paradigm". While going through the motions of coding, I became uncomfortable applying a coding method to the dialogue from my participants, especially considering the intimate, personal thoughts entwined with cultural norms and mores. Given the nature of my study and applying a decolonizing lens, I had to ask myself, "am I continuing to promote Eurocentric methods when I could/should be finding another way?" Saldaña (2016) emphasizes "there are times when coding the data is absolutely necessary, and times when it is most inappropriate for the study at hand" (p.21). Unsure of how to progress, I wrote to Johnny Saldaña and explained my dilemma. His suggestion to focus on themes and involve my participants in the construction and analysis of their stories gave me the direction in which to go and the assurance I was aligning the process within an Indigenous and decolonizing paradigm.

Narrative Analysis

The participant narratives combined perceptions of place-attachment and reflections about identity. To begin to analyze the narratives and to develop answers to my research

questions, “How do place-based photographs by tribal undergraduate students reveal their perceptions of their Native American identity”, and “How does Native American identity connect to place”, I employed the Coeur d’Alene Tribe’s Five Core Values as a framework. The Five Core Values encompass the essence of what it means to be a member of the Coeur d’Alene Tribe. They are statements about values, morals, and behavior, based around guardianship, stewardship, membership, scholarship and spirituality. Although the core values are described under five categories (membership, stewardship, guardianship, scholarship, spirituality), they are not considered in isolation, but rather as parts of a holistic whole. Although I did not specifically analyze the photographs, I did consider suggestions for visual analysis from Rose (2012) and Luttrell (2010), in respect of considering the intention and choice of image by each photographer. In analyzing the narratives to answer my third question, “How do discussions about place attachment and identity facilitate the students participating in the study to make sense of the process towards decolonization”? I considered decolonial frameworks suggested by several Indigenous scholars; Smith (1999), Smith et al. (2019), Moreton-Robinson (2016), Kovach,(2009; 2010), and Wilson (2008), finally choosing to respond to my third research question through the framework of Tuck and Guishard’s (2013) Decolonizing Participatory Action Research (DPAR).

Data Representation

The findings of this study are represented in narrative form as individual stories, accompanied by photographs. They do not follow a narrative plot, and therefore are devoid of the elements of story including plot, setting, character, conflict, rising action, climax, resolution, etc. (Flaherty, 2009). A more accurate description would be to title them as “individual stories, arranged by themes and constructed around the choice of images”. Since

the story-tellers are co-researchers, I provide their stories, uninterrupted as Chapter Four, save for a brief introduction to each individual storyteller.

Reciprocity and Ethical Considerations

Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that because the term "research" is "inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism", this makes it "probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (Smith, 2012, p.). Ndlovu-Gatsheni,(2017) views "re-search" as a process which re-defines humans as objects rather than subjects in pursuit of knowing the "*Other*". By hyphenating the term research as "re-search", Ndlovu-Gatsheni gives what most understand as the pursuit of knowledge, a new, uncomfortable definition; one that puts people "under a magnifying glass to peep into their private lives, secrets, taboos, thinking, and their sacred worlds" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2017, para. 2). Scientific research is implicated in many examples of historic abuse during the 17th and 18th centuries and cannot be untangled from colonialism. In some cases, phrenology (a discredited pseudoscience) providing "proof" of Indigenous people as "savages" lacking mental capacity, could be used to push the colonial narrative (Thomas, 2000). Even in the twentieth century, as recently as 1990, unethical practices conducted in the name of "research" continued; universities in arrogance or ignorance caused traumatic damage to Indigenous communities because of a failure to fully consider and show respect for the people, their norms, mores and folkways (Gulliford, 1996; Riding In, 1996; Thomas, 2000).

As an emergent researcher working with an Indigenous community, I am aware of the damage. To work towards decolonizing research, ethical practice and methodologies, I took direction from the community with whom I work, acknowledging and accepting with humility, that I must follow the ethical protocols demanded by the community, not the other

way around. In this respect, I had to apply for and go through a rigorous IRB process with the Tribe, in addition to the IRB process that the University demanded. There is no guarantee that ethical issues would not come up during the research process, but preparations were in place, as the Tribal IRB demanded I have a named Tribal member assigned to my study. This ensured ethical compliance particularly as the study participants were all young, Tribal members. Most importantly, participants could opt out of the study at any time or decline to participate in a particular portion of the study without any penalty or any jeopardized relationships. To protect the identity of the participants I gave each a pseudonym, further checking with individuals to get their approval before final assignment of the name(s) I had chosen.

Following an Indigenous methodology made me aware of the need for reciprocity towards the community who agreed to be part of my study. Creswell and Poth (2018) considers reciprocity as giving back to participants for their time and efforts, without implying a monetary reward. I remain a mentor to the undergraduate students, encouraging them to continue in their studies or employment and providing support when and if they ask; simultaneously stepping back to let them grow and gain independence. Our project will be shared with the wider Tribal community and the undergraduate's stories will become part of the Tribe's archival history.

Beyond giving back to the participants, this process has allowed me to grow as a researcher and expanded my understanding of what it means to be an educator. My interaction with the undergraduates has expanded my thinking processes and given me insight into the daily struggles Native American people are subjected to. I have been enlightened in many ways and humbled by their willingness to be part of this project and to

share their stories in such an open and honest way. From the messages of thanks for telling their story, to the excitement that the stories will be shared with people they respect, I am hopeful that I may have played a small part in empowering these young people to become future leaders in their community.

Trustworthiness and Rigor

It is important to clarify that the requirements for demonstrating rigor in qualitative analysis vary from those required in quantitative studies. Reliability, replication, and validity with their focus mainly on measurement, are generally associated with demonstrating rigor in quantitative studies and are less applicable to qualitative studies (Maher et al., 2018). An appropriate evaluation criterion for qualitative studies is trustworthiness, which Guba and Lincoln (1989) propose should satisfy four criteria - credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Credibility ensures not only that the study measures what is intended but is also a true reflection of the social reality of the participants. One strategy to address credibility is prolonged engagement, which I achieved through developing relationships with my participants and their community prior to embarking on my study. Crucially, and within an Indigenous decolonizing framework, these relationships have continued to grow beyond the scope of the research study. Aligning my study with the five "Rs" of Indigenous research: relationship, respect, relevance, responsibility and reciprocity (Kovach, 2009) meant that I chose ways to meet the criteria of trustworthiness suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which fitted comfortably within that research paradigm. Creswell and Poth suggest collaborating with participants is one way for participants to be" involved throughout the research process in varying ways" (p. 262). I encouraged collaboration through the insistence that the Native American undergraduates would not only have freedom of choice to create

and tell their stories, but that they would provide any interpretation. From the raw data (recorded conversations) each participant had the opportunity to work with me to agree themes which would organize their story and create a more impactful narrative. Creswell and Poth,(2018) claim “that the study is more likely to be supported and findings used when participants are involved” (p. 262). The other technique I used was member checking. Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider this to be “the most critical technique for establishing credibility”(p. 314). Member checking and feedback from participants also echoes Kovach’s (2009) five “Rs”; consolidates the relationship, demonstrates respect for participants, ensures relevance, highlights the responsibility of ensuring accuracy, and encourages reciprocity through empowering the Native American undergraduates to tell and interpret their stories.

Transferability relates to the ability of the findings to be transferred to other contexts or settings. Qualitative research is specific to a particular context, making the case for transferability potentially difficult. To allow the reader to assess whether my research study is transferable to their situation or not, I explained the context throughout my study with rich, thick description, detailing the participants and the setting (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Erlandson et al., 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Readers should be able to determine if the information can be transferred to other settings “because of shared characteristics” (Erlandson et al., 1993, p. 32).

Dependability ensures the process is described in sufficient detail to facilitate another researcher to repeat the work and requires an audit trail. I labelled my data sources and categorized them according to type (e.g. audio recording, email correspondence, text message, notes made during conversations and photographs), keeping electronic copies in an organized folder structure. As my study participants were Native American undergraduates, I

have an extra responsibility to protect knowledge or information that has been shared with me but is not to be shared outside of the community. Therefore, my audit trail may look somewhat different to one created and retained for a research study that follows a more traditional design.

Confirmability (comparable to objectivity) aims to minimize potential researcher bias by acknowledging researcher predispositions. I presented a prologue to this study, I described some of the influences that led to my interpretation of place-attachment as part of my identity. I viewed the individual participant's stories objectively, aware of my perceptions and the main reason why I offer no interpretation of the narratives per se. By adhering to an Indigenous research framework and adopting strategies, such as those outlined, to address the individual criteria demonstrates a trustworthy, rigorous research process (Korstjens & Moser, 2017; Shenton, 2004).

Chapter 4: Telling Our Stories

I knew I had to develop trusting, respectful relationships with my participants if this project was going to be successful. Working together on another project, for which the undergraduates had been hired as mentors to middle/high school students, enabled us to forge those relationships. With the tenets of Indigenous methodologies always foremost in my thinking, the path to engaging these young people lay through open communication and my determination to offer a continuous, transparent and honest account of my positionality. To benefit the larger project, developing a trusting relationship with the undergraduates based on mutual respect proved to be crucial in securing the trust of the middle and high school students. I admit to being wary of how the younger students would respond to me; white, British, visually aligned with dominant culture in the United States, but critically, a European settler. Two of the participants joined the V2H project as mentors in the second year, but quickly became members of our team and I found it easy to form relationships with the new mentors due to their friendly and open personalities. These Native American undergraduates were asked to think about places to which they feel some kind of attachment and that have meaning for them. Tasked with taking photographs of those places, we met and had a conversation about their images. Although I had a list of prompts, these proved to be mostly unnecessary as individuals talked freely about their respective images, describing the reasons for choice and explaining the meaning they attributed to the place represented in the photograph. What follows are stories in the student's own words, based on the perceptions of place attachment and the relationship to personal identity evoked by the student's chosen photographs. From conversations, phone calls, text messages and emails, each narrative is organized around themes the participants have chosen to be able to tell their story.

Taylor

Taylor[12] is a descendent of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. His mother is an enrolled Tribal member, however with a blood quantum of less 25% by the U.S. Federal Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Taylor is not recognized as a qualified "Native American" thus does not receive any Tribal treaty benefits or federal financial assistance. For the first part of his life, Taylor lived off the reservation then moved at the age of 12 to live in the community where his grandparents reside on the reservation. Taylor has been a mentor for the Voices to Hear project for two continuous summers, since its inception. Taylor was specifically, recruited to participate in the project as a high school senior. His enthusiasm and interest in the history, traditions, values, and celebrations of the Tribe provided him a reputation to the Tribal leadership as a young person with high potential for leadership in the community. Through spontaneous conversations he and I shared while working on the Voices to Hear project, Taylor has shared a number of contrasting experiences. As a high-school student, Taylor participated in numerous youth programs that afforded him to learn about and how to prepare cultural celebrations. Taylor appears to be a sensitive young man, he says he is proud of his Tribal affiliation and a keen advocate for the preservation of cultural artifacts, homeland and his Tribe's language. Over the two years we have been working together on the Voices to Hear project, Taylor has shared many of his thoughts with me through various conversations both in-person and online and what emerges is a portrait of an intelligent, sensitive young man who recognizes the value in attaining a higher education as one way to address decolonization. Understanding the importance for Indigenous representation in the

[12] All participant's real names have been changed

field of anthropology, Taylor aspires to become a voice at the doctoral level and be able to care for and protect his aboriginal homeland and culture.

Taylor's Story

> When I think about a place that defines who I am I think of the Cedar Grove--more specifically a place with Cedar trees. Cedar trees watch over us and protect us--and in turn, we learn to be strong and giving as the Cedar tree is.

On Personal Connection

The Cedar Grove has some of the biggest Cedar trees I've ever seen. I had been aware that Cedar trees existed, but to me, they were just ordinary trees. It wasn't until I was introduced to this area when I was a freshman in high school by my mentors that I realized how important these trees are. The Cedar tree is a very important plant as it serves many spiritual and conventional purposes - smudging, basket making, etc. When I walk the trail of the Cedar Grove, I look up the sides of the trees and see scars. These scars are not ones of pain, but ones of remembrance. My ancestors utilized these trees so that they could survive. When I think about a place that defines who I am I think of the Cedar Grove; more specifically a place with Cedar trees. Cedar trees watch over us and protect us--and in turn, we learn to be strong and giving as the Cedar tree is. When I first came to this place, I was completely awe-struck by the size of these beautiful cedar trees. They had completely dwarfed any trees I had seen before (Figure 5). Upon first contact, you are hit with the intoxicating smell of cedar. It's a very strong smell that clears your sinuses and relaxes you; for me at least. You can walk on the trails through the Cedar Grove and look up at some of the trees and see scab marks where my ancestors once peeled the bark for baskets and other things. This in itself is amazing because the bark could have been peeled a few hundred years

ago or more. I do not follow a religious faith, but when I come here, I feel like I'm in a place of great importance. There is something special about this place. The energy, the feeling it gives me when I come here gives me peace. The trees feel like guardians giving life and resources to everything around them.

Figure 5

Cedar trees

Note. View, looking up at the huge Cedar Trees. Taylor's photographs

How did I choose this place? So I was thinking about it and a lot of people, especially in my tribe, I would assume I would think that the first place they would want to take a picture would be like the Lake or something, like really big for us, and the Lake is extremely important to me, but I don't really have like an actual like huge connection there, you know

what I mean? But the Cedar Grove, which is where the pictures are taken, it was... that was one of the first places where I felt like connected, like my background, my culture and everything, even though not a lot of people go up there, not a lot of people know about it, but the Cedar trees, I have always thought of as being extremely important...I always think of them as like sacred trees, and then they are massive up there, and one of the photos I took was like looking up. They are really big and like standing next to them it's crazy, it really makes you feel small... and the area, its...there are a couple of trails like go through it, but you just walk around and its really shaded and sunlight hits through, but mostly just huge cedar trees and you know, it smells really good and everything and the ground is soft, it's not like hard and rocky or anything...and there's a few little streams that you know run through it....it's just a really nice area".

On Culture Clash

The only thing that I really know is kinda like what I wrote down...like we used to go up there to pull the bark for basket making and other stuff - anything we could use the bark for...and you can see the scabs to this day. I know its protected, but I don't know what sort of laws, whatever...I know they can't just go up there and start cutting things down. but in that area there are remnants of logging...colonial logging... like those huge machines are all rusted and sometimes you come across them, so I know that they used to, around the area, but obviously not all of them are cut down because some of the trees are still massive and I don't think they can grow that big in 100 years. The symbolic meaning, to me at least is that we have allowed this place to remain, because, you know, it would be very easy for loggers to swoop in and, you know, take it all away...and then getting there, you do see huge areas where they're completely cut...it's a clear area on the side of the mountain, but when you get

to this place it’s like 'wow, this is still here', but there are areas all around it where they're still cut, but this remains. and like the physical meaning of, you know, specifically the cedar tree being there, like I said, to me at least being like a spiritual tree, a really meaningful tree and the fact that they're everywhere just enhances it and makes it really good, like a really good place to be, like you feel like, you're in like a special place instead of you know, just.. I can go to some other grove, anywhere and it wouldn’t have the same meaning. [Pause] Yes...I...so, like with my background and my culture, those trees have a lot of significance, so that in a way I'm continuing recognizing the significance of these trees, you know as, like my ancestors before me, erm, but then kind of like I was talking about the symbolism of it remaining there as around it there are logged areas, is also symbolic of, you know, my background, like culture and everything, and I think it's important to, just like based on personal values as well, remaining to, you know, anything really...and I just...oh... To be Native for me personally is to grow up into a world not really knowing what it means to be Native. A lot of other people that are born into other cultures sort of have a really good knowledge of where they are from and what their culture is about, but for me personally I did not know anything about it. I did not move to the reservation until I was in eighth grade and when I started moving here, even then it was still kind of, "what does it mean to be Native?" As I have grown up here on the reservation and met a lot more people, I have learned that being Native and what it means to be Native is to have a vested interest in the community and the tribe as a whole. To be Native is to see those problems and instead of just moving off the reservation, and not really caring and trying to get away from it , you stay on the reservation and try to fix the problem. Which is what I plan to do. To be Native is to praise your ancestors, to respect your elders and to teach your peers and your children, eventually.

On Place-Attachment & Responsibility

I don't go there to - this kind of sounds messed up - I don't go there with people, like obviously every time I go there, I'm with people but I'm not...that's not important to me. I'm not saying those people aren't important but those people going there, like I have...it's usually... me being in there, like its an individual thing. I am attached to that place. I try to go there as often as I can, but it's really hard because its already like far away and especially in the Fall and into the winter months it's really hard to get up there because of snow and everything, but let's say for some reason, they open it up to logging, I would feel emotionally and mentally like I would just be like hurt...yeah if anything ever happened to it I think I would be completely....Oh, yeah. It would be horrible. So, part of my responsibility as I get older, is to make sure things like that don't happen to places like that, especially if you know, I care about it that much. I guess it was like, pushed...not pushed on me...but I was...they developed because of like that. Remember I told you about my mentors?...and they took me up with "Hndesnet"[13] and the whole point of "Hndesnet" was the importance of location like that's why we moved like every few days to different areas and visited places like that and then we went across a lot of the aboriginal territory and went to all these different places but this one in particular really stuck with me. I think that those other places are extremely important, but...I don't know... because I've always loved trees and stuff like that but no other place on the reservation feels like that place even if they had trees all over the place...I don't know...it's like a weird thing to explain. I think the farther that we get away from places that

[13] The Hndesnet Summer Camp served as the starting point for the Coeur d'Alene Rites of Passage program, established in 2017. During Hndesnet, campers, ages 12-17, took part in several traditional and educational activities specifically planned and supported and addressed throughout the school year. This allows students an insight into the types of enrichment opportunities offered beyond Hndesnet.

have that much meaning to us, the more we lose the connection, so I think, you know, the more like our people got pushed onto a little parcel of land and then all these other places around us had meanings to different people and different families, it took away that and they lost that connection, so like if I did move away, I would go out of my way to come back and at least visit the place because, you know, you have that memory...but.. if you have that big of a connection, you'll want to go out there and maintain...it's like visiting a person, you know...if you put your Mom in a home, which is a bad thing to do by the way!
If you put your Mom in a home you would want to visit her and you don't just stick her in a home and then you know, you move away and leave her there, you would come back and you'd visit her.

Around here, outside, if I walk around I'll come across one and the first thing that I think of when I come across a cedar tree, especially if it...I mean it doesn't have to be big, but the bark...seeing the bark and then seeing like, you know the needles and everything, instantly takes me back to that place and then I start thinking about that as I'm.. you know...I go on walks often, so every time I see a cedar tree I think, oh, it reminds me of this place and then, you know that starts to get the image in my head. So, like you know, if I smell cedar...coz I burn cedar a lot (laughs), so if I burn cedar, or if I smell it, it's like being reminded...instantly...yeah. When I'm there, I walk through...stand next to a tree every now and again...you know, just kind of soak things in...but... the only...you know, I go on hikes often, I go on walks often...the difference is, the feeling of what...kind of like how I am absorbing the area, so I go take a walk on Tubb's Hill or Cherry Hill or something, I just walk through it, I don't actually really pay attention, but when I'm in the Cedar Grove then I actually pay attention, its I'm actually like savoring and enjoying it instead of just, I'm just

Figure 6

The Cedar Grove

Note. One of the paths walking through the Cedar Grove. Taylor's photographs

going on a walk or something...it's like you're actively engaged; you're conscious of where you are, you're conscious of everything around you (Figure 6).

On Values

So like with my background and my culture, those trees have a lot of significance, so that in a way I'm continuing recognizing the significance of these trees, you know as, like my ancestors before me, erm, but then kind of like I was talking about the symbolism of it remaining there as around it there are logged areas, is also symbolic of, you know, my background, like culture and everything, and I think it's important to, just like based on

personal values as well, remaining to, you know, anything really...and I just...oh...So like if I had not...coz...when I went on “Hndesnet”, when I went, when I was first introduced to this place, if it weren't for people like my Mentors, that kind of taught me the values of places like this, and taught me the value of location and actually visiting places like this...I think that's a big part of my identity as...protecting areas like this. Because I think people lose value, I think a lot of people...a majority of people have lost how they value places...like people...they value like their house and their car and they value their things but they don't really value areas and I think that’s a big thing, you know a lot of our youth, you know especially like people like me and people like Greg, Quinn and Charlie, its...our identities are based around these places and protecting these places because they were taken away and then now....we're focused on...their facing...it’s hard to explain. I think, like what I just said...I think I would say that but like what makes my identity is kind of a value system...it’s like what do you value? People have mentors, people have teachers and they give them all this information and they have their values and they try to instill those values on you, but its ultimately up to you what your values are, so that...those values make your identity. I think....I think we need...plainly saying our values make our identity and our values go to places like places are people, whether that be family or people that aren’t even related to you by blood...what you stand for. I think it’s just values. People see value. I'm going to have to think about that more!

Charlie

Charlie is a strong, young Native American woman who has experienced growing up on different reservations. She is an enrolled member of the Coeur d’Alene Tribe and maintains a strong connection with the communities representative of different branches of

her maternal and paternal family. Both of Charlie's parents are college educated, having earned college degrees at one of the foremost Indian colleges in the USA. Charlie worked with the Voices to Hear project over two years and demonstrated an ability to develop levels of self- confidence in her young mentees. From our conversation about her choice of images, and over the two years I have spent getting to know her better, Charlie emerges as someone who is proud of her heritage and determined to make her voice heard as she advocates for decolonization and recognition of her culture. A recent graduate from university, Charlie is determined to make use of her skills with digital media to educate native and non-natives about the struggles and strengths of Indigenous people. The themes which help to tell Charlie's story are essential elements in how Charlie views and embraces her identity as a Native woman.

Charlie's Story

"I guess home is just very different, its familiar but it's deeper because it's not only me that's experiencing it, it's my ancestors like we have all experienced that place".

On Family

Ok, first choice is probably the gathering, coz this was a dance that they had for my Auntie who was sick at the time (Figure 7). A big thing down there I think, a lot of the time artists, like dancers and people, a lot of people, will bring food and just gather and it's just a nice way to meet up with each other. I think the idea of this place (sorry I have hiccups!), yes this is kind of really different for people because of this community. There are these houses; you can see all the houses lined up from where the tribal members live. The majority of my family lives in this area and so there's like my Auntie and Uncle live right next to each other

Figure 7

The Gathering

Note: Family gathering in Arizona. Charlie's photographs

in the house, one of my Uncles lives right across from my Grandparents, and my God-mom, my Auntie and my Uncle live in like a triangular part right next to each other. So, it's very, I guess, different because growing up my family was like all over the place, just, anywhere you turned. So, I guess it's pretty unique because it's not really a thing that I wasn't really used to. I was used to having my families so close to each other and... Yeah, it's like just a big area for just family.

On Connection to land

I feel like...this one that I chose with the water, was more so like... I am very... I don't know what it is, I just love being on the water all the time. It's just a feeling of calmness and not everything is loud or anything like that, but it's not completely quiet, it is just peaceful. I mean, I have been to the ocean and I feel like that could be very calming too, but I feel like

Figure 8

The Lake

Note: Retracing an ancestral canoe journey on the Lake. Charlie's photographs

there is a difference from being on the Lake (Figure 8). One time when I did the short canoe journey that we had, I feel like it was just very different and I'm not exactly sure how to explain it at the moment, but... yeah. Being in these places I feel like I reflect more, which is really odd to say, but it's just like a calming place and it's a place where I guess I feel safe and I guess that home feeling its.... I don't know...it's really hard to explain. It's hard because I feel like growing up I was raised in a sense that your connection with the land and the area you are in is also the same as the connection with your people and so it is very hard to separate it because it is all compacted into one thing.

On Displacement

No matter where you are or where you're going, in this spot your family is right here, which I think is a big part of anything because especially with Natives being moved all over the place

Figure 9

Aboriginal Homeland

Note: Part of our aboriginal homeland above the Lake. Charlie's photographs

no matter where you were moved or if we were moved from our aboriginal territory, our family was always just like with us and that's kind of like I guess what it represents more so to me today as like through wherever you go like your family, and having good food and having laughs and dances like it doesn't matter where anybody places you or where you are moved to you always have each other right there (Figure 9).

It's kind of crazy, so, the village, "Ak-Chin", the village that's there, Maricopa is the town right next to it. When I was younger, when you hit Maricopa you would already be able to see "Ak-Chin" because it was all just desert basically. Maricopa has gotten bigger now so there are thousands of houses and there is *Bashas* and *CVS* and *Fry's* and all these different

stores and all these different things. There's this gas station tried to buy out my Grandparents' area and the people that live there because they wanted to build a gas station there and my Grandparents were like "no, we're not doing that"; everybody was like "no we're not doing that" so I don't think they would ever leave that place, it's just not happening. I guess it's hard for me to imagine any of my family ever not being there and that goes for any of the places I am at because I feel like that's our home and we've been asked to move so many times already before that we are just at the point where we're like "not happening anymore" you know, we're not doing that because we've seen... you know. I think you try to retain a connection, and it's just kind of like evolving I guess, with whatever land you were placed on, cos there are...I mean even on the East coast where they were displaced far, further from their homelands; I think that would have been more difficult, but even so, what Dr B was saying about his family and the mountains over there...and how do you, how do you do when you are not close to home? I think that is a very difficult thing.

On Home

I feel like no matter where I go, I will always have the attachment to those places. For me, I am big on traveling and so I always love traveling and going different places and I do eventually want to travel more but, in the end, I do wanna come back home, whether that be in Arizona or whether that be over here in Idaho because I feel like no matter where I go these places are home to me I have spent more time in Idaho I would say, because I was born in Arizona and my sister and I ever since we were little will go back every summer and spend the summer with our family over there since we were able to be on a plane and which was really nice and I was in Idaho until...back and forth from Wellpinit and Idaho in middle school and in high school I was in Wellpinit but...so it's very hard I guess, I think that's more

of a unique thing because I do see home as the three different places that I did grow up - I did grow up in three different reservations or villages, so I don't think that me moving to any particular place

Figure 10

Home

Note: Home is always to be near the Lake. Charlie's photographs

would ever like allow me to lose that attachment in any sort of way because that's just, I dunno, it's so close but I do feel like I do need to be able to see and visit those places in order to feel like better, I guess. I have been a lot of places, I have traveled a lot and everything but it's just I guess home is just very different, its familiar but it's also something that's deeper than that because it's not only me that's experiencing it, it's my family, it's their ancestors, it's my ancestors like we have all experienced that place. If I moved away, I would have to visit these places (Figure 10). I feel like that's a big thing for me is as being at the place and

just, yeah I feel like sometimes if I am away, too long I get very sad, which is kind of crazy, especially in Arizona because like I said, we have been going back every year since we were kids and, and when we had gotten in to college and like when I had gotten into college in my freshman year I didn't have the summer anymore I had to work and do all this stuff and I couldn't make it over and it just felt really..(pause)..I don't know, more of like an empty feeling I guess. So, I think it would be very exciting to experience something overseas, but like I said I do eventually want to come back home.

On Language

I definitely think language does make a difference, because there is so much that is left out. You can't explain it and you try to explain it in English terms because when you grow up in an area where somebody uses the language and explains it to you it makes more sense and it's very personal, whereas if its English its more so...there is just a lot left out and it does not explain everything, so I think it definitely makes a difference. I'm trying to speak both languages, yeah. I know some places by their Native names, but it depends where we're at and like who is talking. It depends on the situation you are in, because when I was younger, we would be brought to a lot of places and kind of listening and understanding at a young age was very different versus outside perspectives and there are some things that I grew up thinking, that's the... what the name is for something and it turns out it wasn't after all and I hadn't realized!

Quinn

Quinn is an enrolled member of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe but grew up in an urban environment away from his ancestral homeland, off the reservation. He has extended family who live on the Tribal reservation but has little experience with the deep cultural affiliations

some of the other participants demonstrate. Quinn was keen to work as a Mentor with the Voices to Hear project and continued in the role for two years of the project. Quinn's sense of place-attachment is driven by his affinity to and strong bonds with his family. As our relationship developed over the last two years, it became apparent that the security of having a safe and loving home is a strong influence on how Quinn values his sense of identity. For Quinn, the relationship he has with immediate family has contributed to how he perceives interactions outside of the security of home. An enrolled member of the Tribe through maternal lineage, but with both mother and son distanced from their culture, Quinn takes a lead from his mother in desiring to learn more about their Native heritage. Quinn's mother has a stronger relationship to education having earned a Ph.D. Though never growing up on the reservation, nor experiencing first-hand the impact of settler culture on the natural resources of his Tribe, Quinn desires to know. He has expressed a desire to return to the Tribe once he finishes university and make use of his skills within the community. Despite growing up in an urban setting, Quinn has suffered the same "othering" and racist attacks as Indigenous people and other minority groups across the country.

Quinn's Story

"It's an emotional place too, just because that's where I've always lived. I haven't really known anywhere else, so, it just means a lot to me".

On Home

The first picture is of an outlook point on the south hill over-looking parts of the hill and parts of downtown I like it because it reminds me of home, and it looks so beautiful and peaceful how nice our home looks (Figure 11). The other one that is the picture of going

down the hill and all the cars, that one just reminds me of coming home from a long trip, that's the way we, like, anywhere we usually go, if it's a long distance trip, is towards the

Figure 11

Outlook Point

Note: From here you can see over the whole city. Quinn's photographs

Seattle area, out that way, so it's the way we come back in. It just reminds me of coming home after a long trip and finally being close to home (Figure 12). It makes me feel happy and be glad I'm almost home. It's an emotional place too, just because that's where I've always lived, I haven't really known anywhere else, so, it just means a lot to me, the town itself. I think it will just stay with me because its' been my home for the last 21 years, so I feel like it's just gonna be a part of me for the rest of my life.

On Family

I'm attached to it just because most of my family lives here, or they live nearby; my brothers all live in the town, besides a couple, where they have moved recently, or within the

last couple of, like two years ago, so they're all close by, ah, so I have a lot of family nearby that I could go visit whenever I wanted. Yeah, I formed this attachment when I was growing

Figure 12

Coming Home

Note: Driving down the hill on the way home. Quinn's photographs

up. Where I am from is a part of my culture, a part of my history, so I feel like it does affect what I do. Where my Grandma lives, like on the reservation there, I have ancestral history there and I like visiting her and stuff when she's there, but she didn't live there for the longest, when I was growing up, she only moved out there like 12-13 years ago. she was living down in California with my auntie. I don't really feel a big tie to it myself, personally, just because I don't have like, immediate bonds out there like no-one I talk to on a daily basis lives out there. Being Native American gives me a sense of belonging, because we are more connected with our family, we hang out with our cousins more often - our extended family, our Aunts, our Uncles, so it gives us more of a sense of belonging because we are all close-knit, and because of that, you want to feel like you can help the environment more because

you want to protect your loved ones more. It doesn't matter how old or young you are, you are going to be connected to a lot of people because of the extended family, so you are going to know more people and that means you should want to help the Earth more in the end because it is a lot, and that is what I want to do.

On Attachment to other places

Just because ...I don't really travel as much as I would want to, so I haven't seen that much, so there has not been a place that has called me, like towards it as much...yeah, once I get my job and stuff, I would want to go somewhere else for a little bit at least. I think I could form a similar attachment somewhere else if I really enjoyed the place and was happy there. I think it would be similar just because I would have history there by that time and have meaningful bonds with the community and stuff after being there for so long. It's kinda a bit of both the people and the place, because the people like affect who you are and how you see the world, and also the place just because how it looks is how you're gonna see yourself like if you live in a middle class area you're gonna see yourself as middle-class. Like if you see those kinds of houses around you, you're gonna be more like that. You don't think you can get out if you live in like a run-down kind of place.

Greg

Greg is a thoughtful, proud young man and an enrolled member of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. Having grown up on the reservation and confessing to a deep connection to his homeland, Greg aspires to be a wildlife biologist. Currently working as a wildlife technician, he is also studying towards his degree in biology. Greg has a passion for the natural environment and having grown up in an environment where the family structure helped influence Greg to choose to follow role models who would make him strong. As such, Greg

is sensitive to the pitfalls many of the younger members of the community often fall victim to and expresses a deep desire to be a role model for them. As a mentor with the Voices to Hear project, Greg was inspired and encouraged to continue on the path to become a good role model for the younger members of the Tribe. While Greg's family has several close relatives, who have struggled with the law and addiction, it was Greg's Grandpa who was most influential to him. His Grandpa and other Tribal Elders have instilled in Greg a love for the land, and a thirst to learn more of the traditional knowledge and ways of his ancestors. Greg strives to learn the language of his Tribe and uses what words he knows often, understanding that the language is on the cusp of being forgotten. These are some of the cultural mores that have sparked in Greg a desire and determination to leave a legacy like the Elders before him.

Greg's Story

"In my mind I want to be that person and kinda leave that legacy. I just wanna leave something behind that's positive in this world".

On Traditional Knowledge

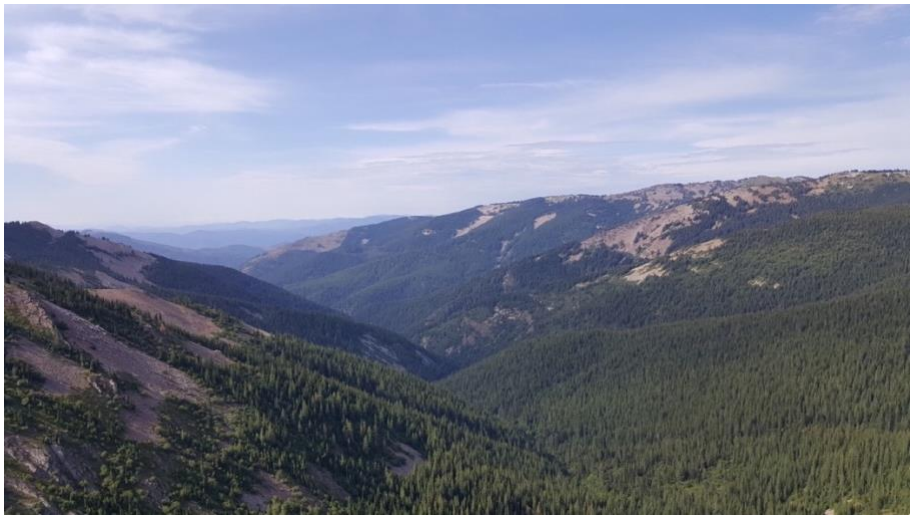
Was kind of difficult narrowing down to some photos coz all of those areas kinda...y'know, I have a strong connection to all of those areas and our people would use all of those areas and they're equally important because of different times of the year and for different reasons. So, trying to protect those areas, y'know it's important.

First photo is taken up in the St. Joe region (Figure 13). This photo has meaning to me because of how beautiful it is and how abundant it is with resources. I was just up there for work the other day and was able to pick huckleberries and some root that we use for medicine. It is kind of a cure all type root called "qhasqhs" and it's kind of pronounced as "cuss-cuss". What comes to my mind kind of relates to all the other places as well. It kind of

saddens me and angers me about how some of the places we aren't able to roam freely or have to pay state passes in order to have access where my people lived since time immemorial. The fees aren't much but it still kind of gets me a bit that I have to do it in the

Figure 13

St Joe Region



Note: Up in the St Joe Region, aboriginal territory. Greg's photographs

first place with all that the tribe has given up in order for all the newcomers to live the way they did and take what they took from us with little in return during those times. In this area I am able to harvest our traditional roots, berries, hunt game and much more all in order for me to live a healthier lifestyle. A lifestyle that my body craves for. I can't say that it is scientifically proven because I never looked into it, but I was always told my body craves these things because it is what my body is made for. It wasn't made for all this processed food that we consume now a days. It yearns for the "qhasqhs", huckleberries, elk, salmon, native trout, various plants like camas or mountain tea".

On Connection to Land

Second photo is of the lake here on the Rez (Figure 14). This photo has meaning to me because of the meaning it has to my people. This lake provided for us; it was a way of life. This lake was the heart of our aboriginal territory. When the reservation was made the government tried to exclude the lake from us for what I believe to help their long term plan of turning us away from our traditional ways of living into living more like how the white man lived. My ancestors had to put their foot down in the negotiations in order to have our lake remain in the reservation. Even though we were able to keep the lake within our reservation the government pushed us further south still in order to have access to the CDA river for the Silver Valley. I heard a story about my people crying and weeping for the lake as they were forced away from it. A lot of the stuff I feel when I think about our natural resources just angers me more than anything when I really think of the whole picture. We

Figure 14

The Lake is the Heart

Note: The Lake is our life in the center of our territory. Greg's photographs

live in a beautiful place. In my mind this is God's Country. I couldn't imagine living anywhere else. This lake has a lot of issues that we need to tend to. The ways of the past when the new settlers came in with their greed and hunger for domination over something that doesn't belong to them made this lake sick. There is a lot of work to do, more than what can be done in my lifetime, but I am glad that I am not the only person who thinks this way. This way of life was encouraged in me growing up. I have a connection to this land that no other person can say they have. This isn't just a lake it is life. It provided so much for us and I am glad that the tribe has it in their mind as a whole to try and make amends to the land in order to heal it.

On Place Attachment

Move away? (laughs) Oh man, I'd have to come back almost every year, I think. I couldn't move away, man. Living in Post Falls is even far enough away for me. The feeling kinda on the Rez...it's down there y'know, I can do all of that stuff in our aboriginal territory, it's more difficult y'know because of all the restrictions that we have, so like on the Rez I can go anywhere. You have that right. I couldn't handle it man, to be away, my health would not be that good, you know.

I developed an attachment to it at an early age and a lot of its kind from my Grandpa. He was kinda...I mean he's kinda like me. He said when he was growing up, he had kinda a deeper connection with all elders. He said he didn't really hang out with young folk or kids his age, he was always hanging out with Elders and that's something I found really interesting growing up, y'know, and so learning about our history and learning about where we come from is kinda important growing up and so getting that connection to the land cos that's something that y'know, we have a deep connection with and kinda have a different

view of it all. So, I think that's where I got it from, really early. My Grandpa, he grew up in different foster homes, kind all over the country and so, like the reservation was always kinda his home and he grew up on a ranch for the longest spell, so he had a kinda repeat connection, trying to protect the land itself. He didn't really like work too much, but he always took people out...he was one of the Elders a lot of people looked to, to take kids out for the huckleberry picking, or something like that.

On Language

From my understanding from Roger and a couple of other people, a lot of the places don't really have place names and so I'm not really sure how to speak on that. it does seem that we did have names for certain areas but not too much. I think to a point coz like some of the places, like over in Post Falls there is that park and they named it in a Coeur d'Alene word Q'emiln - all it means is "throat" and it's up the river where it narrows down. One word I learned over the course of the summer was Tsenp'uytsn which means "Wrinkled neck" and is our word for Worley. The word refers to someone who lived there and was chunky, so it was describing his double chin, and another, Tch'mutpkwe' which is Mt Baldy near St. Maries that translates to "One who sits by water".

On Responsibility

The third photo (Figure 15) is of a creek that I went fly fishing down on the edge of the aboriginal territory. Kelly Creek is where it is, which is a tributary to the North Fork Clearwater River. This river was our most southern parts of where my tribe lived. There is salmon that runs through this river that comes from the Columbia River. When I look at this photo I think about where we are today compared to where we are pre contact. It falls along the same line as the last two photos. Just brings a little bit of bitterness out of me. Lately I

have been thinking about salmon fishing and how it angers me that if I choose to go down south to fish for salmon, I have to pay the state a license and stamps in order for me to be able to fish where my people have fished for time immemorial. I feel like it shouldn't be this way, it almost makes me to pull the renegade out of me and try to give it to the man and go down there without all the requirements and go just as my people have gone in the past. No permission just living the way we were meant to live. In my mind my ancestors fought in order to keep our ways of life alive. I don't think the fight is over. In my mind why not? Why not try to push those boundaries and try to take back what was taken from us? I have high expectations of myself and this is one of the things I want to see changed in my lifetime.

Figure 15

Kelly Creek

Note. Fishing on Kelly Creek. Greg's photographs

I want to be able to fish for salmon in the places where we are able to that holds salmon and where my people once fished before. It bothers me that I don't even know how to fish for salmon, I have no clue on how my ancestors accomplished such a great task. I have seen videos of people catching salmon and with modern rods it still looks a bit difficult. Imagine salmon that are twice the size as they are now with traditional means, it baffles me. I feel like it shouldn't be this way, I shouldn't have to try and learn how to live the way my people lived since time in memorial as a grown man. These are all things that I should have learned years ago and have mastered by now.

On Legacy

Kind of feels like a rant but these are some of the things I think of. There is a lot of bitter feelings there, but I still love this place and still love people. Just bothered that I don't know as much as I'd like to, and it is getting more and more difficult with all the elders with the knowledge disappearing. When I look at these photos what comes to my mind overall is happiness. It brings a warm feeling to my heart. I am here alive today and able to explore and learn things about myself and gain power and medicine in these lands. I have a strong connection to the land that I am proud to say I hold. I have an urge to do my part to protect these places and learn as much as I can of the ways my people lived off the land in these places so I can teach my children and so forth.

One thing that comes to mind and I'm not sure if I wrote...but I was talking to my supervisor also about it and about the fish. I've been thinking about it a lot lately and it's something that I feel is like y'know for what we gave up in order for this country to be the way it is and like I think for me one of the things when I think about it is like Gary, he's on our committee, he says like Felix left a legacy. Ralph said that he wants to leave a legacy like

that, and it made me think this way even more. It was there before but not in words like that. It gave me even more of a drive to commit myself to this passion of leaving a legacy. He committed his whole life to natural resources so that's what I was telling Ralph...you know that's what I want to be, I want to be able to leave a legacy behind me and kinda, y'know, steer a path for y'know a better tomorrow y'know for the future generations and so when I think of those pictures a lot of the things that come in my mind, y'know we have it pretty good now, but mean I want to say why not better, why can't it be better? Why can't we have more rights than we do already for what we gave up? So, yeah, in my mind I want to be that person and kinda leave that legacy, I wanna be that person, after I pass away they still put my name up at different committees and say "well Greg would have probably said this... and Greg would have y'know, done that even, so I mean for me I just wanna leave something behind that's positive in this world and so, that's probably the main character I wanna, y'know make things better for my kids and their kids.

Kerry

Kerry is an enrolled member of the Spokane Tribe but has strong family connections to the Coeur d'Alene Tribe and the Nimipu Tribe (Nez Perce). Kerry resides on the Spokane reservation but retains strong bonds through her family to the three Tribes to whom she is connected. Kerry is a senior undergraduate and hopes to work within one of the Tribal communities once she graduates. Kerry joined the Voices to Hear project as a mentor in the second year and quickly developed relationships with her mentor colleagues and with myself and the other graduate student. I had formed a friendship with Kerry's Mom over the previous year, first as classmates at the university, and later during the first summer of Voices to Hear when I sought her knowledge about some of the middle school student

interns. Kerry's mother is an educator, earning a graduate degree in education at the time I met her. Ultimately, my friendship with Kerry's mother evolved into mutual trust, something that helped Kerry (and her sister Jamie) feel comfortable sharing stories with me.

Kerry's Story

"My Grandma was like my whole life and so, just it staying the same over the years, like it's never changed, like the color of the house has always been green, and her favorite color was green"

On Family

So, I know that I picked the basketball gym just because I've noticed that over the

Figure 16

The Basketball Court

Note. My Dad coaching at the Basketball Court (non-family member has been hidden)

Kerry's photographs

years and growing up we spent a lot of time in basketball...or like just going around the state, Idaho, sometimes Oregon, you know, just to watch either my Dad or my brother play basketball (Figure 16). I guess it's just been a huge part in my family and life, looking forward to all the tournaments. Both my brother and me have experience of my Dad coaching us growing up and seeing him...'coz this picture that I sent to you, he was the assistant coach for the middle school basketball team, and we would go to all of their games because he was the coach. I just feel like that's just a huge part of my life and I wouldn't want to be anywhere else I guess, just because the basketball gym feels like "home", over the years it just feels like it's a normal place to be.

The family is a huge part of these pictures, but I feel like they all have different like I guess, emotional backgrounds. My cousins, I guess the side view on that is that they are all related to family it's just like I never really thought that I would have close relationships with my cousins because I have so many - like a *lot* of cousins! I guess I'm just blessed to have a relationship with every one of them.

On Grandma

The second one, (Figure 17), I took a picture of my Grandma's house. Growing up we spent a *lot* of summers down there and my Grandma was like my *whole life* and so, just it staying the same over the years, like it's never changed, like the color of the house has always been green, and her favorite color was green. It's just like having that picture, just has a big meaning of my childhood because that's where we would spend a lot of our summers. It's a very emotional place for me, even though Grandma has passed. It's all happy memories.

Figure 17

Grandma's House

Note. Just outside Grandma's house. Kerry's photographs

I put a baby picture of me and my cousin, Vanessa, (Figure 18) just because she was my Grandma's baby, and I'm also like my Grandma's baby so like we were really like the two most I guess spoiled kids from my Grandma. My cousin and me would go walk around Agency Road and there is this part of the park where there's a whole bunch of trees that you would... they were like short enough to climb you know but they had like... I don't know if they're Oak trees... I don't know, but we would always...that was out hang-out spot. My cousin and me, we'd bring food for picnics and make sure Grandpa and Grandma were getting their exercise and then...but like, that was one of the biggest things we did when Vanessa was home. I guess my relationships with my cousins are really important to me because I have so many and I am close to a lot of them.

Figure 18

Vanessa and Me

Note. My cousin Vanessa as a baby and Me. Kerry's photographs

On Role Models

Strong women? Yeah, I would say so, just because I feel that growing up my Grandma and my Mom made sure that we were like I guess, ok in a sense... like confident in the way we feel. Ever since hearing the talks from both my Grandma and my Mom just kinda, it made me push to be who I am today I guess, just because I wanted to make sure that I would make my Mom and Grandma proud and just everybody in general. I know that it's really hard to even go post-secondary school in the first place, coz its really difficult, so I just feel like hearing their words and sometimes I hear voices in the back of my head, like from my Grandma, just to keep going, keep driving; "yeah you might be going through a rough time right now but you're gonna get through it and you're gonna to be proud for yourself for pushing through" - just stuff like that, I feel like it's just amazing!

On Places

I feel like just being in college for the four years, I was kinda hesitant to leave Cheney in the first place just because I was already there for three years, but, I'm only twenty minutes away from Cheney. It just felt weird not to be able to be so close to friends, but its ok, we're pretty much all, almost to the point where we are all gonna have to move into Spokane or to another state because we are going to be graduating soon and it's kinda like the thing to do. I feel like I would do ok away from it, just because I have a great memory of my childhood and all the stories and stuff, so I feel like I would be ok just because I know that nobody else has those memories and if they do, they... most of them don't remember them. I have a very good memory and my sister gets surprised by it every day just because... like literally, put it down to what we were eating for dinner that night! I don't know if it's because I had a great childhood, or whatever, but I just remember *everything,* so I feel like if I was to move to the other side of the States, I would be ok because just having those, those memories would make me feel at home in a way.

I would say that Lapwai would have a more, more of an impact than any other place just because I feel like that side of my family were the only ones who pushed for me to have an understanding of my Native background and like educating me when I'm down there and, and like making sure that I understood why "this is this way" and my Grandpa likes to quiz me on Sahaptin language, so I just feel like, he really cares that I am learning about it so and like with my Dad's side of the family, they're kinda like not really about it I guess. I guess, I don't know how to explain it, like I just know that my Lapwai family definitely cares more of the cultural side of it and they make sure that I know about that side of my family, and I feel that I'm closer to that, even though I am not enrolled Nimipu or Coeur d'Alene, I feel closer

to them than my actual Tribe that I'm enrolled in. With Lapwai it was an *emotional* side of it because that's where my Grandma lived and she passed away in 2014 so like going down there is a lot harder now, but I love going down there because it reminds me of how much over time, since she's been gone, it's slowly changed and Grandpa's getting older but he is

Figure 19

Sanctuary

Note. Sunset on our property. Kerry's photographs

still there. I know that my Grandpa is getting older and I know that once he passes away, I know that my Mom's siblings are going to end up fighting over the house and stuff, because that's just the way it goes and I know it's going to be harder to go down there because a lot of things have changed but I don't think that my attachment or my emotional side of it will ever go away.

On Sanctuary

The one with me and the sunset (Figure 19). That one's because our family typically

goes on hikes and walks a lot on our property and I have been living at this, where we live now at my parents' house, we've been living there since, my brother's...it's been sixteen years we been in that house, so like it's just a beautiful place to live, nowhere around, no-one's around you, you know it's just quiet and it's just a good sanctuary. Growing up on my family's property it was more like it was our own kingdom, like we would explore the rocks and go to the river all of the time and stuff, Lapwai has always been a safe place for me and just because like going down there makes me feel better almost, emotionally just because I know I have a lot of family down there that cares about me and like I just know I can still go down there and still be welcome even though...you know?

Jamie

Jamie is Kerry's older sister and therefore like her sister an enrolled member of the Spokane Tribe but has strong family connections to the Coeur d'Alene Tribe and the Nimipu Tribe (Nez Perce). Jamie also joined the Voices to Hear project in the second year and despite her own misgivings, she proved to be an empathetic mentor who developed a strong, trusting relationship with her middle school students. Jamie holds deep convictions about the importance of teaching younger Tribal members about their culture and true history. Jamie is a passionate activist advocating for Indigenous people's rights and drawn to work within social justice once she graduates. Jamie's story captures a fraction of what she wants to say and is the product of several conversations.

Jamie's Story

"There are so many things I could think of that is so important to remind yourself that you need to be cognizant of where you are and who was here before".

On Grandma

Okay. So, the first one, I think it has to do, the reason I picked it was it kind of...I didn't get along with my Grandma, at all. She didn't like me, or well maybe she did, I don't know, but it didn't seem like she did, so that photo kind of like, when I first saw it, I kind of got uncomfortable a little bit, because, yeah, you can tell that she is happy holding me but she was never happy when I was around her growing up, so I think that's just a familial thing (Figure 20). She had a lot of trauma. She went to a boarding school in Desmet so that was not a good experience. I grew up with those stories, so...there are other things...she is actually part of the Seltice...her mom was, her great-Grandpa was Chief Seltice, so, she is a Lowley.

Figure 20

Grandma

Note. Grandma holding me as a baby. Jamie's photographs

She was Coeur d'Alene, and I don't know, I think, women in our family are very strong and she was incredibly strong. She was *so* strong. She dealt with so much from people on my grandpa's side not liking her she just didn't, it seemed like she didn't get a lot of support so her resiliency to raise, I think there is eight of them, eight kids and then along with my Grandpa's siblings after my Grandpa's parents passed, she took on like I think two kids of my younger Grandpa's siblings. It was a full house and she made do the best she could. So, she was a very strong woman and I am incredibly respectful of her but she wasn't the nicest (laughs), so I think it's funny that a lot of what I do I am constantly reminded to stay strong because of her, but I also have problems with elderly women figures in my life and I think that is to do with, I mean, yeah, that's why I chose that photo.

We are living on a piece of land that's really interesting. So, the piece of land that we live on is owned by most of my Dad's siblings but also this is where my Mom's Elders lived. I think it was one of the Camilles that lived down here on this land. So, I have my white side who farmed here but before that there was a Camille here who were really strong Flathead peoples so, that's, I think of her a lot because she did a lot. She owns land on the Spokane reservation but also whenever I think of her I think of us and this big, blue van, driving up from the Nimipu Rez, all the way through the Coeur d'Alene Rez and then to the Spokane Rez, so we went through all of those reservations in that blue van and she would tell stories the whole, entire way of like, stories from the boarding school to when she was a little girl driving through Sprigg Road in Spokane. She had so many memories she would tell us all these stories through that one highway, I think it's the Palouse Highway, that whole highway has a lot of memories because we would drive down that highway all the time.

I have a photo, but I wonder if I should do this. Is this inappropriate, but it is really powerful in a way (Figure 21). Maybe it is inappropriate...we just buried my Tupia and she was a huge part of our whole family, the matriarch of our family, very powerful – and this is

Figure 21

Goodbye

Not.: Cars on the way to Great-Grandma's funeral. Jamie's photographs

heading to Desmet and you see all those lines of cars? I think this was the first time I saw, like traditionally you... I was talking to my Mom when it happened but we were driving through Plummer and there were cars starting to line up on the side of the street like the road, they just pulled off, and instead of looking at all the cars passing by, they look straight out and I asked my Mom why, it kind of looks creepy, what's going on? were they ok, was

anyone hurt? She was like "no, it's a traditional way of saying goodbye to their loved one, so they weren't close to the person, but you sit on the side of the road and you look straight forward, acknowledging there is a whole line of cars going to put their Great-Grandma to rest, but they are also saying goodbye in their own way. It was really cool and powerful, and I also wrote some poem thing.

On Scholarship

The second picture is in my freshman year of college (Figure 22). I had long hair then, but I always had it up. This was the first group...I will explain it like, this was when I

Figure 22

Center for Education, Equity and Diversity.

Note. Studying with a friend in CEED. Jamie's photographs

just was introduced to CEED. Did I ever tell you about CEED? it is the Center for Education, Equity and Diversity. It's in the basement of this building we have on campus. I was brought there and introduced to NASU, the Native American Student Union, and I started going to

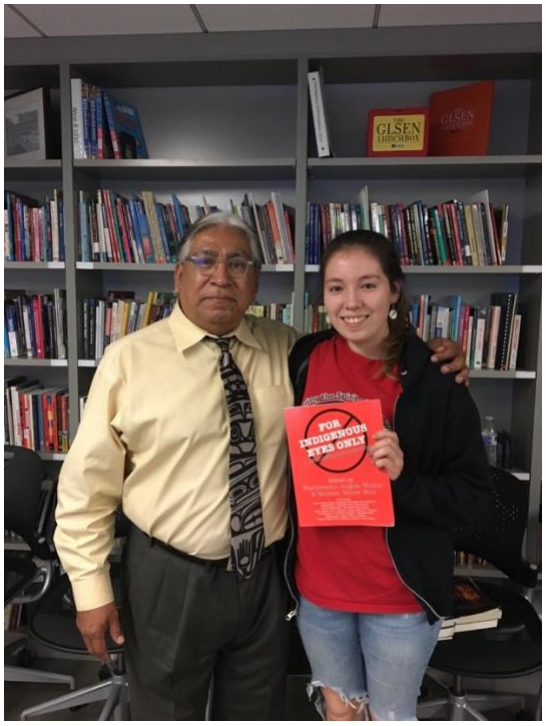
the meetings and being more involved in that club and literally two weeks after I joined, they were heading down to the Gathering of Nations, which is the biggest PowWow in the whole USA and I think maybe even Canada. It is a huge PowWow, in an arena in New Mexico, Albuquerque, and so we all got on a plane and went on this. I was so new, and I was shy, but Kristen convinced me to go because she said I needed it, so I ended up going. We were in our hotel room getting ready and that had to be one of the most beautiful things I had ever seen, and I think that was the biggest Grand Entry...have you ever been to a PowWow? So, they usually start with all the flags and the Eagle staff and those are Veterans. When you think of an arena, that whole section was completely full of dancers and anyone that wanted to join in on the Grand Entry and it was so beautiful and that was also the first red jingle dress ceremony I ever saw, and that's for the missing and murdered Indigenous women of the US. I think that photo kind of reminds me of the beginnings of all the friendships and all the introductions and all the....I started gaining more understanding of what it means to network within Native communities, and I think the next photo will describe that more.

This is when I started realizing that the Native community in Higher Ed positions was small but very diverse too, so I was able to start meeting people and getting their names and emails and I got an understanding of what it meant to be Native in college. I was introduced to social justice. Another reason I chose this photo is a couple of days before that I went down to CEED and I thought about dropping out and so that whole situation of taking that Native history class and being introduced to that professor and then being brought down to CEED was kind of that whole thing that basically kept me in college.

The next photo is the first time I met a "bigwig" in the Native community (Figure 23). His name is Dr. Pewewardy and I was so excited although you can't see it in my face because I

Figure 23

For Indigenous Eyes Only



Note. Meeting Dr Pewewardy. Jamie's photographs

hate photos, but he gave me his own copy of Indigenous Eyes Only, so it has his notes and he signed it for me, and he said when I finish it to get a hold of him and I have his card and his email...I was so excited. He even gifted me two songs, which is traditional for us too if we ever find someone that fits those songs, they gift them. He gifted me two songs which was the first time I have ever experienced that, and it was really exciting. He starts Indigenous schools and comes up with a curriculum for them. He is amazing. I think he is based over in

Assiniboine areas and I can't remember what count of schools he has opened up but there amazing and they are starting the whole decolonized idea, even though we don't know what that looks like we can wish and hope and he is the one that introduced me to that decolonized idea in my college career. I still have that book and I am still working on it because it is really hard to answer the questions when every question you have to do really in depth researching on your family – what is the traditional name of your tribe and not just that, what's the traditional name of your band and that whole book is illegal to read in four states in the USA, I think. I think Arizona is one. It's really amazing. This happened at a time when I was starting to get really involved in activism on campus. He was there for a talk and also worked with another one of my mentors, Analise, who works in Early Childhood Development and helps out with a lot of Native Schools in the area. She brought him to campus, and it was amazing.

On Family Gathering

Now it makes sense and I think I sent you the complete wrong photos! It's the land. I realize I do not take a lot of photos of just landscapes. The land we are on now, we grew up playing on cliffs because there are cliff faces; we are right along the river and there's, we used to play different imaginary things growing up. We would bring our little backpacks - I had a Barbie backpack with my bag of Ramen, that wasn't cooked and granola bars and we would go on little adventures until... and we used to think we had been out there for so long but we would come back an hour or two later and just be completely exhausted.

So, the next one (Figure 24), that's my Grandpa with his cane, behind and those little...this is Mudsprings, this is a thing we do in Lapwai down on the Nez Perce Rez. It's a whole bunch of families get together and play stick games and cook for each other and do

giveaways and name- givings for each of the families. So, my Grandpa decided he saw those kids and they were singing Powwow songs, and you can see that little girl, she was really

Figure 24

Mudsprings

Note. Grandpa teaching PowWow songs. Jamie's photographs

getting into it. My Grandpa was like "Oh take a picture and I'll sing with them" and he goes behind them and starts thinking his cane was a rattle and it was amazing, and the kids were so talented you could tell they were going to be stick-game players in the future. They are all family too; we are all related so that was really fun to see. I think I can find a photo of just Mudsprings and no people in it. it gets crowded really quick and it's a huge area and there's a lake behind it where we have fishing derbies, or we used to. It's a huge thing. I remember,

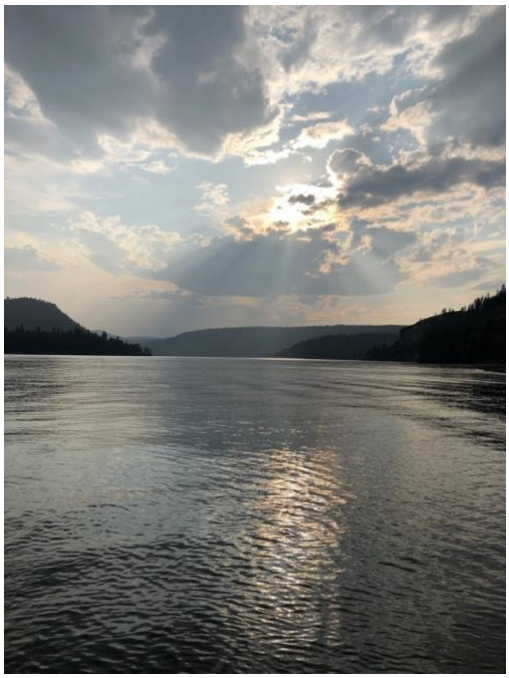
really young, being there when I was little, so I have a lot of memories every summer going there.

On Connections with Land

So, the next one is Roosevelt Lake (Figure 25). We were there camping. So, the river

Figure 25

Lake Roosevelt



Note. Camping trip to Lake Roosevelt. Jamie's photographs

heads down into the Columbia, right? There is that huge lake area. One side is Spokane and one side is white land, so we are able to go there and camp, but it's interesting to see the merge of... I think this photo is really funny for me because that's a first time I was camping while an adult, but not just that, but with a cousin that has been a close part of our lives for a long time. Her and my Mom, her Mom and my Mom are sisters and we used to, yeah, we

were really in a close knit family so that camping and then watching my cousin's boyfriend get freaked out by the coyotes because they were really super close when we went to bed and waking up in the middle of the night and being told "we're going home! We can't sleep with the coyotes so close!" It was so funny. It was fun but also this photo is really important because that was the area that my Grandma's land is and that part of land is...I don't think I ever heard the story of why it is super important to us, but my Grandma still has it, well my Mom takes care of it now because she is a Spokane tribal member but also isn't it beautiful? At one point I wanted to be a photographer but that never worked out.

The way the Spokane tribe works is that before the reservation existed we had the Lower band which is the band of peoples that lived closer to the Columbia and Spokane river where that went into the Columbia so the Lower Spokane band was down that end where the photo was taken and then the middle band was where little Spokane is where a creek comes out. In between the Spokane reservation and Spokane, itself, there is this little part that where Mount Spokane is and the Spokane House. This area was really important because that is where the missionary was just when Spokane started becoming a rail city or town/settlement. So that is where the Middle Spokane was, and the Upper Spokane was where Spokane is now, yeah, so those three bands were really big bands with different families in all of them and then when the reservation came to be, that is where we all were put. That photo is also showing a lot of where fishing and canoes would have been. Spokane is a Salish word - Spokan-e is how it should be said, and it means "Children of the Sun". We were also called so many different names, so our band, different bands were called certain things like there is a band of families who used to live on our land too, so before the Camille, before my Grandpa came there is a band of people on this plain, see there is so many things that

happened on this little plain. We also have above our house burials of family who passed away from smallpox and that whole band passed away from smallpox too so that whole line does not exist anymore. We live in an interesting place; it is definitely never boring around here. It took a lot of work I spent a whole summer just researching and reading all these books. I cannot explain just how many pieces of paper I have with crazy notes. It is really cool to know where we are and who was here before us, which is , you don't really get that a lot, especially on reservations. It is hard to get that information because either it died with the person before or it is in a basement that takes a lot of work to find the answers.

When you think of all those... there are so many things I could think of that is so important to remind yourself that you need to be cognizant of where you are and who was here before. We do that a lot in Bellingham but coming back here it's just, I am so used to opening up Zoom calls or phone calls with an acknowledgement of where we are and it’s interesting to not have that anymore. and how interesting it is that it is only in colleges I have seen that happening, but not out of college. I was watching the Emmys last night and this guy, who does a lot of work in environmental, but he is also an actor and before he started thanking everyone for his award, he mentioned that he was on Munsee land over in New York and then went on to his speech. It is so interesting to see environmental activists kind of realizing that there is this whole community out there.

Impact of the Narratives

The rich narratives presented here are especially impactful because they are so honest, and open. To me, this is a little overwhelming as it represents validation of the thoughtful preparation I did before embarking on this study. Investing in time to grow the relationships between the undergraduates and myself and to learn from them was a crucial step towards developing mutual trust; an essential part of this preparation. The stories represent individual expressions of places that have meaning and although each one revolves around images of places that emerge from personal choice, there are certain commonalities that emanate through all of the stories and show connections arising from a shared understanding of Native identity.

I am honored that the students have shared such intimate details representing their connections to place, culture and a sense of what it means to be Native. I am grateful that they agreed to be a part of this research study and that they trusted me enough to share their stories.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion

To begin to address my research questions, I first need to set out the framework through which this analysis and discussion will be presented. First, I pause to remind the reader of the purpose and research questions for this study.

Purpose

To explore how Coeur d'Alene Tribal undergraduate students perceived their identity and what it means to them to be Native, by considering places that hold positive meaning for them.

Research Questions

1) How do place-based photographs taken by tribal undergraduate students reveal their perceptions of their Native American identity?

2) How does Native American identity connect to place?

3) How do discussions about place attachment and identity facilitate the students participating in the study to make sense of the process towards decolonization?

Rather than use the research questions as verbatim sub-headings, I explain below how I approached the analysis and discussion of the undergraduate stories in order to address the questions.

Primarily, I needed to establish if evidence exists of place attachment for the undergraduate student and the degree to which place attachment held meaning for them. Secondly, I drew the Coeur d'Alene Tribe's Five Core Values (Coeur d'Alene Department of Education, 2020) as a framework, providing to align how the students spoke about and indirectly reference the Core Values, and how the Core Values were manifested in the

students' narratives. Thirdly, I looked for evidence within each student's story that intimated the project process helped them to decolonize the research. This following section of this chapter explains the analysis techniques I employed and how I attempted to retain a decolonizing, indigenous lens throughout the analysis of the stories.

Conventional Analysis

Thematic Narrative Analysis

Thematic analysis is a flexible approach used in qualitative analysis that emphasizes identifying, patterns within data for the purpose of providing a rich, detailed account of a personal experience (Gaskell & Bauer, 2000). Across datasets (the student stories in this case), similar themes are important if associated to a specific research question, for example, "How is Coeur d'Alene Native American identity connected to place." Narrative analysis as the conventional next step, has interpretative potential and is useful when considering how themes are used in a specific context (Cortazzi, 2014). The participants in the study were an instrumental part of the thematic analysis, working with me to agree suitable themes for each of their stories, and providing guidance on the construction of the narrative. In contrast to conventional narrative analysis, I did not attempt to analyze the participant's photographs, or their reasons for choosing them. In this respect, the participants themselves provided the analysis through their thick, descriptive stories. Ultimately, what emerged from the individual stories are themes relevant to one specific story, but also common themes that cut across two or three stories (for example, family, connection to land, and language).

Visual Analysis

The camera is a widely available tool used to creatively capture and share our life experiences. Photographs tell our stories and reveal what is important to us through stories

that identify a myriad of emotions and positionality, and in the case of this study, attachment. Through photographs, individuals offer insight and teach others about their experiences, but without the narrative, the story, the voice, the essence of a visual narrative is contradicted. To apply visual methodology (Rose, 2012) to the participant photographs I chose to initially center analysis on the image and consider the choices and intentions made by the photographer (Luttrell, 2010). As the photographs are such an integral part of the stories, they can be considered through the themes that emerged during the coding process, therefore combining a participant-driven visual analysis with a thematic, narrative analysis mentioned above (Riessman, 2008, Saldana, 2016).

Indigenous Framework for Analysis: The Coeur d'Alene Tribe's Five Core Values

The Coeur d'Alene Tribe's Five Core Values "represent the heart of the Coeur d' Alene people" (Coeur d'Alene Department of Education, 2020). They are the essence of what it means to be schitsu'umsh, and are interconnected, each serving as one part of a holistic whole. The Tribe hopes "that these core values are so deeply rooted in our children's heart that we will see them carried out in a relational, reciprocal, respectful and responsible way for generations immemorial" (Coeur d'Alene Department of Education, 2020). The Five Core Values definitions as described on the Coeur d'Alene Department of Education website (https://www.cdatribe-nsn.gov/education/) are as follows:

'ats' qhnt' wesh (Stewardship)

To care for all things with integrity, responsibility, accountability and social awareness in all spheres of life, human, animals, natural resources, and the cosmos, looking at each other from the heart.

t'u'lschint (Membership)

Capable, decent, moral, 'a good person', a good citizen in your family, tribal, local and world community. A responsible, accountable and informed citizen in all spheres of relationship.

hnshat' qn (Guardianship)

To care for all things with integrity, responsibility, accountability and social awareness in all spheres of life, human, animals, natural resources, and the cosmos, looking at each other from the heart.

snmiypnqwiln (Scholarship)

Life-long, holistic learning with ideas rooted in tribal values, self-determination, self-government and sovereignty that produces deep knowledge to understand the world and meaningful application within the community.

chsnpa'silgwesn (Spirituality)

Faith from which the Creator reveals the connection between all life. It unites the space between the past, present, and future through the peoples, environment, and land; and is rooted within the ceremonies from which the Tribe celebrates those connections.

In maintaining the tenets of Indigenous methodologies, I chose not to paraphrase the Five Core Values, but present them here as the Tribe has crafted them. The Coeur d'Alene Tribal Council have adopted the Core Values through a Tribal resolution and the Tribe's Department of Education has constructed a K-12, culturally responsible curriculum, which teaches the Core Values in the hope that current and subsequent generations will embrace the principals.

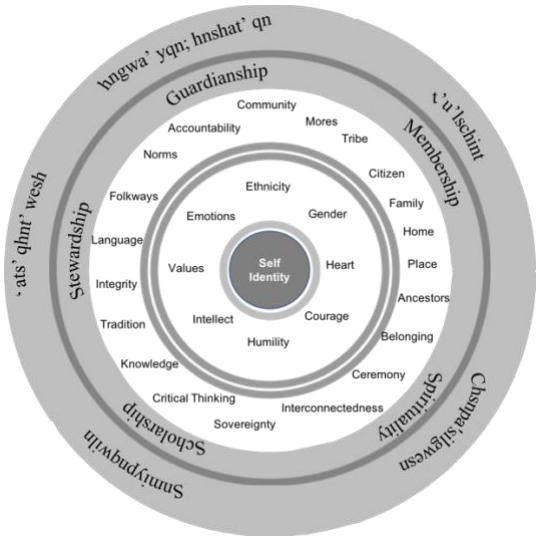
While learning and attempting to understand the meaning and intentions of stewardship, membership, guardianship, scholarship, and spirituality, I began to consider how an individual's sense of identity (and specifically, what it means to be Native) is related to each of these five Core Values. Having spoken with a number of Tribal members over the last three years, it becomes very clear that the Core Values, cannot, and should not be separated. To live as a Coeur d'Alene Tribal member, embracing the Core Values means to acknowledge that each value is inextricably entwined with its four family members. As the students expressed their ideas and relationships about the interconnected nature of the Coeur d'Alene Core Values and their identity as a Coeur d'Alene Tribal member, a concept diagram emerged (Figure 26), inspired by Indigenous Wholistic Theory (Absolon, 2019), which uses the visual metaphor of concentric shock waves that move outward from the point of impact of a water droplet, suggesting "self-identity" is always influenced by wider elements and is always an integral part of the whole. Absolon (2019) describes Indigenous Wholistic Theory as "an intermixing and consideration of time and space: the past, present, future; directions, doorways of life; the ecology of creation such as earth, sun, water, air, and all their occupants; and values that retain the balance and harmony of all of the above" (p. 23)

As the concentric shock waves spread out from the point of impact -self-identity- they are encompassed by an interconnected outer ring made up of the Core Values. Placing self-identity at the center, the first circle contains words shared by participants in conversations, which they have used to describe aspects of identity; the second concentric circle contains words, ideas, and themes that I have compiled from listening to the undergraduate students

and through reading their stories, in an attempt to reconcile the concepts of identity and place. Some of these appear to fall naturally within certain categories but should be

Figure 26

Identity in relation to the Coeur d'Alene Five Core Values



Note. I created this concept diagram to show how individual perceptions of self-identity as a Coeur d'Alene Tribal member cannot be considered in isolation and are always expanding outwards, encompassed by the Five Core Values.

considered as elements of the 'self' and therefore interchangeable, Tribe, family, and ancestors, for example, sit well within membership but cannot be separated from guardianship; likewise, home and community can be considered part of membership but are fundamental to the other four. Ceremony, belonging and interconnectedness may be a natural fit for spirituality, and also an integral part of membership, guardianship, and so forth. Thus, a pattern emerges to demonstrate the holistic interconnectedness of the Five Core Values.

Common Themes in the Student Stories

While each of the undergraduate students' stories are organized in a framework of themes, chosen by them, some common themes emerged across all six stories. It is these common themes I will discuss first, highlighting aspects of commonality where they occur.

Connection to Land

Three undergraduates Charlie, Greg, and Jamie, independent of each other, chose "Connection to Land/Connection with Land" as one of the themes for their respective stories. Taylor chose to name his first theme "Personal Connection", however, the intrinsic meaning within Taylor's narrative shares similar significance to that of Charlie, Greg and Jamie. Struthers (2000) claims a "deep knowledge of self comes from interconnection with nature " (p. 272). The theme of interconnectedness is one that is an essential part of Indigenous epistemology and ontology (Ferguson & Weaselboy, 2019; Lowe, 2002), with an emphasis on interconnected cycles where everything comes from the land (Ortiz, 2018; Watts, 2013). Charlie alludes to interconnectedness when she explains, "I was raised in a sense that your connection with the land and the area you are in is also the same as the connection with your people and so it is very hard to separate" (Charlie, June 8th, 2020). For Taylor, interconnectedness is personal and spiritual, "There is something special about this place. The energy, the feeling it gives me when I come here gives me peace. The trees feel like guardians giving life and resources to everything around them" (Taylor, April 20th, 2020).

The Theory of Relatedness, (Hagery et.al, 1993) describes belonging as a state of connection between a person and the environment. Furthermore, it is an element of connecting the individual to people, places, and things. In many ways, there are pieces in all of the undergraduates stories that speak of belonging, or at least allude to connections to land

being impossible to separate from connections to people. This excerpt from Jamie's story illustrates this point,

> *This photo is really important because that was the area that my Grandma's land is and that part of land is... , well my Mom takes care of it now because she is a Spokane tribal member but also isn't it beautiful?...There are so many things I could think of that is so important to remind yourself that you need to be cognizant of where you are and who was here before (Jamie, September 24th, 2020)*

While sharing this particular photograph (Figure 25), Jamie became emotional and lost in her train of thought, admitting she was struggling to express herself, finally getting to her point in what I think is a powerful statement. Jamie's quote touches on interconnectedness and the need to show respect for those people or ancestors who came before and enjoyed a connection to the land. The Navajo called their land "the Great Self" (Casey, 2009), eliciting an idea that separation from the land results in a separation from self. In his entire story, Greg embraces this viewpoint; "I have a connection to this land that no other person can say they have", and, "I have a strong connection to all of those areas and our people would use all of those areas and they're equally important because of different times of the year and for different reasons" (Greg, September 2nd, 2020). Greg feels his connection to the aboriginal homeland very strongly and expresses hurt and anger that "we aren't able to roam freely or have to pay state passes in order to have access where my people lived since time immemorial" (Greg, September 2nd, 2020). In this respect, Greg is more vocal than the other participants about how deeply he feels connection to the land and the natural resources. Perhaps this is due to Greg having lived all his life on the reservation, and being introduced to traditional practices such as hunting, fishing and stewardship by his grandfather. Greg has

chosen a career in wildlife management; a job that gives him opportunities to practice stewardship and guardianship and keeps him close to the land he loves.

Family and Home

Struthers et al. (2003) maintains the dynamics of relationship within Indigenous communities is comprised of connectedness and a sense of belonging. Furthermore, Hill (2006) stresses the importance of family as part of belonging for Indigenous communities and Sutton and Broken Nose (1996) highlight the concept of "We" instead of "I" as a strength of Indigenous culture. For Charlie, Quinn and Kerry, the importance of family and home is expressed directly under specific themes, where they talk about how essential such relationships and connections are to their sense of well-being and identity. Jamie references family throughout her story, and Greg, whose story alludes to the positive influence of his grandfather, expresses the importance of community, being a member of the tribe, and collective responsibility. I find it interesting that while the aforementioned individuals share commonality on attributing a personal relationship with family, community and home as part of their Native identity, the specifics of how this is expressed are quite different. For example, Charlie describes the impact on her growing up of having "family... all over the place, just anywhere you turned", which has caused her to develop deep attachment to the places where her family reside. In a powerful statement, Charlie then encapsulates what is for her, the interconnectedness of family, home, place and identity: "its familiar but it's also something that's deeper than that because it's not only me that's experiencing it, it's my family, it's their ancestors, it's my ancestors like we have all experienced that place" (Charlie, June 8th, 2020).

Quinn emphasizes home and family through his choice of images. He talks about his feelings of happiness on returning home from a long trip, explaining, “It’s an emotional place too, just because that’s where I’ve always lived” (Quinn, April 27th, 2020). Quinn grew up in a large, urban environment, physically detached from his Tribal homeland and so for him, the main attachment he has to place(s) is influenced by where his family are – the two cannot be separated. Describing the reservation, where his Grandma now lives, he comments, “I don’t really feel a big tie to it myself, personally, just because I don’t have, like, immediate bonds out there, like, no-one I talk to on a daily basis lives out there” (Quinn, April 27th, 2020). . However, Quinn directly references the sense of belonging, fundamental to Indigenous communities (Hill, 2006), when he describes the importance of wanting to protect the environment as an extension of his desire to protect the people he is connected to.

In Kerry’s story, the theme of “family” is consistent throughout the narrative. Kerry chose to include “Grandma” as a separate theme and under this, she expresses not only the deep connection she feels to her Grandma but describes the close bonds she shares with other family members. When she talks about the basketball court, or about strong, female role models, or recalling happy childhood memories, Kerry invariably alludes to family relationships, for example, “I guess my relationships with my cousins are really important to me”, and “sometimes I hear voices in the back of my head, like from my Grandma, just to keep going, keep driving” (Kerry, August 19th, 2020). Kerry, like Charlie and Quinn considers home and family as two intertwined elements that complement each other and are essential parts of her identity. Her perception of home, the family property, is revealed through her referring to it as a “good sanctuary”. Although told from three unique perspectives and through very different image choices, Charlie, Quinn and Kerry collectively

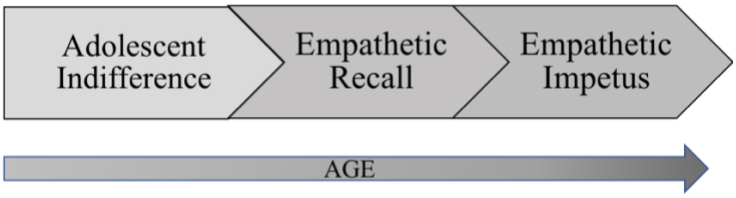
highlight the importance of family as one aspect of, for them, what it means to be Native American.

Place Attachment and Connection with Identity

I created the concept diagram below (Figure 26), to suggest that for the majority of people, the relationship with place-attachment, changes with age. This concept describes three stages that begin with adolescent (egocentric) indifference, moves towards empathetic recall (memories evoking emotions) and achieves empathetic impetus (driven to action). To consider stewardship, environmental protection, or guardianship of a place, then the desired state of place attachment (empathetic impetus) will result in a drive to action. The goal, therefore, for all communities for whom land/place preservation is critical, is to introduce empathetic impetus into the egocentric inventory of the adolescent. I argue that there is

Figure 27

Progression of Place-Attachment: Concept



Note. I created this concept to suggest that for the majority of people, age defines how feelings of place-attachment move from indifference, towards memories evoking emotions, culminating in a drive to action (i.e. participating in activities to protect a place).

convincing evidence presented in the participant stories that makes reference to a desire to protect the described places of importance. This, therefore, suggests that most, if not all of

the Native American undergraduates have reached the third stage of empathetic impetus described above (Figure 26). Perhaps Justice (2016) is hinting at a call to action in the statement, “Belonging is about more than privileges-it is about taking up the responsibilities and obligations of the people and the place” (Justice, 2016, p. 26).

Within their individual stories, the participants describe attachment to the places they have chosen with varying degrees of direct linkage to identity. For Taylor, this is a very personal, almost spiritual connection. The way Taylor constructs his narrative provides the reader with the sense and depth of what Taylor feels, with his choice of words, pauses, the inability at times to say exactly what he is thinking, all contributing to a greater understanding of how much the Cedar Grove means to him. In the absence of directly linking his chosen place with identity, Taylor demonstrates the opposite, giving the reader a clear picture of how his chosen place is inextricably linked to his perception of being Native American. Under his final theme of values and referencing three of the other undergraduates, Taylor alludes to empathetic impetus, “our identities are based around these places and protecting these places because they were taken away”, emphasizing it is a value system that makes his identity.

Greg is more candid revealing much when asked how he would feel if he had to move for work, “Move away? Oh man, I’d have to come back almost every year, I think. I couldn’t move away, man” (Greg, September 2nd, 2020). Greg has a deep, deep sense of belonging to his community, and to the land, even expressing how his health would be affected if he was unable to retain attachment to places. Greg’s perceptions echo the Indigenous worldview of interconnectedness and epistemologies that unite land and language (Lowe, 2002; Ferguson & Weaselboy, 2019; Ortiz, 2018; Watts, 2013). Several authors have written about the

sociological significance of place-names (Basso, 1984, 1988, 1996; Watt & Basso, 2004) with Hunn (1996) noting a tendency for Columbia Basin Tribes to name places based on the animals or plants found there. These "storehouses of cultural information about people's relationships with the land" (Hunn, 1996, p.22) are important in demonstrating how places and identity are connected. Greg continues to learn the schitsu'umsh language of his Tribe and provides some great examples that concur with Hunn's (1996) observations,

> *Q'emiln - all it means is "throat" and it's up the river where it narrows down... Tsenp'uytsn which means "Wrinkled neck" and is our word for Worley. The word refers to someone who lived there and was chunky, so it was describing his double chin, and another, Tch'mutpkwe' which is Mt Baldy near St. Maries that translates to "One who sits by water" (Greg, September 2nd, 2020).*

Charlie also references Native language and how it provides much more than just a place name, "when you grow up in an area where somebody uses the language and explains it to you it makes more sense and it's very personal" (Charlie, June 8th, 2020). Charlie intimates that part of the difference can be attributed to so much being left out in the English translation. Basso (1996) similarly highlights "descriptive specificity" as characteristic of Western Apache place names, which are likened to pictures resulting in the "capacity of place-names to evoke full and accurate images of the locations to which they refer" (p. 47). Both Charlie and Greg provide insight about how they perceive their identity as Native people through consideration of Native language and the role it has in shaping the descriptions of places.

Quinn and Kerry share similar thoughts about the possibility of developing attachments to new places. For Quinn, attachment to places comes from a combination of the

people or community in the place, and the place itself. When considering forming attachment to new places Quinn places a significant emphasis on feeling "happy there" and having "meaningful bonds with the community". Kerry too thinks she would be fine moving away from home because for her, the importance of having strong memories and remembering stories would retain a connection to home and the places she described. Kerry also makes a strong identity/place connection when she describes how her "Lapwai family pushed for me to have an understanding of my Native background", which has created in her a feeling of closeness with the Nimipu Tribe rather than the Tribe with whom she is an enrolled member. This following quote from Kerry, demonstrates how individual perceptions of identity can be complex; "With Lapwai it was an *emotional* side of it because that's where my Grandma lived..." (Kerry, August 19th, 2020). Kerry describes how since her Grandma's passing, the place, that place of attachment, is slowly changing and she perceives this will ultimately make going to that place more difficult. Similar to Quinn, Kerry cannot separate the people from the place, "going down there makes me feel better almost, emotionally, just because I know I have a lot of family down there that cares about me" (Kerry, August 19th, 2020). Here is also a suggestion of belonging, and, as parts of the stories from the other five participants attest, a connection between health and wellness is attributed to the place of attachment.

Identifying the Five Core Values in the Undergraduate Stories

What becomes apparent through reading the undergraduate stories is how the Five Core Values are intertwined throughout the narratives. In some instances, it is possible to point directly to a sentence or a phrase that directly references one of the values, albeit in a subtle way. For example, Jamie chose "scholarship" as one of her themes and talks at length about the impact of being introduced to the Native American Student Union and how this has

led to her involvement with social justice in education. Taylor and Greg also refer to scholarship in their stories. Taylor speaks about the importance and influence of mentors from whom he learned much more about the Coeur d'Alene ancestral homeland and places of importance. In fact, Taylor's chosen place of attachment was introduced to him through these mentors. In his perception of scholarship, Greg focuses on traditional knowledge and what he has learned through talking to and being shown by Tribal Elders, including his grandfather. In Greg's story, the interconnectedness of the Core Values is discernable, and perhaps more conspicuous than in the other participant stories. The narrative combined with the images Greg has chosen flows in a natural conversational style through which the reader is able to recognize the Five Core Values. In his final theme of "Legacy", Greg manages to embody Membership, Stewardship, Guardianship, Scholarship and Spiritualty when he says, "I want to be able to leave a legacy behind me and kinda, y'know, steer a path for a better tomorrow, y'know for the future generations" (Greg, September 2nd, 2020).

Choosing to use the Coeur d'Alene Core Values provided a useful and culturally relevant framework through which to view the undergraduate stories. However, my aim in choosing this approach was to look closely at each story and discern evidence that the Core Values are innate to the identities of the undergraduates. I assert that this is the case and suggest that within each of the stories the Native American undergraduates demonstrate that the Core Values of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe are intrinsic to their world views and identity (Table 1). The undergraduate stories imply support for the concept suggested in Figure 26, namely how individual perceptions of self-identity cannot be considered in isolation, they are always expanding outwards, and for Coeur d'Alene Tribal members they are always encompassed by the Five Core Values.

Table 1

The Five Core Values Aligned With Undergraduate Quotes

Core Value	Undergraduate Quote
'ats' qhnt' wesh (Stewardship) *To care for all things with integrity, responsibility, accountability and social awareness in all spheres of life, human, animals, natural resources, and the cosmos, looking at each other from the heart.*	*I have a connection to this land that no other person can say they have. This isn't just a lake it is life. It provided so much for us and I am glad that the tribe has it in their mind to try and make amends to the land in order to heal it. (Greg)*
t'u'lschint (Membership) *Capable, decent, moral, 'a good person', a good citizen in your family, tribal, local and world community. A responsible, accountable and informed citizen in all spheres of relationship.*	*...our values make our identity and our values go to places like places are people, whether that be family or people that aren't even related to you by blood...what you stand for. (Taylor)*
hnshat' qn (Guardianship) *To care for all things with integrity, responsibility, accountability and social awareness in all spheres of life, human, animals, natural resources, and the cosmos, looking at each other from the heart.*	*I was raised in a sense that your connection with the land and the area you are in is also the same as the connection with your people and so it is very hard to separate it. (Charlie)*
snmiypnqwiln (Scholarship) *Life-long, holistic learning with ideas rooted in tribal values, self-determination, self-government and sovereignty that produces deep knowledge to understand the world and meaningful application within the community.*	*...there are so many things I could think of that is so important to remind yourself that you need to be cognizant of where you are and who was here before. (Jamie)*
chsnpa'silgwesn (Spirituality) *Faith from which the Creator reveals the connection between all life. It unites the space between the past, present, and future through the peoples, environment, and land; and is rooted within the ceremonies from which the Tribe celebrates those connections.*	*There is something special about this place. The energy, the feeling it gives me when I come here gives me peace. The trees feel like guardians giving life and resources to everything around them. (Taylor)*

Note: In this table I have placed quotes extracted from the undergraduate narratives to provide discernable, illustrative examples of the Core Values in context. This should aid

readers to gain some clarification and a better understanding of how the Core Values might manifest thorough individual narratives.

Decolonizing research

The third research question asked how discussions about place attachment and identity facilitate the students participating in the study to make sense of the process towards decolonization. To begin to answer this question, I am required to remind the reader what is meant by decolonization in this context. Moreton-Robinson (2016) claims that a non-Indigenous person cannot experience or know the world as an Indigenous person, "Indigenous-embodied knowledges means non-Indigenous scholars can engage with Indigenous analytics but not produce them" (p. 4). I intentionally designed my study to present the stories crafted by the participants in their entirety, without additional comment or analysis from me, by adopting the Decolonizing Participatory Action Research model proposed by Tuck and Guishard (2013). In this respect, my aim was to decolonize the research through actual collaboration, which included complete, unadulterated narratives that stand alone and have no need for further interpretation. Involving the participants throughout this process was instrumental along with acknowledging that they, as the creators and owners of the stories, had the final say on content, edits and presentation. How, then does the process of choosing places that have meaning, photographing those places, and telling a story about your attachment to those places, help further the decolonization process? Some of the places chosen by the Native American undergraduates likely elicit multiple meanings to a variety of people, some who are not part of the Tribal community. Justice (2016, p. 26) observes, "only the imperialist feels entitled to claim belonging in all places at all times", but this does not mean that colonization alone is the cause of assertions of belonging. It is, according to Justice

(2016) “simply a consequence of being complicated humans with complicated relationships to one another and to the lands with which we abide” (p.25).

If I am claiming participation in this research study aided the Native American undergraduates in the process of decolonization, then my evidence comes from the centrality of their role in the research. The participants determined the final narrative structure and themes of their stories and provided interpretation of their photographs. My aim was to facilitate space for the undergraduates to focus on their perceptions about Native American identity through considering places that had meaning for them as individuals. Through choosing the places of attachment and through creating self-generated photographs, the Native undergraduates have ownership over their stories. Through “Telling our Stories”, the visual narratives presented in this study provide a stark contrast to the late 19th/early 20th century photographs perpetrating a stereotype of Native Americas; often taken without consultation or permission.

Discussion summary

In this chapter I presented analysis and discussion through frameworks chosen to answer the research questions. Rather than claiming "I analysed" the Native American undergraduates stories, therefore reinforcing a researcher/researched power dynamic (Raheim et al., 2016), I negotiated this issue through adopting a more holistic approach, influenced by looking at the participant narratives through the lens of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe's Five Core Values. My aim was to create an analytical flow based upon the research questions through selecting similar themes in the Native American undergraduates stories. Using this approach enabled me to understand how the process of place-based photography encouraged the tribal undergraduate students to reveal their perceptions of what it means to be Native. The undergraduate stories reveal how Native American identity is connected to place through the intimate, personal experiences described by each individual.

Chapter 6: Conclusions, Key Ideas and Implications

The purpose of this study was to explore how Coeur d'Alene Tribal undergraduate students perceived their identity and what it means to be Native, by considering places that hold positive meaning for them. From the beginning, this study aimed to reverse the research stereotype of a minority group "being researched" by positioning the participants as research collaborators through narrative and visual data production. Later, this collaborative role increased to include contribution to the design and analysis of their individual narratives, embracing a Decolonizing Participatory Action Research model (Tuck & Guishard, 2013) throughout the study design and implementation. For the Native American undergraduates, the combination of place-based photography and personal reflective narrative inspired introspective contemplation about Indigenous identity.

Limitations

This was a small study, focused on one discrete group – undergraduate students, from one Native American community, and therefore any findings are not generalizable to the entire Native American population, or the undergraduate student population. However, the value of exploring a small sample is that it captures and illuminates the intricate details of a phenomenon that are difficult to convey with large samples (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As such, qualitative methods can serve as a starting point for further research to incorporate the unique perspectives of Native American students and to consider some factors that shape their journeys towards self-identity that could be used in larger studies. The six participants, all undergraduate students, age ranged from 18-25 years, were enrolled in a variety of courses in colleges across the Inland-Northwest. Study participants could be described as imbuing a mixed Native heritage; some were enrolled Coeur d'Alene Tribal members, others,

descendants of Tribal members. Native identity in this respect is complicated as it is not wrapped up in one system. I was introduced to the Native undergraduate students through a cooperative National Science Foundation funded research project, *Voices to Hear*. I joined the project during the inception of the project, working with the research team in preparing the coinciding corresponding summer youth education program. This beginning period afforded me the opportunity to invest considerable time to build trusting, reciprocal relationships with my student participants. Taking time to build meaningful relationships is not a limitation per se but an imperative part of the planning process for any research involving Indigenous communities. There is, however, a danger of my over-romanticizing the Coeur d'Alene Tribe because of the positive experience I have had and the strong relationships I have made, when the Tribe have a need for advocacy and authentic allies.

The possibility of bias because of such close relationships must be further acknowledged as a limitation for two reasons. The first, is to highlight the danger of the researcher becoming so engrossed with the participants and/or the study itself objectivity could be lost during the data collection and analysis phases of the study. Consequently, the results of the study may be interpreted as unreliable. To offset the effects of personal bias during the data collection and analysis phases of the study, a technique called "member checking" was used (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This technique involves taking data, analyses, interpretations, and conclusions back to the participants so that they can judge the accuracy and credibility of the narratives (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggests that member checking maybe the most crucial technique for establishing the credibility, or internal validity, of the final report. I maintained the credibility and objectivity of the study by giving the participants multiple opportunities to review and clarify the narratives for

accuracy, additions or changes before the analysis process. To further provide credibility in the study I did not inform participants prior to the taking of photographs and the conversations which informed their narratives that the Core Values, of which they would be familiar, would be the framework through which I analyzed the stories.

The second reason to acknowledge potential bias from close relationship is that participants may feel obliged to say what they think the researcher is expecting. For this study, this tension could serve to alter participants decision-making when explaining their thoughts about place-attachment and identity and could similarly be applied to their choice of photographs, i.e. making assumptions about the images they think *I* want them to take. By asking participants to photograph places and consider attachment to those places is in itself a limitation placed upon the study, i.e. photographs of places that have meaning as opposed to things, or people. In addition, the framing of the photos must be considered; the what, where, who, choices limited by individual representation and interpretation of reality. To avoid this issue, I gave few instructions to the participants, only asking that they photograph places, which held meaning for them. The only additional instruction I gave was that if photographs included other people then we had to consider additional permissions and consent. Two participants asked if they had to photograph landscapes, which led me to ensure all participants understood that how they interpreted a "place which held meaning" was their choice and could be whatever they thought appropriate as an individual.

Being a narrative study, another limitation that should be addressed is the issue of self-reported data, which is limited by the fact that it rarely can be independently verified. In other words, you have to take what people say at face value. Self-reported data can contain several potential sources of bias that should be noted as limitations (Aguinis & Edwards,

2014; Brutus et al., 2012), These include, selective memory (remembering or not remembering experiences or events that occurred in the past); telescoping (recalling events that occurred at one time as if they occurred at another); attribution (the act of attributing positive events and outcomes to one's own agency, but attributing negative events and outcomes to external forces); and, exaggeration (the act of representing outcomes or embellishing events as more significant than is actually suggested from other data). These potential bias/limitations can be minimized through triangulation of data sources, cross-referencing narrative accounts between data sources and by utilizing multiple member-checking opportunities with participants. My attempt to minimize this effect was in my gathering of visual, audio and reflective field notes in my data collection (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Key Ideas

Through this study I have come to recognize and understand the following key ideas about the connection between Native American identity and place-attachment:

- Place-attachment is an individual experience, that can be guided by cultural influences;
- Meaning attributed to places is often influenced by the relationship with family members or ancestors to that place;
- For Native American undergraduate students, identity is further complicated from having to manage Indigenous influences and Western cultural pressures.

In the following pages, I discuss each of these points. I will provide a brief discussion of the limitations of this particular study. Finally, I will discuss implications and direction for research as informed by this study.

The concept of identity is complex, shaped by individual characteristics, family and community dynamics, personal experiences, historical factors (including historical and generational trauma), and social norms, mores and folkways. The synthesis of one's past, present, and future towards a sense of self is a complex process; as people continually grow and develop as individuals, their identity evolves and transforms, depending on immediate surroundings, environment and other external influences (Tatum, 2000). Thus, the development of place-attachment can be perceived as one facet of an evolving identity.

Place-Attachment: Individual Experience Guided by Cultural Influences

The process of attachment individuals form toward a specific place can be best described as an emotional bond and is multi-dimensional. Place-attachment as a key concept in the field of environmental psychology develops out of positive experiences and a reciprocal relationship between a person and a place (Rollero & DePiccoli, 2010). Place-attachment, therefore, is mostly an individual experience. Place-identity is often used interchangeably with place-attachment; however, the development of the place-identity construct comes from beliefs, emotions, attitudes and meanings assigned to a place, rather than an individual relationship (Prohansky et al., 1983).

The main purpose of this study is to suggest Native American identity is connected to place and specifically, that the Coeur d'Alene Tribal undergraduate students demonstrated place attachment. In each of the narratives, the participants express varying degrees of emotional attachment to the places they chose as having meaning. The positive relationship between a person and a place is evident in each story for example, when Quinn spoke about his home, he related the place to a positive memory about his family; Kerry recalls much happiness visiting her Grandma's house; Greg and Charlie express physical well-being when

near the lake and in the mountains; Jamie acknowledging the positive influence of the Center for Education, Equity and Diversity (CEED), and Taylor's description of his spiritual infusion from the Cedar Grove.

The influence of cultural experiences is most distinct in the stories related by Greg, Taylor, Charlie, and Jamie, who shared perceptions of identity that guided their direction with reference to places of meaning. Taylor made the bold statement calling the Cedar Grove a "place that defines who I am" (Taylor, April 20th, 2020) and linking this chosen place to ancestors, cultural beliefs and practices. Charlie addressed the impact of displacement on Native American tribes and explains how removal forced disconnection from places of attachment but was made bearable by retaining close family and community bonds. Jamie referenced cultural influences in many parts of her story - with her introduction to the Native American Student Union being one of the most impactful. While other participants choose places representative of land or natural resources, Jamie's choice - the Center for Education, Equity and Diversity - demonstrates that scholarship is an important part of her identity. In Greg's story it was impossible to separate the cultural influence that has guided his individual experiences; each place chosen by Greg is inexorably tied to his identity as a schitsu'umsh tribal member. Of all the stories, it is Greg's narrative which provided clear connection that schitsu'umsh identity is connected to place. Greg expressed a deep, emotional attachment to the places he photographed, simultaneously acknowledging the cultural influences guiding his experiences.

The Influence of People on the Meaning of Places

When I started to plan this research study I thought about place-attachment and what kinds of places I would consider. Some of this reflection is presented in the prologue of this

work, but it also occurred to me that some places, which an observer might expect to see included as places of attachment, were absent from my choices. For example, I did not include my childhood home or the lakes and mountains where I grew up, not because of any negative attachments but rather because the attachment was deeply entwined with the people who lived in those places. I find it interesting that as I age, I have developed more of a bystander approach to new places I encounter and only those places I described in the prologue retain an unexplainable emotional hold. On reflection I think how I now perceive place-attachment is as a result of significant changes that occurred in my life, and which have led to newfound freedoms. In different ways and with varying degrees of significance, all of the participants made reference to people in connection to place-attachment. Quinn, Kerry, and Charlie explicitly talked about family. Quinn based his whole story around the importance of his family and how his attachment to places was driven by the people who are there. Kerry described the emotional attachment she felt to her Grandma's house, but hints at the difference in that place now her Grandma has passed, and Charlie implied the feeling of calmness she experienced in one of her chosen places was due to being raised to understand the connection with the land is the same as connection to your people. Taylor explained the role mentors have played in showing him places connected to his ancestors, Greg constantly linked his feelings of attachment with his Tribe, and Jamie scattered references to family and community while considering "who was here before" (Jamie, September 24th, 2020). The influence of people on the meaning of places is a key finding in the Native undergraduate stories as this supports the concept of a sense of belonging and the Indigenous worldview of interconnectedness (Hill, 2006; Lowe, 2002).

Dichotomy of Cultures

It is a commonly held assumption the path to adulthood involves some time spent making sense of identity. Moving through adolescence and becoming a young adult can bring a mix of emotional response and confusion about who one is and where one belongs. For Native American students grappling with identity is additionally complicated when there are competing and conflicting constructs to navigate - Indigenous influences and Western cultural pressures (Garrett, 1995; Good Tracks, 1973). In his story, Taylor speaks under the theme of "Culture Clash" as he struggles to understand and explain his ancestry. Here he draws on the dichotomy of culture; the deep, emotional connection to the Cedar Grove Taylor feels as a descendent of the Tribe juxtaposed with his dislike for the "colonial loggers". Taylor struggled to explain his thoughts fully, but it is evident he does not yet entirely understand or is confident about how to reconcile his Native and Western culture to achieve the hybridity of cultural identities (La Fromboise, 2010). In her story, Charlie did not directly speak about the conflict between cultures but indirectly addressed this as she retold the story of her Grandparents refusing to sell their land to a gas station company. In private conversations with me, Charlie and Jamie have spoken about their difficulties adjusting to college, because of other's inability to understand and accept Native American culture. Charlie gave the example of a group of non-native students who refused to believe she was Native American telling her, "Whoa, we didn't know you people still existed!" (Charlie, January 25, 2020). Jamie retold a story about how angry and uncomfortable she felt in a freshman class because the (white) instructor misrepresented Native American people, unaware Jamie was Native. Both Charlie and Jamie credit student education and wellness centers created for Native students on their respective campuses along with particular,

influential personnel for facilitating their bridging the gap of understanding between Indigenous and Western cultures.

Perhaps due to his age, Greg is six years older than the youngest participant in this study, Greg offers a different perspective that is less about the influence of dichotomous cultures on his identity, and more focused on the repercussions of colonizer behavior. Greg repeatedly spoke about the anger he felt due to challenges facing his Tribe and their traditional way of life. Citing the State requirement to purchase a fishing license to fish for salmon in his ancestral homeland as one example, Greg, comfortable in his identity as a Native American man, declared his desire to try and change things to how they were; to push boundaries and take back that which was taken.

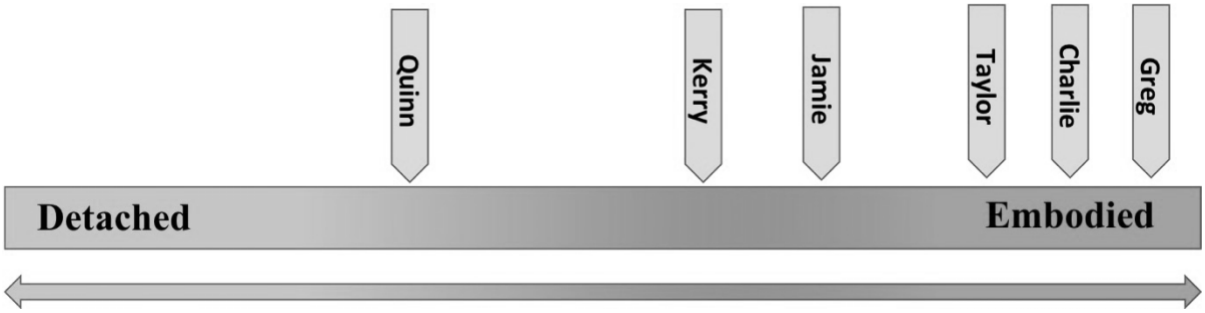
While it is true that the Native American undergraduate students who participate in this study were members of, or had connections to one particular tribal community, I think there are elements of their narratives which may resonate with other Indigenous students across the United States. One of these is the importance of having a sense of belonging, created from stable relationships with family and community and the ability to retain these connections while away from home (Hagerty et al., 1992; Hill, 2006; Joseph & Windchief, 2015; Struthers et al., 2003). In relating such rich, personal accounts, combined with visual imagery, the student participants in this study provided insights to their perceptions of identity as young, Native American adults, and in reflecting on places that have meaning, the undergraduates have suggested that Native American identity is connected to place. Furthermore, through taking responsibility for the way their stories are told – choosing the themes, the images, the flow and interpretation, the Native undergraduates took an important step in the furtherance of decolonizing this study.

Implications for the Coeur d'Alene Tribe

By adopting the Core Values, the Coeur d'Alene Tribe have a clearly defined, strong, shared values system underpinning the goal to achieve self-determination: the Core Values are a process for shifting power structures. Analyzing the undergraduate narratives through the Coeur d'Alene Tribe's Core Values revealed that their personal degree of value embodiment is so varied that perhaps it is best described as being on a spectrum (Figure 28). To further clarify this, at one end of the spectrum is an individual who demonstrates little to no evidence of integration of the Core Values (is detached from), while at the other is an individual who embodies all of the values (is embodied in). Within their stories, each undergraduate elicits clues as to where they could be placed along the spectrum, but there is a

Figure 28

Core Values Spectrum



Note: The personal degree of value embodiment can be represented with this spectrum diagram. Here I have placed each of the undergraduates on the spectrum according to where I think they are in terms of showing detachment or embodiment of the Coeur d'Alene Core Values.

need to understand that the narratives and accompanying images are representative of an individual's experience of an observed phenomena. It becomes pertinent to ask, why does embodiment of the Core Values appear to be stronger in some of the undergraduates? To address this question and to explain the positioning of the undergraduates on the Core Values Spectrum (Figure, 28), I offer the following as reasoned explanations.

LaFromboise et al. (2010) describe bicultural competence as "the ability to function effectively in two cultures without losing one's cultural identity or choosing one culture over the other" (p. 69). Bicultural competence may be evident in the different experiences of students who have grown up on the reservation in the heart of the community, and those who have grown up elsewhere in an urban environment. While bicultural competence has been associated with positive mental health outcomes (Kulis et al., 2013; La Fromboise et al., 2010) such differences can lead to a lack of understanding towards the reservation community, and feelings of disconnection. Taylor talked about feeling disconnected with his Native community because he had not grown up on the reservation,

> *To be Native for me personally is to grow up into a world not really knowing what it means to be Native. A lot of other people that are born into other cultures sort of have a really good knowledge of where they are from and what their culture is about, but for me personally I did not know anything about it. I did not move to the reservation until I was in eighth grade and when I started moving here, even then it was still kind of, what does it mean to be Native? (Taylor, May 30, 2019).*

There are several instances in Taylor's narrative where he makes reference to his mentors and the community, who have been instrumental in helping him connect with his Native ancestry, (Huyse et al. 2018; Denham 2008), "I have learned that being Native and what it

means to be Native is to have a vested interest in the community and the tribe as a whole" (Taylor, April 20, 2020). Of significant importance to the Coeur d'Alene Tribe in the pursuit of Nation-building, is the comment,

> *To be Native is to see those problems and instead of just moving off the reservation, and not really caring and trying to get away from it , you stay on the reservation and try to fix the problem. Which is what I plan to do (Taylor, April 30, 2020).*

Scattered throughout the narrative, Taylor demonstrates a desire to immerse himself fully in the Coeur d'Alene culture, which includes embodying the Core Values in all aspects of his life. For this reason, I placed Taylor towards the far right of the spectrum.

Quinn, having spent his entire life in a large, urban city, admits a lack of connection to the Coeur d'Alene community on the reservation, "I don't really feel a big tie to it myself, personally, just because I don't have like, immediate bonds out there, like no-one I talk to on a daily basis lives out there" (Quinn, April 27th, 2020). However, Quinn does demonstrate a sense of membership and guardianship when he says,

> *Being Native American gives me a sense of belonging, because we are more connected with our family, we hang out with our cousins more often - our extended family, our Aunts, our Uncles, so it gives us more of a sense of belonging because we are all close-knit, and because of that, you want to feel like you can help the environment more because you want to protect your loved ones more. (Quinn, May 30, 2019).*

Quinn highlights the importance of family as the main focus of his narrative, not the Core Values and this is the reason for my placing him closer to the detached end of the spectrum. However, through his involvement with the *Voices to Hear* program, Quinn was afforded the

opportunity to connect with the culture of his Tribe and the values inherent in the Coeur d'Alenes. In more than one conversation, Quinn told me how much he had enjoyed finding out more about his Tribe, however, the influence of close family members meant that he remained detached from the concept of the Core Values. This disconnection to the community and therefore to culture and values is significant for the Tribe as they consider Nation-building and how best to inspire, guide and retain young, Tribal adults. A good illustration of this guiding process can be seen in the design and delivery of The *Voices to Hear* program. Native Coeur d'Alene middle and high-school students, mentored by the Native undergraduates in this study, learned how tribal experts from the community are solving environmental problems that impact the reservation. Part of this program exposes all of the students to the opportunities for future careers in science, technology, engineering and math-related fields.

I placed Jamie and Kerry towards the right hand side of the spectrum because even though they are enrolled members of a different Northwest Tribe (they are descendants of Coeur d'Alene Tribal members), both demonstrate strong aspects of the Five Core Values. This poses an interesting situation that highlights the complexity of Native identity. Jamie and Kerry both embraced the concept of the Core Values and during the *Voices to Hear* program, encouraged the younger students to talk about the values and how they felt about them. Kerry explains membership,

> *"my family were the only ones who pushed for me to have an understanding of my Native background and like educating me when I'm down there and like making sure that I understood why "this is this way", and my Grandpa likes to quiz me on Sahaptin language"(Kerry, August 19th, 2020).*

Both Jamie and Kerry are advocates for education, including the importance of life-long learning rooted in Native American values, and they feel passionate about preparing younger students for the reality of higher education because of their own experiences,

> *"I started realizing that the Native community in Higher Ed positions was small but very diverse too, so I was able to start meeting people and getting their names and emails and I got an understanding of what it meant to be Native in college. I was introduced to social justice (Jamie, September 24th, 2020).*

Greg and Charlie are rightfully placed at the far right of the spectrum because of all the undergraduates, they consistently embody the Core Values. As mentors, Greg and Charlie proved to be positive role models for the younger students, epitomizing the Core Values definition of membership - capable, decent, moral, a good citizen. In the following quote Charlie inadvertently expresses the holistic nature of the Core Values, "I was raised in a sense that your connection with the land and the area you are in is also the same as the connection with your people and so it is very hard to separate" (Charlie, June 8th, 2020). Describing how he feels about the places in his photographs, Greg elicits strong emotions which emanate through his narrative. More than once he acknowledges the importance of traditional knowledge and those who have passed the knowledge to him,

> *"There is a lot of work to do, more than what can be done in my lifetime, but I am glad that I am not the only person who thinks this way. This way of life was encouraged in me growing up" (Greg, September 2nd, 2020).*

The Tribe can take comfort in the knowledge that Greg displays many of the attributes necessary to become a strong leader of the future; a leader who will pursue the path to self-determination while strengthening traditional ways of knowing among the youth.

Conclusions

This study has brought to light various aspects which may be notable for the Coeur d'Alene Tribe to consider as they continue to plan towards self-determination. The six undergraduate students who participated and collaborated in this study have communicated through their stories, that they are developing a strong indigenous ethnic identity. Integrated with the complexities of understanding their Native identity, the Five Core Values appear as inherent characteristics in all of the undergraduates, although at different levels. This is an important consideration in terms of specific plans the Tribe have to aid Nation-building, as it demonstrates that the building blocks upon which the Core Values can be developed are already evident in these six young Native Americans.

The value of programs like *Voices to Hear* cannot be underestimated in providing opportunities for Coeur d'Alene Tribal students to connect with their community, culture and role models closer in age. The vertical mentoring structure – graduate students, undergraduates, middle/high school students, has been a particular strength of the program and was certainly a major factor in my ability to develop meaningful relationships with the undergraduates prior to this study. *Voices to Hear* also facilitated the opportunity for students to move along the mentoring structure, i.e. high school student to mentor; mentor to advisory board/Tribal expert and this is extremely important if the Tribe wish to retain talent.

Finally, I have learned from the undergraduates that they have a shared desire to protect and preserve their homeland and culture for future generations, but also that they have a passion to prepare and educate the younger members of the community. One recommendation I have is for the Tribe think about more ways to offer leadership-style

opportunities to Tribal college-age students and give them the chance to develop wellness programs and support programs for the younger members of the Tribe.

Implications and Conclusions for Research

While I suggest elements of this study could be used to explore the impact of place-attachment in development of non-Indigenous students: for example, in creating narratives from photographs, empowering young people to tell their story, etc., in this section I provide implications for further research with Native American students and other Indigenous communities. The focus is placed on highlighting the importance of three primary factors which I have learned are critical for research that involves Indigenous people, 1) to frame a decolonizing perspective, 2) to build strong relationships, 3) to ensure collaboration throughout the process. It should be noted that my selection and interpretation of these primary factors is based on the experience I have gained from working with one Native American Tribe. However, I strongly maintain that consideration of these primary factors should be an essential part in the process of a research project involving any Indigenous community.

The first implication of the study for the research and the research process is to frame a decolonizing perspective. This does not imply adopting the term “decolonization” and applying it throughout the study but insists on actions to dismantle structures that perpetrate colonial ideology and epistemology, while constantly reviewing power dynamics. For example, a Decolonizing Participatory Action Research (DPAR), model (Tuck & Guishard, 2013) seeks to interrupt existing knowledge hierarchies by taking seriously the expertise of a lived experience. At its heart, DPAR “is concerned with the redistribution of power, knowledge, and place, and the dismantling of settler colonialism” (Tuck & Guishard, 2013,

p. 5). At the very least, any study that purports to be framed within an Indigenous theoretical perspective, or uses an Indigenous methodology needs to demonstrate that it is – at all levels – rooted in the five Rs of Indigenous research: relationship, respect, relevance, responsibility and reciprocity (Kovach, 2009). Research that claims to be decolonizing cannot be validated as such if it fails to address this fundamental requirement inferred in Kovach's five Rs. Instead, research that is decolonizing-in-name-only is inclined to reinforce settler privilege and risks becoming the metaphor Tuck and Yang (2012) warned about.

The second primary factor is relationships. I cannot overemphasize how the important studies with and in Native American communities are built on the foundation of strong relationships. Any researcher who plans a study involving a community of which they are not a member, must understand that relationship development with those who *are* members of the community is fundamental research requirement. When the community is one for whom "research is a dirty word" (Smith, 2013), such as a Native American Tribe, the need for respectful, reciprocal relationship development is even greater. I was fortunate to be allowed to take purposeful time to get to know the Native American undergraduate students as colleagues working on the Voices to Hear project. This time allowed me to earn and gain a degree of trust that resulted in the student participants willing participation in my study and the sharing of such intimate, personal stories.

The third primary factor for consideration is to ensure that research designed along any form of a Participatory Action Research (PAR) model must ensure collaboration throughout the process. One of the actions I took throughout this study was to take guidance from specific Tribal members, thus ensuring the direction of the study was always appropriate and always in the best interest of the participants and community. Over the last

five years I had established a relationship with the Director of Education, enabling me to earn her respect by being authentic and listening. I made sure that my application for the Tribe's IRB approval set out my intensions for research, while detailing benefits to the community. The Tribe's IRB protocol insisted I have a named Tribal member assigned to my study thereby providing the necessary checks that I was listening and responding to the community and not simply pursuing my own research agenda. This transparency and authenticity fosters reciprocity, trust and demonstrates open accountability, empowering the community to take a lead in some aspects of the study leads to equal collaborators.

As I conclude this study, I suggest there is still a great deal of work to be done at the institutional level before research with Native American communities is fully decolonized and Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies are legitimized as acceptable alternatives to established Western methods and methodologies. When considering a research study with an Indigenous community, it is essential to understand the necessity to step back, listen and take direction from members of that community. The researcher must understand and acknowledge there is a risk of recolonization if intentional reflection and actions are not taken to rebalance traditional research power dynamics.

Epilogue

In introducing this study, I indulged in retelling elements of my own story, providing a narrative that goes some way to explaining my rationale behind this project. In scrutinizing my own relationship to identity and revisiting places to which I have attachment, I have been honest and transparent about situating myself in and around this work. I have embraced Indigenous methods by focusing on the importance of relationships and explaining how it is upon this one element the success of this study pivots. To quote Shawn Wilson, "The use of an Indigenous research paradigm when studying Indigenous peoples requires the holistic use and transmission of information" (Wilson, 2008, p. 32). Moreover, in a keynote address Wilson (2019) stated that if people believe in Indigenous values, protocols etc. then they *should* conduct Indigenous research, regardless of whether they are an Indigenous person. By explaining how I came to be here, in this place, this space and in this context has afforded me the luxury of reflection, but also the opportunity to pause and consider how my work "can interrupt coloniality" (Patel, 2015, p.61).

Kovach (2019) claims that community based research is embedded in the "western" tradition (for example, Freire) and is not, therefore, Indigenous research. Indigenous methodologies are unique because they combine Indigenous theory with methods or ways of doing, that align with Indigenous thinking. Furthermore, Indigenous methodology recognizes research is not a linear process, rather one of continuous back and forth. To consider an Indigenous paradigm is to think holistically and understand that research practices, partners, protocols and products are all parts of the same whole and never separate entities. By contrast, the Western research paradigm is too often guilty of producing reports separate and decontextualized from the rest of the research, including the participants. I had the privilege

of listening to Maggie Kovach give the keynote address at the 2019 American Indigenous Research Association (AIRA) conference and the following extracts from that speech inspired and guided the process of my study:

> What Indigenous teaching act as a guide (respect, compassion, relevancy)? People and relationships are crucial – people, principles and protocols must be considered and revisited. What are the methods for gathering story? Have you factored in your own personal story – this is who I am and how I come to the research. (Kovach, 2019)

Later, during the conference, I was fortunate to speak with Maggie Kovach and I asked her how I, as a non-Indigenous researcher working with students from an Indigenous community, could take a decolonizing approach to my study and honor an Indigenous paradigm. Her first response was to urge me to ask myself, if an Indigenous methodology is correct in order to answer the research question: "If this is the case then ensure that every stage in the research process made visible the Indigenous paradigm at work" (M. Kovach, personal communication, October 10, 2019). I present my study as confirmation of having correctly chosen an Indigenous methodology, which by ensuring visibility of the paradigm throughout, empowered the schitsu'umsh undergraduate students to present their stories in a way that exemplifies a rebalancing of the traditional research power dynamic.

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Appendix A - Question Prompts to Support Image Interpretation

1. How did you choose this place?
    a. Will you describe it for me (the physical setting)?
    b. Will you tell me what you know about it (biophysical processes, history, etc.)?
2. What meaning does this place have for you? (symbolic meaning, role of the physical setting)
    a. Are there multiple meanings? (components, such as spiritual, economic, social, etc.)
3. Do any of these meanings have more importance to you than others?
    a. Can you talk about that?
4. Do you feel attached to this place?
    a. Can you describe what that attachment is like for you?
5. How do you think you developed (or formed) that attachment?
6. Once formed, do you think that attachment stays with you, or do you think there are ways that you maintain it?
    a. Can you describe this for me?
7. Can you describe for me the activities you engage in or have engaged in here (in this place)?
8. Do you do this in other places?
    a. Do those places elicit similar feelings of attachment?
    b. Can you say why you think this is so?
9. Would you say that there is a connection between your sense of who you are and this place? (identity)
    a. Can you describe that for me?
    b. What else contributes to your identity?

Appendix B – IRB Approval 2019-2020

University of Idaho
Office of Research Assurances
Institutional Review Board
875 Perimeter Drive, MS 3010
Moscow, ID 83844-3010
Phone: 208-885-6162
Fax: 208-885-6014
Email: irb@uidaho.edu

To: Anne Mary Kern

From: Sharon K. Stoll
Chair, University of Idaho Institutional Review Board

Date: June 24, 2019

Title: "Telling our stories" : Coeur d' Alene Tribal youth explore identity, place and landscape, through visual narratives.
Project: 19-104

Approved: 06/24/2019
Study Status Check Date: 06/23/2020

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board at the University of Idaho, I am pleased to inform you that the protocol for this research project is approved as offering no significant risk to human subjects.

Effective January 21, 2019, minimal risk research protocols that were reviewed and approved under expedited procedures will no longer be required to be renewed on an annual basis (continuing review). Since these protocols do not expire, we have implemented an annual study status check procedure. VERAS will send an email prior to the annual approval date for the study asking you to complete the *Study Status Check and Closure Form* to help keep the records accurate.

This study may be conducted according to the protocol described in the application. Modifications must be submitted for IRB approval prior to implementing changes. Research that has been approved by the IRB may be subject to further appropriate review and approval or disapproval by officials of the Institution. Every effort should be made to ensure that the project is conducted in a manner consistent with the three fundamental principles identified in the Belmont Report: respect for persons; beneficence; and justice. As Principal Investigator, you are responsible for ensuring compliance with all applicable FERPA regulations, University of Idaho policies, and state and federal regulations. The Principal Investigator is responsible for ensuring that all study personnel have completed the online human subjects training requirement.

Federal regulations require researchers to follow specific procedures in a timely manner. For the protection of all concerned, the IRB calls your attention to the following obligations that you have as Principal Investigator of this study.

1. For any changes to the study, an IRB Protocol Amendment Request Form must be submitted to the IRB. The amendment request must be reviewed and approved before implementation.

2. Any unanticipated/adverse events or problems occurring as a result of participation in this study must be reported immediately to the IRB.

3. Principal investigators are responsible for ensuring that informed consent is properly documented in accordance with 45 CFR 46.116.

4. Please complete the *Study Status Check and Closure Form* in VERAS when the project is completed.

5. Forms can be found at https://veras.uidaho.edu.

Appendix C – IRB Approval 2020-2021

University of Idaho
Office of Research Assurances
Institutional Review Board
875 Perimeter Drive, MS 3010
Moscow, ID 83844-3010
Phone: 208-885-6162
Fax: 208-885-6014
Email: irb@uidaho.edu

To: Anne Mary Kern

Cc: Julie Poynsenby

From: Sharon K. Stoll, Chair
University of Idaho Institutional Review Board

Date: May 26, 2020

Title: "Telling our stories": Coeur d'Alene Tribal youth explore identity, place and landscape, through visual narratives.

Protocol: 19-104, Reference: 009641
Approved: 05/26/2020
Expires: 5/25/2021

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board at the University of Idaho, I am pleased to inform you that the above-referenced non-exempt study is approved for another year in accordance with 45 CFR 46.111. The approval period is listed above.

Your approved internal personnel on this protocol are: Kern, Anne Mary; Poynsenby, Julie, PhD

This study may be conducted according to the protocol described in the application. Research that has been approved by the IRB may be subject to further appropriate review and approval or disapproval by officials of the Institution. Every effort should be made to ensure that the project is conducted in a manner consistent with the three fundamental principles identified in the Belmont Report: respect for persons; beneficence; and justice. As Principal Investigator, you are responsible for ensuring compliance with all applicable FERPA regulations, University of Idaho policies, state and federal regulations.

Please be sure to follow social distancing guidelines as outlined here: https://www.uidaho.edu/vandal-health-clinic/coronavirus/research
Federal regulations require researchers to follow specific procedures in a timely manner. For the protection of all concerned, the IRB calls your attention to the following obligations that you have as Principal Investigator of this study.

1. For any changes to the study (except to protect the safety of participants), an Amendment Application must be submitted to the IRB. The Amendment Application must be reviewed and approved before any changes can take place.

2. Any unanticipated/adverse events or problems occurring as a result of participation in this study must be reported immediately to the IRB.

3. Principal investigators are responsible for ensuring that informed consent is properly documented in accordance with 45 CFR 46.116.

4. A Continuing Renewal Application must be submitted and approved by the IRB prior to the expiration date else automatic termination of this study will occur. If the study expires, all research activities associated with the study must cease and a new application must be approved before any work can continue.

5. Please complete the Continuing Renewal/Closure form in VERAS when the project is completed.

6. Forms can be found at https://veras.uidaho.edu.