

Reconciliation in Canadian Indigenous Graduate Education: Report for the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies

Melanie Braith, Mavis Reimer, and Jo-ann Archibald Q'um Q'um Xiiem

Canadian Association for Graduate Studies (CAGS)

September 2020

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Acknowledgements

Warren Cariou of the University of Manitoba secured ethics approval for the data collection for this project on behalf of MITACS intern Melanie Braith. The authors also acknowledge the funding support of MITACS and CAGS, which made it possible to undertake this work. Julie Kettle of the University of Winnipeg formatted this report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) published its 94 Calls to Action to address the legacy of residential schools and the ongoing nature of systemic racism and colonialism in Canada. These Calls to Action not only delineate changes to be implemented by the government, but also call on Canadian society and its institutions to work toward change. As educational institutions, Canadian universities are in many ways implicated in a history of colonialism and assimilation. Some Canadian universities had developed their own decolonization and Indigenization approaches before the TRC Calls to Action were published, but little is known about reconciliation within graduate schools in Canada.

Graduate schools can play an important role in this reconciliation process and the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies (CAGS) has announced its commitment to “foster the growing community of Canadian Indigenous students” (CAGS Call to Action for an End to Racism in and through Graduate Education). The present study is part of this commitment and, more broadly, it will inform the work of a CAGS Task Force on Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action and Graduate Education (Reconciliation Task Force). This report presents the research conducted for CAGS on the current state of reconciliation in Canadian graduate schools. The general objective of the project was to understand if and how graduate schools across Canada address the TRC concept of reconciliation and its Calls to Action that pertain to graduate education. The term *Indigenous graduate education* that is used in this study refers to the processes for increasing the knowledge and understandings of all graduate students related to the TRC’s Calls to Action and to addressing the needs of Indigenous graduate students. This study identifies the range of reconciliation policies, programs, and practices in Indigenous graduate education in Canada through an environmental scan, discussion groups, and interviews completed between May 2019 and April 2020.

The three major research questions that guided this study include: (1) What is the meaning of reconciliation? (2) How is reconciliation manifested in graduate programs and services and how are the TRC Calls to Action addressed? (3) What are the major successes and challenges of addressing these TRC Calls to Action and what are gaps and needs? The findings indicate that reconciliation within universities has focussed most on increasing the numbers of Indigenous students, faculty, and staff with varying degrees of systemic change to university structures to facilitate their success. Indigenous graduate education, however, has received scant attention. Emerging issues about Indigenous identity, validating Indigenous knowledge, and commitment to reconciliation within graduate education will need to be addressed. This report concludes with recommendations that focus on strategies to build upon the successes of existing reconciliation approaches and to address systemic challenges that hinder Indigenous graduate education from reaching its full potential, addressed to graduate schools across Canada and to the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies.

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by Melanie Braith, Mavis Reimer, and Jo-ann Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiiem

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Graduate education prepares many of our society’s leaders and it should play a critical role in the reconciliation process advocated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC, 2015). Mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous¹ and non-Indigenous people of Canada is one of the reconciliation goals of the TRC. The Canadian Association for Graduate Studies (CAGS), which represents 90% of the graduate schools across the country, can contribute to the TRC’s goals of reconciliation and to its Calls to Action, particularly those that focus on the history and impact of residential schools, Indigenous ways of knowing, and intercultural understandings through graduate programs and student services. A recent commitment of CAGS, as noted on its website, is to “foster the growing community of Canadian Indigenous students” (CAGS Call to Action for an End to Racism in and through Graduate Education).² For the purposes of addressing the TRC Calls to Action and CAGS recent commitment, we use the term *Indigenous graduate education* to refer to the processes for

increasing the knowledge and understandings of all graduate students related to the TRC’s Calls to Action and to addressing the needs of Indigenous graduate students. There is much already being done in the Canadian graduate education realm towards these goals. There are, however, no common repositories or venues to identify and exchange programs, practices, ideas, successes, and challenges. Nor is there a national venue for identifying collaborative priorities to advance reconciliation within graduate education. Prior to the 2015 Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, some disciplines, such as education, law, social work, and Indigenous studies, had for many years, even decades, established programs and student services for Indigenous people,

Graduate education prepares many of our society’s leaders and it should play a critical role in the reconciliation process advocated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

¹ The term *Indigenous* is the preferred term that will be used in this report, shown with an upper case “I.” However, if other authors who use a lower case “i” for Indigenous are quoted, then their formatting style will be used. Other terms such as

Aboriginal and *Indian* will be used when discussing literature that uses these terms.

² See CAGS web site:

<https://cags.ca/uncategorized/call-to-action-for-an-end-to-racism-in-and-through-graduate-education/>

offered Indigenous courses to all students, and collaborated with Indigenous communities for these purposes (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, RCAP, 1996). Many of these endeavours originated from the 1972 national policy statement, “Indian Control of Indian Education” (ICIE, former National Indian Brotherhood, now Assembly of First Nations, 1972). The ICIE policy was developed by Indigenous groups across Canada in response to the federal government’s renewed attempt to abolish existing Indigenous treaty and other rights. This policy statement emphasized Indigenous local control and parental responsibility for education, as well as embedding Indigenous culture, language, and history firmly within educational curricula at all levels (RCAP, 1996). Indigenous teacher education programs established in the 1970s were among the first post-secondary educational programs to put the ICIE principles into action (Kirkness, 2013).

In 1996, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples examined the state of Indigenous education through research and numerous consultations with Indigenous people across Canada. RCAP used the 1981 and 1991 Census to compare the highest level of education for each Census and to compare the levels of education for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In the Aboriginal population 2% had a university degree in 1981 and 2.6% in 1991; in the non-Aboriginal population, 8.1% had a university degree in 1981 and 11.6% in 1991 (RCAP, p. 440). A number of RCAP recommendations were made for mainstream post-secondary institutes that ranged from including Aboriginal content and perspectives across the disciplines,

active recruitment of Aboriginal students and Aboriginal faculty, creating a welcoming environment for Aboriginal students, and providing cultural awareness training for faculty and staff (RCAP, 1996, pp. 515-516). The RCAP discussion and educational recommendations did not distinguish between undergraduate and graduate students and education.

Post-RCAP (from 1997-2017), Jo-ann Archibald and Jan Hare (in press) examined the progress of educational systems across Canada in relation to RCAP’s recommendations. There has been an increase in Indigenous programs and courses in many different disciplines; more Indigenous student centres and support services; incremental growth of Indigenous students, faculty, and staff; more partnerships with Indigenous communities/organizations; and more university strategic plans that include Indigenous engagement as a priority (Archibald and Hare, in press; Universities Canada, 2015). Some national higher educational professional associations have also developed a national strategy or policy approach for such initiatives, including the Association of Canadian Deans of Education (ACDE) through their Indigenous Education Accord (2010) and Universities Canada through their 13 Principles of Indigenous Education (2015). Archibald and Hare (in press) noted that the improvements to Indigenous education were not consistently spread across Canada or even province-wide, nor were they present at all educational levels.

Since 2015 and the TRC report, however, universities across Canada have increasingly taken up the TRC’s Calls to Action, often under the rubric of

“Indigenizing the academy” or “Indigenization” (University Affairs, 2016; Universities Canada, 2015). Some researchers have identified positive approaches, such as Indigenous courses/programs, culturally relevant student services/gathering places, and Indigenous staff and faculty. At the same time, challenges related to existing strategies for Indigenizing the academy – such as racism, limited funding, and colonial structures that marginalize Indigenous ways of knowing – prevail (Gaudry and Lorenz, 2018; Johnson, 2016; Pidgeon, 2016; Waterman, Lowe, and Shotton, 2018).

An analysis of the potential and dangers of post-TRC reconciliation discourse at Canadian universities is emerging (Renée E. Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard, 2018). These works address questions of Indigenization and reconciliation within the academic environment in general, but they do not examine the specific context of graduate education. A previous study of peer-support and transition strategies for Indigenous graduate students attending universities in British Columbia was conducted by Jo-ann Archibald, Michelle Pidgeon and Colleen Hawkey in 2010 – before the release of the TRC’s final report and its Calls to Action.

³ Melanie Braith received her PhD from the University of Manitoba. Her dissertation focused on Indigenous storytelling, residential school literature, and the work of the TRC. Mavis Reimer established the Indigenous Summer Scholars Program at the University of Winnipeg and is Project Director of a SSHRC Partnership project

THE CAGS PROJECT

Our research project addresses the TRC’s Calls to Action and reconciliation specifically within the context of graduate education in Canada. The general objective of this project is to understand if and how graduate schools across Canada address the TRC concept of reconciliation and its Calls to Action that pertain to graduate education. We have sought to identify the range of reconciliation policies, programs, and practices in Indigenous graduate education in Canada through an environmental scan, discussion groups, and interviews. The findings of this research will inform the work of a CAGS Task Force on Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action and Graduate Education (Reconciliation Task Force). The two co-chairs of the task force, Dr. Mavis Reimer, Dean of Graduate Studies, University of Winnipeg, and Dr. Jo-ann Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiiem, Professor Emeritus, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, have overseen the research work for this study, which was carried out by CAGS Mitacs intern Melanie Braith (PhD Candidate at the University of Manitoba).³

The research builds on the work of Archibald, Pidgeon, and Hawkey (2010, 2014), but focuses on developments since the release of the TRC’s final report. A few recent studies have examined Indigenous graduate education in the

that aims to support the ongoing grassroots cultural revitalization of the Asiniskaw Ithiniwak of north-central Manitoba. Jo-ann Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiiem of Stó:lō and St’át’imc ancestry has worked at all levels of Indigenous education.

United States, focusing on institutional strategies that promote and support Indigenous student success and persistence; include aspects of Indigenous knowledge systems; and address Indigenous nation-building (Brayboy, Fann, Castagno, and Solyom, 2014; Johnson, Myers, Ward, Sanyal, and Hollist, 2017; Pavel, 2013; Windchief, 2018).

This literature forms the foundation of our research, as it informed the process of the environmental scan and the development of interview questions that emphasized institutional approaches such as policy, programs, and student services that respect and respond to students' Indigeneity and to the needs of Indigenous communities/organizations. Our project examines the strategies Canadian universities use to attract, retain, and support Indigenous graduate students; offers insights into the current state of "Indigenization," particularly the meaning of reconciliation in graduate schools and faculties across Canada; and documents promising practices in this domain.

Our examination of the ways Canadian graduate schools address the TRC concept of reconciliation and its Calls to Action is centred around three major questions, which also constitute the first three sections of this report:

- (1) What is the meaning of reconciliation?
- (2) How is reconciliation manifested in graduate programs and services? How are the TRC Calls to Action addressed, specifically the Calls concerning the teaching of the history and impact of residential schools, the Calls concerning the recognition of Indigenous ways of

knowing, and the Calls concerning the development of students' intercultural understandings of mutual respect (Calls 24, 28, 62, 63)?

- (3) What are the major successes and challenges of addressing these TRC Calls to Action and what are gaps and needs?

Section 4 of this report then offers an analysis and some reflections on our research findings.

Generally, the findings that are discussed in this report originate from four different research methods: a literature review, an environmental scan of university websites, roundtable discussions of participants at the 2019 annual CAGS conference, and interviews with university faculty and staff. The literature review examined scholarship and academic reports related to Indigenous higher education (such as Indigenous knowledge systems, Indigenous programs, notions of reconciliation, and challenges related to reconciliation). The starting point for the literature review was the TRC's final report and its Calls to Action. We then performed a selective literature review with a focus on literature that was published after 2015 and the publication of the TRC report. The goal was to learn how reconciliation and Indigenization had been discussed in academic contexts in the post-TRC era. Seminal works published before 2015 were included as well.

The environmental scan was carried out by analyzing websites of all CAGS graduate schools (58, or 90%, of the graduate-degree-granting institutions in Canada) for information on services and supports to Indigenous graduate students, Indigenous graduate courses and programs, and other

pertinent information about reconciliation and the TRC Calls to Action.⁴ Through this scan, we took a first step toward determining what programs and supports exist at graduate schools across Canada. For the analysis of the websites, a constant comparative method was used to identify common themes. We organized these common themes within an Indigenous holistic framework and we point out how universities address reconciliation through services and support directed to the physical, the intellectual, the emotional, and the spiritual aspects of life.

We presented the preliminary findings from our literature review and the environmental scan at the CAGS annual national graduate education conference in Halifax in November 2019. As part of our presentation, all members attending the panel session (~50) were invited to participate in roundtable discussions about the multi-faceted meanings of reconciliation within graduate education. Thirty-three did so. The results of these roundtable discussions are part of our research and inform the findings as they are shared in this report.

Finally, the findings from the literature review and the environmental scan guided the development of the interview questions. Ten individual phone/Skype interviews were conducted with university and graduate school administrators and faculty who work with or provide student services to Indigenous graduate students or who are responsible for Indigenous

graduate studies.⁵ Criteria for participant selection included geographic distribution, university size, and the extent of the emphasis on reconciliation evident in the scan of the university website.

Interviewees came from Western Canada, Central Canada, and Atlantic Canada; from large, comprehensive, and small universities; and from schools with substantial approaches to reconciliation and those with very little evident focus on reconciliation. Unfortunately, because of various circumstances, we were not able to locate participants from Quebec for the interviews. The administrators and faculty who were interviewed were identified through the environmental scan and through identification by deans or senior administrators of Graduate Studies offices who had knowledge of key people who work with university graduate programs and student services. Others, such as Indigenous faculty and staff who work with Indigenous graduate students, were identified in the environmental scan or through the referrals of graduate school administrators. The interviews addressed the major research questions and clarified and supplemented the environmental scan and literature review.

The methods of analysis used an iterative approach based on the TRC meanings of reconciliation and the Calls to Action, which are noted in Sections 2.3 and 2.4. In addition, different analytical methods were used to organize our findings. Section 1 uses Adam Gaudry and Danielle Lorenz's (2018) three-part Indigenousization

8, 2019. In order to maintain the coherence and integrity of the interview and Discussion Group quotes, the dates for each will not be included in the text.

⁴ The environmental scan was conducted from 05/2019 to 08/2019.

⁵ The individual interviews were completed between December 2019-February 2020. The Discussion Group session was held on November

framework. Section 2 uses the holistic analysis of Archibald, Pidgeon and Hawkey (2010).

SECTION 1. WHAT IS THE MEANING OF RECONCILIATION?

Our research used the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's final report and its Calls to Action as a starting point. The TRC's understandings and definitions of reconciliation are, therefore, central to this research. In the literature review, "reconciliation" was one of the search terms we used to discover the work ongoing in Canadian universities and, specifically, in graduate schools since the TRC finished its work. Furthermore, the TRC's

understanding of reconciliation was also the framework we used in communication with the discussion groups and interview partners.

For example, the discussion groups were asked to discuss: "What does reconciliation mean?"; "How does your university/faculty carry out reconciliation?"; and "How is reconciliation manifested in graduate programs and services?" Interview participants were also asked about their university's understanding of reconciliation and how it is manifested in graduate programs and services. Our approach explains why the term "reconciliation" is used more often by participants than other terms such as "Indigenization," "decolonization," or "inclusion." Definitions of reconciliation were not a specific focus of our

environmental scan. While conducting the environmental scan, however, we encountered various statements of reconciliation on university websites. We also noticed that participants often answered the question about the meaning of reconciliation by referring to their university's official definition, if one existed, but that they also often added their personal understanding of reconciliation in an academic context.

The TRC defines reconciliation as "an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships. A critical part of this process involves repairing damaged trust by making apologies, providing individual and collective reparations, and following

through with concrete actions that demonstrate real societal change" (2015, p. 11).

Drawing upon the TRC definition, our project examines the

meanings and practices of reconciliation within graduate schools that are members of the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies. It is clear that priorities for CAGS and its member institutions include ensuring that Indigenous graduate students are provided with relevant programs and services required to increase their access to and success in their programs, as well as closing the knowledge gap about Indigenous history and ways of knowing for all graduate students.

Although the TRC does not specifically mention graduate schools in its Calls to Action, the schools are implicated through

"There remains much to learn about the circumstances and conditions in which reconciliation either fails or flourishes."

the following statements noted in the TRC's final report:

Educating Canadians for reconciliation involves not only schools and post-secondary institutions but also dialogue forums and public history institutions such as museums and archives. Education must remedy the gaps in historical knowledge that perpetuate ignorance and racism. (2015, p. 117)

For reconciliation to thrive in the coming years, it will also be necessary for federal, provincial, and territorial governments, universities, and funding agencies to invest in and support new research on reconciliation. . . . a wide range of research projects across the country have examined the meaning, concepts, and practices of reconciliation. Yet there remains much to learn about the circumstances and conditions in which reconciliation either fails or flourishes. (2015, p. 125)

In addition, the following TRC Calls to Action are applicable to graduate schools:

Development of curriculum on the history and legacy of residential schools, Treaties, Aboriginal peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) (Calls 24, 28, 62, 63);

Sharing information and best practices on teaching curriculum related to residential schools and Aboriginal history (Call 63);

Development of students' intercultural understanding, empathy, mutual respect, and understandings of conflict resolution, human rights and anti-racism (Calls 24, 28, 63);

Development of degree programs in Aboriginal languages (Call 16); and

Research that advances understandings of reconciliation (Call 65).

In order to organize the findings on the meanings of reconciliation being assumed by graduate schools and administrators, we apply a framework of Indigenization developed by Gaudry and Lorenz (2018) in which "indigenization is a three-part spectrum. On one end is Indigenous inclusion, in the middle reconciliation indigenization, and on the other end decolonial indigenization" (p. 218). Briefly put, Indigenous inclusion is the attempt to bring more Indigenous students, staff and faculty into academia without any substantive systemic change to university culture and policies. Indigenous people are expected to adapt to the university, thereby continuing an assimilative approach. Indigenous knowledge also remains in the margins of teaching and learning practices. Reconciliation Indigenization means bringing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous ways of knowing together in academia and questioning if and how these knowledges can be reconciled. In Gaudry and Lorenz's conceptualization of reconciliation Indigenization, some administrative, curricular, and research changes are made in order to establish Indigenous advisory or reconciliation

councils, to require Indigenous courses for all students, and to make Indigenous engagement a strategic priority of the university. Post-TRC, universities have made a rhetorical shift in their talk about reconciliation, Gaudry and Lorenz observe, but often the actions or the practices of reconciliation are absent. Decolonial Indigenization means changing colonial structures and processes of knowledge production in the academy to address Indigenous knowledge through authentic and decolonized approaches and in partnership with Indigenous communities. In their article, Gaudry and Lorenz conclude that, “despite using reconciliatory language, post-secondary institutions in Canada focus predominantly on Indigenous inclusion” (2018, p. 218).

Our own research confirms Gaudry and Lorenz’s conclusion to some extent. At the same time, however, many examples were identified in the environmental scan and the interviews that show universities working toward reconciliation Indigenization. Furthermore, there were certain instances, as discussed below, where participants – and their institutions – demonstrate an awareness that Indigenization cannot stop at inclusion or reconciliation. This is where we find instances of people thinking about decolonial Indigenization. For Gaudry and Lorenz, decolonial Indigenization is the important goal. We would like to emphasize, however, that all the work that is being done currently in Canadian universities in terms of Indigenous inclusion and reconciliation Indigenization are crucial steps toward decolonial Indigenization.

Indigenous inclusion is “a policy that aims to increase the number of Indigenous students, faculty, and staff in the Canadian academy.”

In this section, the findings related to the research question “What is the meaning of reconciliation?” are presented and organized through the use of Gaudry and Lorenz’s framework.

1.1 RECONCILIATION AS INCLUSION

Gaudry and Lorenz define Indigenous inclusion as “a policy that aims to increase the number of Indigenous students, faculty, and staff in the Canadian academy” (2018, pp. 225-6). Our research found that Indigenous inclusion was exemplified in many Canadian universities.

When asked about their university’s understanding of reconciliation, for example, one of the interview participants noted: “it really seems that their understanding is very focused on ideas of inclusivity in terms of Indigenous people in the university space.” Many of the interviewees emphasized the importance of recruiting more Indigenous students. The focus of the universities in recruitment appears to be undergraduate students, with interview participants noting that, in order to increase the number of Indigenous graduate students, the number of Indigenous undergraduates has to increase substantially. Quite a few interview participants reflected on the challenges that the recruitment of Indigenous students presents. One example is the mistrust that

Indigenous communities often have toward the Canadian educational system because of the role that education has played throughout colonization, notably in the Indian residential school system.

One of the interview participants pointed out that “there is a gap that exists in enrolment, support, and funding” for Indigenous students. In its Final Report, the TRC called on the federal government to “provide adequate funding to end the backlog of First Nations students seeking a post-secondary education” (Call to Action 11). Shelly Johnson summarizes this situation in her article:

The post-secondary backlog is a significant contributor to the educational gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in Canada. In 1996, the federal Liberal government mandated a 2% funding cap on First Nations community budgets for all programs and services, including education. The despised cap, kept in policy by the Harper government, meant that inflation and a fast-growing Indigenous population were negatively affected by educational budgets that could not keep pace with the numbers of First Nations students who wanted to enter post-secondary programs. It will not be easy in the short term to fully address the education gap, despite the Trudeau government promise to lift the 2% funding cap. (2016, pp.135-6)

While Gaudry and Lorenz acknowledge that “Indigenous inclusion policies have had a beneficial impact on Indigenous

peoples in the academy, most notably on student completion and retention rates” (2018, p. 220), they are still critical of universities that focus on Indigenous inclusion only. Indigenous inclusion, as Gaudry and Lorenz see it, cannot be the end point of Indigenization because, with Indigenous inclusion, universities face the “need to do better as a need to assist Indigenous faculty, staff, students, and communities in overcoming obstacles” (2018, p. 220). Such strategies of assistance, however, do not necessarily remove systemic obstacles. Universities might not change the systems that create barriers for Indigenous people in the first place and/or the inclusion strategies might create the perception that Indigenous people have deficits that need to be overcome. Other scholars have questioned the motives of universities focusing on inclusion. Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard, for example, warns that Indigenous inclusion might lead to situations in which “Indigenous professionals are hired merely to bolster a university’s profile” (2018, pp. 84-5).

Generally, interviewees in our study displayed an awareness that inclusion needs to go beyond tokenism. More than half of the interview participants pointed out that the inclusion of Indigenous students, faculty, and staff, particularly in leadership roles, is crucial because of the ways in which this action supports Indigenous students by showing them the opportunities available within the academy and by offering them a chance to establish a sense of community within the university. As one interview participant pointed out, when Indigenous students see other Indigenous students and Indigenous faculty and staff in leadership roles, “it

plants that possibility. So I would like to see visible and greater representation.”

Another point of view expressed in the interviews took the notion of inclusion past numbers of participants to curriculum. Many interview participants spoke about ways in which Indigenous content and Indigenous ways of knowing have been included in existing programs and how Indigenous streams of programs have been created. One individual gave examples of how “in Planning, there is an Indigenous community planning specialization, in the School of Library Sciences, there is an Indigenous concentration, and one in Education.” Inclusion of Indigenous knowledge within existing programs establishes a bridge between Indigenous and Euro-centric knowledges, which is the next step for reconciliation within academia.

1.2 RECONCILIATION AS INDIGENIZATION

The term “reconciliation indigenization” means “a vision that locates indigenization on common ground between Indigenous and Canadian ideals, creating a new, broader consensus.”

Gaudry and Lorenz use the term “reconciliation indigenization” to mean “a vision that locates indigenization on common ground between Indigenous and Canadian ideals, creating a new, broader consensus” (2018, p. 226). According to them, reconciliation indigenization is different from Indigenous inclusion in that it “is an attempt to alter the university’s

structure, including educating Canadian faculty, staff, and students to change how they think about, and act toward, Indigenous people” (p. 222). Their criticism of reconciliation Indigenization is that it perpetuates colonial power relations (p. 223). And, while “[o]ne noticeable shift in university governance brought about by reconciliation Indigenization is the establishment of Indigenous advisory and/or reconciliation committees” (p. 222), the authors are concerned that reconciliation Indigenization policies “are simply a shift in rhetoric and lack the substance needed to produce real and meaningful change” (p. 222).

Lisa Korteweg and Tesa Fiddler anticipate Gaudry and Lorenz’s idea of what reconciliation can and should achieve, pointing out that reconciliation is a process of (re)learning and building relationality, educating settler teachers, having settler teachers form relationships with Indigenous communities, and helping teachers “recognize holistic and global values of teaching and learning for all children” (2016, p. 270). Non-Indigenous colleagues can contribute to reconciliation. Margo Greenwood, Sarah de Leeuw, and Tina Fraser emphasize that there needs to be a “continual destabilization of assumptions made by non-Indigenous scholars about their Indigenous colleagues,” that non-Indigenous scholars need to reflect on and question their own positions, and that the academy needs to value “the varied ontologies and epistemologies embodied by Indigenous peoples and Indigeneity” because “it is not sufficient for an institution to recruit (and superficially support) Indigeneity while simultaneously maintaining expectations that Indigenous peoples conform to the demands and traditional contours of academic institutions” (2008, p. 205).

Here, Greenwood et al. concur with the concerns of Gaudry and Lorenz that reconciliation cannot be the end point and that deeper change within academic structures is necessary.

Other scholars have emphasized the need for universities to develop relationships with Indigenous peoples/communities and to implement reparatory actions, as advocated by the TRC. While Gaudry and Lorenz's idea of reconciliation indigenization focuses on processes on campus, other scholars include relationships with Indigenous communities off campus in their conceptualization of reconciliation. Shelly Johnson, for example, points out that the institution needs to be aware of the Indigenous communities on whose lands it sits and start to develop meaningful relationships with these communities and offer employment and tuition waivers to community members: "Indigenizing' efforts must be specific to each institution, and begin based in their relationships with Indigenous Peoples upon whose traditional lands the institution is located" (2016, p. 138). Lindsay Morcom and Kate Freeman argue that "[t]rue reconciliation requires us to engage Indigenous philosophies on ethical intercultural interactions, and strive to create meaningful, deep societal change where Indigenous and Western perspectives are treated with the same consideration" (2018, p. 810). This understanding of reconciliation echoes the one put forward by the TRC and, in contrast to Gaudry and Lorenz, it transcends university campuses by including the wider society.

Interview participants talked about the fact that there are many different

understandings and opinions about the process of reconciliation at their respective universities. For example, one person said, "I think that there might be different understandings and opinions of what reconciliation means ... or what it looks like. But it is a very well-recognized term on campus." Participants also often emphasized that reconciliation is a specific local process that every department needs to figure out for itself and every individual needs to figure out for themselves. Other interview participants reinforced the idea of personal responsibility:

All disciplines and fields have to think about what are our responsibilities in terms of Truth and Reconciliation.

We have a personal responsibility to understand and to be committed to the process of reconciliation and to be aware of the challenges that we face.

Our research finds that reconciliation Indigenization as defined by Gaudry and Lorenz is where many Canadian universities are situated in the post-TRC era. Further, we found that reconciliation in Canadian universities often entails four

Reconciliation in Canadian universities often entails four major features: it is action-oriented; it is about building relationships; it is about educating non-Indigenous campus members; and it is about addressing the legacies of colonialism.

major features: it is action-oriented; it is about building relationships; it is about educating non-Indigenous campus members; and it is about addressing the legacies of colonialism.

Action-Oriented: Discussion Group 6 reflected on the fact that reconciliation “is in our everyday lives” and emphasized that reconciliation is an ongoing process by pointing out that it “should be a verb not a noun.” This notion that reconciliation is not an end state that one might achieve but an ongoing process that needs to be constantly worked on was confirmed by some of our interview participants. As one senior administrator put it, “I don’t think it is one of those things where, if you accomplish a set of goals, ... you are done. I feel like it is something that needs to be ongoing and evaluated on a regular basis. And adaptation needs to be occurring continuously.” Other interview participants emphasized the idea that the TRC recommendations need to be followed by actions and that reconciliation needs to be a proactive process: “I think the university has a sound understanding of the TRC recommendations, and they also know that it’s more than just having recommendations, there has to be actions that follow.”

Building relationships: This area encompasses many different kinds of relationships. Many interview participants emphasized the importance of relationships with Indigenous communities and the need for meaningful inclusion of Indigenous communities in research and educational endeavours. For universities, one interviewee noted, “it’s way easier to remove barriers for Indigenous faculty, staff, and students than it is to build

stronger relationships with Indigenous communities.” Quite a few universities have taken steps to establish relationships with Indigenous communities on whose land universities are located, but also foster research relationships with Indigenous communities that are further away. Part of being in a relationship with Indigenous communities is collaboration. As an interview participant put it, “for me, a very strong part of reconciliation is the ... ethical position that we don’t get to decide on our own what it means. We’re only ... working in partnership with Indigenous communities.” Discussion Group 6 noted that the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people “was soured” and that reconciliation should be conceptualized as “conciliation,” a “starting point.” Comments such as this indicate to us that administrators are thinking about reconciliation as not being sufficient and that more needs to happen within the university, as postulated by Gaudry and Lorenz.

Educating non-Indigenous campus members: Discussion Group 1 identified “education for non-Indigenous about Indigenous” as an important theme that is connected to reconciliation. Part of the legacy of colonization is a deficit of knowledge among non-Indigenous students about colonialism and the histories of Indigenous people. One of the interview participants similarly pointed out that reconciliation “is partly about how students engage with each other. It is having non-Indigenous people understanding what the TRC was about and what the calls to action are about and why we need to move in that direction.” Another interview participant emphasized

that reconciliation needs to address and involve both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, “because frankly reconciliation doesn’t work unless we get enough non-Indigenous people who are willing to do . . . the tough work of making it work.”

Addressing the legacy of

colonization: Discussion Group 1 defined reconciliation as a process of “making changes to overcome the past.” Colonization has left legacies in the academy that exist to this day. If one of these legacies is the deficit of knowledge among non-Indigenous students about colonialism and the histories of Indigenous people, another is that many Indigenous students did not have access to their traditional knowledges when growing up because of the ways in which they and their parents were cut off from these knowledges as colonialism imposed a Western education on them. The TRC Calls to Action 24, 28, 62, and 63 address these structural deficits.

“Decolonial indigenization envisions the wholesale overhaul of the academy to fundamentally reorient knowledge production based on balanced power relations between Indigenous peoples and Canadians, transforming the academy into something dynamic and new.”

While what Gaudry and Lorenz define as reconciliation Indigenization is clearly occurring in Canadian universities, our research shows that there are also individuals who are thinking in terms of decolonial Indigenization and who are reaching for strategies of decolonization.

1.3 DECOLONIAL INDIGENIZATION

According to Gaudry and Lorenz, “[d]ecolonial indigenization envisions the wholesale overhaul of the academy to fundamentally reorient knowledge production based on balanced power relations between Indigenous peoples and Canadians, transforming the academy into something dynamic and new” (2018, p. 226). To reach the phase of decolonial Indigenization, universities will need to ensure that Indigenous people have authentic decision-making roles, and those in leadership roles will need to engage in decolonial thinking and action that is carried out across the university.

A number of scholars have discussed these points. Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard says about reconciliation in universities that “the realization of future relations must have guidance by Indigenous peoples in order [to] manifest in ways that do not perpetuate colonization” (2018, p. 86). She recommends increasing the number of Indigenous scholars in universities, but such scholars as have the goal of improving the lives and wellbeing of Indigenous peoples and communities. For her, Indigenization of academia must be rooted in “decolonization of the colonial structures (such as university governance, policies, curriculum, spaces, and the majority representation of non-Indigenous

faculty)” (p. 90). Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard argues further that, without decolonization, “any efforts to Indigenize (including the hiring of qualified Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics, more Indigenous designated space, professional development and training for staff, faculty and administration, along with inclusive policies towards the use of Indigenous knowledge, to name just a few examples) become a hollow pursuit and they are easily manipulated as tokenism” (p. 90). Michelle Pidgeon points out that, “from Indigenous perspectives, Indigenization of the academy refers to the meaningful inclusion of Indigenous knowledge(s), in the everyday fabric of the institution from policies to practices across all levels, not just in curriculum” (2016, p. 79).

Our research shows that, while decolonial Indigenization is not prevalent in Canadian universities in general, those intimately involved in graduate education are raising critical questions about justice and transformation, challenging racism, and wondering if Euro-centric universities can make the systemic change needed for decolonial Indigenization to occur. The following statements capture these thoughts:

Talking about truth and reconciliation, sometimes I think we rush so quickly from truth to reconciliation. . . . I believe the missing word in there is justice. There is truth, there has to be justice, and when there is justice, there can be reconciliation.

How do we transform the way that we think about and do education to create healthier environments and

what can Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies teach us about how to do that?

Maybe I am naïve about this, but I think that reconciliation is actually the pathway to respond to challenges of racism. That means that . . . collectively we need to unlearn a number of things, in my opinion. So it is not just, in the whole commitment to reconciliation, it is not only Indigenous students, it’s non-Indigenous students.

I’m hesitating slightly because I think how well will a European-centric university created by colonial settlers truly understand.

“We rush so quickly from truth to reconciliation. . . . I believe the missing word in there is justice. There is truth, there has to be justice, and when there is justice, there can be reconciliation.”

SECTION 2. HOW IS RECONCILIATION MANIFESTED IN GRADUATE PROGRAMS AND SERVICES?

In 2010, Archibald, Pidgeon, and Hawkeye published a research report “Aboriginal Transitions: Undergraduate to Graduate.” Their study explored Aboriginal student transitions from undergraduate to graduate education and the influence of a graduate student peer-support program in British Columbia. The methodology of the study was shaped by

an Indigenous holistic framework that focussed on emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and physical factors in education. When looking at how reconciliation is manifested in graduate programs and services, our research project adopted a similar lens. In this section, we turn from using the Gaudry and Lorenz framework to using a holistic framework that draws upon that of Archibald, Pidgeon and Hawkey (2010).

In the environmental scan, we looked at the support structures for Indigenous students that are in place at Canadian universities. We furthermore looked at programs and services that relate to reconciliation. In the interviews, the participants were asked to identify such programs and services. We then organized the findings as they related to physical, intellectual, emotional, or spiritual aspects of the students' experiences. While we exemplify each of these aspects by pointing to specific services and programs, it is important to note that many of these services and programs speak to several of the aspects of students' experiences.

It is notable that most academic support services for Indigenous students are located at institutional Indigenous student centres. Even though many institutions have incorporated Indigenous offices and roles in their administrative structures (for example, Vice-Provosts for Indigenous engagement), in terms of support services for Indigenous students, the Indigenous student centres are still taking on most of these responsibilities. It is also noteworthy that these support services are usually

directed at both graduate and undergraduate students.

There is a significant discussion in the existing literature about the supports needed by Indigenous students. Cynthia J. Gallop and Nicole Bastien identify the first factor leading to Indigenous student success as “social engagement and formal community-building efforts” (2016, p. 209). In discussing this factor, the authors organize their themes according to two categories: “institution-based services (health and wellness, academic advising, accessibility services, and specialized student services such as the Aboriginal support centre), and classroom- and teaching-based support” (p. 215). The classroom- and teaching-based support includes supportive teaching strategies, such as positive instructor feedback and clear expectations and feedback. Other factors leading to Indigenous student

Most academic support services for Indigenous students are located at institutional Indigenous student centres.

success noted by the authors are supportive institutional space, Aboriginal-centred education programs, and peer support.
Shauneen Pete

(2016) lists 100 suggestions for Indigenous and decolonizing academic programs. These suggestions are directed toward faculty members and deans. One of the suggestions speaks directly to graduate studies: it asks the institution to make a plan on how to retain Indigenous graduate students. Pidgeon (2015) discusses the ways in which universities can support Indigenous students, although her article is not specific to Indigenous graduate students. Pidgeon observes that university curriculum should include Indigenous perspectives and that libraries should start to embrace Indigenous knowledges by hiring “Indigenous librarians to work

specifically with Indigenous content” (2015, p. 84). She also discusses Indigenous course requirements and student services for Indigenous students, mentioning services that help with the transition into academia in the first place. For the most part, however, Pidgeon discusses the lack of these services. Andrea Sterzuk and Russell Favant argue that Indigenous languages need to be included more in university teaching and learning because they believe that English should not become a “ticket” which “is required for participation in academic communities” (2016, p. 338). Pidgeon, Archibald, and Hawkey take as their case study the peer-support program, Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement (SAGE), and focus on the importance of relationships for retaining Indigenous graduate students. Analyzing the students’ evaluation of and appreciation for the SAGE program, the authors observe that peer relationships create a sense of belonging for students and foster the idea of self-accountability to academic studies. Students mentioned that they benefitted from the encouragement they received from other students, that they appreciated hearing about other Indigenous students’ work, and that it was important and inspiring to them to see other Indigenous graduate students succeed in their programs.

Many universities highlight funding for Indigenous students. . . . Fewer universities have funding specifically for Indigenous *graduate* students.

2.1 PHYSICAL SUPPORTS

The discussion about Indigenous student centres is placed under the “physical”

category because of the way in which they offer Indigenous students a physical space on campus, but it is important to keep in mind that the services offered within these spaces often address all other aspects of the students’ needs as well.

Discussion Group 6 pointed out that “Indigenous student centres provide lots of reconciliation services,” but they also discussed the under-staffing and under-funding challenges faced by Indigenous student centres at their universities. One of the interview participants who is directing an Indigenous student centre pointed out that the centre is a safe space for Indigenous students:

We have a writing tutor as well as our math tutors that come to the First Nations Centre twice a week. They are usually services that are held elsewhere in departments, but we partner with them and they send us the tutors, so that students can feel like they can access the tutors without having to leave the centre. All the students feel very safe within the centre, so they do not necessarily want to have to access services outside.

Another interview participant pointed out that Indigenous student centres can also play an important role when it comes to bringing Indigenous and non-Indigenous students together. They observed that, at their university, the Indigenous student centre “is not intended to be solely for Indigenous students, domestic students, international students, they are all welcome there. But it is intended to help us to bridge that gap . . . to encourage [the] intermingling [of] the different groups.”

The environmental scan showed that almost all universities have scholarships, fellowships, and bursaries for Indigenous students. Many universities highlight funding for Indigenous students and make the awards easy to find through a simple search of “Indigenous scholarship/bursary/award” and the university name. In some cases, however, this search term is linked to a general overview of funding opportunities and one has to click through dozens of scholarships to find those offered to Indigenous students. Fewer universities have funding specifically for Indigenous *graduate* students – or, at least, this funding is not advertised as such on their websites. During the interviews, participants did emphasize that their universities have dedicated funding for Indigenous graduate students.

One interview participant pointed out that their university established “a fellowship program for Indigenous graduate students which roll over into tenure track positions once they finish. I think we’ve hired five people on that fellowship program so far, and they’re all Indigenous graduate students, and they’re all going to become professors in the various faculties and departments.”

There are other forms of physical support for Indigenous students as well. For example, the University of Waterloo has an Indigenous student residence that is specifically for Indigenous first-year students. Quite a few universities offer support with housing, daycare, peer-support groups for parents and children, cooking facilities, and laundromats. At Queen’s University, there are free laundry facilities at the Indigenous Student Centre.

The environmental scan also showed that some universities support Indigenous students with feasts, lunch bags, or other food programs. Few of these support services are addressed specifically to graduate students. One notable exception is McGill University, which has a residence reserved for Indigenous graduate students.

Many Canadian universities are working towards educating the whole campus on Indigenous issues.

2.2 INTELLECTUAL SUPPORTS

Many Canadian universities are working toward educating the whole campus on Indigenous issues. This can be seen as a positive and widespread outcome of the TRC. On many websites we found specific references to the TRC and reconciliation. Some universities had statements about their commitment to reconciliation or specific examples that showed their commitment, which were explained in terms of the institutional understanding of reconciliation. All universities included territorial acknowledgements somewhere on their websites, but these differed widely: some had a territorial acknowledgement only, while others provided considerable contextual information on what an acknowledgement means and why their acknowledgement is structured as it is.

Another common activity that is visible on university websites across Canada are Indigenous lecture series. To take one example, the University of Northern British Columbia has such a lecture series with videos of the talks posted online and

available for viewing by anyone, anywhere. Some universities also live-stream their Indigenous lecture series on Facebook to reach a wider audience, a useful practice in terms of accessibility. This is also a good way to distribute Indigenous knowledges to communities beyond the immediate academic community. Teach-ins on Indigenous history, Indigenous research, and other topics take place at universities across Canada.

Another practice that is also discussed by Gaudry and Lorenz as an example of reconciliation Indigenousization is the introduction of Indigenous course requirements for all students. At the University of Winnipeg, for example, “Students may choose from a number of three-credit-hour courses in which the greater part of the content is local Indigenous material — derived from or based on an analysis of the cultures, languages, history, ways of knowing or contemporary reality of the Indigenous peoples whose homelands are located within the modern boundaries of Canada and the continental USA.” Other forms of an Indigenous course requirement are mandatory core courses with Indigenous content for specific programs such as education, social work, health, and law. In “Paved with Good Intentions,” Adam Gaudry identifies three key factors for successfully implementing an Indigenous course requirement at a Canadian university that should be considered:

A clear and well-articulated rationale for pursuing this course of action that is communicated to the university community and general public. A critical mass of Indigenous

content experts working as course instructors with enough job security and support to weather a potentially challenging classroom environment. Support for existing Indigenous content programs who are already doing this work (and ensuring that these courses are relevant for Indigenous students too). (2016, n.p.)

There are many academic support programs such as workshops, tutors, and access programs which prepare Indigenous students for their first year in university. Once again, however, there are few supports specifically for Indigenous graduate students. There were examples of workshops about writing grant applications that could be useful to Indigenous students applying to graduate programs. One example of a program supporting the transition from undergraduate to graduate studies is The University of Winnipeg’s Indigenous Summer Scholars Program, which is a partnership between Indigenous Affairs and the Faculty of Graduate Studies. This program invites Indigenous senior undergraduate students and recent graduates of undergraduate programs to explore the possibilities of graduate studies.

Discussion Group 1 pointed out that reconciliation at their university is reflected in seminars and workshops. They also noted that their universities have dedicated library resources and space for Indigenous students. This group also mentioned the hiring of Indigenous faculty as an important strategy to support Indigenous students. Indigenous faculty can provide mentorship to Indigenous

students (as well as non-Indigenous students who seek to do Indigenous research). Indigenous faculty are, therefore, offering intellectual support, while at the same time offering emotional support. Several of the interview participants pointed out that hiring policy changes to encourage the hiring of Indigenous faculty have occurred at their university or are currently being discussed.

When it comes to programs or courses with Indigenous content, interview participants emphasized that it takes time to develop such courses. As one interviewee said, “We want to get it right. And so that takes time.” They also spoke about the logistical difficulties of establishing mandatory Indigenous course requirements. One interview participant pointed out that they have proposed the idea of an online required course for graduate students who have not done coursework or degrees with Indigenous content: “the intent would be really to try to target that population that has had no exposure whatsoever in terms of understanding the history, the legacy that that has created for us as a community.” This participant reiterated that it will take time to explore this option.

One interview participant noted that non-Indigenous people on campus are more educated about the history and impacts of colonialism because of the TRC: “I think ever since we have taken this on to be able to educate people, we have a lot more interaction, a lot more people reaching out to us I think it is because of the TRC that people are becoming more educated.” While people may be more educated about colonialism intellectually, the description of people reaching out and engaging in relationships suggests that people are also more educated emotionally. Another

interview participant pointed out that, at their university, staff attended reconciliation workshops. These workshops are “[a]bout the history and the history of education related to Indigenous students because we are an education institution. The history of the different populations that were in our area prior to the settlers arriving. But also the different ways in which we can interact with Indigenous people towards better reconciliation.” The participant further noted that some of the workshops included Indigenous language training. At another university, new hires are required to read parts of the TRC final report.

Some structural changes are occurring that support Indigenous graduate students, Indigenous research on campus, and the Indigenization of institutions. One interview participant noted that they had “just asked an associate dean to do a review of barriers to admissions into graduate programs as well as access to scholarships.” Some universities have put differential standards for admission into place. For example, there are admission processes that take prospective Indigenous students’ life stories into account in assessing applications for admission and universities who use such revised processes seem to highlight them on their websites. The environmental scan showed that universities highlight admission policies for Indigenous students on their websites much more commonly for undergraduate students than for graduate students. For example, the UBC website states under “Aboriginal admission policy”: “This policy allows UBC to consider you for admission to a degree if you have satisfied the general admission and degree-specific requirements, but you have not met your degree’s competitive average.” Unfortunately, the last part of

this statement may turn a potential Indigenous student away because of its negative suggestions about student deficits. Other universities have transition programs for Indigenous students. One of the interview participants pointed out that their university offers a “transition program for [Indigenous students from the local community] who don’t meet admission requirements but show strong academic promise.”

Other noteworthy structural changes are alternatives to the PhD thesis format that are possible at some universities. As one interview participant describes it, their university has been putting in place “one-off plans for defining parameters [for] students that are Indigenous that have different ways of knowing, different ways of doing.” Such plans are informed by the questions of how to “meet the requirements for the program that’s written, but provide that accommodation so that students can essentially explore what it is that’s meaningful for them and their research.” This participant also described an example of such an alternative format as a performative dissertation: “there was an actual performance that accompanied a written document. So [the student] had video-recorded part of the performance and then sent that with the document to the external to review.”

A number of interview participants said that their policies allow for Elders, knowledge keepers, and community members to be committee members and to take part in oral exams. While some have specific policies to make this possible, others explained that their policies never prevented this type of involvement in the first place.

Other supports include Indigenous institutional mechanisms on campus (for example, Indigenous advisory councils, student centres, Indigenous student groups). These institutional examples often not only speak to the intellectual component of the student experience but can also speak to the emotional or spiritual component.

Many universities offer symposia and workshops on mentoring Indigenous graduate students and on intercultural understanding, workshops typically hosted by Indigenous student centres. One of the interview participants described a project just completed by their university in which the sites of Indigenous knowledge on campus were mapped. Yet other universities create resources on how to do Indigenous research and how to interact ethically with Indigenous communities. Finally, more and more universities offer land-based programs, an endeavour that speaks to the intellectual component of the student experience but also moves toward all of the other components.

2.3 EMOTIONAL SUPPORTS

Among the services that provide Indigenous students with emotional support are cultural events, support from Indigenous mentors, and support from Indigenous peers. Programs at various universities bring students together, so that they can talk about university experiences: for many, this is the first time they have been away from their families or their community. For example, the University of Victoria and UNBC have Campus Cousins programs, which are Aboriginal Student Leadership programs that help support the development of Aboriginal leaders at those universities and bring Indigenous students together to support

Indigenous representation at the level of faculty and staff supports Indigenous students emotionally.

one another. Such support services are almost always directed to all Indigenous students. The only exception we discovered through our research are universities with SAGE programs.

Several of the interview participants noted that there is an interest on the part of university leaders and administrators to engage others in the university in dialogue, in order to create awareness and understanding of reconciliation. The enthusiasm and excitement about creating change, evident in the interviews in which this was raised, speaks to the emotional component of reconciliation in the academy.

Another interview participant spoke about relationships and pointed out that there is a higher awareness for building responsible, reciprocal relationships with Indigenous communities on campus since the release of the final TRC report. Other participants reflected on the importance of directing reconciliation activities toward both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students: “92 per cent of our student population is non-Indigenous. I am not suggesting that we should not commit to Indigenous students, not at all, we absolutely should. But we also need to commit to the other 92 per cent, to help them to understand, to become more aware of the realities of history in this country.”

Another emotional form of support for Indigenous students was discussed earlier: Indigenous representation in all colleges and schools. This topic was raised by a

number of the interview participants and, as pointed out above, Indigenous representation at the level of faculty and staff supports Indigenous students emotionally because of the way it shows them that they are not alone in the academy and that it is possible for them to navigate this environment successfully. Discussion Group 1 emphasized the importance of Indigenous support staff and Indigenous administrators in leadership positions at their universities. One interview participant pointed out that they are “now in the process of hiring an Indigenous Coordinator for our office, for the grad school. So that will be around recruitment and support, coordination, linkage, liaison.”

Elders on campus have also been named by many of the interview participants as a very good and important emotional support for Indigenous students. This kind of support also addresses the intellectual and spiritual components of students’ lives.

One of the interview participants who directs an Indigenous student centre pointed out that they see emotional support as an important component of the support that the centre offers:

My biggest goal has always been success for the students. And if that means that I am educating the university-wide community around what truth and reconciliation means, in turn hoping that helps create an easier pathway for students within post-secondary. So, hoping that they go into classrooms and will not be singled out, but that they go into classrooms and they feel equal.

2.4 SPIRITUAL SUPPORTS

The environmental scan showed that universities advertise some services that provide spiritual support to Indigenous students. Notably, however, these services are fewer than those that offer physical and intellectual support. General spiritual support services that are advertised on the websites for all Indigenous students are: gathering places for ceremony, Elders as mentors (with significant differences across Canada as to how the Elders are introduced online), cultural events, and smudging zones. One particular example that stood out from the websites is the sweatlodge ceremonial area at Lakehead University. As the website points out, “The Lakehead University Sweat Lodge Site is a spiritual place where people come together for ceremonies that promote personal and collective healing. The sweat lodge is housed and sweat lodge ceremonies are held on this site.”

Furthermore, according to the environmental scan, many universities have ceremonial rooms at their Indigenous student centres. For example, at the University of Alberta, Elders and Traditional Knowledge Keepers provide support to FNMI students in the First Peoples' House. A ceremonial room and other cultural supports are available.

One participant pointed out that, at their university, the ethics office supports Indigenous protocols: “I think our ethics office is very sensitive to this. Not sensitive from the standpoint of being restrictive, but sensitive wanting to be supportive and encouraging.” As the participant further noted: “We have had some Indigenous students who have ... in terms of ceremonies in thesis defenses...

gone through different rituals and protocols of smudging and allowing or encouraging Indigenous Elders and community representatives to participate on the advisory committees within the graduate programs.”

SAGE is the best example of a holistic support service in Canadian universities.

2.5 HOLISTIC SERVICES AND PROGRAMS

Quite a few interview participants mentioned that they have a Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement (SAGE) program on campus or are planning to establish a SAGE group. All of the participants who raised SAGE were positive about its impact as a support for Indigenous students, although a number noted that the success of the program depends on individuals and how much time they can invest in the program.

Specifically for Indigenous graduate students, SAGE is obviously the best example of a holistic support service in Canadian universities. This peer-support and mentoring program focuses on graduate students. The Faculty of Education, UBC, established SAGE in British Columbia in 2005, with Drs. Joann Archibald and Graham Smith (New Zealand) as founders. Archibald provided leadership and mentorship to SAGE students from 2005-2017. In BC, four SAGE sites have typically been offered each year: (1) Vancouver through a UBC and Simon Fraser University (SFU) partnership; (2) Vancouver Island with the main site at the University of Victoria (UVic); (3) UBC Okanagan; and (4) University of Northern British Columbia

(UNBC). At each SAGE site a faculty member acts as a faculty mentor to the students; some universities also contribute funding for SAGE activities. Often the SAGE faculty mentors were once SAGE students. One UBC PhD Indigenous student is hired each year and that person sends out province-wide communications through an email list and SAGE digest (although the digest was not active in 2019). One major provincial activity has been an annual Indigenous Graduate Student Symposium (IGSS) that is held at either UBC or SFU. A committee of graduate students organizes the IGSS, which is attended by more than 100 students, a number of whom present their research. There is usually a keynote speaker who is an Indigenous scholar or Indigenous cultural knowledge holder. While SAGE began at UBC, SFU, UVic, and UNBC, it has now also been adopted by the University of Calgary, Queen's University, University of Toronto, University of Manitoba, Trent University, the University of Guelph, and the University of Western Ontario. The websites of these universities suggest various levels of activity for their SAGE groups.

2.6 DISCUSSION

Several themes about reconciliation in graduate programs and services emerged across the Discussion Group conversations and the interviews. A common observation was that it would be helpful for institutions “to share what they have done with other universities to not reinvent the wheel.” One of the interview participants explained that they hoped that ideas about different types of services can be shared as best practices among institutions “as we all move forward with our particular goals working towards reconciliation. I think that is really, really important. And I

appreciate that each institution has unique aspects, but we also have a lot in common. ... And so if we can learn from each other and our experiences, that would be extremely valuable.”

Another general observation from the interviews was that it takes time to implement initiatives: “there are lots of conversations going on about introducing Indigenization into programming and into services. ... We are further along than the early stages, but it is taking time.”

Notably, interview participants answered the questions of supports for reconciliation on campus by discussing elements that fall into the categories of the physical and intellectual aspects of student life. Discussions of emotional and spiritual supports were relatively infrequent.

The environmental scan shows that many universities that offer services and programs for Indigenous students do not specify whether these programs, workshops, and events (either academic, or social) are for graduate students, undergraduate students, or both. All institutions could be more careful to advertise supports that are directed specifically to graduate students: it is not clear to us whether the information is not easily discoverable or whether few services are directed to Indigenous graduate students. Services specifically for Indigenous graduate students include informative websites, awards, and programs such as SAGE and Campus Cousins.

The interview participants confirm the findings of the environmental scan by pointing out that their universities focus reconciliation work as well as support services for Indigenous students on the

undergraduate level. For example, one noted, “honestly, most of the work that’s being done is currently at the undergraduate level. . . . I would say there are courses throughout the university that would be a mix of grad and undergrad, with more undergrad than grad, for sure, but it’s moving into the grad sphere.” Another participant similarly noted that there are many reconciliation-inspired activities on campus but they are for all students: “There is a ton of activities around the university that are all involved in these things. And graduate students are part of that. But it is not necessarily directed to graduate students.” Not only is there a focus on the undergraduate level when it comes to reconciliation efforts, but also there is a lack of specific policies for Indigenous graduate research and support.

“Most of the work that’s being done is currently at the undergraduate level.”

SECTION 3. WHAT ARE SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES? WHAT ARE GAPS AND NEEDS?

3.1 SUCCESSES

As discussed in Section 1, our research has demonstrated that universities have been addressing reconciliation for quite some time now. The support services that were highlighted in Section 2 can be seen as indicators of successful attempts by universities to address reconciliation. As we have pointed out in these previous sections, changes are happening in Canadian universities. Some actions started before the TRC, many began as a reaction to the TRC, or are occurring

because the TRC created a wider awareness and therefore an environment more susceptible to changes. As we have pointed out, Canadian universities do work on Indigenous inclusion by trying to increase enrolment numbers of Indigenous students and by hiring Indigenous faculty. Canadian universities are also working on reconciliation by implementing different ways of educating campus members about Indigenous histories and the histories and legacies of colonialism. This happens on a spectrum that ranges from Indigenous course requirements to classes that include Indigenous ways of knowing, to workshops and events. Furthermore, universities work towards reconciliation by supporting Indigenous students and, as the environmental scan has demonstrated, there are various ways in which universities offer physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual support.

As has also become clear when looking at universities’ practices through the lens of the Gaudry and Lorenz framework, however, most practices are located on the inclusion spectrum of reconciliation, which involves including Indigenous ways of knowing, rather than decolonization, which means changing the overall (colonial) structure of the university as an institution. At the same time, our research has shown that there are indications that administrators who participated in the interviews and Discussion Groups are thinking about how to make structural, future-oriented, and long-lasting changes. Finally, it is important to keep in mind that

Changes are happening in Canadian universities.

there are different opinions on what reconciliation could or should look like. One of the interview participants spoke about the fact that the views of Indigenous graduate students are not necessarily in line with that of other Indigenous stakeholders:

...some of those perspectives, that are held by our Indigenous graduate students, do not always mesh with the commitments and perspectives and values of other Indigenous partners. We have to kind of reconcile those things as well. It is important though, it is hugely important. And I think it is OK for us to not agree. The important part will be to ensure that we are willing to continue to discuss and work through, so that both sides can benefit.

3.2 CHALLENGES

At the same time, our research has shown that there are still challenges when it comes to reconciliation on campus. The interview participants and Discussion Groups identified a number of issues, as well as areas that need more attention. These challenges and needs were not visible in the environmental scan since problems are not typically discussed on university websites.

3.2.1 Relegating Responsibilities for Reconciliation and Indigenization

Over-burdening Indigenous Faculty. All participants of Discussion Group 4 emphasized that there is “not enough Indigenous content and faculty relative to the expectations of reconciliation.” Discussion Group 5 talked about the

challenges in retaining Indigenous faculty members and particularly noted the necessity of “not overwhelming them with demands.” This discussion group also talked about the challenge of Indigenous PhD students who are hired before they have completed their dissertation and then face the challenge to complete their thesis along with all the additional work that they are expected to do. Greenwood et al. (2008) identify key dangers that come with current trends of Indigenization in academia, including the burden on Indigenous scholars to do the work to Indigenize the academy, which too often results in Indigenous all-but-dissertation (ABD) scholars who never finish their doctorates (pp.198-9); the problem of academia not evaluating community-engaged research as meaningful research contributions (p. 201); and the problem that Indigenous scholars are often marked as scholars who focus exclusively on Indigenous issues (p. 202). An interview participant echoes this challenge:

... I would say the challenge is we do need our Indigenous faculty and staff members to help with all this so we do it right. And I think they just get pulled in ten different directions. And I worry about the faculty members too. You know, they’re trying to establish themselves and set up their careers. It’s still hard on them.

“We do need our Indigenous faculty and staff members to help with all this so we do it right.”

Many scholars have identified this issue, but we found no solutions to address the over-burdening of Indigenous faculty articulated.

Over-burdening Indigenous Student Centres. As the environmental scan demonstrated, many of the supports for Indigenous students are located in Indigenous student centres. Indeed, the scan demonstrated that the Indigenous student centre is sometimes the only resource for Indigenous students that is made visible online. One of the interview participants who directs such a centre spoke about the ways in which the centre takes on the responsibilities of educating campus members and offering workshops and other activities in the area of reconciliation. Gallop and Bastien (2016) emphasize the importance of Indigenous student centres for “promoting culture-specific activities and resources” which “often produce outcomes that can lead to higher levels of Aboriginal student academic and social engagement” (p. 210). One of the challenges, however, is that reconciliation may be relegated to Indigenous student centres to develop and deliver. As one of the interview participants noted, “as far as I know, I think the university in general understands reconciliation as an important topic that they need to embrace, understand, and educate on. But there are a lot of people who I still think do not truly understand what it means and are not taking it upon themselves to educate themselves about it but expect departments such as the First Nations Centre to educate them.”

One interview participant noted that their Indigenous student centre does not offer specific services for Indigenous graduate

students and acknowledged that such services are necessary. At the same time, however, the participant pointed out that it is difficult to fill in the gaps of “lack of funding and lack of staff.” An interview participant who spoke about SAGE as an important support for Indigenous students also noted the danger that “it becomes siloed.” This tendency also seems to exist for Indigenous support services on campus more generally, that they become siloed in Indigenous student centres.

3.2.2 Tensions About Indigenous Identity

Another challenge identified by Discussion Group 5 was “student self-identification as Indigenous”: the issue ranges from skepticism and mistrust by Indigenous students about the reasons for and impact of such identification to false claims of being Indigenous. Michelle Pidgeon (2016) discusses Indigenous self-identification as an area of tension when it comes to admission processes. As Pidgeon notes, “in an educational system where being ‘labelled’ Aboriginal has had negative consequences for many . . . , Aboriginal students are leery of institutional requests for self-identification” (p. 84). Another challenge that Pidgeon identifies relates to the requirement of documentation in “self-identification and institutional process that require ‘proof’ of Aboriginal ancestry” (p. 84). She points out that this requirement may pose problems for Indigenous students who grew up separated from their Indigenous community (for example, being in care or adopted), or for students who grew up in urban settings (p. 84).

One of the interview participants identified yet another kind of tension about

fraudulent claims in regard to Indigenous self-identification:

It's basically people who didn't use to self-identify as Indigenous who are now self-identifying as Indigenous. And again, you don't get to pick where you grow up as a child, I have no kind of moral qualms about them doing that. But they need to think about what their responsibilities are if they are starting to gain the privilege in the context of getting monies that are meant for Indigenous students. And that's not something that universities, kind of the liberal bulwarks that they are, are well-suited to doing, which is ask students about their responsibilities. But the thing I will say is that you're getting a lot of people who are making fraudulent claims to being Indigenous as well. And they may not even know it. It may be something that their mom or grandfather or whatever told them. And then they do genealogy and find out that person wasn't even Indigenous.

A recent example of discussions of issues around Indigenous identity claims is Darryl Leroux's book, *Distorted Descent* (2019), in which he discusses the phenomenon of white Canadians making claims to Indigeneity by finding an Indigenous ancestor within their family in the past. Leroux considers the problems that result from using this new-found ancestry as the only claim to Indigenous identity in the present.

3.2.3 Validating Indigenous Knowledge

Jerald Paquette and Gerald Fallon (2014) raise the question of the extent to which Indigenous ways of knowing “can be considered as expressions of sciences/knowledge in their own right within mainstream post-secondary education – the extent to which multiple, divergent knowledge systems do or should co-exist with mainstream post-secondary education” (p. 3). Several interview participants noted that the university needs to re-think what constitutes knowledge. As one interview participant noted, all members of a university need to try “to also make room for other ways of doing and knowing, realizing that knowledge is quite broad when you're open to thinking about what it constitutes.” This participant's statement gestures toward a need for rethinking how knowledge is defined in the academy. Western academia has a long history of holding up Western knowledge as authoritative knowledge. Reconciliation needs to challenge this history and include Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies. Another interview participant pointed out that “the inclusion of Elders and knowledge keepers on thesis committees and final oral exams” is a specific way in which this can be done in graduate schools.

3.2.4 Struggles about Short-Term vs. Long-Term Commitment and Action

Gaudry and Lorenz worry that Indigenization as reconciliation might just be hollow rhetoric at many universities and they warn that there can never be a “one-size-fits-all” model for Indigenizing the academy because of the diversity of Indigenous communities (2018, p.223). The worry that the work of universities toward reconciliation might be hollow

rhetoric is connected to the fear that it is not a long-term commitment. Interview participants pointed out that some of the biggest challenges are funding cuts and the lack of resources that endanger long-term commitment. One interview participant also reflected on the ways in which initial action on reconciliation is often short-term without deep understanding of colonization, decolonization, and justice: “talking about truth and reconciliation, sometimes I think we rush so quickly from truth to reconciliation, like if you just say what happened, then now we can reconcile. And speaking as a social worker, I believe the missing word in there is justice. There is truth, there has to be justice, and when there is justice, there can be reconciliation.”

When it comes to actions that exemplify a long-term commitment, quite a few interview participants mentioned the importance of not only creating a safe space for Indigenous students but also demonstrating to Indigenous students and communities that this space is safe: “we as an institution [need to] communicate to communities and to potential students about the value of these programs, and to convince them that this will be a place where they’ll be safe, and there’ll be the support that they need to be successful. We have to do some work to make the university a more hospitable place.” Another person reiterated the need for the university to make amends for its harmful impact by creating a safe space and noted that this implies a long-term action: “the role of education in Indigenous communities and the harms it’s created there are so specific, and it created such a

specific type of harm, that . . . we really need to prove that this is a safe space.”

As discussed above, there is a certain tension between ensuring that reconciliation efforts are Indigenous-led and over-burdening Indigenous administrators and faculty (especially emerging Indigenous scholars who are hired ABD). There are many competing demands on university administrators and faculty. If reconciliation is not a priority, there is a danger that it gets put on the backburner.

“We really need to prove that this is a safe space.”

3.3 GAPS AND PRESSING NEEDS

3.3.1 Graduate Education Needs More Attention and Action

The environmental scan, Discussion Groups, and interviews show that, while universities have become active in addressing the TRC’s Calls to Action, discussions about graduate education in relation to Indigeneity are conspicuously absent (SAGE being a notable exception). As one of the interview participants puts it, “I do think there is a lot of willingness and enthusiasm to actually deal with these recommendations. It’s happening. It’s definitely happening. And the grad piece, I think, is one that needs particular attention.” Another interview participant admitted that the lack of focus on graduate students suggests that “we maybe have not tried as hard as we can.” And yet another participant pointed out, after being asked about reconciliation and support for Indigenous graduate students, “at our university there has been in every way much more focus on the undergraduate

level. It's not particular to this topic, it's true of everything. So do we have particular mental health support for grad students? No, we don't. We have health support, but we don't have it tailored to grad students."

There is, however, not only the challenge that the graduate piece needs more attention, there is also the challenge of actually reaching graduate students. A director of an Indigenous student centre explained in an interview that a lot of their services are for students in general and that it is difficult to get graduate students to take the time out of their schedules to use available services:

. . . they either have full-time jobs, they have families, they are not expected to be here on a regular basis anyways, so a lot of them choose to just do what they have to, go home, and work on their papers, or whatever it is that they are doing – whether it be a project or a thesis.

The need to teach non-Indigenous graduate students, especially international graduate students, about reconciliation was identified as another challenge by an interview participant. As this individual, noted, "these folks are likely less informed, their perception is probably less tainted because they are just unaware. And what we do for them could be different, . . . to help them to understand what the realities are."

“Graduate student funding is definitely one of the roadblocks.”

3.3.2 Indigenous Graduate Student Needs for Funding and Services

Our research demonstrates that many universities have established scholarships, awards, and bursaries for Indigenous graduate students. One finding of the environmental scan, however, was that it is not always easy to find this funding on university websites. One of the interview participants emphasized that “graduate student funding is definitely one of the roadblocks” when it comes to reconciliation support for Indigenous students.

Interview participants raised other challenges about funding for Indigenous graduate students. One person pointed out that, because the structure of graduate school is different from that of undergraduate programs, it can be difficult for Indigenous students to get funding from their Bands. These funding models typically assume an undergraduate program:

. . . just the structure of the graduate degree depends the funding model some Bands have approved. So something as simple as grad students go 12 months a year, they have three fee payments that they manage through that year. I recently ran into a situation where a student's Band didn't fund summer because students don't go to school in the summer. And so we had to unpack that whole piece and we wound up writing a letter from the registrar explaining why and what the differences were and what does it mean to be a student in good standing. . . .

“We need to be gathering more information from our Indigenous graduate students.”

It is important to acknowledge, too, that Band funding is only available for First Nations students who are registered to a Band. Many Indigenous students do not have Band membership; many others are Métis or Inuit.

When it comes to recruiting Indigenous graduate students, interview participants note the need to recruit earlier and in different ways. For example, one participant noted that their university needs to re-think how it recruits graduate students because, even though the university has a lot of graduate students, it does not have the representation of Indigenous graduate students it wishes to have. The participant pointed out that the university is therefore partnering with people who have relationships with Indigenous communities in order to recruit more Indigenous students.

This individual also spoke about the need to be “more proactive” in recruitment and suggested that one way to recruit Indigenous students could be for a university to have a dedicated recruiter who would travel to communities. As this participant pointed out, it is odd that “we expect Indigenous students and communities to come to us. And I think that’s one of those real symbols of colonialism, ... you know, you come here rather than starting a relationship by going to them.”

Another interview participant connected the idea of recruitment to the idea of understanding students’ needs:

I want to be sure that we are not inadvertently creating barriers to access for undergraduate students moving into graduate programs. And that we are able [to] create programs for students that accommodate their cultural needs, as well as their academic needs. And that we support them in every way we can to make them successful. I think we need to do more work at the undergrad level to actually create those channels that move students through to graduate programs.

One graduate-school administrator spoke about the importance of better understanding Indigenous graduate students’ needs at a collective level by seeking input from them:

I would like to have a better understanding of the needs of our Indigenous students. Are there services that we should be providing or modifying? I really feel that we need to be gathering more information from our Indigenous graduate students. They come to us if they are looking for advice on different things. But a lot of our programming is thesis-based programming, so they are really working with their supervisors and their committee members. So, a lot of that student support is being provided by the supervisor or a committee or the academic unit delivering the programming.

“We do to a certain extent . . . rely on our students, their supervisors, their community to be . . . entrepreneurs in finding solutions.”

3.3.3 The Need for Systemic Change

Policies. As part of our research, we were interested in whether universities have specific policies in place that support Indigenous graduate students or Indigenous research that is carried out by graduate students, as well as whether universities have developed required Indigenous courses for graduate students. As Indigenous scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and Margaret Kovach (2009) point out, Indigenous research is distinct in the ways in which it establishes and maintains relationships with communities, how it benefits these communities, and how it is shaped by Indigenous epistemologies. In order to ethically conduct Indigenous research, scholars need to take the time to build relationships and engage with communities. We asked the question of whether universities have policies in place that allow for more time to completion to accommodate the building of relationships in Indigenous research. Academia has a long colonial history of suppressing and disregarding Indigenous ways of knowing and for having very specific ideas of what constitutes knowledge and who holds knowledge. We were therefore interested in whether universities have policies in place that make it possible for Elders and community members to be part of thesis

committees or that make it possible for Indigenous students to create alternative formats to graduate thesis or to write a thesis in their own language.

In the environmental scan, we found that such policies are hard to find on university websites. It would be difficult for any prospective Indigenous student or non-Indigenous student interested in Indigenous research to find such policies in preliminary research. The responses of interview participants to questions about policy were divided. While some participants clearly lamented the lack of such policies at their university, others pointed out that existing policies do not prohibit the practice of Indigenous research in any way, so that the potential challenges identified above do not arise. One of the interview participants described how it is often the responsibility of the students and their supervisors to find solutions because of the fact that there are no existing policies:

We do to a certain extent . . . rely on our students, their supervisors, their community to be . . . for lack of a better term . . . entrepreneurs in finding solutions. There is not a guide that they can open and see what’s been done in the past or embedded in policy . . . There’s an onus on the student to ask and then shape the solution. And I think what is different now from what happened previously, the conversations are being had but we’re now ready to embed that in policy.

Other interview participants were more hesitant about the idea of having policies for Indigenous research:

Honestly, we do not have strict timelines, so it is not much of a specific issue ... it is not that hard to get an extension as long as you can justify it. We do not need a policy for that. And in fact I don't know how you could possibly do that. I worry a bit about Indigenous languages in theses because if there is only five people that read the language, then that is problematic. How would you assess it? So I worry about that. But, you know, the time may come.

Other interview participants spoke about the difficulties of implementing changes in the existing university system. In particular, they focused on the logistics of implementing a required course around reconciliation and asked questions about resources and tuition for such a class.

Another participant spoke about having proposed the idea of establishing a mandatory online course for all students and emphasized that there is much work to do before such a course can be offered: "there will be a lot of groundwork, I think, in order to be able to tackle that but it's certainly something that I would like to explore because I think it would certainly set a precedent in terms of requirements for graduate students." The challenge that things take time was emphasized by several of the interview participants when it comes to implementing policy changes.

Non-Indigenous senior administrators are still the overwhelming majority in senior leadership.

The Need for Ongoing Education. While our research shows that there are many developments in terms of reconciliation and Indigenization on Canadian campuses, there are also challenges. Discussion Group 5, for example, raised the issue of a "lack of understanding with research ethics boards regarding working with Indigenous communities."

Several interview participants also addressed the challenge of resistance from people who lack understanding. As one interview participant stated when asked about challenges, "It would potentially be pockets of resistance where you just don't have like-minded people that realize that we have a responsibility in order to address the legacy that our Indigenous communities are dealing with and will for the foreseeable future as well." Another interview participant specifically named changes in the upper administration as a challenge: "When there is a change in those in charge, having to re-educate, having to re-create those relationships, those, I think would be roadblocks." The interview participants here speak about senior administrators who come from outside Indigenous communities. That a change in leadership is described as a challenge demonstrates that there is an underlying assumption that the leadership position will be filled by someone who is not from an Indigenous community. Clearly, non-Indigenous senior administrators are still the overwhelming majority in senior leadership.

Discussion Group 4 discussed the challenges of "recognizing and reconciling the university's history in overt colonialism" and specifically pointed out that it is hard to move forward on

reconciliation in graduate studies because one needs to decide whether what is needed is a fresh start or whether the problems that exist can be fixed through revisionary processes.

Resistance from non-Indigenous people is one obstacle on campus, but one of the interview participants pointed out that well-meaning support from non-Indigenous people can potentially become an obstacle, too, if it is coming from a colonial perspective:

People often want to help, but they only want to help if they get to decide what that help looks like. How do you bring people into a space that is both . . . a safe space but also an adventurous space where people can . . . think complex and sometimes emotionally fraught thoughts while still . . . building a resilience in the relationship.

“How do you bring people into a space that is . . . a safe space but also an adventurous space?”

SECTION 4. FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As stated earlier, this research project was completed for the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies for the purposes of characterizing the current landscape of reconciliation in graduate education across Canada in preparation for the work of the CAGS Reconciliation Task Force. This section rehearses the research findings and recommendations, which the CAGS Reconciliation Task Force can use as a basis for its work. The findings relate to

the three major research questions. The recommendations, which address the findings, concentrate on two major areas: the role of graduate schools for reconciliation and the role that CAGS as an organization can potentially play in Indigenous graduate education.

4.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

4.1.1 Meanings of Reconciliation

Universities are often engaged in reconciliation practices that relate to Indigenous inclusion, as defined by Gaudry and Lorenz, which emphasizes increasing the numbers of Indigenous people in the roles of students, faculty, staff, and leadership. These practices, however, often do not engage the systemic change to university structures and policies needed to facilitate the success of Indigenous people in these roles and to ensure them a safe and conducive learning and working environment. Universities are increasingly moving toward the phase of reconciliation Indigenization, where some university structures have been expanded or altered to include Indigenous people in decision-making roles and Indigenous knowledge has shaped students' learning through required courses and Indigenous programs. The third phase of decolonial Indigenization requires a transformative change in universities to address decolonization and Indigenization in deeper structural ways. Some of the research participants demonstrated thinking that moves in this direction, but actions are yet to be carried out.

A finding of our research with regard to the meanings of reconciliation are that it

encompasses the following four features: (1) it is action-oriented; (2) building relationships is essential; (3) educating non-Indigenous campus members is critical; and (4) addressing the legacy of colonization is necessary.

4.1.2 Reconciliation in Graduate Programs and Services

A holistic framework adapted from that of Archibald, Pidgeon, and Hawkey (2010) was used to map physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual reconciliation practices. The physical and intellectual aspects constituted the majority of the Indigenous programs, activities, and services designed for Indigenous students. Indigenous student centres took on most of the responsibility for Indigenous student services. Very little attention was given specifically to graduate matters related to Indigenous research or to Indigenous graduate students, except for the peer-support and mentorship SAGE program.

4.1.3 Successes, Challenges, Gaps and Needs

The reconciliation landscape of universities across Canada has been shaped by decades of effort by many since the 1970s through national policy statements and research such as the Indian Control of Indian Education Policy (1972), the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015). Our research has found that this landscape has some markers that are either applied to or useful for graduate education. These markers are in reference to the TRC Calls to Action noted earlier, such as teaching the history and impact of residential schools, the recognition of

Indigenous ways of knowing, and the development of students' intercultural understanding of mutual respect. There has been an increase in the numbers of Indigenous people enrolling and working at universities and in Indigenous-oriented programs and courses open to all students and in some specifically for Indigenous graduate students. These examples are important success markers, which have taken much time and effort to realize, and they should be celebrated. In this era of reconciliation, our research has also found that much more needs to be done to achieve reconciliation that is meaningful and relevant to graduate education.

As universities increase systemic commitment, efforts, and concrete actions related to reconciliation, various challenges emerge or intensify. These include the relegation of responsibility for reconciliation activities to Indigenous faculty members and student centres; tensions about processes of Indigenous self-identification; issues about the validation of Indigenous knowledge systems; and the struggle between short-term and long-term commitment and action. These challenges create gaps and pressing needs that need to be addressed.

In addition to these challenges, two key gaps are, first, the lack of easily accessible information about Indigenous graduate education, ranging from basic information about Indigenous-oriented graduate

Much more needs to be done to achieve reconciliation that is meaningful and relevant to graduate education.

Policy is an important area for making systemic change.

courses and programs to services for Indigenous graduate students; and, second, the lack of adequate funding and relevant services specifically directed to Indigenous graduate students. These gaps become critical needs if graduate education is to contribute to reconciliation between non-Indigenous and Indigenous Canadians. Policy is an important area for making systemic change. Various policies related to required Indigenous courses, Indigenous self-identification, theses committees and formats, and other pertinent needs should be identified, reviewed, developed, and implemented. Sustaining reconciliation efforts and outcomes will require on-going education for all students, faculty, and staff.

4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

4.2.1 The Role of Graduate Schools

A common theme that emerged from the interviews with graduate school administrators is that graduate schools work horizontally across campus. This feature was characterized mostly as a weakness in relation to reconciliation work. Many participants mentioned that much of the reconciliation work happens at the level of departments and programs – and that it is difficult to determine where graduate schools fit in. Similarly, when it comes to services for Indigenous graduate students, participants pointed out that graduate students usually identify more with their departments and programs than with their graduate school. When participants addressed the topic of Indigenous graduate students’ needs, they

said that graduate schools need more knowledge of these needs and noted that this knowledge often exists at the level of student-advisor relationships, at the level of student-department relationships, and, we would like to add, at the level of students’ relationships with Indigenous student centres.

We recommend, however, that the horizontal work of graduate schools be reconceptualised as an advantage to undertaking reconciliation work. Because graduate schools work across graduate programs and student service units, they can play important communication and coordination roles in relation to reconciliation. The following recommendations focus on what graduate schools could contribute to the work of reconciliation in these roles.

4.2.1.i Coordinate communications

Develop websites to focus attention on Indigenous graduate education and Indigenous research resources. One role that graduate schools could play is in the coordination of communications. When conducting the environmental scan for services that support Indigenous graduate students or Indigenous graduate research, we found that university websites were often not very helpful. Information tends to be scattered over many different areas of the university website. Policies that support Indigenous graduate research are typically not made visible on websites, which means that this information is not easy to find for prospective Indigenous

One role that graduate schools could play is in the coordination of communications.

graduate students or for non-Indigenous students engaged in Indigenous research. That a university supports the appointment of Elders to thesis committees or schedules thesis defenses in Indigenous communities is information that we usually found only in news articles posted on university websites.

Similarly, we found that it is often a challenge to locate information on graduate programs with a focus on Indigenous ways of knowing. Some programs note this focus in their titles. At times these programs are advertised by universities as having such a focus, but often the inclusion of Indigenous research in graduate programs is not visible, with the result that a prospective graduate student would have to comb through all program descriptions in order to find one that might accommodate their interest in Indigenous research. Graduate schools could communicate programs with Indigenous content on their websites much more intentionally and clearly. Examples for such overviews can be found on the website of the University of Victoria, which lists graduate and undergraduate programs with Indigenous content, and on the website of the University of Alberta, which has a comprehensive and accessible overview of all programs (graduate and undergraduate) with an Indigenous focus.

Generally, there is a difference between what is visible on websites in terms of the reconciliation practices of a university and what is actually occurring. Not all practices, policies, and programs are advertised, especially those still in the planning stage. This gap between what is actually happening at universities in terms of reconciliation and what is

communicated to the public is problematic. Graduate school websites could adopt the role of providing an overview of all of the reconciliation work that is happening in graduate programs and graduate research across campus. This website could also link to university reports on reconciliation, various research projects, and other work in progress. Graduate schools could also consider other channels of communication, especially for advertising support services for Indigenous graduate students. For example, in the environmental scan, we noticed that Indigenous student groups often use social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to communicate. Email lists should also be considered.

Create and sustain mechanisms to share, dialogue, and work cooperatively across campus graduate programs.

Graduate schools could also take on the task of finding information about what is happening in departments and in other faculties in terms of reconciliation and they could support the distribution of this knowledge internally on campus. Knowledge of Indigenous students' needs and knowledge of wise practices that exist at the level of faculty members and departments could be shared across campus by graduate schools. Graduate schools are also well situated to facilitate dialogue on these matters across campus.

4.2.1.ii Develop and implement policies for reconciliation

Create a graduate school Reconciliation Advisory Council or work with existing university Reconciliation Advisories/Councils. In the environmental scan, many reconciliation

initiatives at Canadian universities were identified that could eventually lead toward policy development and implementation. One area that needs more policy attention is Indigenous graduate education. Graduate schools could establish an Indigenous Reconciliation Advisory Council to guide the development and implementation of various policies suggested in this report. Another option is for graduate schools to work with existing university Reconciliation Councils to ensure that Indigenous graduate education is addressed. Graduate schools could play an important role in ensuring that the needs of Indigenous graduate students in particular and the reconciliation-related interests of graduate students more generally are identified and addressed by existing reconciliation task forces and reconciliation advisories. As pointed out in this report, interview participants emphasized that administrators should know the needs of Indigenous graduate students. Graduate schools are well-positioned to seek this information from Indigenous graduate students.

Develop a reconciliation framework and action plan. Graduate schools need to develop a reconciliation framework and action plan that is publicly posted on their web sites, and they also need to report annually on these reconciliation actions. A reconciliation framework could include the

There are markers on the reconciliation landscape that graduate schools can examine, use, or adapt for their distinct contexts.

meaning of reconciliation for graduate education and research based on the TRC

Develop and implement policies for reconciliation.

calls to action and on principles and strategies derived from research such as that of Gaudry and Lorenz (2018), Archibald, Pidgeon and Hawkey (2010), this research report by Braith, Reimer and Archibald, and pertinent documents such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (2007). The TRC Calls to Action that implicate graduate education relate to teaching and learning about the history and impact of residential schools as well as Indigenous peoples' historical and contemporary contributions to Canada; recognizing Indigenous ways of knowing; developing students' intercultural understanding of mutual respect; and engaging in research that advances understandings of reconciliation. Theoretical and experiential frameworks that are useful in understanding and engaging in reconciliation processes are discussed in various sections of this report, such as the phases of Indigenization identified by Gaudry and Lorenz; a holistic approach that centers Indigenous knowledge systems outlined by Archibald, Pidgeon and Hawkey; and features of reconciliation processes that emerge from this report. These are examples, not prescriptions. Our point here is that there are markers on the reconciliation landscape that graduate schools can examine, use, or adapt for their distinct contexts. They might also create new frameworks or markers.

Administrators can make use of the scholarly literature when thinking about issues of reconciliation and Indigenization of academia: the bibliography appended to this report is based on our literature review and includes many important resources. Many scholars and educators have thought about these issues and have offered suggestions and recommendations.

CAGS could play a role in sharing examples of what works well.

Review existing Indigenous self-identification processes for admission, scholarships, and awards. As pointed out in this report, the question of who is Indigenous and how Indigeneity is defined at the university is an important one, especially when it comes to Indigenous graduate student support, such as funding. When establishing Indigenous identification processes, graduate schools should look toward existing examples for processes that exist at other graduate schools or at the Tri-Councils. Indigenous organizations such as the Yellowhead Institute have developed policy briefs on this issue (see Karen Lawford and Veldon Coburn, 2019). While each graduate school will have to determine their own policies for these procedures, it can be helpful to consult with other institutions. CAGS could play a role in sharing examples of what works well and identifying current challenges.

Revise policies about theses committees, formats, and timelines. The CAGS “Re-Thinking the PhD” report (2018) mentions that Indigenous methodologies are influencing the way in which a PhD might

be structured in terms of community collaboration and completion times. Our research has determined that there are no specific policies in place around this topic at most universities. Graduate schools could take on the task of working on policies that allow for changes to thesis committee membership, thesis formats and evaluation, and completion timelines in order to better accommodate Indigenous research and Indigenous knowledges.

The publication of Indigenous knowledge that includes Indigenous languages may require thesis formats that are multi-media and not confined to the print format of standard theses. The metrics for thesis evaluation may need to be expanded to address the nature of Indigenous knowledge. Community-based research often takes longer to complete because of the need to establish and maintain research relationships.

As discussed throughout this report, our research has shown that universities are at different stages when it comes to such policies. Some interview participants emphasized the need for policies, so that the onus is not solely on students and faculty supervisors to find solutions for accommodating Indigenous research. At the same time, other participants were more hesitant, asking critical and challenging questions about the creation of such policies. And yet again, other participants pointed out that the current policies at their institution, while not proactively encouraging Indigenous research, also do not prevent or limit Indigenous research.

4.2.1.iii Increase Indigenous graduate student funding and services such as SAGE

Funding for Indigenous graduate students is a topic that was raised as an important issue by several of our participants. In the environmental scan, we found that there are quite a few scholarships and awards available for Indigenous students at Canadian universities, but that there is less of this specific funding available at the graduate level.

When establishing Indigenous graduate student services, graduate schools will have to grapple with the tension about the balance of effort and resources directed to reconciliation work in support of Indigenous students and for the education of non-Indigenous students. What kinds of services can and should be established for each group?

The Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement (SAGE) peer-support and faculty mentoring program has helped numerous graduate students engaged in Indigenous research across Canada since 2005. However, funding and university support for SAGE has varied. Universities, through their graduate schools, could provide sufficient financial support for their own SAGE pods. SAGE has been successful because it has been student-driven, the diversity of Indigenous knowledge and values have been respected, and the multi/inter/trans

An important role for the CAGS Reconciliation Task Force will be to think about systemic change.

disciplinary nature of the members has enriched students' learning and success. These features need to continue.

4.2.2 The Role of the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies

4.2.2.i Develop a CAGS National Strategy for Indigenous Graduate Education

The environmental scan, discussion groups, and interviews pointed out that a variety of efforts and outcomes exist in terms of Indigenous inclusion and reconciliation. This is important foundational work that needs to expand in order to support Indigenous students and Indigenous research. An important role for the CAGS Reconciliation Task Force will be to think about systemic change. However, systemic change requires systemic commitment, which necessitates both short-term and long-term actions. CAGS will need to make a commitment to Indigenous graduate education and to prioritize it, if the Reconciliation Task Force is to have any substantial impact. The development of a CAGS National Strategy for Indigenous Graduate Education will have systemic implications for CAGS as a national association and for its member graduate schools. This strategy will also facilitate a national leadership role and impact for CAGS in the area of Indigenous graduate education.

4.3.2.ii Create a CAGS national communications and coordinating role for Indigenous graduate education

Developing a CAGS National Strategy for Indigenous Graduate Education could be viewed as an extension of the existing

CAGS Strategic Plan 2016-2021, which has some key drivers that are pertinent to our recommendations. One of these key drivers is “Promoting Transformative Graduate Education” by forming working groups, producing best practice papers and resources, and establishing research partnerships with other organizations to address transformative approaches to graduate education (CAGS Strategic Plan, 2016). This key driver connects directly to our recommendation of facilitating information exchange. A National Strategy for Indigenous Graduate Education could also inform the CAGS Strategic Plan after 2021. CAGS could play a national leadership role in coordinating communications, sharing reconciliation actions, and developing a web portal of reconciliation resources that have transformative characteristics.

Another key driver is “Enhancing the Graduate Student Experience,” which involves undertaking projects that lead to student success, such as “supervision, academic support, health services and counselling, and other matters” (CAGS Strategic Plan, 2016-2021). These recommendations for graduate schools could become projects that are shared through CAGS activities. Some that have national implications, such as SAGE, could be supported through CAGS.

Conclusions

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s Calls to Actions (2015) in relation to reconciliation and education guided our research, which contributes new knowledge about the current state of reconciliation and Indigenous graduate education in Canada. Even though our

The time is right for CAGS to assume a national leadership position in Indigenous graduate education.

research focussed on examining reconciliation strategies since 2015, we acknowledge that universities and Indigenous communities have been engaged in related endeavours for many years. The reconciliation practices discussed in this report could not happen without this foundational work. What has been lacking is a focused examination of how graduate schools in Canada have addressed notions of reconciliation for all students and how they have addressed the needs of Indigenous graduate students. The focussed literature review, the environmental scan of graduate school websites, the conversations of discussion groups, and the interviews with university administrators and staff, taken together, have created a reconciliation landscape in Indigenous graduate education. Markers on this landscape include the meanings of reconciliation, ways that reconciliation is present or not in graduate programs and student services, and identification of reconciliation successes, challenges, gaps, and needs.

The recommendations aimed at graduate schools across Canada and the Canadian Association for Graduate Studies focus on strategies to build upon the successes of existing reconciliation approaches and to address systemic challenges that hinder Indigenous graduate education from reaching its full potential. The CAGS Task Force on Reconciliation will begin its work by examining this research and its recommendations. The authors of this

report believe that the time is right for CAGS to assume a national leadership position in Indigenous graduate education through addressing the recommendations

focused on CAGS in this report and through the future work of the Reconciliation Task Force.

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Appendix: Selected Secondary Literature for Further Reading

1. Archibald, J., Pidgeon, M., & Hawkey, C. (2010). **Aboriginal transitions: Undergraduate to graduate, phase 1, final report.** *British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education website*. Retrieved from <http://www.aved.gov.bc.ca/aboriginal/docs/educator-resources/UBCATRF-I.pdf> and the multimedia portal <http://www.aboriginaltransitions.ca/>

This study looks at factors that support and factors that hinder Indigenous students' access and admission to graduate programs. It also discusses ways in which supporting factors can be enhanced and hindering factors minimized. In particular, the study focuses on graduate program and mentoring models for Indigenous students in British Columbia, Canada, with broader implications. Central to the study is a discussion of the SAGE program in British Columbia.

The "Aboriginal Transitions: Undergraduate to Graduate" website (<http://www.aboriginaltransitions.ca/>) offers resources for Indigenous students on the topic of transitioning into grad school. The website includes videos of Indigenous students who share their experiences as graduate students in British Columbia.

2. Compton, J. (2016). **Contextualizing Indigenizing the academy/Mettre en contexte l'intégration des Autochtones dans le milieu académique.** *CAUT Bulletin*, 63(6), A3-A4.

Compton offers a critique of the 13 principles outlined by Universities Canada and criticizes the way in which they emphasize the importance of Indigenous post-secondary education for the labour market. His short piece addresses tendencies of the "managed university" in Canada in general where "university administrations continue to celebrate entrepreneurialism over the scholarly pursuit of basic research in the public interest" (A3). He situates Indigenization within this situation. He also argues that "Indigenization of the academy begins with the recognition that Indigenous people have suffered historical wrongs that require redress" (A3).

3. Gallop, C. J., & Bastien, N. (2016). **Supporting success: Aboriginal students in higher education.** *Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, 46(2), 206-224.

The authors conducted a qualitative study at a Canadian postsecondary institution and one of their most important findings is that, "if Canadian postsecondary institutions are committed to retaining Aboriginal students, these institutions need to better understand how to create positive and supportive relationships between Aboriginal students and their peers and instructors. The development of these positive relationships then needs to be formalized and incorporated into both institutional planning and faculty instructional support" (p. 206). The authors identify factors leading to Indigenous student success and their first factor is "social engagement and formal community-building efforts" (p. 209). Other factors that the authors identify include: supportive institutional space, Aboriginal-centred education programs, peer support, supportive teaching strategies, and positive instructor feedback.

- 4. Gaudry, A. (2016). Paved with good intentions: Simply requiring Indigenous content is not enough. *Active History*, (January 13, 2016). Retrieved from <http://activehistory.ca/2016/01/paved-with-good-intentions-simply-requiring-indigenous-content-is-not-enough/>**

Gaudry evaluates the Indigenous course requirement and argues that there are three key components for an “effective and purposeful implementation of an Indigenous content degree requirement at a Canadian university” (n.p.). These components are: “A clear and well-articulated rationale for pursuing this course of action that is communicated to the university community and general public. A critical mass of Indigenous content experts working as course instructors with enough job security and support to weather a potentially challenging classroom environment. Support for existing Indigenous content programs who are already doing this work (and ensuring that these courses are relevant for Indigenous students too)” (n.p.).

- 5. Gaudry, A., & Lorenz, D. (2018). Indigenization as inclusion, reconciliation, and decolonization: Navigating the different visions for Indigenizing the Canadian academy. *AlterNative: an International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 14(3), 218–227. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1177180118785382>**

Gaudry and Lorenz offer a framework for and a critique of different trends of Indigenizing post-secondary institutions in the wake of the TRC’s calls to action and Canada’s focus on reconciliation. The authors base their study on an anonymous online survey of 25 Indigenous academics and their allies, and they argue that “indigenization is a three-part spectrum. On one end is Indigenous inclusion, in the middle reconciliation indigenization, and on the other end decolonial indigenization” (218). The authors conclude that, “despite using reconciliatory language, post-secondary institutions in Canada focus predominantly on Indigenous inclusion” (218). The authors offer “treaty-based decolonial indigenization” and “resurgence-based decolonial indigenization” as a solution to Indigenizing the academy.

- 6. Greenwood, M., de Leeuw, S. & Ngaroimata Fraser, T. (2008). When the politics of inclusivity become exploitative: A reflective commentary on Indigenous peoples, Indigeneity, and the academy. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 31(1), 198-207.**

The authors of this article discuss three main points: (1) that there are advantages to Indigenous inclusion in academia (such as more Indigenous students, faculty, perspectives, and knowledges); (2) that there are certain dangers that come with current trends of Indigenization in academia (such as the burden on Indigenous scholars to do all the work to Indigenize the academy which, for example, results in Indigenous ABD scholars who never finish their doctorates) (pp. 198-9), the problem of academia not evaluating community-engaged research as meaningful research contributions (p. 201), or the problem that Indigenous scholars are often marked as scholars who focus exclusively on Indigenous issues (p. 202); and (3) they offer suggestions to change what they perceive as an power imbalance between the academy and Indigenous peoples (and knowledges).

7. **Johnson, S. (2016). Indigenizing higher education and the calls to action: Awakening to personal, political, and academic responsibilities. *Canadian Social Work Review*, 33(1), 133–139. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1037096ar>**

This study looks at a specific example of reconciliation action that was taken by the Indigenous Caucus and Equity Committee in the School of Social Work at UBC-Vancouver. The article makes suggestions for beginning reconciliation in postsecondary education and some of these suggestions could also be applied to graduate studies. For example, the institution needs to be aware of the Indigenous communities on whose lands it sits and start to develop meaningful relationships with these communities and offer employment and tuition waivers: “‘Indigenizing’ efforts must be specific to each institution, and begin based in their relationships with Indigenous Peoples upon whose traditional lands the institution is located” (p. 138).

8. **Mzinegiizhigo-kwe Bédard, R.E. (2018) “Indian in the cupboard”: lateral violence and Indigenization of the academy. In: C. Cho., J. Corkett., & A, Steele. (Eds.), *Exploring the toxicity of lateral violence and microaggressions*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74760-6_5**

The author raises concerns about certain trends of Indigenization which push Indigenous faculty into the position of stereotyped tokens and discusses universities’ “past of intra-professional aggressions towards Indigenous faculty” that needs to be addressed (p. 77). But Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard also speaks of a new Canadian national consciousness of the need for reconciliation, especially in Canadian universities (p. 86), emphasizing that “the realization of future relations must have guidance by Indigenous peoples in order [to] manifest in ways that do not perpetuate colonization” (p. 86). Mzinegiizhigo-Kwe Bédard argues that a “radical change process towards Indigenization of the university must be rooted in decolonization of the colonial structures (such as university governance, policies, curriculum, spaces, and the majority representation of non-Indigenous faculty)” (p. 90).

9. **Morcom, L., & Freeman, K. (2018). Niinwi-Kiinwa-Kiinwi: Building non-Indigenous allies in education through Indigenous pedagogy. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 41(3), 808–833.**

The authors look at the TRC’s Calls to Action in order to find out what their implications are “for conscious ally-building in teacher education” (p. 808). They “arrive at the conclusion that reconciliatory education can be accomplished through respect and love, alongside an unyielding commitment to honouring Indigeneity, speaking truth, and building wisdom” (p. 808). The authors offer a definition of “true reconciliation”: “True reconciliation requires us to engage Indigenous philosophies on ethical intercultural interactions, and strive to create meaningful, deep societal change where Indigenous and Western perspectives are treated with the same consideration” (p. 810).

10. **Pete, S. (2016). 100 Ways: Indigenizing & decolonizing academic programs. *Aboriginal Policy Studies*, 6(1). <https://doi.org/10.5663/aps.v6i1.27455>**

This article lists 100 suggestions for Indigenizing and decolonizing academic programs. Pete's definition of Indigenization is borrowed from the University of Regina's Indigenous Advisory Circle: "the transformation of the existing academy by including Indigenous knowledges, voices, critiques, scholars, students and materials as well as the establishment of physical and epistemic spaces that facilitate the ethical stewardship of a plurality of Indigenous knowledges and practices so thoroughly as to constitute an essential element of the university. It is not limited to Indigenous people, but encompasses all students and faculty, for the benefit of our academic integrity and our social viability" (p. 81).

**11. Pidgeon, M. (2016). More than a checklist: Meaningful Indigenous inclusion in higher education. *Social Inclusion, 4*(1), 77–91.
<https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v4i1.436>**

Pidgeon's article celebrates pockets of success within institutions and identifies areas of challenge to Indigenization. Pidgeon identifies institutional policies that are important for the Indigenous student experience. For example, she mentions admissions policies, which should consider prior knowledge and ensure culturally relevant admissions processes for students. Pidgeon identifies two areas of tension around admissions, which are Indigenous self-identification and financial barriers. She also points out that curriculums should include Indigenous perspectives and she suggests that libraries should start embracing Indigenous knowledges. She also discusses Indigenous course requirements and student services for Indigenous students. Pidgeon focuses on the detailed workings of these services, but also underlines the lack of funding for such services.

12. Pidgeon, M. Archibald, J. & Hawkey, C. (2014). Relationships matter: Supporting Aboriginal graduate students in British Columbia, Canada. *Canadian Journal of Higher Education, 44*(1), 1–21.

This article examines SAGE as a culturally relevant peer and faculty mentoring initiative. The article puts a strong emphasis on relationships and looks at those relationships that support Indigenous students' success. Specifically, it looks at SAGE as a program that supports and creates such relationships. The article's approach is holistic and mirrors the holistic approach that SAGE takes with regard to Indigenous (graduate) student support. The data for this paper comes from the Aboriginal Transitions: Undergraduate to Graduate Project discussed above. The article offers a detailed description of the SAGE program in British Columbia and analyzes students' evaluations of the SAGE program. Students mentioned that they benefitted from the encouragement they received from other students, that they appreciated hearing about other Indigenous students' work, and that it was important and inspiring to see other Indigenous graduate students succeed in their programs.

**13. Sterzuk, A., & Fayant, R. (2016). Towards reconciliation through language planning for Indigenous languages in Canadian universities. *Current Issues in Language Planning, 17*(3-4), 332–350.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2016.1201239>**

This article emphasizes the importance of Indigenous languages in the academy and it examines Indigenous language planning in higher education, which the authors find important for reconciliation. The authors discuss the dominance of English in postsecondary classrooms and then examine Indigenous language planning by focusing on the specific example of an initiative that introduced Michif as a credit course into a teacher education program. The authors argue that Indigenous languages need to be included more in university teaching and learning because they argue that English should not become a “ticket” which “is required for participation in academic communities” (p. 338).

14. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC). (2015). *Final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Volume one. Summary: Honouring the truth, reconciling for the future.* ([Second printing]). Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd.

The TRC’s final report mentions post-secondary education and includes statistics on Indigenous people in post-secondary education. The report also explains the existing funding backlog and financial barriers to post-secondary education. Call to action #11 is specific to post-secondary education: “We call upon the federal government to provide adequate funding to end the backlog of First Nations students seeking a post-secondary education.” The report also includes a section on “Education for reconciliation” (beginning on p. 234) and, in Call #62, calls for educating non-Indigenous people on Indigenous issues. Part ii of this call is relevant to the topics of this report: “Provide the necessary funding to post-secondary institutions to educate teachers on how to integrate Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods into classrooms.” Also relevant is Call #16: “We call upon post-secondary institutions to create university and college degree and diploma programs in Aboriginal languages.”