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Toward kəłłəx̌íls [dancing with strength]:
Language and Cultural Resurgence on the Colville Indian Reservation

By

SIMHAYKIN S. JACK
DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Native American Studies

in the

OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

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2023

Abstract

The present dissertation delves into the history of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation's language loss and trauma, what remains of our heritage languages, and the current policies – nationally, at the state level, and at the tribal level – that have been enacted to revitalize them. Centering family histories, personal narratives and interviews, this research tracks the history of heritage language use on the reservation, documents the trauma of US government-operated compulsory education for Indian children and subsequent language and culture loss, and discusses the various policies relative to language maintenance and revitalization on the reservation. First, I examine past actions perpetrated by the United States government which led to the state of Native American Peoples and their heritage languages and cultures today. Secondly, I look into current language ideologies on the Colville Reservation; particularly views regarding language maintenance and reproduction across generations. I conclude with an assessment of the community attitudes regarding the current efforts to revitalize Colville-Okanagan, Moses-Columbia, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin on and off the reservation and the implications thereof.

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Forward

way̓ sl̓x̌l̓áx̌t, inca iskwist smx̌íkn swawilla stensgar. intəmxʷúlaʔxʷ p̓up̓stn uł ncaʔlíwm. intúm̓ Virginia Jack iskʷists uł inmístəm Kenneth Patrick “Pat” Bray iskʷists. kn łcəcʔups uł łkíkxaʔ uł túm̓/skuy.

Hello friends, my name is SimHayKin (Female Grizzly Bear) Swawilla Stensgar. My homelands are Keller and Inchelium. My mother is Virginia Jack, and my father is Kenneth Patrick “Pat” Bray. I am a younger sister, an older sister, and a mother.

I was born and raised on the Colville Indian Reservation. I am a member of the Colville Confederated Tribes, I am San Poil, Nez Perce, Moses-Columbia, Nespelem, and Lakota. My people are from the San Poil Valley, from p̓up̓s-tn, and we are from wal’wama and from Pine Ridge. I know this reservation, this land, in my bones. When I come home, I can feel it to the core of my being. The smells, the sights, the sounds; I have known these things since I was a spirit not yet tied to a body. Our people have been here since time immemorial, since k̓ʷul̓ńcútn put us here. This land is our mother. Indeed, early anthropologists studying my people had a hard time understanding the relationship to place that we as San Poil Peoples have. They wrote:

> It seems that the tribe refused to make treaty or sell their lands to the United States Government, although willing to abide by its regulations and accept its protection. The reasons for this attitude appear to have been that the tribe did not want to be under any obligations to the whites by accepting compensation entailing supervision, or payments that might be construed as charity; and further that they revolted against the idea of selling their country. Their country was the same to them as their mother (Boas and Teit n.d., 208).

I have lived in Inchelium, Washington most of my life, but I’ve spent time all over the rez. When people talk about how Natives *used* to be Nomadic, I just laugh, because I think, heck, we still are. We travel all over the place to see family, to go to Powwows, ceremonies, literally for anything. I remember going to see all of my family, my brothers and sisters, everyone, all

over the rez growing up. My mom and dad were both born and raised in Nespelem, WA, so we spent a lot of time visiting aunties and uncles there. I also spent a lot of time in Keller, WA, because that's where my dad lived after he and my mom split up and that's where a bunch of his kids landed.

My research is centered on language and cultural revitalization. I also work on the history of Colonial/Assimilative Indian education and historical and Intergenerational trauma in Indigenous communities, including my own. I am a firm believer that our languages and cultures are the key to healing historical trauma. So much of Indigenous Identity and culture are embedded in language. Our connections to the land and everything around us are rooted in our languages, and when we reclaim that part of ourselves, we can become whole again. This is how we can begin to heal.

This research comes from a very personal place. It does not try to be objective. My mom was sent to multiple boarding schools during her youth and subsequently lost her heritage language. She made our heritage language a priority in our home despite her limitations. What she went through, what generations of our people went through, has been passed down: "just being who we are—part of the continuum of our ancestors' legacy right through to the few generations that preceded us. This was not by our own choice, and certainly this was not by our parents' choice as they attempted to shelter us from it, but the truth eventually prevails. Indigenous peoples often refer to our "blood memory," meaning that the experience of those that have gone before us is embedded in our physical and psychological being." (Younging 2017) In order to fulfill my role as "the transition between the past and future generations...[carrying] the responsibilities of honouring our ancestors' legacy and safeguarding the rights and well-being of future generations," (Younging 2017) I have spent years working towards language

revitalization, beginning with an understanding of language loss, then researching what has been done to reverse language loss by the Colville tribe. I seek to help my people reverse the language shift and facilitate a return to our heritage languages via policy change and education.

Dedication

This dissertation was written for isqlix^{w}, my people. It is dedicated to the Tmix^{w}, the ancestors, those who were sent away, beaten for carrying our languages for the next generation, for those who continue to carry our languages today, for the generations to come. It is dedicated to the people to be, the children and the seven generations to come who will inherit the world and everything we pass on to them.

Glossary

isqlixʷ- n̓səl̓xcin word for “the people”

kəłłəx̌íls- n̓səl̓xcin word that means dancing with strength

k̓ʷul̓n̓cútn- n̓səl̓xcin word for creator

límlmt- n̓səl̓xcin expression of gratitude

smúkʷaʔxn- n̓səl̓xcin word for balsamroot

snqsilxʷ- n̓səl̓xcin word for family

tmixʷ- n̓səl̓xcin word for ancestors

Chapter 1: Introduction

I have lived on the Colville Indian Reservation for my entire life. It is my home; and it is my peoples' ancestral homeland. The Colville tribes have a unique and fraught history. The twelve tribes that make up the Colville Confederated Tribes each have their own history and story of how they came to be, and how they came to the land that we all call home today. I am a mix of these tribes, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Moses-Columbia, and Nez Perce. My Nespelem and Sanpoil ancestors were from this land, they were not forcibly relocated like the Moses-Columbia and Nez Perce. I have felt a strong connection to this community since I was a small child, and I have been aware of a great deal of the history of the tribes and how they came to be, or how they came to this land. I have also grown up very aware of the history of the forced assimilation of our peoples through my own family's experiences, and the subsequent loss of language and culture. The present dissertation delves into the history of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation's language loss and trauma, what remains of our heritage languages, and the current policies – nationally, at the state level, and at the tribal level – that have been enacted to revitalize them. Centering family histories, personal narratives and interviews, this research tracks the history of heritage language use on the reservation, documents the trauma of US government-operated Indian education practices and its role in language and culture loss, and discusses the various policies relative to language maintenance and revitalization on the reservation. First, I examine past actions perpetrated by the United States government which led to the state of Native American Peoples and their heritage languages and cultures today. Then, I look into current language ideologies on the Colville Reservation, particularly views regarding language maintenance and reproduction across generations. I conclude with an assessment of the

community attitudes regarding the current efforts to revitalize Colville-Okanagan, Moses-Columbia, Nez Perce, and Sahaptin on and off the reservation and the implications thereof.

This research is essential when considering the broader conversations taking place right now regarding language revitalization in Native American and Indigenous communities. This work provides a context for language attrition on the Colville Indian Reservation, drawing from the assimilative educational practices and policies implemented by the federal government as early as the 1800s, and continuing up until the 1970s. It also considers the implications of current policies that have since been implemented to revitalize Native languages, beginning with the Native American Programs Act, and continuing to those language policies as of yet on the table. Additionally, it addresses the complexities involved in maintaining and revitalizing multiple languages in varying states of distress on a reservation composed of twelve distinct tribes.

Figure 1. Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation Map[1]

[1] Map source: Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation "Demographics"; https://www.cct-hsy.com/demographics, accessed August 31, 2023.

The Colville Confederated Tribes

The Colville Indian Reservation was created April 9, 1872, via Executive order by President Grant. The Colville Confederated Tribes are located in north central Washington along the Columbia River. Prior to contact, the "traditional territories of the Colville Tribes extended across eastern Washington and into portions of British Columbia, Oregon, and Idaho...[covering] approximately 39 million acres." (CCT History/Archaeology Program 2008). Today the Colville Indian Reservation is 1.4 million acres, and the Confederation includes twelve bands, the Wenatchee (Wenatchi), Nespelem, Moses-Columbia, Methow, Colville, Okanogan, Palus, San Poil, Entiat, Chelan, Nez Perce, and Lakes (Arrow Lakes) (See Figure 1 above; The Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation, 2014). The tribes are often broken into four groupings: (1) the Middle Columbia River Salishans; (2) the Nez Perce; (3) the Palouse; (4) and the Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville. I will briefly describe geographic and linguistic aspects of each of these four groupings in turn.

First, the Middle Columbia River Salishans (Sinkayuse, Wenatchee, Entiat, Chelan, Methow, Southern Okanogan, Nespelem, and Sanpoil) "lived traditionally along the middle Columbia River in northwestern Washington...along the Columbia River and, except for the Sinkayuse, also along its western or northern tributaries" (Miller 1998, 253). A subset of the Middle Columbia River Salishans, the Moses, Columbia, Wenatchi, Chelan, and Entiat were banded together under Chief Moses during the 1800's. These peoples are also linked linguistically, sharing the Moses-Columbia dialect of Salish, a group extensively documented by Nancy Mattina.

The territories of the second and third groups, the Nez Perce and Palouse, intersected. The Nez Perce "territory centered on the middle Snake and Clearwater rivers and the northern

portion of the Salmon River basin in central Idaho and adjacent Oregon and Washington" (Walker 1998, 420). The Palouse traditionally lived "near the confluence of the Snake and Clearwater rivers to the confluence of the Snake and Columbia rivers" (Sprague 1998). The languages, cultures and territories of these two groups are very closely related. The Nez Perce and Palouse are members of the same language family, Sahaptian. This group is well documented by Philip Cash Cash and Haruo Aoki.

The northernmost boundary for the fourth group – comprised of the Northern Okanagan, Lakes, and Colville – is marked by the head of Okanagan Lake, while the "Lakes extended from as far north as the vicinity of Revelstoke to as far south as Northport on the Columbia River" (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998, 238-39). The Colvilles, prior to displacement by the Lakes, lives along "the banks of the Columbia north of Kettle Falls, and from the Colville valley in the vicinity of Addy" (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998, 239). These groups are linked linguistically; all are members of the Interior Salishan family, speaking Colville-Okanagan, which has been extensively documented by Anthony Mattina (see 1982). Early anthropological accounts often group together the Okanagan, San Poil, Nespelem, and Lakes tribes, based on the premise that they share the greatest linguistic similarities (Turner 1980, 132).

Okanagan=Colville-Okanagan=Nsilxcín (ISO 639-3: oka) (Gordon (ed) 2005) is one of the 23 languages that make up the Salishan family. The Salishan family of languages is spoken throughout "southern British Columbia, Washington, northwest Oregon, northern Idaho, and western Montana" (Mithun 2001, 486). This language family is divided into a number of regions, including Interior Salish, which is further divided into, Northern and Southern regions. The Southern region is where the Okanagan language is spoken, along with Spokane-Kalispel-Flathead, Coeur d'Alene, and (Moses) Columbia(n). Okanagan=Colville-Okanagan=Nsilxcín

can be further divided into six dialects, Northern Okanagan, Lakes, Colville, Sanpoil=Sanpoil-Nespelem, Southern Okanagan, and Methow. "Nselxcin has the most speakers, estimated to be between 500 and 1000 in number. However, most Nselxcin speakers are in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. Among the Nselxcin dialects of the Colville Valley and the Northern Columbia, there are only a few elderly fluent speakers."[2] There are approximately 797 semi-fluent speakers in both Canada and the United States.[3]

The 12 tribes of the Colville Confederated Tribes are divided into four language groups, Colville-Okanagan, Moses-Columbia, Nez Perce and Sahaptin. The Colville-Okanagan language is broken into a "westerly Okanagan dialect continuum (Northern Okanagan, Southern Okanagan, and Methow) from an easterly Colville continuum (Lakes, Colville, and Sanpoil-Nespelem)" (Kennedy and Bouchard 1998). Related to Colville-Okanagan, Moses-Columbia, or "Columbian* (nxaʔamxcín 'the language of the people here) is the language of the downriver bands, the Sinkayuse, Wenatchee, Entiat, and Chelan" (Miller 1998). Nez Perce and Sahaptin are closely related languages "in the Sahaptian language grouping that dominates the southern Plateau" (Walker 1998). In order to maintain and revitalize our languages, the Tribal Council established a language department, which "carries out the essential and honorable function of perpetuating the culture and history of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation" (The Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation 2014). By an order from the Colville Business Council, the language department is responsible for "preserving, promoting and revitalizing our languages, cultures and cultural resources through recordings,

[2] http://www.interiorsalish.com/
[3] https://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/1919

carefully preserving and telling the stories of our elders (captikl[4]), tribal members and cultural properties" (The Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation 2014).

In hopes of halting, and perhaps even reversing, this shift, the twelve tribes have banded together to fight for change. We have initiated a number of language revitalization initiatives including: Master-Apprentice programs, multiple Immersion Schools (Hearts Gathered), modern Technology Tools (e.g. eBooks, language games, apps etc.), Language Nests (smaller, more intimate, starting point), Adult Language Programs, facilitated Family Based Programs and partnered with linguists to author dictionaries. We have three dedicated language immersion schools on the reservation, we have implemented language programs in the public schools on the reservation that teach one to two hours a week, and we have weekly community classes for each of the languages. In addition to the changes that the tribes are making, there have been advances at the national and state levels as well.

Indigenous Rights, Heritage Language Ideology, and Value

The longstanding mistreatment of Native peoples is widely known today, and indeed, following "World War II with the formation of the United Nations people around the world have recognized more and more how colonization trampled on human rights" (Reyhner, 2017, 3). The widespread destruction of Native peoples, cultures, and languages act as one of the most devastating legacies of this country. However, in 2007 with the passage of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), it was established that Language is an essential component of culture; it teaches us how to understand where we come from and who we are (UN General Assembly 2007). Language can be a weapon in times of war, but it can also

[4] captikl is the Salish word for traditional stories.

be a tool of healing for peoples who wish to return to traditional ways of being, rooted in culture and tradition. The programs that have arisen in the wake of Indian Self-Determination have been instrumental in the current efforts at language revitalization. According to attorney and scholar Walter Echo-Hawk, "the United States has sought to stamp out Native languages" (Echo-Hawk 2013, 200). However, if Indigenous peoples can push the United States to enforce the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, to protect the right to Indigenous languages, and enact "effective measures by the United States to protect the languages of indigenous peoples," (Echo-Hawk 2013, 200) the future of Indigenous languages will stabilize.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples affirms the basic human rights of Indigenous peoples. According to article 13 of the UNDRIP

> Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons (5).

In addition, the article also stresses that states are to "take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected" (5). If the United States were to take the aforementioned measures, Indigenous languages could no longer be stigmatized in favor of a prestige language like English, or Spanish. Additionally, with proper support from the federal government, under the provisions in article 14, of the UNDRIP, Indigenous communities would have the right to establish and manage their own Indigenous language immersion programs, both on and outside of their home communities (5).

Native languages are vital in that "they provide uniquely important cultural resources for allowing communities to remake themselves, to adapt to transformed social formations, and to recontextualize traditional practices to ever changing socioeconomic patterns" (Kroskrity and Field 2009, 3). Each Indigenous community has their own set of language ideologies "grounded

in the social distribution of both indigenous social inequality and the differential impact of colonial and postcolonial contact experiences" (Kroskrity and Field 2009, 6). Language ideologies can also be used as "a cultural resource in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality)" (Silverstein 2009, 22).

If we really want to change the state of Native languages and promote heritage language learning in our communities, we need to change the discourse. We need to ask "why?" our languages have gone out of use and "how?" that happened. In order to really engage in meaningful dialogue, we must try "to change the economic, techno-military, social and ideological circumstances that lead to language endangerment and disappearance of linguistic diversity in the first place" (Skutnabb-Kangas 2009, 1). Skutnabb-Kangas addresses linguistic genocide, assimilation, prestige language, and the need for change via the United Nations in her work. However, she does not address the painful and powerful history of forced re-education of Native peoples. Her work begins the conversation, and what I am trying to do with this dissertation, is address this alternative perspective.

Native American and Indigenous Studies Methodologies and Processes

> *"Since its inception, Native American Studies at UC Davis had offered a hemispheric approach to the study of indigenous peoples of the Americas. In the early 1970s, the founders of the program foresaw the need to address the transnational dimensions of Native American Studies." (Native American Studies n.d.)*

The study of Indigenous peoples has been widely practiced for hundreds of years; however, the research practices of these early scholars were highly problematic. In fact, "[t]he ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a

powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples" (Smith 1999, 1). Indeed, it is important to remember that "[r]esearch is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (Smith 1999, 5). Research carries weight. It has implications for the researcher and for the community that is being researched. However, as Native scholars, we can choose to do research that we know our communities are seeking and hold ourselves accountable to these communities via more holistic research practices, chiefly decolonizing methodologies, or Indigenous methodologies. An Indigenous "methodology recognizes the right of an Indigenous community to apply its standards to the use of its knowledge" (Whalen, Moss and Baldwin 2016, 16). Further, "Indigenous methodology involves critical reading of previous works on a topic to expunge anti-Indigenous concepts and language… [and while] expunging anti-Indigenous language, Indigenous methodology upholds Indigenous languages" (Whalen, Moss and Baldwin 2016, 16-7).

In her piece, *An Okanagan Worldview of Society*, Jeannette Armstrong introduces the concept of En'owkinwiwx, which illustrates how our people use kinship and land as a way of understanding and framing research (2008, 66-74). En'owkinwiwx weaves together the ways in which we as Okanagan peoples live, the ways we connect, our most basic needs, to how we should do research, how we should interact with our community. En'owkinwiwx asks that we value the balance and the voices of the minority. We must strive to embody these beliefs in all facets of our lives. If we think about the state of our peoples today, we can see that we need to change, we need to go back to the "Original Instructions" of our ancestors, be it in food ways, to return our peoples to health, or be it in lifeways, to return the balance to our habitat. We do not need outsiders to validate our knowledge, we do not need scientists to tell us what we already

know. We need to realize that, despite the value that the academy puts on Western knowledge, our own knowledge is what should be guiding us. Indeed, Greg Cajete argues that we must continually seek to bring our ideas, our perspectives as Indigenous peoples to the fore (2008, 253). We must Re-Indigenize, rebuild, and return to the ways of our people prior to colonization.

According to Indigenous scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, the impetus driving Native American Studies "'was to defend indigenous nationhood," and because sovereignty is the ultimate political and intellectual focus of Native studies, Native studies should promote sovereignty by centering Native peoples as the scholars of Native studies" (quoted in Teves, Smith and Raheja, 2015, 159). In this way, Native studies would depart from other disciplines, "It would emerge from within Native people's enclaves and geographies, languages and experiences, and it would refute the exogenous seeking of truth through isolation (i.e., the "ivory tower") that has been the general principle of the disciplines most recently in charge of indigenous study, that is, history, anthropology, and related disciplines all captivated by the scientific method of objectivity" (Teves, Smith and Raheja, 2015, 167).

Intimately intertwined with the manifestation of Native American studies is the discussion of sovereignty. Both Forbes and Cook-Lynn argue in their own ways that what drove Native activists and scholars to create Native American Studies as a discipline was the need to assert their voices as sovereign peoples with their own brand of "indigenous intelligentsia." Forbes states that, beginning in "about 1960 the movements to create Native American Studies as a new discipline and to create Native-controlled colleges have both had as one of their key objectives the liberation of the indigenous intelligentsia from the constraints imposed by the dominance of the European and Euro-North American colonial systems" (Johnson et al. 1998; p. 12). In this process of liberation, Forbes argues that the indigenous intelligentsia "must play a

major role in challenging not only the white structures of North America but also, when necessary, some of the ideas about sovereignty being promulgated by white governments and on occasion by tribal governments and their attorneys" (Johnson et al. 199; p. 15).

In essence, Native American Studies, then, can be characterized as the effort by Native peoples to give voice to their issues, to take back the narrative of Native peoples, and tell their truth. Native American Studies is not just the study of Native peoples, but the assertion of voice. Native American Studies seeks to instruct scholars in the ongoing struggle for sovereignty and autonomy of Native peoples through art, poetry, religion, philosophy, language, history and more. The drive to understand Native American Studies implies a desire to seek positive change with and for these communities. It is a reclamation of Indian education and a much-needed intervention.

The establishment of Native American Studies at the University of California, Davis, sought to broaden this discourse, and engage with Indigenous communities across the Western Hemisphere in discussion of the issues impacting Indian Country. This meant engaging beyond borders with other Indigenous communities and sharing experiences regarding art, poetry, religion, philosophy, language, history, policy and more. Indeed, the experiences of Indigenous communities across the globe are linked by the process of colonization and subordination. Even in the "last three decades there has been increased displacement of indigenous people from their traditional communities and reservations to marginal areas of industrial cities, agribusiness, and across international borders" (Hernández-Ávila and Varese 1999, 79). Despite the need to provide a platform for our Indigenous communities to share and discuss the topics most relevant to their communities, these issues "tend to be disregarded or misinterpreted by mainstream social scientists and humanists" (Hernández-Ávila and Varese 1999; 80). In contrast, UC Davis

actively engages with these discourses and "in the preservation and development hemispherically of Native peoples and their communities" (Forbes, Crum, et al. 2002).

Native American studies is about creating a new body of Native American scholars and allies who work together to improve Native communities and lives. It is about teaching in a Native-centric fashion in a meaningful way. This is done largely through an "interdisciplinary approach to the world of American Indian peoples, offering a comprehensive and comparative perspective...built around the concept of an interdisciplinary and holistic approach to the history, culture, art, literature, and society of American Indian peoples with some comparative study of other Indigenous groups (Forbes, Crum, et al. 2002, 97). This is important because, if Native American studies seeks to create leaders who will continue sharing their truth, continue teaching, continue learning, and come into Indigenous communities to work together for the benefit of the people, to give them a voice, to prevent further land loss, power loss, cultural loss, and language loss, they need to work together and to engage across nation state boundaries (Absolon 2001, Smith 1999).

Modeling the Roots of Indigenous Research

Figure 2. smúkʷaʔxn (balsamroot)

Native scholars must remain cognizant of our histories, and actively choose to do research that we know our communities are seeking and hold ourselves accountable. I feel that, as an Indigenous scholar, I cannot help but be influenced by my identity in relation to my family, tribe, and surrounding communities. As a Native woman who grew up on the Colville Indian Reservation, it is already a part of me. Figure 2 (above) offers an image of smúkʷaʔxn (balsamroot), which is one of the first foods of the Plateau tribes. The shoots are eaten in early spring and the stem is eaten in late spring. The roots are dried and pounded into a powder for dumplings and other foods. This nourishment is both metaphorically and materially significant to my work. These are my roots; this is my worldview. Maintaining these connections throughout this process as a scholar was and continues to be the real challenge. Anishinaabekwe scholar

Kathleen Absolon's explanation of Indigenous research methodologies as a petal flower in *Kaandossiwin: How We Come to Know* (2011) resonates deeply with my own experience. Table 1 (below) outlines Absolon's "flower model" (2011, 165-6), which explains the flower's roots as representing the *worldview* (the foundation for any Indigenous methodology); the center of the flower represents the *self*, the leaves represent the *journey*, the stem represents *critical consciousness and supports* as the analytical backbone, and finally, the petals represent the *methods* (Absolon 2011, 12).

Roots: Worldview
• Prioritize Indigenous knowledge, worldviews and principles in the re-search.
• Position Indigenous ways at the centre and refuse to see them in relation to western/dominant ways of knowing.
Flower Centre: Self
• Place yourself as the central presence in the research.
• Know your location: who you are, what you know and where you are from.
• Commit to re-searching relationships, Indigenous peoples and communities.
• Dedicate to recovering humanity and rehumanizing knowledge production.
• Remember your motives and re-member your relations.
Leaves: The Journey
• Embark on processes and travel on search journeys that are emergent, transformative, learning and healing.
• Attune to process.
Stem: Critical Consciousness and Supports
• Have a strong backbone: a confrontation of colonial history with socio-political honesty.
• Integrate Indigenous knowledge and decolonizing ideologies, thoughts, feelings, frameworks and models of practice.
• Acknowledge the supports of ancestors, family, community, Elders and Creation.
• Capitalize on our strengths and supports throughout.
Petals: Diversity in Methods
• Accept diverse, eclectic and varied Indigenous approaches as essential and useful for Indigenous scholars' research.
• Use a wholistic and cyclical approach that attends to Spirit, heart, mind and body.
• Use methods that are culturally relative and rooted in doing and being. Methodologies rooted in oral traditions involve ceremony, song, stories, teachings and knowledge that are creative, diverse, visual, oral, experiential and sensory based.
Environmental Contexts
• Make strategic decisions related to coping with obstacles and gatekeepers, the committee and writing oral traditions.
• Negotiate and deal with the clash of academic and Indigenous theories, methods and expectations to create change.

Table 1. Absolon's "Flower Model" for Indigenous Methodology

The flower's roots as worldview emphasizes a prioritization of Indigenous knowledges, worldviews, and principles. They are at the core of everything. In the research I conducted for this dissertation, it was my goal to use Absolon's model as a guide. I wanted to integrate each facet of this theoretical framework into my work to the best of my ability, to create truly Indigenous re-search. In this way, we honor

> cultural protocols, values and behaviors as an integral part of methodology. They are 'factors' to be built in to research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the final results of a study and to be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language that can be understood (Smith 1999, 15).

Indigenous methodologies articulate "the right of an Indigenous community to apply its standards to the use of its knowledge," (Miller and Riding In 2011, 14). Additionally, they involve "critical reading[s] of previous works on a topic to expunge anti-Indigenous concepts and language… [and while] expunging anti-Indigenous language, Indigenous methodology upholds Indigenous languages" (Miller and Riding In 2011, 16). We as Indigenous scholars must reassert our voices, and return to our traditional methodologies, and seek to find new ones, sharing and contributing our epistemologies through scholarship.

The next component of Absolon's model is the flower center, the self. Instead of attempting to conduct this research distantly, as objectively as humanly possible, the Indigenous scholar seeks to place themselves at the center, locating themselves, committing themselves to their community, dedicated to infusing real human Indigenous presence into their work. They must seek to maintain a constant connection to their motives and relations throughout. This facet of my research was, on the surface, relatively straightforward. As a Colville Tribal member, I was dedicated to pursuing research relevant to both me and my community. Additionally, as my family and community have informed me on the world around me my entire life, I felt obligated

to include their voices here as well. During the process of putting this dissertation together, I used archival materials and peer reviewed articles, I was instructed to keep my voice and perspective out of the work, but along the way, I was also taught that my voice has power, and that my community's voice has value, so I was compelled to integrate them as well. I am reminded every day of the people who helped me bring this work to light. They guided and continue to guide me moving forward.

The next part of the model are the leaves, which represent the journey. In this phase, Absolon asks that we as Indigenous scholars, like the leaves of the flower, embark on "journeys that are emergent, transformative, learning and healing" (Absolon, 2011, 165-6). In doing so, we may become more attuned to the process. Although this phase is perhaps the most theoretical component of the model, the process of journeying is very familiar to me as a member of a seasonally mobile tribe. My mother and father were and continue to be keen to travel for any number of reasons, as I touch upon later in the dissertation. So, when it came to re-search, I was motivated to go where the work took me. I attended grad school in California, but my home is in Washington state. During the summers I would travel home to be with family and to work for my tribe as an intern. I traveled to meet up with people to interview, to make connections, to acquire research materials. I've moved almost every year of my life since I finished high school. This part of the process felt as natural to me as breathing. It was during this time, at this phase of my work, that I went through the most change. I was changed by every single interview, every encounter. Some were hard, some were fun, some were beautiful, while others were painful. But I needed those lessons to get where I am today; they made me stronger and prepared me for what was to come.

This part of the model focuses on the stem, which represents critical consciousness and supports. This part of the model acts as the backbone and here Absolon asks that we be strong in confronting colonial history and honest in addressing socio-political conditions. We are also asked to integrate decolonizing ideologies and acknowledge the support of our communities and capitalize on their strengths. In this particular facet of the model, I think that my work is on point. This dissertation addresses the more brutal aspects of colonialism, delving into the trauma my community sustained during the boarding school era. I not only utilize archival materials and research articles, but community and family narratives from this time period as well. I highlight not just the trauma, but the resilience and fortitude of my people. The policies regarding Indian education sought to destroy, but because of the strength of a few we were able to maintain a connection to our languages and cultures today; retaining the ultimate source of our healing as a people.

In Absolon's model, the petals of the flower model represent diversity in methods. This part of the model seeks to attune research with mind, body, spirit, and heart. To root your work in tradition, culture, and teachings. Here we are asked to engage with our own cultural background to inform our work, to look at our own songs and stories to bring each of our senses into the process. When I think about how I employ this in my own re-search, I am reminded of the songs and stories I was raised on. How they orient me to the places that are most sacred to my people. They tell us how we came to be, they are just as much a part of me as my nose or lungs. This truth manifests itself in my dissertation via the narratives that I incorporate into my work, the voices of the elders, and leaders, and community members I call upon to share their knowledge. I choose to keep our oral traditions and stories alive by bringing them into the circle with me. They inform me, and now they get to inform you too.

The final component of the framework that Absolon developed is called *Environmental Contexts.* This portion asks that we "make strategic decisions related to coping with obstacles and gatekeepers, the committee and writing oral traditions" (Absolon, 2011, 165-6). It also seeks to inform us that we must find a way to navigate academia and our traditional worldviews to bring new methods and ways into the conversation. The latter is something that every Indigenous scholar and/or person of color must contend with in Academia. Eurocentric perspectives have been held as the standard for too long, it needs to be shaken up with new diverse voices. As for the first part, this is something that I have been forced to contend with not only in academia, but within the halls of my own tribal offices as well. It was a difficult task, but I found my way eventually. The most important thing to remember is that you need to honor your heart, and you need to remember that the work you are doing isn't just for you, but for your community as well with that understanding, you can push past the most difficult obstacles with your integrity intact.

New Directions: 2017 CCT Summer Internship and x̌smr̓imstn [good medicine]

During the summer of 2017, I was employed as an intern with the planning department for the Colville tribes on a Native American Research Centers for Health (NARCH) grant.

> The NARCH program, in operation since 2000, supports partnerships between American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) Tribes or Tribally-based organizations and institutions that conduct intensive biomedical, behavioral, or health services research. The NARCH program promotes opportunities for conducting academic-level research, providing research training and development for students, faculty members, and Tribal members to meet the health research needs of communities. The NARCH also supports the development of research capacity with the long-term goal of reducing health disparities in AI/AN communities.[5]

Under the directives of the grant, the tribes were trying to build up their research capacity by training up Colville tribal members actively enrolled in college. By employing tribal students as

[5] https://www.ihs.gov/dper/research/narch/

interns and giving them training in basic research protocols and tasking them with small projects they could complete over the summer, the tribes hoped that when the students finished their degrees, they would return to the reservation to work for the research center. This mission was guided by the understanding that the best people to do research on the reservation would be our own people.

Housed within the Colville Tribes Planning and Health and Human Services Programs, the Colville Research Center, also known as x̌smr̓imstn (good medicine) began a summer research academy. They developed a Tribal Scientific Advisory Board (TSAB) and four subcommittees; Institutional Review Board (IRB), finance, policies and procedures and tribal research agenda. The research center also has plans to assist the local college in developing research coursework that will aid tribal members who wish to work in research careers. This research academy was funded through a Native American Research Centers for Health (NARCH) grant with the express purpose of training tribal members enrolled in college to conduct research on the reservation. Since the NARCH was established in 2000, one of their foremost objectives has been "reducing mistrust and strengthening partnerships between AI/AN communities and academic/research-intensive institutions…[and] supporting the training and development of AI/AN scientists and health research professionals" (Davis, 2017, 6). Each of the grantees "are committed to reduce distrust in research by 'Growing your own' through the development of training and faculty development programs as a strategy for overcoming distrust" (Davis, 2017, 14). In addition, by 'Growing your own' tribal researchers, tribal communities like my own are able to engage in "both 'mainstream' and indigenous methodologies to increase the translation of research into practice in the community" (Davis, 2017, 14).

In 2016 the tribes distributed a survey in hopes of gauging community attitudes regarding research conducted on the reservation. The results of that survey were very clear, if the research is conducted by tribal members, rather than outside entities, they have greater faith in the overall process. Typically, researchers come to the reservation, conduct research, and then leave without ever sharing the results of their findings. This practice has left a lasting sense of distrust with much of the tribal membership regarding research in general, regardless of the type. The prospect of having research conducted by tribal members that grew up on the reservation gave many of those surveyed a sense of trust, and hope that things might actually be improved under such a system. With those findings fresh on their minds, the Colville Research Academy started planning for the next summer.

During the summer of 2017, I was hired on as an intern in this academy. Along with three other interns, we were tasked with conducting focus groups with elders in our community. We hoped to get participants from each of the twelve tribes, and from each of the four districts. Under the directives of the grant, the tribes were trying to build up their research capacity by training up Colville tribal members actively enrolled in college. By employing tribal students as interns, giving them training in basic research protocols, and tasking them with small projects they could complete over the summer, the tribes hoped that when the students finished their degrees, they would return to the reservation to work for the research center. This mission was guided by the understanding that the best people to do research on the reservation would be our own people.

In 2017, the second year of the grant, our assigned project was a Colville Tribal Heritage Manual. We were tasked with interviewing tribal elders to better understand what it takes to be a competent Colville tribal member. The intent was to bring tribal members back to their culture

and to their roots through this manual, and to share knowledge and resources with tribal members employed by the tribe and those interested in learning more about their tribal identity. We tried to make sure that we spoke with tribal members from each of the 12 tribes, to document their experiences, their spiritual practices, their cultural beliefs, their child rearing practices, community building, ceremonial practices, everything that they wanted to tell us, to teach us. Prior to jumping into this project, we were sent to the Northwest Portland Area Indian Health Board (NPAIHB) to an annual two-week training for Native researchers across the nation. During our time down there, we learned how to conduct focus groups and interviews to collect data, how to craft interview questions, and how to manage grants, among other areas. When we returned to our reservation after the training, we went straight to work on the questions. We isolated key areas that we wanted to know more about, and tried to craft questions based on our training that would bring out the most discussion. As we worked, we added questions and we got rid of questions in equal turns. We also conducted practice focus groups where we learned what worked and what didn't. We operated under a model called fast cycle learning wherein we changed our tactics with each new encounter until we had honed our craft.

It was both a difficult and rewarding endeavor. We learned a great deal about our culture and practices, our history, and more through this experience. The more we worked the more we learned, and sometimes we had hard conversations, and sometimes we laughed until we cried, but each time we came away knowing that what we were doing was important, that we could really help people. Even if this project never got out, it taught those of us involved so much about our history and culture.

As we worked, we tried to steer our discussions with the elders in a direction that might also help me when it came time to work on my dissertation. So, we talked about language and

education in many of our interviews and focus groups. However, as the years from this project stretched out before me, I lost more and more of the raw data that I would need to properly discuss this very important material. The turnover in programs and employees involved in this project changed so much over the years that, by the time it came for me to write my tribal research permit and my IRB, no one knew where the data was located anymore.

Upon hire, we were sent to Portland for the Northwest Portland Area Indian Health Board annual summer institute, a summer program that offers tribal members from across the nation the opportunity to take intensive training programs in research skills. We were tasked with taking the seminar on conducting focus groups in preparation for our summer research project. Once we had completed our training, we were sent back to the reservation to begin working on the interview questions. Once the questions were well in hand, we needed to start recruiting potential participants for the focus groups. We began by contacting tribal elders who worked for the tribes; among those we connected with, we were able to establish a great partnership with the Peacemakers Circle. From there, we began conducting mock focus groups with tribal employees, to practice our technique and work out any issues. We determined that meeting with folks in the tribal government center worked pretty well, as it is a large central location with numerous places to conduct interviews. The purpose of this project was to develop a Colville Tribal Heritage Manual, to aid tribal members and employees who would like to know more about tribal history and culture; the other purpose of the project was to develop Colville community researchers who will contribute towards the development of a research portfolio for the Colville Tribes, to minimize distrust about research done within Native communities, while maximizing program capacities by controlling data.

The work we were doing on this project was only one part of a much larger whole. The

overall goal of the project was to “Improve health and safety of elders on the Colville Reservation through the development of a culturally appropriate heritage manual, a scientifically sound assessment of tribal elders’ ‘needs’” (Rattler, 2017). The manual was meant to serve as a way to incorporate cultural teachings into the standardized tribal staff orientation by sharing tribal history, practices, and philosophies. We also wanted to create a web portal to share information and connect tribal members with elders willing to share their knowledge. During one of our practice focus groups, our supervisor really explained the project quite well, saying

> “we have a lot of young people that are asking, asking for that. And they don’t know how, or who to go to. And that’s why we’re trying to put this information together so that it’ll be accessible for people. So that if they want to learn that they know...maybe we could put names in there of people that they could go and talk to, you know. As well as reading about it. But that’s why we’re doing this project or trying to do this to gather that information. So we...you know can learn by example but if you don’t have that example how do we pass those things on? Because if we lose that we’re you know, we lose everything. And so that’s what we’re really interested in doing. So if we would learn these things and these teachings. You know, maybe we could start in the daycare even, you know. A lot of those kids could learn some of that and maybe teach their parents at the same time so that keeps being passed on, but correctly, with these real deep teachings. That’s what we’re trying to get at. And it’s going to be a work in progress for a long time. But this is kind of what we’re trying to get at. So we thank you for your, you know your time and everything, all your words that you gave us today (Focus Group, 11 July 2017).

Methodology of x̌smr̓imstn

The way that we approached this project was very unique in that it changed in almost every way imaginable from one day to the next. The methods employed in this study were entirely dictated by the community. We worked to ensure that the elders that we were working with were comfortable each step of the way. Inherent in every change we made was a profound level of respect for our elders and their time. As they are the source of this knowledge, we wanted to make sure to honor them, for their time, and for sharing this history, and culture, and so much more with us. From crafting the questions to conducting the focus groups and

interviews, the protocols we followed were dictated by our elders. This level of respect, this research paradigm, is entirely Indigenous. “Indigenous knowledges comprise a specific way of knowing based upon oral tradition of sharing knowledge.” (Kovach, 2010, p. 40) This is particularly important for my community, as this was the means by which we imparted knowledge and passed on our language, culture and traditions. In this way, we are able to honor this knowledge system, and conduct research within our communities in a respectful manner. Housed within Indigenous methodologies are so many ways of collecting and analyzing data. When I think about the process we went through to gather this knowledge, I think of Margaret Kovach, who employs the Conversational Method, “a means of gathering knowledge found within Indigenous research.” (Kovach, 2010, p. 40) She states that this method is “of significance to Indigenous methodologies because it is a method of gathering knowledge based on oral story telling tradition congruent with an Indigenous paradigm.” (Kovach, 2010, p. 40) This project was undertaken to collect oral history and culture from tribal elders across the reservation, so it really resonated with the work we were doing.

Another Indigenous form of research methodology that we employed during this project was very related to that used by Kawagley, “the traditional Yupiaq method of research—that is, patient observation through participation over a long period of time, reflection on things that I saw and heard, and, unobtrusively, informally checking out my tentative conclusions with villagers” (Kawagley 2006, 144). Following Kawagley, we connected our research intersected with our tribal oral traditions, melding the two (22).

After our focus group training in Portland, we returned to Nespelem ready to work. Our boss had already begun drafting ideas, so we weren’t starting from scratch. The first item we had to guide our work was a word map. At the center of the map lay the Colville Tribes, and

radiating out in the four directions were the words, Mental, Physical, Social, and Emotional. From each of those lay another set of keywords. Beyond Mental was Education, Tradition, Identity, and Psychology, from Physical, there lay Food, Culture, and Health, from Social, Tribes, District, Family, and Customs & Laws, and from Emotional lay Belief, Wellness, Self, and Heritage. Labeled above the diagram we were given were the words Historical Trauma. As we familiarized ourselves with each of these terms, and their parent terms, we came to understand that the reason Historical Trauma was over everything, was because it literally influenced every aspect of these topics. We needed to understand that as we began drafting questions based on this diagram. Working with this diagram as a starting point was simultaneously helpful, and frustrating. We were able to use some of the key topics, while some were lost in the process of crafting questions for our focus groups.

As we learned more about what our boss envisioned when he crafted the word map, in regard to the topics he had chosen, we started to formulate ideas about how to craft questions in relation to each of these key terms. As we made our way through the list of suggested topics, our boss provided us a list of possible questions we could use for this topic or amend. The questions provided were sometimes too broad, were not culturally appropriate, were not applicable to our tribes, or didn't elicit useful information. As we proceeded, we amended or removed a great deal of his early work. Since our boss was not from our community, and was not a tribal member, his input, although well meant, needed substantial revision before we could present to tribal elders. Since we knew that education would be a very sensitive subject for many elders from our community, we wanted to give special attention to these questions. The draft questions we received, although at times useful, were sometimes problematic, or accusatory in nature. As such it was tricky to understand what our boss was looking for, and how to ensure that we were

respectful of our elders.

As people who had been born and raised on the reservation, it was our job to make sure that we were accountable to our community. We needed to make sure that we were serving our community and doing good quality work for the center. In addition to ensuring we were being respectful, we had to figure out how to open dialogue with the elders, how to pull them out of their shell, and open up. With each new draft of questions, we trimmed the total down from some 12 pages to something more manageable. We had to make sure that the language was appropriate, and the questions were open enough to encourage dialogue. To that end, we practiced our questions on one another, with our families, and with anyone who would listen. Through this process we were able to determine which questions were the most useful, and which we needed to pull entirely. By the end we completely eliminated the physical questionnaire, opting instead for an entirely oral format.

As we moved from asking questions to finding participants, each of us came up with a list of potential elders we could interview. From there, we asked family and friends if they knew anyone we should talk to. We also asked people that worked with the tribes if they would like to participate. That is how we composed our first and second interviews. From there, we discovered a great resource in the Peacemakers Circle, a tribal program comprised of elders from each district to help with community issues. Through each interview and focus group we found more potential participants and scheduled more follow-up interviews with elders who wanted to speak with us more.

With each focus group and interview that we did, we made changes. The first round was too formal, and the elders we were working with weren't comfortable. The next phase, we tried to loosen the structure, to make it more of a conversation. By the end of the summer, we had

shed the last vestiges of the structure that we had begun with, and instead had coffee with elders in their homes, and had conversations. These proved to be the best ways to really communicate with our elders, ensuring they were comfortable, and willing to talk with us. The introduction proved to be the most important facet of the interviews and focus groups. We also had to ensure that we went around the room for responses, because otherwise, some elders would defer to those older than themselves, and we wouldn't get as much information from them. With each interview we did, we learned more. We were constantly changing our tactics to make sure that everyone was comfortable, and we could really just talk with them. When we consider the work of Feminist scholars Eve Tuck, Haliehana Stepetin, Rebecca Beaulne-Stuebing and Jo Billows we come to understand that there is so much more to interviewing or visiting with our communities. "Visiting is a practice based upon consent, allowing to know and unknow, considering a willingness to receive visits as gifts, and eventually a responsibility to continue the perpetuation of stories facilitated through visiting" (Tuck, Stepetin, Beaulne-Stuebing and Billows 2023, 145). When we consider what we sought to learn through these interviews and the process of revising the structure we are reminded that "Visiting reinforces lessons, allows us the opportunity to listen to a story again and again until the lesson is clear. Or perhaps, the lessons shift. Visiting invites lessons. Intentionally seeking visits invites learning." (Tuck, Stepetin, Beaulne-Stuebing and Billows 2023, 145-6). This is how we can shift from facilitating, to learning.

As the interviews progressed, we moved away from the list of questions we had generated, and more toward the introduction we gave at the beginning of the interview or focus group. Cultural protocol dictates that when you introduce yourself, you share the names of your parents, and grandparents, and in some cases your great grandparents depending on the ages of

the participants. This introduction also includes where you and your family are from. By telling others this background information, you form connections with the people around you, sometimes learning you are family, or close friends. It helps you build rapport with the participants. You can also share your tribal affiliation, which can serve to bring you closer together, or pull you further apart. It became more and more important to go through this step with each of the elders we were interviewing to familiarize them with our project, and why we were doing it. My sister and I framed our questions about history and culture through a very personal lens. As our grandparents had long since passed away, many of the teachings we hoped to learn about, had not been passed down to us. By making it clear that we wanted to know because we never had the opportunity to learn really helped the elders understand why we were there. In our second mock focus group, I remember that Barb was talking about traditional gathering places, and she kept saying that our families needed to pass down these things if we really wanted to know about them. I spoke up then, letting her know that my sister and I "don't have grandparents anymore. We were little when they were gone, really little. So, what if we don't have people to teach us these things...And there's loads of kids just like us that don't have grandmas or grandpas or anyone that can teach us these things?" (Focus Group #2, 11 July 2017) When she learned why we wanted to learn, why we were asking all of these questions, not just for ourselves, but for those tribal members who had also lost their grandparents, she was much more receptive to our questions and open to sharing what she knew. Barb let us know then and there, "Just call me Grandma Barb...I'll be your grandma." (Focus Group #2, 11 July 2017) Gloria, another participant in the focus group then added,

> "Okay, I think your question is valid. Because I was raised without grandparents...And so I know what you're talking about...What you're doing today is exactly what you should be doing. When you go to someone like this and you're asking for something...you don't come empty handed. You bring them a gift, whatever you can afford. And, you know, if

you want them to teach you, you know, just offer something and then sit back and listen. Because if you go to Barb, I'm sure she can talk to you for days and days. Yeah, yeah. And that, I think, is very admirable for you" (Focus Group #2, 11 July 2017).

The Peacemakers Circle

During the course of our interviews over the summer, we conducted a focus group with tribal members from the Omak district who were involved with the Peacemaker circle. The Peacemaker Circle is a tribal program developed as a resource for tribal members to offer support in the form of talking circles for tribal members to help them address and heal from traumatic experiences, past or present. Whether it's divorce, custody issues, domestic violence, drug addiction, or abuse. The Peacemaker Circle works with a number of programs across the reservation to share their time and perspectives as tribal elders with diverse backgrounds. During the course of this interview, we learned a great deal about this group of elders, and their vast experience growing up on the reservation, overcoming life's obstacles, working in a number of fields directly and indirectly related to the services provided by the circle, and how they came together to help our tribal membership.

This focus group was composed of three elders, two men and one woman. They each had something different to bring to our group. One had overcome addiction and came to work in social services, one worked in the early iteration of our behavioral health program, and the other worked in mental health. All three came to work for the Peacemaker Circle in their own way. As each of the elders spoke their piece, they shared pieces of themselves, they spoke of the hardships of growing up on the reservation in the 1930's, the low life expectancy, the high infant mortality, the lack of resources, and how the elders tried to protect the younger generations, stating

….they had a secret society where they would meet and speak the language to each other.

> They didn't want us to know that stuff, I guess they didn't want us to get in trouble for knowing it. They'd shoo us out of the house so they could meet and speak to each other. Sometimes we would sneak back and try to listen to them. They didn't want us to know the language." (Focus Group, 8/1/17)

Despite these efforts at protecting their children and grandchildren from the language and culture, they still sought it out. They still believed in the power of language and culture, the importance of that link. JM later revealed that when she needed help, she turned to a tribal elder to conduct a ceremony for her. JM spoke of healing and how the elders

> "had this way of healing people. They would make you one with your spirit and all living things…when you have this oneness with your spirit you just know what to do. I was cured by an old healing ceremony. That's the difference between our old medicine and this new medicine. The old medicine sought to cure, to heal the disease. New medicine is all about disease management." (Focus Group, 8/1/17)

She had so much faith in the power of her people, her culture that she turned to them for help, disparaging western medicine as largely ineffective.

During this focus group we were speaking largely to retired professionals in Health and Human Services for the tribes. They spoke from years of experience in some of the hardest jobs. But they spoke of how their language, their culture, their identity as Native peoples helped to keep them grounded, and when they needed help, they turned to that rich well provided by their own people for support. We ended up interviewing many different members of the PMC over the summer, from each of the four districts. During each of the interviews and focus groups we isolated key themes as outlined through the introduction we provided at the start of each session.

The Questions

The interviews and focus groups that we conducted back in 2017 were a revelation to me. I had been living down in California for a few years already, working on my degree. It was really hard on me being so far away from my home and my family, but I felt like it was something that

I had to do. That with everything I learned, I could come back to the reservation and really make a difference, help my people somehow. But I had been so physically disconnected that I started to feel like I didn't know what I was doing, and I was losing myself somehow. I spoke with a man that was working on the project with us at the time, and he told me that the more I learned, the more educated I became, the more I was turning my back on my people and our beliefs and practices. At the time, I was in such a fragile state that I believed him, I wondered if that was what I was doing, because I had cut myself off in coming to California. It was like a physical blow, it felt crushing. But as we worked over the summer, as we spoke with the elders, as we learned from them, I knew that he was wrong. I came to know that what I was doing was right, that my people needed me to learn from the elders so that I could share their teachings with others. With each interview I felt like I was building myself up, getting stronger, preparing for what was to come, and I needed that, and they needed that too. The work that I am doing with this research is a love letter to the people who suffered, to the people who fought back, to the people that didn't make it. This work was some of the hardest, but also some of the best I have ever found myself involved in.

In 2017, I joined a small group of tribal student researchers to conduct a survey regarding attitudes about research conducted on the reservation, and the overall consensus was that if the research were conducted by tribal members, rather than outside entities, they would have greater faith in the process. As it was, researchers would come to the reservation, conduct research, and leave, without sharing the results of their findings. This practice left the membership with a sense of distrust and hesitancy regarding research in general, regardless of the type. The prospect of having research conducted by tribal members that grew up on the reservation gave many of those surveyed a sense of trust, and hope that things might actually be improved under such a system.

With those findings fresh on their minds, motivating them forward, they started planning for the next summer. In 2017, working with a mix of old and new interns, they conducted the next project.

In this second year of the grant, our assigned project was a Colville Tribal Heritage Manual. We were tasked with interviewing tribal elders to better understand what it takes to be a competent Colville tribal member. The intent was to bring tribal members back to their culture, to their roots through this manual. To share knowledge and resources with tribal members employed by the tribe and those interested in learning more about their tribal identity. We tried to make sure that we spoke with tribal members from each of the 12 tribes, to document their experiences, their spiritual practices, their cultural beliefs, their child rearing practices, community building, ceremonial practices, everything that they wanted to tell us, to teach us. Prior to jumping into this project, we were sent to the Northwest Portland Area Indian Health Board (NPAIHB) to an annual two-week training for Native researchers across the nation. During our time down there, we learned how to conduct focus groups and interviews to collect data, how to craft interview questions, and how to manage grants, among other areas. When we returned to our reservation after the training, we went straight to work on the questions. We isolated key areas that we wanted to know more about, and tried to craft questions based on our training that would bring out the most discussion. As we worked, we added questions and we got rid of questions in equal turns. We also conducted practice focus groups where we learned what worked and what didn't. We operated under a model called fast cycle learning wherein we changed our tactics with each new encounter until we had honed our craft.

It was both a difficult and rewarding endeavor. We learned a great deal about our culture and practices, our history, and more through this experience. The more we worked the more we

learned, and sometimes we had hard conversations, and sometimes we laughed until we cried, but each time we came away knowing that what we were doing was important, that we could really help people, even if this project never got out, it taught those of us involved so much about our history and culture.

As we worked, we tried to steer our discussions with the elders in a direction that might also help me when it came time to work on my dissertation. So, we talked about language and education in many of our interviews and focus groups. However, as the years from this project stretched out before me, I lost more and more of the raw data that I would need to properly discuss this very important material. The turnover in programs and employees involved in this project changed so much over the years that by the time it came for me to write my tribal research permit and my IRB, no one knew where the data was located anymore.

During the winter of 2021, while employed for the tribe once more, I sought out anyone who might know where the materials were kept. It was quite the undertaking since the leadership had changed hands. The new director had no clue what the project was, but as I worked to uncover the location of the data, I came across someone I knew who had worked in planning while I was an intern. She had left planning for a few years, but had recently returned and when I found out, I reached out to her about the whereabouts of that long-forgotten project. She brought me down to the storage space under the building. There were boxes and boxes of junk and projects from a million years ago. However, buried in all that stuff, were a boxful of materials from the projects I worked on. Since the materials were abandoned after our former boss retired, she said they were essentially garbage, and since I had an agreement with the Tribe, she figured they would do more good in my hands than the dumpster, she had no qualms about helping me out. Considering the fact that many of the offices and programs in the tribal government center

have been closed since March of 2020, and my contact usually teleworks, the fact that she was able to come down and help me is almost a miracle. The global pandemic caused by COVID-19 really hindered my progress, but in this, I had been blessed, and was so grateful that things worked out so that I got access to the small handful of materials that were gathered during our internship.

The Interviews

In 2018 the University of California, Davis Institutional Review Board approved my research proposal. I was given approval to conduct interviews with key policy makers, language revitalization experts, language educators, and more. In that same year the Colville Confederated Tribes granted me a research permit to conduct research on the Colville Indian Reservation. This process involved the Tribes sharing information from past interviews and research data, as well as conducting interviews. As per the IRB and the tribal research permit, I crafted a consent form that I shared with each of the people I contacted for an interview, this form detailed that they could drop from the interview process at any time, they could dictate the manner in which the interview was recorded, and they could review their interview materials before anything was shared. I also shared a copy of the questions that I would like to ask during the interview itself, outlining that some questions were specifically drafted for educators, policy makers, language experts, and community members. The interviews were conducted in person and over the phone. Most of the people that I contacted from my community were familiar with me and my work, but I prepared a brief introduction that detailed my family, my tribal affiliations, my hometowns, my schooling and why I asked them for their input on this project. Most of the interviews were relatively brief, lasting 15-20 minutes, while others carried on for about an hour. I wanted to ensure that each of the participants were comfortable, so I allowed them to go at their own pace.

Most of the in-person interviews took place in the Lucy Covington Government Center in Nespelem, WA.

I conducted the majority of my research on the Colville Indian Reservation. I wanted to ensure that I contacted key tribal leaders and language experts from the reservation. I also wanted to be closer to the archival documents housed in the tribes Language Program, Health and Human Services Department, and in History and Archives. I began conducting archival research during the summer of 2018, when I returned to my home community after completing my course work and beginning my dissertation. Because my research is focused on the impacts of federal and local policies on the Colville Confederated tribes, and their traditional languages, I needed to be with my community and these resources. In addition to conducting archival research on my reservation, I also worked out of the Northwest Museum of Art and Culture in Spokane, WA, and the archives housed at Eastern Washington University in Cheney, WA.

During the fall of 2018, while I was working at Eastern Washington University, I began working on my interview questions and what I wanted to accomplish with these questions. I isolated three key groups that I wanted to interview during this process in order to get the most useful information for my research. I wanted to speak to community members actively working on language efforts in the community, language advocates or people who were working for language resurgence in a more formalized capacity, and tribal leaders who were actively engaging with state and federal governments on language related issues. I had a long list of people that I had hoped to connect with to interview for this project, but as the world changed and Covid became a more present issue, I was forced to make certain compromises. I reached out to a number of people via email, but I ended up conducting interviews with people that I worked with at the tribe primarily.

Of those prospective interviewees that I reached out to, few got back to me, and fewer still were able to participate in interviews. In total I was only able to conduct eight interviews for this portion of my research. Of those who I interviewed, I was able to speak with two representatives from the Salish School of Spokane, a mother and son, Larae Wiley and Grahm Wiley-Comacho, the founders of the Salish School of Spokane, who are not only educators but also language advocates at the community and state level. I also reached out to a number of council members for the Colville Tribes, but only two were able to participate in interviews, Joel Boyd, and Darnell Sam. I was pleased to have the opportunity to speak with these two as one served on the Language and Culture committee and the other was on our education committee was also our tribal representative for Washington State legislation. Additionally, I had the opportunity to speak with Annette Timentwa, who at the time served as the Curriculum Coordinator for the Colville Tribes language program, and Lake Roosevelt School. Annette worked on the implementation of the Since Time Immemorial legislation that was recently passed in Washington State. Leslie Moses was also from the Colville Tribes language program; however, she was from the Nez Perce language group and taught language at the Nespelem School. Ernie Brooks was a tribal elder and consultant with the Colville Tribes language program for the Moses-Columbia language group. Finally, I spoke with Vincent Adolph, a language intern with the Moses-Columbia language group. Each of those interviewed had a unique perspective to share and their own experiences to share. I was honored to learn from everyone involved in this state, and those previous.

Chapter Outlines

The dissertation has been broken into five chapters. This first introductory chapter focuses on the value of heritage languages to Indigenous communities, drawing on the work of other key language and policy scholars and positioning heritage languages as a vital component of Indigenous identity by addressing three central questions: why Indigenous languages matter, what do they represent, and what roles do they play in Indigenous communities. I also introduce the Colville Confederated Tribes, and address why I have chosen to conduct my research on the peoples of the Colville Indian Reservation and insert my own perspectives regarding the value of heritage languages as a member of this confederation of tribes. Then I discuss my methodology and briefly outline the chapters to come.

Chapter two provides a brief history of the policies and practices surrounding Indian re-education in the United States and the subsequent trauma endured by generations of Native children. Here, I will address those early acts instituted by the federal government that mandated educational and social reform in Native communities. I will include accounts from tribal elders regarding their own experiences in boarding and mission schools, and how those experiences impacted their heritage language use in the years following. One of the questions I seek to confront here is; which past language policies have directly contributed to language loss on the Colville Indian Reservation? In this chapter, I will also consider the role that Saint Mary's Mission, also known as Paschal Sherman Indian School, played in the assimilation of Native children on and around the Colville Indian Reservation.

In the third chapter, I examine the policies that were implemented following the interventions made by the American Indian Movement and United Native Americans in the 1970's to improve Indian education in the United States. Beginning with the Native American Programs Act, and its provisions regarding heritage language, and moving to the most recent, yet

unpassed resolutions regarding Language Immersion, I assess how they have impacted Native peoples, but more specifically the Colville Confederated Tribes. This chapter will include accounts from tribal educators, policymakers, and activists to paint a clear picture of how these acts have impacted the people in real, tangible ways.

In the fourth chapter, I assess the prevailing language ideologies regarding language maintenance on the Colville Indian Reservation and the surrounding area. Beginning with the institution of a language program on the reservation, I will look at what the tribe has done, and is currently doing, to ensure the continuation of our languages. I will also discuss those language policies that have been passed at the tribal level to revitalize our heritage languages. This chapter will include material from interviews with tribal members who have been instrumental in bringing our languages to the fore, as well as those students who were in the first heritage language classes.

The concluding chapter ties together all of the efforts taking place on and off the Colville Indian Reservation to improve our heritage speaker community, bringing us back to why our heritage languages matter, as well as the impacts we hope to see from the Federal, State, and tribal language policies that have just been passed. This chapter will answer the question: In what ways are current pedagogic practices working to keep Salishan and Sahaptin languages alive? I will summarize the results of a language survey conducted by the Colville Confederated Tribes language program and funded by the Potlatch Fund. This survey was conducted with tribal members based both on and off the reservation regarding the current speech community, community language classes, current language program efforts, what can be done to improve the heritage speaker community on our reservation, and the overall interest tribal members and community members alike have in language revitalization efforts. This chapter will provide

some insight into what tribal members really want from language reform, and how we can best move forward in our efforts on the reservation to revitalize our languages. Additionally, we will look into how best to implement the suggested reforms found during the interview and survey process.

Chapter 2: kəłłəx̌íls [dancing with strength]

kəłłəx̌íls- Dancing with strength. You want to do something and no one can stop you.

Talks with Mom: Understanding Trauma and *kəłłəx̌íls*

Figure 3. Virginia Jack with Granddaughter (November 24, 2013)[6]

I have an incredible mom. It isn't just because she is a warm and loving human being, but because of how strong she is. I mean my mom is strong. She has had to deal with so much in her life. She has had to overcome so much to be where she is today. For that I think that she is just amazing. I honestly don't know if I could handle half of the stuff she has had to go through

[6] Image of my mother Virginia Jack at the Inchelium Powwow dancing with my niece Simiah Jack.

growing up. My mom was in and out of foster care, she was in and out of the residential boarding school system, and she grew up on the Colville Indian Reservation in the 1950s, an era of tumult and change. She talks about it sometimes. Not often, but sometimes.

There are complex layers to what my mom has gone through in life. It is important to understand that she is a boarding school survivor. Now I only really understood some of what that entails but I never fully grasped the significance of that until I was an adult. Going to boarding school as a Native person can be a very powerful life changing occurrence, for many Native peoples it meant physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual abuse. This is what my mom experienced; this is what she lived through.

I remember the moment I really realized what that meant. I will never forget it. It literally changed my life. I was in college, an undergrad at Eastern Washington University, and I was taking a class called Survey of Native American Literature and my instructor, Professor Kim Murphey, had us read a novel by Tomson Highway called Kiss of the Fur Queen. This novel was about the residential school experience of two Native men in Canada. I remember reading this book and coming across a scene in which one of the brothers is sexually assaulted by a priest at the school. I remember reading that passage and closing the book and calling my mom. I was on the bus, and I just called her and told her about it. I told her I wish that I could unknow that, that I could take it back. But she very calmly told me that people need to know about what happened to us in those schools. You need to know. And I was shocked. But I also understood what she was saying. This story isn't one that gets told. And then I realized that this story was also her story and that if I wanted to understand what happened to her, what happened to my family, my community, I had to learn more.

So, after I pulled myself together, because let's be real, there was crying involved, on the bus in front of loads of people mind you, I opened my book with new eyes, and began reading in earnest. At that moment I felt like I had to do it, for my mom, for my Native community, and for myself. After I finished reading that book, I started researching boarding schools and reading up on the school that my mom was sent to Chilocco Indian school in Oklahoma.

Through this process I learned so much more than I anticipated. I learned things that made my skin crawl, things that made me cry, and it really cemented my desire to continue my education in this area. I knew from that exact moment that I needed to tell people about this. I had to share these stories. I had to make them real for other people, like the book, Kiss of the Fur Queen did for me. Because if I didn't know about this, as a Native person, who grew up on a reservation, where there was an active boarding school, where my parents and siblings went to school, then there had to be other people out there living in complete ignorance. And this story is too important not to share. Because what happened to us as Native peoples as a result of places like that is real. I live with it day to day, my family lives with it, and I can't not try to do something.

This also really pushed me to focus more of my efforts toward learning our language. Before this point I knew a good bit of the language, I had been around it my entire life. But I didn't really speak it, so I started. I started back up with the language, because I realized that learning the language was something I could do to reverse some of the damage done by those schools.

Introduction

The forced assimilation of Native children introduced so much mental, emotional, spiritual and physical trauma to our people. It is difficult confronting the fact that our ancestors lived through this trauma, but understanding that our grandparents, parents, and even some of our siblings have endured this is nearly unimaginable. When you imagine these realities in a distant past it doesn't quite touch you, but when it is something that your loved ones have actually lived through, it is something else entirely. It becomes more real; you can see it. You can see how the trauma of those experiences have shaped them, how it has shaped you, for the better, and for the worse. But in spite of all this, what it all comes back to is resilience, survivance, and *kəłłəx̌íls*. This intense drive to keep going, in spite of all the odds, to still be here, to still be Indian, even though society tells you to go away because you are a reminder of an ugly past better left forgotten. So yes, I am going to dance with my elders. I am going to carry on, to be a culture bearer for my people, to keep dancing. *Kəłłəx̌íls*.

You have to be prepared when you dive into the topic of trauma, it is a dark place filled with abuse, violence, pain, and hate. But throughout that narrative, are interwoven strands of strength, love, and endurance, that have kept our people alive since time immemorial. Those strands are made from the blood of our tmixʷ, strengthened over generations, and just as potent today, as when k̓ʷl̓ncutn first created us. It is important to understand historical trauma as it relates to Native peoples, but also within individual Native communities because we each have our own unique experiences with trauma, especially here on the Colville Indian Reservation where we have 12 different tribes, each with their own histories and experiences. What we know about historical trauma and intergenerational trauma is always changing, and how it impacts different communities is connected to their histories and experiences with trauma. On the

Colville Indian Reservation, we have twelve tribes with their own histories of forced removal, war, long walks, mission/boarding/residential schools and more. Many of the tribes that currently occupy the Colville Indian Reservation are not even from this land, they were relocated here, which just adds an additional layer of trauma to their experiences.

> Like the heroes of the most ancient American stories, students survived their confrontation with the monster. Through their engagement with the monster they killed the concept of assimilation, which eventually gave way to cultural preservation through the use of some skills learned at boarding schools. American Indian students who fought the monster often emerged stronger, wiser, and better prepared to help their own people. In a very real sense, they turned the power to their advantage and that of their people. They became stronger (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, 2006, 3).

The creation of these mechanisms of assimilation for Native children sought to destroy, they sought to remove Native children from their homes and into an institution that was meant to assimilate them into white society. However, despite their best efforts, these colonial boarding schools were by and large unsuccessful. The United States created these "schools as a sphere of governmental power, not of Native power. Non-Indian policy makers and administrators designed the institutions to swallow up American Indian people and transform them into 'civilized' human beings" (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, 2006, 3).

When we think of trauma, we often think of the deficits that result from trauma. However, while I was writing this chapter, I couldn't help but think of the inherent strength our Native communities possess that has led us to not only survive but thrive in society today. This chapter illustrates not only the trauma that Native peoples have endured to be here today, but the forces also that have sought to wipe out our languages and cultures. Looking at the policies that have been enacted to this effect as well as the institutions that have worked to this end. I look at the nation broadly, but also take a closer look at the forces at play here on the Colville Indian Reservation, like the Saint Mary's mission. The mission school was built by the Catholic Church

to educate and assimilate Native children on the Colville Indian Reservation. From this discussion on the forces that have sought to wipe out our languages and cultures, I then seek to share the protective factors that our communities have developed to stave off these forces and strengthen their families. These traumas have been found to be passed through our DNA, however, our ancestors have also gifted us with their strength, and we need to remember this as we journey through this difficult topic.

Language and Education

The colonial education of Native children in what is now the United States began well before the Boarding School Era, commonly understood as 1820s to the 1970s. "The Spanish created the first Indian boarding school in Havana, Cuba, in 1568" and in the 1700's the British began taking steps to educate Native peoples (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, 2006, 4). However, what really kicked off the education of Native peoples as it is known today, started with the "founding of the Interdenominational American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1810 ushered in a new era of missionary endeavor" (Devens, 1992, 222). The ABCFM was the first organized missionary society in the United States, and by the time of its hundredth anniversary in 1910 it had established 102 mission stations and supported a staff of 600.[7] In addition to the ABCFM,

> The combined influences of the religious revival known as the Second Great Awakening and heightened nationalism following the War of 1812 added a further goal to the missionary effort: rescuing Indians from destruction by the inexorable march of Anglo-American progress (Devens, 1992, 222).

[7] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, 1810-1961 (ABC 1-91) Houghton Library, Harvard University. https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/hou01467/catalog, accessed July 12, 2023.

In the years following the institution of the AMCFM, and the War of 1812, Native peoples saw mass decimation of their populations across the Americas. This loss is what prompted missionaries to rescue them from further decline. The prevailing ideology of the time argued for

> the systematic policy of taking lands occupied by Indian peoples. The encroaching White population used the ideology of Anglo cultural, religious, and economic superiority along with the imposition of English as a tool of domestication. After the Civil War, the federal policies toward Native Americans became more repressive. A policy of *coercive assimilation* was implemented to expedite deculturation and pacification, and language eradication was a central tenet of this repressive policy. During the 1880s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs instituted a system of English-only boarding schools, Indian children were wrenched from their families at a young age, and attempts were made to destroy Native American customs and languages (Wiley and Wright, 2004, 146).

In 1819, Congress passed an act to institute education "for the purpose of providing against further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes…to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation, and for teaching their children reading, writing, and arithmetic" (Indian Civilization Act, 1819). Because of this act, generations of Native American children were forced to attend boarding schools across the country, to relinquish their cultures, religions, languages; everything that made them who they were as a people.

Government established "boarding schools [operated] according to a nineteenth-century version of ethnicity theory, which ranked races along an evolutionary staircase ascending to a Christian heaven attainable by hard labor and acceptance of one's lot on earth. Federal educators assumed they could erase tribal identity by separating Indian children from Indian adults" (Lomawaima, 1994, xiii). This act of cultural and linguistic genocide has been one of the most successful assaults coordinated against Native peoples since the arrival of Europeans. The Indian Civilization Act set the stage for a series of legislative acts that would forever alter the lives of Native peoples across the United States. Because of this act, and subsequent legislation, Native peoples were removed from their homelands and forced to adhere to a foreign language, religion,

and culture; and when they returned, they found their homelands vastly diminished and portioned off to incoming settlers.

The Indian Civilization act, in conjunction with those that followed, effectively forced Native nations to surrender or face recourse. According to Pevar, "[n]o other ethnic or cultural group is so heavily regulated" as reservation Indians (Pevar 2012, 4). The boarding and mission schools established to carry out this endeavor were typically militaristic agricultural schools focused on educating students in manual labor, industrial, agricultural, or vocational training, and stripping them of their languages and cultures (Lomawaima 1994).

The education of Native children had a very clear intent, to entice "young Native Americans to reject tradition and seek conversion. To missionaries, the abandonment of native ways for Western ones was a creative rather than destructive process that made new Christian citizens out of savages" (Devens 1992), producing self-sufficient farmers who know how to appropriately develop the land, to become more like whitestream society. Indeed, for centuries the United States government was convinced that they knew what was best for Native peoples. This is based on the notion of Eurocentrism and Eurocentric diffusionism, which "asserts that European peoples are superior to Indigenous peoples. This superiority is based on some inherent characteristic of the European mind or spirit and because non-European peoples lack this characteristic, they are empty, or partly so, of ideas and proper spiritual values" (Battiste and Henderson 2000).

The efforts of the United States to propagate their agenda drove them to extreme measures. Indigenous children were gathered up from the furthest reaches of the nation and placed into these institutions of assimilation. As Devens writes, "A girl's exposure to Anglo-American religious, economic, and gender values often had a permanent effect on her, whether

or not she accepted them. Moreover, the time in school deprived her of the continuing tutelage of her mother and other female relatives—instruction that was the key to assuming her place as a woman within her own cultural tradition" (Devens 1992). Indeed, Native people's conceptions of life were substantially altered by their indoctrination into whitestream culture.

Upon returning to their communities, the first generations of Native peoples to attend boarding and mission schools were struggling to fit in or assimilate into mainstream American society. Where Native peoples once believed in themselves "because of a vision or a series of ceremonies which could make success certain. With that conviction gone, he [or she] must generate his [or her] belief almost without help" (Hopkins 2017). Their identities had shifted to such a degree that they were unsure of where they belonged. "The difference in educational methods between Anglo-American and Native American cultures exacerbated the disorienting impact of the mission schools on girls" (Devens 1992, 234).

In 1928, in an effort to assess the efficacy of the policies enacted for the education of Native children, a report was conducted on boarding schools. This report is known as *The Problem of Indian Administration,* but is more commonly known today as the Meriam report. This was a comprehensive report of the state of Native peoples, not just Indian education, however, the greatest shortcomings were found to be in health and education. Indeed, the report states,

> Health and education services were judged harshly, and off-reservation boarding schools drew heavy fire, fueled by findings of severe malnutrition, poor health care, overcrowding, unsanitary living conditions, restrictive discipline, low quality of teaching staff, and inordinate dependence on student labor (Meriam 1928, 11-2).

Indian education at the time drew heavy fire because of the rampant dehumanization of Native children. The standards that they were forced to endure in these institutions would not have been acceptable for non-Native children. "The survey staff finds itself obligated to say frankly and

unequivocally that the provisions for the care of the Indian children in boarding schools are grossly inadequate" (Meriam 1928, 11). Indeed, in addition to the deplorable living conditions,

> The question may very properly be raised as to whether much of the work Indian children in boarding schools would not be prohibited in many states by the child labor laws…Not enough consideration has been given the question of whether the health of Indian children warrants the nation in supporting the Indian boarding schools in part through the labor of these children (Meriam 1928, 13).

In the final pages of the report, there are a number of suggestions made by those involved. Regarding Indian education,

> The survey staff appreciates that it is not practicable instantly to provide day school or public school facilities for every young Indian child…but the movement away from the boarding school already underway should be accelerated in every practicable manner. One of the definite objectives of the Service, vigorously pressed, should be the elimination of pre-adolescent children from boarding schools (Meriam 1928, 35).

The reality of these findings was indeed sobering; however, it was not until 1933 that any efforts were proffered to rectify the situation. President Franklin D. Roosevelt "appointed John Collier…as commissioner of Indian Affairs" (Lomawaima, 1994, 7). He created a number of reforms aimed at helping Native nations. Despite these efforts, the ultimate goal had largely been accomplished. As a direct result of the Indian Civilization Act and subsequent legislation, approximately six hundred and fifty indigenous languages and dialects once spoken on this continent were reduced to some one hundred and fifty (Zotigh 1991). This loss has had a profound impact on Native North Americans and has also dramatically impacted the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation.

Saint. Mary's Mission

Figure 4. Photo of St. Mary's Mission (ca.1880s-1900s)[8]

Since time immemorial, this region has been inhabited by the tribes of the Colville Confederacy. Our stories tell of how we were made from this earth, how the animals gathered to prepare for our arrival, how they shared their gifts with us, how they gave their lives so that we might thrive. Our blood and bones are made from this land. Because of the rough terrain, and our remote location, these lands did not see first contact until 1811 with the arrival of explorer and fur trader David Thompson (Lindeblad, 1984, 1). Shortly after his appointment,

> Washington Territory's first governor, Isaac Ingalls Stevens embarked on a series of intrigues in which his expressed purpose was to extinguish Indian title to as much land as possible. Stevens was mostly occupied with the coastal tribes, but he did conclude two treaties with several interior tribes. Although the tribes involved seemingly lost land in

[8] Photo courtesy of Northwest Museum of Art and Culture. Estelle Reel Collection.

> the negotiations, the central and north central parts of Washington Territory were still considered Indian country (Lindeblad, 1984, 2).

During this period, there were few whites in the area until the 1880s when the land was opened up to settlement. With the subsequent influx of settlers came greater pressure to open more land. "Okanogan country, however, was officially Indian land, but the pressure was too great. In a series of Executive Orders, the Federal Government opened most of Eastern Washington to White settlement (Lindeblad, 1984, 3). Despite how inhospitable the terrain is, settlers chose to establish homes here. "Much of Okanogan County is extremely rough, rugged, and mountainous. The principal rivers are the Columbia, the Okanogan, and the Methow" (Lindeblad, 1984, 1).

Shortly after the area was opened to settlement, "the government followed an aggressive policy of removing Indians from their aboriginal lands and these properties were then handed over to homesteaders and ranchers" (Lindeblad, 1984, 5). Much of the land was taken up by incoming Whites. The options for Native peoples were limited; if they were so inclined, a tribal member "could be granted allotments off of established reservations, but the allotment amounts were usually very small in comparison to the land given to settlers" (Lindeblad, 1984, 5). It was during this era of early settlement that the first schools were established. Spartan "one- and two-room schools were common, and the area towns were either growing slowly or in a boom-and-bust cycle, school terms seldom lasted longer than three or four months each year" (Lindeblad 1984, 9).

Indian education came to this region in the forms of a boarding school established near present day Tonasket, WA. The second institution was a day school built at agency headquarters in Nespelem, WA, and the third was the refashioned Fort Spokane. There were many difficulties associated with the school at Tonasket from its location to its size, however, the school was successful, due in large part to the support it had from tribal leaders and owing to its location on

the Colville Indian Reservation. However, after operating for no more than four years the school burned down. Rather than rebuilding the school at its present location, the government moved the school to Fort Spokane. This larger venue was able to accommodate not only the children of the Colville Indian Reservation, but the Coeur d'Alene, and Spokane's as well. Fort Spokane was an ideal location, in that it provided optimal isolation for students, the government could fulfill its promise of a boarding school, while furthering their agenda of removal and assimilation.

In the spring of 1885 Father Etienne de Rouge, a Catholic Missionary from France, came to the Colville Indian reservation and met with Chief Smitkin about securing a location for a church on the reservation and built a humble cabin to hold mass and teach English. In 1989, de Rouge began building his mission, and by 1896 he had a campus with twelve girls and ten boys. In 1900, Father de Rouge added to the campus by adding two additional buildings, including a high school. In 1915 the mission was finally completed, fulfilling the vision of its founder, Father de Rouge. Saint Mary's Mission was originally located at the headwaters of Omak Lake, an area long used by the Colville tribes. At the school's inception, de Rouge "met strong opposition in the form of Chief Moses of the Columbias…Supporting de Rouge, though, were not only many Catholic Indians, but Chief Smitkin, Chief Tonasket, and Chief Aeneas" (Lindeblad 1984, 68-9). The mission began by offering a course on religion, and soon added reading, writing, and math. The school went on to offer an academically rigorous curriculum where "students were encouraged to learn, and the school supported and fostered learning" (Lindeblad 1984, 71).

This mission school was unique in that unlike its predecessors, the original intent was not to assimilate Native American students but was instead asked for by the community as a means

to educate Native children. During one of the numerous focus groups and interviews that I conducted with my team in 2017, we met with a tribal elder who explained that teachers from the school taught children in their own language, not English. However, many of the parents had expressed concerns about their children not learning English. It was at this point that a major shift occurred in the school mission, at the behest of the community. From this moment forward, English became the only language taught in the school. After this shift, children at the school faced punishment if they spoke their Native languages. This change forever changed the fate of languages on the Colville Indian Reservation.

Physical punishment for speaking Native languages at the school became the norm. This punishment would effectively stop the transmission of heritage language from parents to children. When families saw what their children faced at the hands of their teachers when they spoke their language, they stopped using it around their children altogether to protect their children from further harm. In 2017, the Language Program conducted an interview with three tribal elders under their employ, Pauline Stensgar, Helen Thomas, and Elaine Emerson. During this interview, each of the elders spoke about their experiences attending the mission school. Elaine Emerson said that when she

> …started going to school and meeting non-Indian people it was scary -- there was no one at school who spoke Indian either at the mission or any other school -- it was a really big change because white people were so much different from Indians -- I told my dad that I am not going to go and he said you're going to have to learn how to live white man ways because sometimes you are going to have to compete with them to live -- they really emphasized that we not only learn our culture ways but also about the white man -- it was really difficult because I felt like I was going into a different world, different personalities, different ways they dress, different goals they had (E. Emerson, Focus Group, March 16, 2017).

Helen Thomas shared that

> …I went to the mission and I didn't know how to talk English and I would get beat up for it -- you got to talk like us -- my dad would only talk Indian --- I didn't learn the white

> man language until I went to school -- the sisters were up there and if you didn't do right they would beat you up -- I was about 7 and my dad would bring us up there and leave us all year, he couldn't travel so he would leave us all year round (H. Thomas, Focus Group, March 16, 2017).

Elaine went on to add that

> …a lot of the time it wasn't a volunteer thing, because a lot of the older people were forced -- they were forced to go to the catholic school of the Methodist school or wherever they took them to because they were actually taking us away from our home and they were working to make us become more like the white people -- they took the religion, the language and everything away from us -- it was really hard to go through that and we were going to school (E. Emerson, Focus Group, March 16, 2017).

Pauline Stensgar, the eldest of the group, shared her own experience at the school, saying,

> First I went to school up here, that old school is burned down now, then they sent me over to St. Mary's Mission and them sisters were mean, I had long braids and my brother went to school over there too, and they wouldn't let me talk Indian, every time I talked Indian I got beat up -- they cut my hair and my brother got mad and said what did you do that to my sister for? So, we didn't stay there long -- whatever they were teaching me I had to go with instead of my mom's way -- my mom was really upset with that, my hair, it took a long time to grow again -- I had a hard time, I really did, I was abused all the time (P. Stensgar, Focus Group, March 16, 2017).

Pauline's testimony was not the only account I came across of the brutality that was experienced at the mission. During the summer of 2019, when I was conducting interviews with tribal leaders, elders, teachers, and activists, I spoke with Ernie Brooks. Ernie is a tribal elder and an alum of the tribe's language program as well. He has spent well over twenty years working with our tribal languages. Ernie grew up in Nespelem, Washington, he is a member of the Okanagan, Moses-Columbia, and Wenatchee tribes and a speaker of the nxaʔamxcín language. During our interview, Ernie related what he knew of the mission school and what happened there:

> During the boarding school era, which would be like in the 40s and 50s, a lot of our people were taken from their homes, not…they didn't go voluntarily. They were taken from their homes and put in boarding schools. And they were punished for speaking their own languages and wanting to dress like our, you know, our people did. They still recognize themselves as šnp̓əšqwáw̓šəxw (Wenatchee) or sʔu̓kwnaʔqín (Okanagan) or

> nxaʔamxcín (Moses-Columbia-cultural group) in general. So, and that during that time that the punishment that they gave him and they kept them there year round, the punishment that they gave them took away, they made them not want to speak no more in our languages and so, so when they were taken away, like when they were five and six years old and not brought… brought back home until their early teens, 13, 14, 15, 16 they got back here, and they could not speak their languages. And so and then the parents and the grandparents saw the big change in them they weren't speaking their language no more, when they talked them in language, they got become afraid, and…and you know, it was just like had a real negative effect from this schools about being Indian that they, they decided then that the one their younger ones that they were still coming up and stuff, they would not teach them how to speak your own languages, and teach them cultural things because they didn't want them to go into the boarding schooling, be harmed, like their first generation children (E. Brooks, personal interview, August, 22, 2019).

I constructed the instrument for these interviews with multiple areas of knowledge and expertise in mind. I wanted to hear from a broad range of people with different backgrounds and levels of education and experience. I was keen to hear from tribal elders who had this knowledge, as well as policy makers, leaders, and educators. I really appreciated hearing this account from Ernie, because I think that it is so important to hear from tribal elders alive today, who have gone through these experiences. I want people to know that this isn't something that happened in the distant past, but something that people alive today have lived through. Hearing Ernie's experiences grounds them, makes them real, not just something that you read about in books, or see in black and white photos, but something more tangible. I was honored to hear him speak of this past. And I feel like it adds to our understanding of this history.

The brutality faced in this school as a result of this new policy changed families across the reservation. Families were afraid to speak their languages. They only spoke their languages in their homes with trusted friends. Indeed, during a focus group conducted with the Peacemakers Circle, one elder related that

> The elders had a secret society where they would meet and speak the language to each other. They didn't want us to know that stuff, I guess they didn't want us to get in trouble for knowing it. They'd shoo us out of the house so they could meet and speak to each

> other. Sometimes we would sneak back to try and listen to them. They didn't want us to know the language (Focus Group, 8/1/17).

Another elder related a similar sentiment, sharing that "My mom didn't want to teach us. I think that she was afraid because of how they treated us back then" (Focus Group, 8/1/17). They taught their children to only speak English. Those children who were physically abused felt fear of punishment just hearing the language, they had Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or as one of the elders from the August 1, 2017, focus group phrased it, *Unresolved Generational Trauma*, and language and culture were their triggers. It was terrible that something so beautiful was made so painful and ugly because of the mission school.

Estelle Reel

Figure 5. Estelle Reel Glass Negative (circa 1862-1959)[9]

[9] Glass Negative by George Grantham Bain Library of Congress Catalog: https://lccn.loc.gov/2014683701

In the process of conducting archival research on the mission school I was directed to the Estelle Reel collection at the Museum of Art and Culture in Spokane. This collection proved to have a great deal of useful material on Saint Mary's mission school and on the early boarding and mission schools of the area. I was able to collect pictures and valuable history on the school and the area at the time the mission school was built. From there, I learned a bit more about the woman whose name was on this trove of useful research material. The late Estelle Reel was born in Illinois in 1862. In 1895 Reel "was elected state superintendent of public instruction, the first woman in Wyoming ever elected to a state office." After just three years of distinguished service to the state of Wyoming, Reel "was appointed by the president to the position of superintendent of Indian schools and special disbursing officer. In this position she served for twelve years. Reel was a staunch Republican who subscribed to a "race" theory wherein Native peoples were inferior and even childlike,

> Allowing for exceptional cases, the Indian child is of lower physical organization than the white child of corresponding age. . .The very structure of his bones and muscles will not permit so wide a variety of manual movements as are customary among Caucasian children. . .In like manner his face . . .is without free expression, and . . .his mind remains measurably stolid because of the very absence of mechanism, for its own expression. (Lomawaima 1996, 14)

Reel was also "an indefatigable investigator of conditions in the Indian schools all over the United States. She traveled extensively by train, buckboard and on horseback when necessary" (The Toppenish Review 1959). Reel felt that it was her responsibility to disseminate the information she collected working as Superintendent to the masses responsible for educating Native youth. In keeping with this philosophy, Reel took it upon herself to prepare "a textbook for Indian schools, which received the commendation of many educational publications" (The Toppenish Review 1959). In addition to this text, Reel also wrote a short pamphlet titled,

Teaching Indian Pupils to Speak English: Primary Methods and Outlines for the Use of Teachers in the Indian Schools (1904). In her vast and extensive expertise working with Native children, Reel felt that "Teaching the Indian child to speak English forms the basis of all efforts to educate him" (Reel 1904). During this era, English served as the hallmark, or touchstone for the education of Native children. In her estimation, Reel felt that it was not only her prerogative, but that of all boarding and mission schools to

> aim at giving the pupils a sufficient command of English to enable them to meet the needs of everyday conversation, and endeavor to overcome the natural shyness of the Indian child upon entering school …The importance of giving pupils good command of English cannot be too frequently impressed upon primary teachers, as it is the foundation upon which more advanced training is based. In day schools teaching English is the essential part of the pupil's training, in order that he may be transferred from day schools. Day school teachers are expected to endeavor to induce all pupils to attend the nearest boarding school as soon as they have acquired sufficient preliminary training (Reel 1904).

From careful observation it has been found that Indian pupils acquire a working knowledge of English in a much shorter time and with greater facility by teaching objectively, and teachers are requested to use outlines similar to those herein given and to adapt methods found most practicable and best suited to existing local conditions.

I had no idea who Estelle Reel was when I began conducting my archival research. Were it not for the people helping me navigate through this process at the Northwest MAC, I would not have found all the material I needed for my research. Saint Mary's mission is one of the most impactful mission schools for the Colville Confederated Tribes. This school was literally built on the Colville Indian Reservation to education my people. It has a very long and painful history. The help I received and the materials I was able to collect really helped me understand the history of this place and its founding. This added meaningful context to the interviews that I conducted with tribal members who attended this school in their youth. The work of Estelle Reel

is deeply intwined in that history. Estelle Reel was instrumental in the history of Indian education at this time and especially in the Pacific Northwest. She did a lot both good and bad, that left a mark, not just on the Colville Tribes, or the Pacific Northwest, but across the nation.

Contact and Survival

> European contact brought decimation of the indigenous population, primarily through waves of disease, annihilation, military and colonist expansionist policies. The forced social changes and bleak living conditions of the reservation system also contributed to the disruption of American Indian cultures…Armed conflict and removal of tribes from traditional lands became the norm. Numerous tribes faced 'long walks' where many, if not the majority, died from disease, fatigue, and starvation (Braveheart 1998, 60).

This oppression was and is ongoing. Indeed, it hasn't stopped, although it has changed considerably. The subsequent trauma, or rather grief, and self-destructive behavior as explained by Braveheart is believed to be passed from one generation to the next (1998, 61). In order to understand historical trauma, it is imperative that you first understand the impacts it has on tribal communities. These impacts are not just under the surface, they create tangible effects on our physical, spiritual, mental, and emotional wellbeing as well. They have led to widespread issues with substance abuse across Indian Country. Indeed, according to Walls and Whitbeck, essential "to etiological explanations for substance abuse disparities in Indigenous communities worldwide is that the widespread, cumulative historical traumas (HTs) that have emerged as a result of colonization are the most deeply rooted social determinants of contemporary health" (2012, 416). Once you understand how historical trauma impacts Native communities, the definition becomes clearer. "HT has been defined in scholarly terms as the 'cumulative emotional and psychological wounding over the lifespan and across generations emanating from massive group experiences'" (Walls and Whitbeck 2012, 416).

In her interviews with Lakota/Dakota tribal members from her community, Braveheart spoke with one participant who shared:

> "I feel like I have been carrying a weight around that I've inherited. If I knew how to let it go, I would. That's what I want to do here, because it gets in my way. I have this theory that grief is passed on genetically because it's there and I never knew where it came from. I think we are all inhibited by the sense of responsibility and the sense of guilt…we blame ourselves for our loss of tradition. I feel a sense of responsibility to undo the pain of the past. I can't separate myself from the past, the history and the trauma" (Lakota/Dakota Female Participant in Braveheart [8], 72).

This personal narrative is perhaps one of the most poignant. Coming from a tribal member, rather than an academic, this description so perfectly encapsulates the experience of carrying this trauma; trauma that you didn't ask for, that you never fully understood, but must carry, nonetheless. The impacts of this trauma are widespread. They can manifest themselves in adverse bodily health conditions, mental health, spiritual crisis, or other ways. Indeed, as Walls and Whitbeck have found, the "direct effects of lived historical experiences on individual behaviors and affective states (e.g., relocation, boarding school survival) may produce indirect effects on subsequent generations by way of (un)learned caretaking strategies, caretaker mental health problems, broken kinship networks, and preoccupation with one's own need to heal" (Walls and Whitbeck 2012, 416). In addition, "…many Native health problems 'are directly connected to their colonized status and to associated forms of environmental, institutional, and interpersonal discrimination' (Walters 2002, 522), and emphasizes traditional cultural 'buffers,' including positive Indigenous identity and traditional health behaviors" (Walls and Whitbeck 2012, 418).

In order to fully understand how this trauma can manifest in so many diverse ways, we must understand that trauma itself is compounded across generations. "Traumatic experiences are cumulative. If one generation does not heal, problems are transmitted to subsequent generations. In some form, this cultural trauma affects every Native person. It sculpts how we think, how we respond emotionally. It affects our social dynamics and, at the deepest level,

impacts our spirituality" (Brokenleg 2012, 10). Because the trauma that we endure as individuals, and the trauma that we inherit as families and communities strikes us in so many ways, we cannot predict the outcome; we cannot account for how it will impact us.

Epigenetics

Each of the traumas that we face as individuals, and the traumas that our parents faced, and their parents before them, and so on, all leave an impression on us, whether we want them to or not. We carry these collective traumas in our bodies, in our blood, in our DNA. These collective traumas impact our mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional wellbeing. They manifest themselves in drug and alcohol abuse, suicide, anxiety, depression, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, and more. They also account for higher rates of Cardiovascular Disease, Diabetes, and obesity in our communities.

The impacts of historical trauma are far reaching. They can be seen and unseen. We are just scratching the surface of our understanding of these impacts on the mind and body. The study of trauma and how it impacts our bodies, our DNA, has only just begun. This study is called Epigenetics. Insofar as we know right now, "[a]s a normal part of development, genes are turned on and off at different times; it is *epigenetic markers*, or chemical tags, that turn our genes on and off."[10] Previous studies did not link trauma to epigenetics, but as we continue to build upon our understanding of the human body and intergenerational trauma, we come to see the links. Broadly speaking, at "the molecular level, epigenetics can be defined as the 'set of *modifications* to our genetic material that can change the way genes are switched on and off, but which don't alter the genes themselves'."[11] In relation to trauma, our understanding is that

[10] Rose, Hilary. 2018. "Epigenetics, or Why Indigenous Peoples Can't 'Just Get Over It': A Model of the Intergenerational Transmission of Historical Trauma." Concordia University, Montreal, Canada. PowerPoint Presentation.

[11] Carey cited in Rose, "Epigenetics, or Why Indigenous Peoples Can't 'Just Get Over It'."

trauma can switch the genes off and this effect is then passed from one generation to the next. "Epigenetic markers--informed by *experience*--are bits of chemicals that attach to DNA and don't allow it to unwind, so ultimately the DNA cannot be accessed, and it can't do its job."[12] For example, when we feel anxious, our body's natural reaction is to release chemicals to help us calm down, but when our genes have been switched off, they cannot do this, so we are left feeling anxious, and turn to other chemicals to numb the feeling, like drugs or alcohol.

As Walls and Whitbeck remind us, "Although the field of epigenetics until recently has depended largely upon plant and animal models, emerging evidence of intergenerational stress transmission will no doubt promote critical discourse and investigation among HT scholars" (2012, 418). It is important to understand this process, because then we understand how to help our communities combat these issues in a healthy way. Resilience acts as a protective factor in the transmission of intergenerational trauma, when we can turn to our culture and language, when we take strength from our identity and our history, we can overcome our body's response to trauma and strengthen ourselves and our communities.

Dissidents of this field of study argue that "recent research in epigenetics that demonstrates intergenerational transmission of alterations in stress response systems has been greeted with great interest…[however] some proponents risk overstating the evidence in support of the postulated heritability through epigenetic transfer of ancestral trauma" (Gone and Kirmayer 2020). Indeed, Gone and Kirmayer further argue that "the argument presumes that the cross-generational epigenetic transmission of risk for mental health problems such as posttraumatic stress disorder and other stress or trauma related conditions is settled science rather than merely a tantalizing (but still largely hypothetical) possibility" (2020). That being said, it is

[12] Ibid.

certainly worth understanding in order to better serve Native populations struggling with trauma and stress-related conditions.

I was recently speaking with a colleague about rites of passage and how important they are for Native youth in setting them on the right path, and giving them direction, and the importance of mentoring them on how to be a responsible member of their community. These ceremonies mark a major transition in life for our peoples and help them prepare for their future roles in their communities. The pride that follows completing this ceremony, the family celebration, the giveaway to thank everyone who prayed and sweat and ate for you, are all such important facets of this rite. My colleague then asked why this ceremony isn't a common practice anymore. Stating that it sounded like a really important ritual. He didn't realize it was because of boarding/mission/residential schools. He didn't think about how we almost lost everything; our culture, our language, our history, our ceremonies. And I have to remind myself that he isn't the only one. There are whole generations of Native peoples who didn't grow up with these things, how would he know?

Some of our elders were abused every single day for speaking their language, for refusing to comply with an English-only agenda. When I spoke with some of our tribal elders as a student intern, I remember hearing their stories and being overcome with emotion at their commitment to their identity in the face of brutal physical punishment at the mission (St. Mary's Mission-Omak, WA). And this is why I have to keep at it, why I have to keep having this conversation, keep working to share this history, and keep speaking my heritage languages. People need to know our history, to really get why our communities are so broken, so we can work to build them back up, to make them strong again. To bring our languages and cultures back. Historical and Intergenerational trauma is unique to each one of our twelve tribes. The scars we carry are so

varied, and they are compounded by the continued oppression we experience, and the pain we continue to suffer by not actually addressing the root cause of this trauma, that major loss of identity. I’m forced to confront the histories of my own family, and find strength in their resilience, rather than more pain and anger. Everything comes together in the younger generations, the pain they feel, that drives them to use and abuse drugs and alcohol, to commit suicide, these are all echoes of that past. Only when we can look at that past and let go of all of that pain can we truly move forward in a good way.

In order to get a firm grasp on the topic of historical trauma, it is essential to start at the beginning. Historical trauma as a topic of study emerged first in relation to Jewish communities and holocaust survivors. It was not at first applied to Native communities. Historical generational trauma is described as trauma that is passed from one generation to the next, some families experience greater symptoms of this trauma, while others are largely unaffected. The research team measured the manifestations of intergenerational trauma and found that some families had initiated certain family practices that served as protective factors against the transmission of this trauma. “Higher levels of differentiation and more open family communication were associated with lower levels of secondary traumatic stress...Protective factors for intergenerational transmission of trauma among second and third generation Holocaust survivors” (Giladi and Lotem 2013, 8). These results were not inconsistent with other studies conducted on the transmission of intergenerational trauma in Jewish communities with Holocaust survivors. In reading this article and understanding how trauma is passed from one generation to the next in Jewish communities, I came to understand how trauma was also transmitted among our people. This paper really helped me understand how trauma is manifested in a Native community, what helps, and what does not. It lays the foundation for later research into intergenerational trauma

among Native communities and how we can build up our resiliency factors to protect our youth from carrying this trauma and passing it down to later generations.

Resilience

> The blood of Chiefs and warriors; people that had to be strong. People that were warriors. People that, in the dead of winter, have starving children and have to find something to eat. Yet, they survived the whirlwinds of the government, whirlwinds of the Indian agent, whirlwinds of the stroke of a pen, whirlwinds of words that they never even understood, whirlwinds of being taken advantage of, whirlwinds of people lying to them, all of those things that come and disrupt your camp. (Denham 2008, 406)

When we think about the hardships endured by Native peoples, when we think of all that our ancestors have had to overcome for us to be here right now, we are forced to confront a very traumatic history. However, the fact that they were able to fight past those difficulties and the fact that we exist here today is testament to their resilience. In its most reductive form, resilience is "being able to get up again when life knocks us down…[it] is being strong on the inside, having a courageous spirit" (Brokenleg 2012, 12). According to Denham, it is a bit more complex, it is "a non-pathological adaptive response and ability to maintain or 'spring back' to a stable equilibrium after experiencing adversity" (Denham 2008, 392). He complicates the definition further by arguing that, for years when people discuss trauma, they focus only on the negative, neglecting "the strengths expressed by individuals and communities, as powerful stories, songs, histories and strategies for resilience are often present behind the realities of inequality, injustice and poverty" (Denham 2008, 391).

In his article, *Rethinking Historical Trauma: Narratives of Resilience*, Denham discusses how Native peoples can "frame their traumatic past into an ethic that functions in the transmission of resilience strategies, family identity, and as a framework for narrative emplotment" (Denham 2008, 391). Denham illustrates this tactic of resilience as

> The way narratives are constructed and told, in addition to their contents or meaning, communicate specific resilience strategies. This resilience process is facilitated by not only consistent reminders of who they are as Native people, but also the story circle of oral traditions and narratives contributed by each family member to the larger family circle (Denham 2008, 393).

When I think of how this family was able to thrive despite the hardships they have endured, I am reminded of my own family and how my father has endured so much but has been able to turn that pain into a narrative of strength and survival. My father has a very rough past, with abuse and struggle recurrent throughout his life, but rather than letting that pain hold him back, or turn him into something ugly, he connected with his roots, with his identity, with his grandmother, and took strength from her stories. They were survivors, and so he would be too, and he would share that strength with his children, so that they might know how to overcome the obstacles that life throws at our people. “Given the enormous challenges faced by many Indigenous cultures to survive, resilient responses to trauma are especially notable and take many forms. Resilient models that are found at the individual, family and community levels…” are essential in understanding how Native peoples are able to overcome these hardships (Fast and Colin-Vézina 2010, 126). Understanding resilience means understanding the power of culture in Native communities. Native peoples use culture to overcome the trauma that impacts their past, and their daily lives.

In their article, “Historical Trauma, Race-based Trauma and Resilience of Indigenous Peoples: A literature review,” Fast and Collin-Vézina argue that the “first step in the regeneration of healthy and affirming cultures is the telling of life-affirming and healthy narratives….Healthy traditional communities were able to deal with trauma through the sweat lodge, rituals to support those left behind by loved ones…” (2010, 131). Much like Denham, they argue that, when faced with trauma, Native peoples can actively overcome these

circumstances via traditional practices. They state, “Cultural renewal thus requires a cleansing of the elements of post-traumatic subcultures that no longer serve people and communities and keep them stuck in a traumatic past” (Fast and Colin-Vézina 2010, 131).

The protective factors that tribal nations employ see significant returns for individuals “that contribute to positive outcomes, and more recently, community-level variables that may prove beneficial for large numbers of people within the community” (Fast and Colin-Vézina, 2010, 133). The research clearly indicates that “…belief in traditional culture and values and participation in cultural practices provides some kind of a buffer against adversity and risk-taking. The very element that government policy sought out to destroy has turned out to be vital to the physical and emotional well-being of Indigenous peoples” (Fast and Colin-Vézina 2010, 134).

When you understand the mark that intergenerational trauma has left on our peoples, when you can see its impact on your brothers and sisters, when it comes to the fore, you can feel it in a way that you may not have been aware of before. But you must also come to understand that despite the fact that we may carry trauma in our blood and bones, we also carry an incredible strength. A drive to push forward despite the odds. When we see the realities with our own eyes, we can see the “disparities between Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in countries like Canada, the U.S. and Australia when regarded as a whole are so striking that effective arguments for change in policy need to highlight these disparities to demonstrate the need for policy changes” (Fast and Colin-Vézina 2010, 126).

Broader Conversations about Intergenerational Trauma, Epigenetics, and Resilience

Intergenerational Historical Trauma

The earliest studies of intergenerational historical trauma were done primarily with Jewish communities and those who had experienced genocide. As this was not commonly associated with Native peoples, I can understand why we needed to use these as the foundation to build the argument for our own communities. Many people still avoid associating the terms genocide or holocaust with Native peoples. From here, I began reading the work of some of the leaders of the field of intergenerational trauma and historical trauma in Indian country. Perhaps one of the most influential scholars in the field is Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, who defines historical trauma as "cumulative trauma--collective and compounding emotional and psychic wounding both over the life span and across generations...It is associated with the reaction to massive generational group trauma" such as has been identified for Jewish Holocaust descendants (Brave Heart and DeBruyn 1998). Wexler defines historical trauma as "cultural stress and bereavement, grief related to genocide, and racism that has been generalized, and institutionalized. It is cumulative and often unresolved, as well as being both historic and ongoing" (Wexler 2013, 74). She further argues that there is evidence that "suggests that there is a transmission of trauma within families, and for indigenous people, across generations within one's tribe (Wexler 2013, 74). For American Indians, historical unresolved grief involves the profound, unsettled bereavement that results from generations of devastating losses which have been disqualified by prohibiting indigenous ceremonies and by the larger society's denial of the magnitude of its genocidal policies (Yellow Horse Brave Heart 1998).

When I think about my community, this collection of tribes forced onto a handful of acres, I think of all that we went through, and how, despite all that history, we can live and

breathe as one. I am unaccountably proud. I am a product of this community, and I am living breathing proof that we can live and heal together.

Re-Education in Indian Country

At the time of this writing, there is only one fluent speaker of the Moses-Columbia language remaining on the Colville Indian Reservation. In an effort to avoid "both the threat of extinction and extinction itself, manipulation of language ideologies will provide Native American communities with a critical resource for controlling their linguistic destinies." (Loether 2009, 254) With the research I have conducted on the Colville Indian Reservation, I have gained a deeper understanding of the barriers and benefits regarding Federal, State, and Tribal policies aimed at revitalizing heritage languages on and surrounding the reservation. This work can and will provide insight into the intricacies of promoting language initiatives in reservation communities with multiple tribes and languages. It will also act as a guide in understanding the current language policies at the federal and state levels and provide direction for future tribal interventions that might aid those brothers and sisters across the border in Canada, Idaho, Oregon, and Montana who are in very similar situations.

For generations, Native peoples have been forced to attend boarding schools, educational institutions established in the 1800's to civilize and assimilate Native peoples into "white" culture. According to Pratt, a "great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man" (Pratt 1892). The efforts of the United States to propagate their agenda of forced assimilation and "civilized" pursuits drove them to extreme measures. Indigenous children were "[g]athered from the cabin, the wickiup, and the

tepee, partly by cajolery and partly by threats, partly by bribery and partly by force, they are induced to leave their kindred to enter these schools and take upon themselves the outward appearance of civilized life" (Dog 1990, 42).

According to Echo-Hawk, the assimilative practices of the U.S. Government were so successful that from the late 1800s up to the contemporary period, Native peoples saw an almost complete destruction of their cultures and languages (Echo-Hawk 2013, 201). However, following the efforts of the so-called "militant" pan-Indian movements like United Native Americans (UNA) and American Indian Movement (AIM), the power to educate Native peoples in the manner of their choice has been returned to Native peoples (see Lutz 1980; Forbes 1998; Johnson, Nagel, and Champagne 1997). In the 1970's "Civil rights activists and Indians put forward the idea that since the BIA had not been able to solve the 'Indian problem' after more than a century of effort, the government should back off and offer assistance to tribes who would work to solve their own problems" (Reyhner 2017). Shortly thereafter the Indian Education Act of 1972 and the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 were passed.

Prior to contact, "Female kin were responsible for instructing the child in both the practical and ritual activities that would shape her life as an adult within the community. Schooling removed a girl from the warmth of her kin's care, left her with no one to teach, comfort, or guide her as they would at home" (Devens 1992, 232). The children learned about the world around them via a large community of teachers who worked in tandem to create human beings who cared about the natural world around them, and respected the significance of maintaining balance with tm̓xʷúlaʔxʷ (mother earth). Indeed, "When one person teaches another, but both are from the same culture, the education process is culturally responsive automatically and unconsciously" (Murry 2017, 175). The learners are taught to look both forward and

backwards seven generations to ensure that their practices do not have negative impacts on the environment (LaDuke 1994, Lomawaima 2004, Reyhner 2017).

In his text, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, León-Portilla shares an Aztec perspective on education, and community building, stating, "education is the means of communicating to a new generation the experience of the past and the intellectual heritage. Such communication has a twofold purpose: first, to form and develop the individual as a person and, second, to incorporate him into the life of the community" (León-Portilla 1963, 135). The education of their children "revolved around the idea of strength and self-control" (León-Portilla 1963, 135). There were three key components involved in the education of their children: speaking and expressing, or rhetoric, songs, or philosophy and religion, and chronology and astrology, or mathematical calculation (León-Portilla 1963). If successful, the ideal student would possess a heart as solid as a rock, a wise face, an able body, and understanding (León-Portilla 1963, 150).

In addition to the numerous campaigns for reform taking place in the 1970s, the American Indian Movement was keen to change the face of education in the United States. In 1970, AIM convinced President Richard Nixon to denounced termination. President Ronald Regan followed in 1983 with a campaign to "restore tribal governments to their rightful place among governments of this nation and to enable tribal governments, along with State and local governments, to resume control over their own affairs" (Pevar 2012, 13). This was the start of a new era in tribal policy. Native nations were now free to implement the kinds of changes they wanted to see within their borders. They were finally given back some semblance of power, after years of being forced to function as the United States government dictated.

We have a chance here to create a new generation of Native American scholars that are rooted in their identity, who know the history of their people, how they were abused by the

United States government, how they were able to retain their cultural practices through song and dance despite every effort to police their bodies, and how they fought for change, and were able to create programs such as the Native American Studies program at UC Davis. NAS students today are a legacy of change that does not end when they leave the institution but goes on to impact everyone they interact with afterward. The students coming out of NAS leave with the knowledge they need to go into Native American communities and create positive change, to better their conditions, make a stand against further loss of rights. They have all the right tools, they know how to fight government encroachment Indigenous peoples' rights because they have learned the histories, the philosophies, the theories, the methodologies, the cultural and religious traditions, and so much more.

As a scholar in the field of Native American Studies, these orienting frameworks and perspectives are fundamental to my own research. My dissertation project is an examination of historical and contemporary policies affecting Native American languages of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. The language policies passed by the United States government in the past twenty years have been aimed at revitalizing Indigenous languages across the country, however, many of them do not do enough for smaller communities. These acts include the Native American Languages Act, the Native American Languages Preservation Act (Esther Martinez Act), the Native Language Immersion Student Achievement Act, and the Native American Languages Reauthorization Act. Through my research, I look at how the Colville Tribes are finding ways to improvise, implementing their own policies and initiatives to revitalize and maintain our heritage languages, like our phone policy, sign policy, immersion schools, and community classes.

Conclusion

The history of assimilative Indian education here in the United States, and indeed across the globe, is testament to the shadowy history between Indigenous peoples and Europeans. The prevailing ideology of the time was that Native peoples were inferior and needed guidance from Europeans to lead them out of their backward ways. This flawed ideology placed Native peoples in one of two categories, believing them wild and savage, in need of taming, or childlike and ignorant, incapable of higher thinking. As such, missionaries and the government alike took it upon themselves to assimilate Native peoples into white society. The 1820s saw the US government "designating annuities to Indian tribes for education, and in 1824 the secretary of war reported the existence of twenty-one Indian boarding and day schools with an enrollment of approximately eight hundred students" (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc 2006, 10). These early efforts at educating Native peoples, although government sanctioned, were largely conducted by mission schools at this point. However, in 1870, "Congress allocated $100,000 as the first annual appropriation for Indian education. Policy makers earmarked the funds to support industrial schools already operating in Indian country" (Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, 2006, 11). It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that these mission and boarding schools began to close, or were transferred over to tribal ownership.

Whether you adhere to the concept of Epigenetics or not, the trauma that Native communities have experienced as a result of early colonization and missionization, and continue to experience as part of daily life, is very real. This trauma can be cumulative if untreated. And the consequences are real too; the mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional damage can have lasting impacts across generations. What we do know is that some communities have adapted protective factors that allow them to recount their traumatic experiences while thriving as Native

peoples, fully enmeshed in their language, culture, and history. However, there are many who struggle and suffer as a result of the trauma they have endured.

> The effects of colonization in terms of assaults on wellbeing of Native Americans has been studied, including a constellation of mental health issues (domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, substance and drug abuse, depression, suicidality and post-traumatic stress disorder) and physical health outcomes (diabetes, obesity, cardiovascular disease, cancer, and asthma) (The People 2008, 27).

The efforts at assimilating Native peoples via colonial education were a successful failure, in that they both succeeded and failed to assimilate Native peoples, however, by and large, the education they received equipped them for life in an ever-changing world.

Chief Moses and Chief Joseph Join Arrive on the Colville Indian Reservation

During one of our focus groups conducted during the summer of 2017, we spoke with tribal elders about tribal history, culture, ceremony, anything they were willing to share. We learned a lot about the history of Indian education on the Colville Indian Reservation, and about how the tribes came to the reservation. One of the elders, Barb Aripa, spoke at length about the history of how Chief Moses, and later, Chief Joseph, came to be on the Colville Indian Reservation. The account was so impactful to me, as a member of both the Moses-Columbia and Nez Perce tribes, that I felt compelled to include it herein:

> When I was a little girl, grandma taught me a lot of oral history. About her upbringing. About staying with her grandpa and who her grandma was. An then who her father was. She was a granddaughter of Chief Moses and her grandma was a daughter of Chief Owhi. That was Mary Moses. Her white woman's name. They gave her that name. And his name, they called him Moses, he was (need spelling) "Half-Sun". And then grandma as a mother was a daughter of Chief Moses Named "Nmsemsiqt" (sp), and that later became my grandma's name, my aunt Lucy's name and my name. It was a name passed down from her grandma to her mother, to my grandma, to Aunt Lucy to myself. And so um…my grandma, her father was Lucas Kamiakin. Son of Chief Kamiakin. His mother was a daughter of Chief Moses. Grandma said when they were little, when she was a little girl, Chief Moses had sent them with a couple riders and a buckboard to get them groceries. Because they had put them on the reservation. And grandma said they needed some flour, coffee, different things. So, he sent them on the wagon, buckboard grandma called it, to go after these supplies with a couple riders to help her load. And the first

night she said they go there and was camped out and she said all of a sudden, her mother came and told her, I'm gonna hide you. Somebody is coming, I can hear them running their horses. So, she took grandma and hid her in some brush. Grandma said in those days when you were told something you listened. And she said they said, "Don't make a sound. Stay there, quiet. If anything bad happens don't come out. Wait until everything's quiet." And so, she waited. And she heard all that commotion and loud noise. And she had no idea her mother and dad were killed there. And she stayed in the brush there, hid. And Chief Moses got worried I guess. Because they didn't come home with the groceries. So, he sent a couple riders out and said, "I'll be along." He had his own…he had a lot of horses. He said, "You boys go ahead and hurry. And I'll catch up to you." And so anyway he rode alone behind them, and he found where they camped because they could tell by the wagon tracks, you know. So, they found them and they were dead and all the riders also. We didn't know who, you know, killed them and stole everything they had. And grandma, he saw the bodies but no grandma. She was just a little girl. She wasn't available so I guess he called her name, you know. And she had two, three Indian names. And one he called her as a little girl, "Tukliks! Come here!" And so, she stayed there. She was so scared to come out because of all that noise she heard you know. So, he kept calling, "Its Kapa, Grandpa." And so finally she peeked, and it was her grandpa. And so, she ran out. And he told her then that her mother and father were dead. And that he would keep her. That he would take care of her. And so, they took her back to Nespelem because when he was up on the Moses Reservation the Army came and marched him and all the people, the Moses, Wenatchis, back from there to Nespelem. So, they were living up North of town at the time. He has his camp there. And I asked Grandma, "How come he picked this place?" She said, "Because long ago" she said. "Growing up, the women would pick berries and dig roots and dry meat and dry salmon. Wind dry." And so, they'd put them in big cornhusk bags, and she said they dug a pit in the ground and lined it all up with green grass and brush and put all the food in. That was their cache, their food cache. And she said that was how come he went back there. He knew they already had that storage there. And so, anyway, that's how come grandma went and stayed up there. They lived there, she said. And the government eventually built him a house because he didn't want to meet with Indians in tipis. And so, he said, "We're going to meet in this house." And he (Moses) said, "I don't like your houses. It's got a fireplace in it." And he said, "You take that out. Fire belongs outside." And anyway he, the Indian Agent used to come, and they'd meet in this house. And he still lived in his tipi. All the other people, they didn't live in a house. It was just there for their meetings. Anyway, that's why when they marched him back, you know, grandma said that when they were coming back from the Moses Reservation they stopped in Palisades where this big fire went, I guess. You know, it's like a big valley in between two hills, and they were camped there. Ad she said the women took off and went digging. And they were digging for about two days and pretty soon the Army was on top of those hills and told them they better get to moving. Get up here or you'll be knee deep in blood. They had their guns up there, you know. And Moses said, "I'll have to tell the people. Tell all the men so they can start packing. Get the women back here." Because they were gone digging, digging roots. And so anyway they got back, and they marched here. And grandma said some of the Wentachis stayed up towards the Omak area around Omak Lake, and some came this way. (Nespelem) And he took them, grandma said, along the Columbia River so they could

> have water easy after they left Palisades. The Army was marching them like they were on horseback, or travois. Some people call it travois, I call it travis. She said they got up here and stayed. After she said the government brought them cattle because they wouldn't let them go hunting. They said, "feed the people cattle." And he said, "Well where's the equipment for farming? You told us we were going to be farmers." And they said, "Oh, we're going to get it." Anyway, I don't know how long, grandma didn't say how long there were there. I guess Chief Joseph had written a letter to Chief Moses. Said that they wouldn't let him go back to his Wallowa country. And he said, "Your land is similar to my home. And if the government will let me, can I come up there and live with your people?" Moses wrote back yes. Because they had met when they were in holy mission when they were little boys. Because Chief Moses sent his son, Young Moses to the mission and at the same time, Joseph's father, Old Joseph sent Joseph to Spalding so they could learn to read. Their fathers wanted them to learn to read the treaties that were being pushed at them. Then the smallpox broke out I guess from blankets they were given; you know. Lotta people died. So, Moses said, him and Joseph ran away. They weren't gonna get sick and die too, with spots on their faces. So, I guess he came back up to the Wenatchi River where his father lived when he was, grandma said about fourteen approximately. And Joseph went back to the Wallowa to where his dad was living. And later on, they said that's when they had that so-called massacre down there at Spalding. That's another story. But anyways, Joseph eventually came up and they told Moses that if he comes, they said, and you and him start a war, you're going to both end up in jail or prison. And Moses said, "No, I won't. We won't." he said, "We're getting old. We're not gonna have a war." So, they were you know, good. And the San Poils and the Nespelems didn't want Joseph. And so, Moses told him, he said, "You can camp down next to the creek, up here (points to Nespelem campground), you know?" he said, so that's where Joseph had his camp. Because the San Poils and the Nespelems and Okanagan, they didn't want Joseph. And Moses said, "He's our brother. He's staying." So anyway, the people are still here. And he had a Nez Perce wife of Joseph's sister (B. Aripa, Focus Group, August 14, 2017) .

When I say that Colville tribal history is unique, this is what I am referring to. Our tribes endured a lot to be here today, but they have survived and thrived, and I am very proud to be a member of each of these tribes. The strength that it took to survive during this era and to continue to carry our traditions and culture and languages and stories, it is amazing. As a member of the Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce, and the Moses-Columbia, this narrative really speaks to me. These two leaders sought to survive and did everything in their power to look after their people, even if that meant moving to a strange new land and settling amongst enemies. Today, despite our differences, we are one people because of this strength of spirit.

Chapter 3: US-Indian Policy Shifts and Implications for CCT Language Revitalization

"To adequately formulate a future Indian policy it is necessary to understand the policies of the past." (American Indian Policy Review Commission)

Figure 6. Stella Runnels-Leach near Alcatraz in the San Francisco Bay (circa 1970)

Stella the Activist

You know that feeling in the pit of your stomach? The one that tells you that you need to do something ***RIGHT NOW****. The feeling that gets you out of bed in the middle of the night to check on your family, to look out the window, to act because there has been a shift in the world somewhere and you felt it? That is the feeling that motivated my grandma, Stella Runnels-Leach (Figure 3 above)*[13]*, to join the American Indian Movement. To become an Indian activist. She felt*

[13] Image Source: National Park Service, photo by Ilka Hartmann.

the sense that she needed to act. Her body had willed her to move, to join her people and fight the injustices that were facing her and her community. Though she didn't move to California to be an activist or rabble rouser, she wanted to go to school, she wanted to be a nurse, she wanted to help her people. But the reality she met upon relocation was overwhelming. She tried to shake it off, but nothing she did made it go away for long, because the world didn't want to let her in, so she decided she needed to stand up and raise a little hell. And she certainly knew how to do that. She loaded up with her shawl, her moccasins, the symbols of power she needed to support her, and she joined her brothers and sisters on Alcatraz.

Beginning as early as the 1950s and well into the 1970s a major shift in social justice initiatives was taking place. This period saw the birth of the Black Power movement, the Chicano movement, and the Red Power movement. Social Justice issues were at the forefront for many communities and the Native community was no exception. For generations Native peoples had faced an unending onslaught of trauma from physical genocide to cultural genocide. These social justice initiatives fought for tribal sovereignty, basic human rights, the right to assembly, the right to speak the language of their choosing, the right to practice their own preferred religion, sovereignty and much more.

During this era of change, my grandma Stella was a Native American activist, leader, member of the United Native Americans, the American Indian Movement, and a prominent figure during the occupation of Alcatraz Island.[14] She was also a nurse in the Bay area (Forbes, 1997). She had moved down to California in the 50s with her children as part of the Indian Relocation

[14] The occupation of Alcatraz was a pseudo "militant" pan-Indian movement spearheaded by groups including United Native Americans (UNA) and the American Indian Movement (AIM), largely composed of largely urban Indians. The "occupation of Alcatraz in 1969 was-- among other things a manifestation of pan-indianism in California and the desire of Native Americans to establish a pan-Indian, independent cultural and educational center" (Lutz 1980, 18).

Act, a program that started in 1952 and continued well into the 1960s. After my grandma was relocated, she faced shocking levels of hostility.

When my grandmother was living in the bay area, as a participant in the Indian Relocation Act, she discovered that she had elected to enter a program meant to break her ties to her people and homelands. She was put into a position where she was forced to further assimilate into American society. When my grandma moved away from the Colville Indian reservation to live in Oakland and become a nurse, she happily claimed the opportunity afforded to her to pursue an education, for her and her growing family. However, the reality of living away from her community and her people was fraught with tension. She was not permitted into many establishments by virtue of being Native American, and since her features distinguished her as non-white, she actually had to adopt a Hispanic persona to be treated with some modicum of respect.

In addition to the blatant racism she faced on a daily basis, the hardships of survival she faced were enough to almost cripple her. There were no resources for her and her family when she got to California. She was left to fend for herself. My grandmother was forced to compromise her dignity in more ways than one to support her family since she had no help from the government. She had nothing. My dad often spoke of how hard it was for them in California. He was placed in a Catholic boarding school when he arrived. He said the head nun would physically exhaust herself beating him. He attempted to run away on multiple occasions. Once he and his little brother actually hopped on a train and got as far as Northern California before they jumped off the moving train. They saw snow so they thought they were back home in Washington. When they were discovered hitchhiking up the highway, they were sent back to their mother in Oakland.

The difficulties my grandmother and family faced nearly crushed them, but rather than break from the pressure, she decided to join her people and fight. She became a major voice in the American Indian Movement. She became someone to be proud of; in that moment, she wasn't hiding, she wasn't pretending to be something that she wasn't, she was Indian, and she was proud. The inequity she faced on a daily basis drove her desire to fight for change. She went on to play an instrumental role in bringing Native issues to the fore in the 1960s and 70s. Stella was one of a long line of leaders in our family, including one of the only female chiefs of the San Poil people. When I think about my grandmother, I think about a woman ahead of her time, a woman who wasn't afraid of change, and a woman who did amazing things. She wasn't perfect by any means, but she paved the way for a major revolution in Indian country, and for Native women everywhere.

Introduction

It is vitally important that we do not lose sight of how change comes about. Policy isn't born in a vacuum. The shifts in policy during the 60s and 70s were brought about in the cells of Alcatraz, they were the work of our ancestors, people willing to fight for future generations. In this chapter, I examine the policies that were implemented following the interventions made by the American Indian Movement, United Native Americans, the Kennedy Report, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy- A National Challenge* (1969), and the *American Indian Policy Review Commission: Final Report* (1977) to improve Indian education in the United States. Beginning with the Indian Education Act of 1972, followed by the Native American Programs Act of 1974, and concluding with the Indian Self Determination Act of 1975, I assess how these

major educational and language-oriented policies have impacted Native peoples, but more specifically the Colville Confederated Tribes.

The period from the 50s to the 70s saw Native peoples "contending with broken treaties, termination of federal recognition and relocation to urban areas and the abject poverty of reservations. Such oppressive practices gave rise to various movements" (Tayac, 2009; 217). The period prior to this is perhaps just as important in that it illustrated the issues facing Native communities and what led to Native peoples being pushed to the breaking point. After everything they had gone through, the 50s tried to break the last remaining vestiges of fighting spirit. This was the period of Termination, Relocation, and the dissolution of the Federal trust responsibility, and of course, a continuation of the boarding school era; I will begin by contextualizing each of these moments in turn.

Termination

In 1944 a House Select Committee convened to provide recommendations regarding "the final solution of the Indian problem," as they called it (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969, 13-4). Nearly all of the recommendations put forth by this committee called for the return to pre-Merriam Report policies. They felt the only way to make any real progress was to remove Indian children from their homes and send them to off-reservation boarding schools where they would be taught to be "a better American rather than to equip him simply to be a better Indian" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969, 13-4). In 1948, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, with support from Congress, began the process of figuring out how to pull services from tribes based on their level of self-sufficiency. By 1950, under the leadership of Dillon Myer, the Termination policy was going ahead at full steam. In 1953, Public Law 280 was passed. This law "transferred Federal jurisdiction over law and order on Indian

reservations to individual states" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969, 14). At this particular juncture, Congress determined Termination to be the "final solution" for the Indian problem (Reyhner 1993). The idea was to free the Indian "by terminating their reservations. With termination, the federal trust status of the reservation would be ended and the tribe's land and other assets would be divided up and distributed to the tribal members" (Reyhner 1993, 8). From 1953 to 1970, 109 tribes were terminated, and nearly 1.4 million acres of land previously held in trust were lost to non-tribal members.

During the 1950s, many tribes were terminated, and, in the years following termination, the fear of termination became deeply ingrained in tribal communities. In order to help support tribal communities in light of this fear, the subcommittee responsible for the Kennedy Report suggested a "procedure whereby no termination of responsibilities and services in educational fields will be carried out by the Federal Government unless consented to by those Indians affected" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969, 114). However, in 1978, Native peoples were to face further attempts at termination with the passage of eleven bills which would effectively terminate treaty obligations. In response to this impending threat to Native communities, the American Indian Movement planned a walk across the country from Alcatraz to Washington, D.C., beginning in February of 1978, and ending in July. This longest walk as it was called, culminated in the defeat of all eleven bills (Lutz 1980, 136).

Relocation

The Relocation program was another such effort to free up responsibility regarding Native peoples. The notion being that, by removing Native peoples from the reservations, and placing them in urban environments, they would fully assimilate into Western culture. The intent of the relocation program was to "provide the means whereby Indians could leave the

economically depressed reservations and go to an urban area where jobs were more plentiful" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969). This program was supposed to fund the relocation process and offer support for education, vocational programs, or other pursuits meant to make Native peoples into contributing members of society (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969; Pevar 2012; Getches 2005). However, the reality was somewhat less than expected, "jobs were not guaranteed, housing was often substandard, BIA services might not be available, and weekly stipends frequently proved insufficient" (Miller 2013, 60). Indeed, for many of those who volunteered for the program, they found themselves far removed from "their extended families, spiritual centers, and tribal support net- works, many relocated Indians became stuck in slum housing with little cash and few opportunities for employment" (Miller 2013, 60).

The Age of Indian Activism

The Kennedy Report is often given the majority of the credit for changing the face of Indian education, however, without the efforts of Native peoples the Kennedy Report would not exist. American Indian activists groups in the 1950s, whose collective efforts are referred to as the Red Power movement, were composed largely of Indians from across the country relocated and displaced into urban settings. Such groups as the United Native Americans (UNA) and the American Indian Movement (AIM) fought for Indigenous peoples to be granted the power to educate their peoples in the manner of their choice (Lutz 1980; Johnson, Nagel, and Champagne 1997) In the 1970's "Civil rights activists and Indians put forward the idea that since the BIA had not been able to solve the 'Indian problem' after more than a century of effort, the government should back off and offer assistance to tribes who would work to solve their own problems" (Reyhner 2017, 4).

The American Indian Movement was founded in July of 1968 by Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, and Clyde Bellecourt to combat police violence against Native peoples in Minneapolis, MN. They wanted to advocate for Native peoples on issues of politics, education, social concerns of Indian peoples, and addressing changes in policies, organizing rallies, and political actions to raise awareness regarding urban Indian communities (Lee 1997). Among those efforts organized to address the needs of Native communities, AIM initiated

> An Indian takeover of Alcatraz Island in 1969, a march on Washington and takeover of the BIA headquarters building in 1972, and a 71-day stand-off and shoot-out with the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Wounded Knee in 1973, were all part of the radical Indian movement before it subsided in the mid-1970s." (Reyhner 2017, p. 3)

United Native Americans are another notable group that worked in concert with AIM and others to create meaningful change for Native communities. "United Native Americans (or U.N.A.) is a non-profit indigenous movement organization formed by Dr. Lehman L. Brightman in San Francisco, California in 1968 to promote the decolonization and unity of all Indigenous People."[15] This organization sought to form a truly democratic pan-Indigenous organization with local chapters across the globe that would work together toward the liberation of Natives peoples throughout the Americas. Each of these groups worked together to bring treaty issues, education, policy, and more to the attention of the Federal government. Indeed, it was not long before the efforts of all parties were realized, and the interventions made by Native peoples and policymakers resulted in the Indian Education Act of 1972, the Native American Programs Act of 1974, and the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975.

[15] United Native Americans. (n.d.). Retrieved May 6, 2022, from http://unitednativeamericans.weebly.com/

US-American Indian Policy Shifts in the 1970s

The Kennedy Report

Much of the legislation passed in the 1970s is a direct result of the Kennedy Report, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge" (1969) and the efforts of the Red Power Movement. The Kennedy Report set the stage for a major overhaul of Indian education and programs across the board. The Kennedy Report was a document compiled for the Committee on Labor and Welfare for the United States Senate, made by the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. It was a special "investigation into the problems of education for American Indians" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969). This report stated that, because the education of Native youth was primarily in the hands of the Federal Government, with approximately one-third in federally run schools, it was the responsibility of the Federal Government to make changes. This report outlined a number of deficits in Indian education across the nation. The subcommittee conducted hours and hours of interviews, and compiled thousands of pages over the course of this investigation, and realized that they had fundamentally failed Indian peoples. The conclusion of the report states that despite the fact that there are no easy solutions,

> …effective education lies at the heart of any lasting solution. And that education should no longer be one which assumes that cultural differences mean cultural inferiority. The findings and recommendations contained in this report are a call for excellence, a reversal of past failures, and a commitment to a national program and priority for the American Indian equal in importance to the Marshall Plan following World War II" (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969, 10)

This report dramatically influenced Indian Education. Native peoples were shown in a completely new light, and the response was immediate. This report signaled a major change in Indian education. From this moment forward, policies regarding Native peoples changed rapidly, beginning with the Indian Education Act of 1972, which altered the prerogatives of Indian

education, quickly followed by the Native American Programs Act in 1974. The effects of this report were even apparent on the Colville Indian Reservation with the transfer of ownership of St. Mary's Mission, the Catholic boarding school established in 1886 by Father DeRouge, to tribal control, where it was renamed Pascal Sherman Indian School, for the tribes first PhD recipient, Pascal Sherman.[16]

The 1970s are often described as a major turning point for American Indian peoples (AIPRC 1977; Fuchs and Havighurst 1972; Szasz 1999). It was during the 1970s that the recommendations following the Kennedy Report were initiated. In the American Indian Policy Review Commission (AIPRC), President Nixon declared "we believe that every Indian community wishing to do so should be able to control its own Indian schools" (1977, 111). Indeed, shortly after this declaration, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Louis R. Bruce proceeded to communicate those plans. He stated that "[f]or Indian educational programs to become truly responsive to the needs of Indian children and parents, ...control of those programs should be in the hands of the Indian communities" (AIPRC 1977, 117). Indeed, change was in the air, following the Indian Education Act and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, there were 84 tribally controlled schools receiving funding through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) (Reyhner 2017).

The Indian Education Act

The Indian Education Act of 1972, also known as Title IV, or Public Law 81-874 is an amendment to the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 was one of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society

[16] George, Wendell. 2013. Raven Speaks: Go-la'-ka Wa-wal-sh. The Story Behind Pascal Sherman Indian School. Accessed February 6, 2016. https://www.wenatcheeworld.com/blogs/raven-speaks-go-la-ka-wa-wal-sh/2013/nov/21/wendell-george-the-story-behind-paschal-sherman-indian-school/

programs. The ESEA was passed in an effort to bolster the education of disadvantaged youth. In the 60's, in response to the rising need for educational reform, the government funded the National Study of American Indian Education and the Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education 1969) to assess the needs of Native children and communities. When the results were published, the Indian Education Act, Title IV of P.L. 92-318, was passed in 1972. This act sought to fund special programs for Indian children on and off reservations, and, in 1975, "it required committees of Indian parents to be involved in the planning of these special programs, encouraged the establishment of community- run schools, and stressed culturally relevant and bilingual curriculum materials (Reyhner 1993, 8-9).

The Native American Programs Act

The Native American Programs Act (NAPA) was established in 1974. It was a late, albeit important subchapter, of Title VII of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a major law on public health and welfare for Native peoples. NAPA is a grants program established to ensure the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages. It provides funding for those eligible under section 2991b for the "establishment and support of a community Native American language project to bring older and younger Native Americans together to facilitate and encourage the transfer of Native American language skills from one generation to another" (NAPA 1974). This may be accomplished via Native American language instructor training, small-scale community language instruction, teaching material production, television or radio programing, and more provided sufficient proof of need is established as outlined in §2991b–3: *Grant program to ensure survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages*. The approval of any grants must be overseen by a panel composed of Native Americans with expertise in the area of Native American language. All material created under this grant shall be

made available to the “Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts development and transmitted, in the discretion of the grantee, to national and regional repositories of similar material” (NAPA, 1974).

The mechanism established to ensure funding for the NAPA is the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) “a division within the Administration for Children and Families under the US Department of Health and Human Services. The ANA was established in 1974 under P.L. 93-644, this subchapter is now known as the Native American Program Act of 1974” or NAPA (Warhol, 2010; p. 289). Despite being established as a means to make funding for Native language programs accessible, the grant has failed to meet the needs of Native communities. Through extensive study, it has been determined that the ANA often only grants monies to those who have already received seed grants in the past. There simply isn’t enough funding to meet the needs of Native communities, and the monies do not get distributed to all communities equally, with certain communities and states receiving much more than others.[17] In 2006, the Native American Programs Act was amended yet again, “to provide for the revitalization of Native American languages through Native American language immersion programs; and for other purposes” (Esther Martinez, 2006). When the Native American Programs Act was amended in 2006, it was renamed the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act of 2006, and this NAPA amendment allocated support for language nests, Native language immersion schools, and much smaller scale ventures for tribal communities (Esther Martinez NAPA 2006). In years previous the requirements to receive funds were far outside the capabilities of smaller communities who simply did not have the requisite number of participants to qualify for funding.

[17] For more information on the funding disparities in Native communities you can look to these sources: De Larios 2004; Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore 1999; Greymorning 1999; Mato Nunpa 2006; Niva 2005; Pecos and Blum-Martinez 2001; Rinehart 2007; Simms 2001; Wilson and Johnston 2006.

You can see this with the Colville Tribes where the speech community for Colville-Okanagan is much more robust than the Nez Perce or Moses-Columbia, which no longer has fluent speakers on the reservation.

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act

In large part due to the efforts of Native peoples to raise awareness about the need for change in Native communities, the political climate of the late 1960s sought to support Native peoples. Congress promoted tribal sovereignty and autonomy while at the same time recognizing and honoring its obligations to safeguard and enhance the welfare of Indian people. In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson declared: "We must affirm the rights of the first Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans. We must affirm their rights to freedom of choice and self-determination." Indeed, in the next two years major change was in store for Indian country with President Richard Nixon, who had been Vice President during the termination era, officially denouncing the termination policy in 1970, stating: "This, then, must be the goal of any new national policy toward the Indian people: to strengthen the Indian sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community." The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, a particularly important law, requires federal agencies to allow tribes to administer various federal Indian programs on the reservation. Many tribes have used this opportunity to run their own health, law enforcement, education, and social services programs, giving them more control over their lives (Pevar 2012, 13).

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, or Public Law 93-638, was approved January 4, 1975 to

> provide maximum Indian participation in the Government and education of the Indian people; to provide for the full participation of Indian tribes in programs and services

> conducted by the Federal Government for Indians and to encourage the development of human resources of the Indian people; to establish a program of assistance to upgrade Indian Education; to support the right of Indian citizens to control their own educational activities; and for other purposes (P.L. 93-638, 1).

When the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act was passed, it created avenues for Native communities to create autonomous educational institutions. "Together with the 1968 Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act), the Indian Education and the Indian Self-Determination Acts created the legislative and financial framework for placing Indigenous education under community control" (McCarty 1997, 4). The primary goal of the Self-Determination Act was "to promote maximum Indian participation in the government and education of Indian people" and "to support the right of Indians to control their own educational activities" (Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act 1975, p. 2203). Through legislation like that passed in Washington, Public Law 93-50 and Resolution 133 in South Dakota, various task forces, Congressional Committees and the American Indian Policy Review Commission were assembled in order to give Native peoples a voice, instituting positions whereby they "could tell the federal government what American Indians wanted…almost unanimous in opposing termination. The alternative put forward was self-determination; letting Indian people determine their own destiny through their tribal governments" (Reyhner 1993, 8).

American Indian Policy Review Commission

In 1977, the American Indian Policy Review Commission submitted their final report on the initiation of numerous policies regarding Native peoples. This report was the culmination of two years of investigation into Federal-Indian relations. This was the first comprehensive report of its kind in nearly fifty years; not since the Meriam Report was published in 1928 had such an undertaking been attempted. The intent of this report was to create a major shift in Indian

policies across the board. Despite the astonishing content brought to light with the Meriam Report, the results were less than favorable, the harsh conditions that Indian children faced in boarding schools improved, but the intent remained largely intact; they still actively sought to fundamentally change Native children, to assimilate them into mainstream white culture. The AIPRC brought light to the policies that needed to change in order to better serve Native communities. The recommendations made by the commission intended to restore "self-image and interest in learning among young people," lower school dropout rates, and graduate students who possessed necessary academic skills (AIPRC 1977, 265).

As a result of the American Indian Policy Review Commission, it was found that "Indian children were not receiving an adequate share of funds to meet their needs and that Indian parents have little or no say in program matters" (AIPRC 1977). The intent of Title IV was to be "the first federal legislation to support Indigenous bilingual/bicultural materials development, teacher preparation, and parent and community involvement" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2002, 291). The AIPRC was critical of Title IV as the monetary distributions, as those funds provided were inadequate to meet basic needs. Indeed, the funds were insufficient for the areas in greatest need. And it was also found that some funds were inappropriately distributed to schools serving largely non-Indian students. In response to the unmet needs, Dr. Myron Jones, in his paper, "Federal Responsibility for Indian Education", suggested that community members and stakeholders needed to put pressure on Federal agencies that refused to provide adequate care for Native children. He argued for

> (1) Lawsuits for racial discrimination where it can be proven: (2) withdrawal of categorical aid: (3) withdrawal of Public Law 81-874 funds; and (4) imposition of stricter regulations on the use of Public Law 81-874 money so that in mixed Indian and non-Indian districts, teachers, facilities, and curricula for Indians must be demonstrated to be at least as good for non-Indians. (AIPRC 1977)

The American Indian Policy Review Commission put forth the recommendation that money received be directed to schools that actually served Native children and be funneled through a system whereby they could be assessed before going to the school; additionally, they sought provisions for the support of tribal administration (AIPRC 1977). With the recommended changes this policy might go from lackluster, to truly beneficial to tribal communities.

Implications of Policy Reform on the Colville Indian Reservation

When the Federal Government enacts policies that impact the tribes of this nation, they do not always have the power or voice to challenge these decisions. When the paternalistic relationship between Tribes and the Government were established, there wasn't much tribes could do or say. However, as the legislation of the 50s to 70s began to roll out, we saw a distics change in that pattern. As I stated before, policy is not born in a vacuum, people can play a major role in the outcomes. Not only that, but time, can teach us if we are willing to learn. The Colville Indian Reservation was established via Executive Order in 1872. We have not always had the agency to make decisions for ourselves regarding what impacts our community. When many of the above policies were enacted, they directly impacted our community, but we had no power to influence how. However, as things have changed, as our voices became louder, we began to influence policy, to serve our Native communities.

Termination and Relocation had a profound impact on Native communities, but they were instrumental in creating the urban Indian communities that came to influence policy reform so much in the years to come. Were it not for tribal leaders like my grandmother Stella Runnels and Lorraine Misiaszek, and the others that came to influence our fates, we might still be living under the repressive, detrimental policies of the past. However, because of these voices, Native

communities across the nation have seen the benefits. The Colville Indian reservation saw dramatic change during this era of change. Saint Mary's Mission, the Catholic boarding school located on the Colville Indian reservation saw transferred over to tribal ownership and control and subsequently renamed Paschal Sherman Indian School. Additionally, we saw the implementation of a Colville Tribal Curriculum at the newly minted Paschal Sherman Indian School as prepared by Michael Paul in 1982. To top it all off, the tribes were able to take the initiative to create the Colville Tribes Language Program. These efforts were all able to bring our traditional culture and language back to the fore of our educational and social pursuits, something that had been actively suppressed by previous legislation.

Activism With, By, and For the Colville Indian Reservation

Figure 7. Photo of Lorraine Misiaszek

Overwhelming frustration with a broken system and empty promises has led Native peoples to feel a deep sense of distrust regarding Indian policies. These feelings have led to the actions taken by AIM, UNA, and others such as the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters and the more recent siege at Wounded Knee in 1973 (Lee 1997). When faced with adversity, many members of Indian country felt the call to action. My grandmother was one such individual, but there were many others from my community who also sought to make a difference, including Barbara W. Nicholson, Roberta Minnis, Mel Tonasket, Luana Reyes, and Lorraine Misiaszek, to name a few. In October of 1966, the American Indian Women's Service League, Inc. published a newsletter known as the *Indian Center News* out of Seattle, WA. This newsletter updated urban Indians to the goings on in their communities; among the updates given was a short write-up about Lorraine Misiaszek, a Colville tribal member and social justice advocate. She had recently been hired as the first Native American woman on the State Board Against Discrimination in Spokane, WA. The newsletter states, "We have felt that Indians should work in jobs that concern us as a minority group…Most non-Indians have no idea about the problems the Indians have in looking for jobs and education."[18] The article went on to state that it is their sincere hope that more Native peoples enter positions like this so that our voices might be heard, and people see the good we can do for our communities.[19]

Lorraine Misiaszek was a very active, vocal advocate for policy reform and change in Indian Country. In addition to becoming the first minority on the State Board Against Discrimination, she was also an instrumental member of the task force assembled in Washington state in 1974 by Congressman Lloyd Meeds. Meeds pushed for the passage of Public Law 93-

[18] Warren, P. October 1966. From the Executive's Desk. *Indian Center News,* 3.
[19] Ibid.

580[20], creating the American Indian Policy Review Commission. Mrs. Misiaszek was chosen because of her work with the state board and her background in Indian Policy. Task force members were

> selected from among the leading authorities in their respective fields of expertise in Indian affairs. In the development of their reports, task forces utilized research, reports, studies, questionnaires, hearings, and site visits. This process involved a continued emphasis on direct consultation. The recommendation of each task force was structured to comply with the mandates of the legislation (AIPRC 1977, 9).

Because of the work that Mrs. Misiaszek and the others selected for the task force, the AIPRC was able to create a substantive report with recommendations by, for, and with Native peoples voices.

While I was working with the Tribes, I became acquainted with Lorraine's daughter-in-law, Yvonne Misiaszek. She works with our tribes' Peacemaker Circle, a tribal program developed as a resource for tribal members to offer support through talking circles to help them address and heal from traumatic experiences, past or present. The Peacemaker Circle helps community members address such issues as divorce, custody disputes, domestic violence, drug addiction, and/or abuse. Yvonne and I had the opportunity to talk a bit about Lorraine and the work that she did. It was great to hear about Lorraine and her work from someone who actually knew her.

Yvonne was able to share a lot of information regarding her mother-in-law during our short visit. It really helped me better understand Lorraine and the work that she did for Indian Education. She was such a strong, passionate, intelligent woman. Lorraine was born and raised in Inchelium, WA. She was on Tribal Council in the 50s, and was heavily involved in Anti-Termination with Lucy Covington, another Colville Tribal member and council member. In

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[20] Public Law 93-80 is a Joint Resolution passed January 2, 1975, which established the American Indian Policy Review Commission.

addition to her advocacy work, Lorraine continuously sought to improve her education. She received her B.A. and M.A. in Education at Gonzaga University, and was working on her Ph.D. at Gonzaga in the 90s when she passed away.

In 1968, Lorraine wrote a short article for *College Composition and Communication* entitled, “A Profile of the American Indian: Implications for Teaching.” This brief, outlined how important it is to understand the fundamental differences between Native peoples and the dominant society. She illustrates the ways in which the Colville Tribes subsisted, and how that system was upended with the introduction of assimilative education practices and societal forces. It is vital to understand the importance of family ties and that “tribal values were handed down through the generations by placing the responsibility of education in the hands of the elders--the grandparents--who passed their wisdom and knowledge to the children” (Misiaszek 1968, 297). Lorraine beautifully details the internal conflict that Native children face in Western educational settings as their conscious and unconscious minds battle to accept and apply these oppositional teachings. Through her writing, she seeks to build bridges of understanding between educators and Native students so that they might work together to achieve greater academic success.

When I think of the work that Lorraine was doing, the early work of Indigenizing Indian education, I think of how this process looked at Saint Mary’s mission, and later when it became Paschal Sherman Indian School. The needs of Native children are very different from those of the general populace. Native children have gone through a lot of traumas, they have been forced to endure assimilative forces, made into people they are not. To adapt to an ever-changing landscape. The work we need to do, to undo the trauma of the past and heal our children will take time, and it will take leaders like Lorraine, who saw the differences, saw the needs, and did what she could to create change.

Indigenizing Education at Paschal Sherman Indian School

"The vision of Paschal Sherman Indian School is to prepare Our children to be the Speakers of Our Language, Guardians or Our Culture, and Leaders of Our Future" (Leaver 2013, 4).

Paschal Sherman Indian School was established in 1973 when the federal government began offering grants to tribes to begin establishing their own schools. The Catholic Church decided that this would be the best time to turn the then Saint Mary' Mission over to the Colville Tribes. "The school was named after Paschal Sherman, who was a student of the mission in the early years and one of the first Native Americans to earn a doctorate" (Leaver 2013, 2). In 1982, in an attempt to encourage a more culturally responsive educational curriculum for the newly christened Paschal Sherman Indian School, the tribes contracted Michael M. Paul, Colville tribal member and traditionalist. Through this engagement, he was able to create a number of curriculum units for classroom instruction at PSIS. Each of these units were broken into key areas with different foci. The first is rooted in the traditional cultural/spiritual/historical background of the tribes. It is titled, "These are our words," and has sections dedicated to "The Trickster," "Local Legends," "Creation Legends I would like to meet," and "Legends." These sections are not only rooted in Colville tribal stories and legends, but also those of other tribes across the nation that Paul has encountered over the years. In rooting this background in not only the tribes of the area, but those beyond our borders, he brings these diverse Native cultures together, while also drawing distinctions between each to highlight the differences we have as Native people.

At the end of each section, Paul highlights the course objectives, and provides class activities and discussion activities. These activities are largely classroom-based, and very like those you would find in any standard western educational setting. However, there are some that

are vastly divergent; taking students out of the classroom and out onto the land. These immersive courses connect students to the places mentioned in the stories, introducing them to the plants and animals in the stories, and connecting them to these characters, these beings, and these relatives. This is how the students learn to really connect with their culture and identity; where they see the difference between who they are and the people around them.

This distinction, this divergence in practice is my focus here. For so many generations Native peoples were forcibly pulled away from their culture, from who they were, and made into something else. White America tried so hard to make Native peoples like them. And the resilience that we see borne out of that endeavor is truly beautiful. To see how Native peoples were able to maintain their practices and culture despite the efforts to erase everything that made them who they were; it is unfathomable. However, to see traditional cultural practices and languages carried over to the next generations, to see a resurgence in these practices is nothing short of a miracle.

Conclusion

Were it not for the efforts of the radical Indigenous movements of the time, the educators, policymakers, and the people with a vested interest in bringing about real change, we would not have seen these ground-breaking policies. The passage of the three major acts presented in this chapter, the Indian Education Act of 1972, the Native American Programs Act of 1974, and the Indian Self Determination Act of 1975, represent the most impactful policies regarding Indian education and Native language support and revitalization. These policies changed the face of Indian education for the better, and they successfully laid the foundation for the language and

culture immersion schools that would soon sweep across the nation and find a home in Indian country today.

Policy isn't born in a vacuum. It is the result of people fighting for change. Were it not for the organizations that rose up in the face of termination, relocation, and the boarding school system, we certainly would not have the programs we have today. If Stella Runnels, Lorraine Misiaszek, Luana Reyes, Mel Tonasket, Roberta Minnis, and Barbara Nicholson hadn't fought for change, we may not have seen the sweeping wave of policy reform. These are the Colville tribal members that raised their voices for change and joined the chorus of Native peoples across the nation demanding change. Some of these tribal members worked with the AIPRC, others spoke before Congress on issues of Indian education, or sought policy reform through social activism, or worked for change by other means. As a direct result of the initiatives these individuals were involved in and the legislative changes that followed, the Colville Confederated Tribes were able to establish a language program and later a department in the late 1970's.

Chapter 4: Contemporary Language Policy on the Colville Indian Reservation

In the years following the Kennedy Report, the face of Indian education changed considerably. Things didn't change overnight; they couldn't. The deep-seated hate that many white folks harbored for Native peoples wasn't going away anytime soon, but the policies that dictated the structure of our education allowed for more freedom following the social justice movements of the 50s, 60s, and even 70s. The manifestation of policy changes was felt across the country; indeed, it was also evident on the Colville Indian Reservation with the changes that were seen at St. Mary's Mission, now a tribally controlled school renamed Paschal Sherman Indian School after our first tribal doctorate.

When you think about the trauma that the older generations had to endure, and then you think about this major shift in policy, you can't help but marvel. To go from an assimilationist agenda to a culturally inclusive curriculum, it boggles the mind. I am sure that a number of Native peoples were unsure how to proceed in light of this change, some got to work throwing the old stuff out, and shifting to a more culturally responsive system, but there were more still who had no idea how to make this change. This was a very complicated shift. For older generations, the brutality they endured under the old regime was so deeply ingrained that they didn't know how to live without that fear.

This chapter assesses prevailing language ideologies regarding language maintenance on the Colville Indian Reservation and surrounding areas. Beginning with the institution of a language program on the reservation, I look at what the tribe has done, and is currently doing, to ensure the continuation of our languages. I also discuss language policies that have been passed at the tribal level to revitalize our heritage languages, and feature perspectives from interviews

with tribal members who have been instrumental in bringing our languages to the fore, as well as those students who were in the first heritage language classes.

Federal Policy Shifts: From Social Justice to Language and Cultural Revitalization

In the 60s and 70s, there were a number of social justice movements and civil rights initiatives to push for change in minority communities across the nation. This atmosphere of change brought about the 1972 Indian Education Act and the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. “The Indian Education Act provides money for special programs for Indian children on and off reservations, while the Self-Determination Act allows tribes and Indian organizations to take over and run BIA programs, including BIA schools” (Reyhner 2017, 4). There have been phases or periods during which major shifts in policy might occur for the benefit of minority communities. These periods of change can be understood as contradictions in the typical agenda for the federal government, indeed they might even be perceived as “attempts by the government to determine which aspects of Indian life are ‘safe’ and allowable and which are so radically different that they are perceived as dangerous to the nation-state” (Lomawaima and McCarty 2002, 283).

Indian education has seen a great deal of change and reform in the last forty years, beginning in the 1970’s and continuing to the present era. This change was initiated by Civil rights activists and various Native American activist groups who argue. Shortly thereafter, the Indian Education Act of 1972, the Native American Programs Act of 1974, and the Indian Self-determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 were passed. Since this early progress, the United States has seen a number of language revitalization initiatives passed through congress.

Native American Languages Act

On October 30, 1990, Public Law 101-477: Native American Languages Act (NALA) was passed. This act states that given the precarious position of Native languages today "the status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique, and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages" (NALA 1990). It also details the specific definitions of the communities to which this act applies and the intent of the act in regard to these communities, to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages" (NALA 1990).

NALA brought language revitalization to tribal communities and provided greater support for tribal language programs and language revitalization initiatives. Through this act, I was more formally introduced to one of the heritage languages of my people, the Colville Confederated Tribes. The community language classes and traditional outings that this act provided, brought my people back to their language and culture in a way, nothing had yet done. I was able to go root digging with my class through support from this Act and was able to bring what I learned during that experience back to my family. The primary issue with this Act was that it did not afford smaller communities the opportunity to apply as the requirements were too high. Those tribal communities who could not muster the requisite number of participants were ineligible for funds.

Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act

On December 9, 2006, Congress passed an amendment to the "Native American Programs Act of 1974 to provide for the revitalization of Native American languages through

Native American language immersion programs; and for other purposes” (Congressional Research Service, 2006). The Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act (2006) calls for the expansion of the Native American programs act to ensure the survival and continuity of Native American languages. It also expands the scope of the programs that are funded under the Native American Programs Act to include language immersion programs, language and culture camps, language programs in cooperation with colleges and universities and more.

This legislation has been crucial to ensure continued National support for Native language preservation and restoration. State support of Indian Education inclusive of languages and cultures preservation and restoration is equally important. When policy is created and implemented at the federal level, there is no guarantee that the states will follow through, but in Washington State, they made tangible efforts to ensure that their own iteration of this this initiative was created as well. “Washington State entered into agreements with tribes regarding numerous areas of mutual concern amongst which was education of Native students and the preservation and restoration of their languages and cultures. These agreements include the Centennial Accord and the Millennium Agreement” (The People, 2008; p. 28). I will further elucidate on these later in the chapter.

Native American Languages Reauthorization Act

Among the most recent Native American language reform acts introduced to Congress was the Native American Languages Reauthorization Act on April 30, 2015. This act seeks to amend the Native American Programs Act of 1974 in order to reauthorize through Fiscal Year 2020 and revise a grant program administered by the Administration for Native Americans at the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to ensure the survival and continuing vitality

of Native American languages. This amendment allows NAPA to serve smaller, more isolated tribal communities who need greater support for language programming. It further amends the required number of enrollees in educational programs funded by the grant program, making the application more attainable for smaller communities with fewer resources. In addition, it extends the period of funding, so that it is longer lasting, allowing real progress can be made in the time allotted.

The amendment to this Act was introduced to ensure smaller tribal communities were eligible for funding; wining federal grants was typically more for smaller tribes who were unable to recruit the requisite number of participants to qualify for support. This Act could really change the face of language revitalization on and off reservations as smaller immersion schools and languages nests could actually compete and get funding for their initiatives. However, to date, this act has seen no further action in Congress since it was introduced and passed off to committee (Lujan 2015).

The *Native Language Immersion Student Achievement Act*, or S.1419, is an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. This act awards grants to Indian tribes, tribal organizations, and other groups to create, maintain, improve, or expand Native American language programs (Tester 2016). The funding is overseen by the Bureau of Indian Education and applies to a greater number of potential recipients than any past language revitalization legislation.

These new policies make heritage language instruction on and around Indian communities a priority of the United States government. These programs receive funding for language instruction and perpetuate Indigenous language and culture in a way that is counter to previous policies enacted by the U.S. government in the past. The policies are incredible steps in

the right direction for the U.S. government, however, they are often too little too late, and include restrictions, such as impracticable participant requirements, which can hurt language programs that are just starting out.

The Coalition of Native American Language Schools and Programs actively seeks to support the unique ideologies of Native peoples via Native American Language instruction in the U.S. Specifically, it "serves to bring together schools and programs taught through Native American languages under the provisions of the federal Native American Languages Act of 1990 (NALA)." This Coalition believes Native American language programs "build better futures academically, socially, and economically through them as well as strengthening the distinctive rights of freedom to use a distinctive official language of a sovereign government of a tribe, Alaska Native village, a state, or territory" (Department of Education 2016, 2).

The Proposed Rule to the Department of Education regarding action on the Native American Languages Act of 1990 is a law that has not consistently been enforced. Their work highlights a clear infringement on the Civil Rights of Native nations, as well as discrimination in relation to these programs, as policy makers have absolutely no interest in seeing NALA enforced, despite the U.S. Government's reputed promotion of Native American languages. Understanding this history of Native language reform, the implications of the work done by the Coalition as it relates to Indian education and language education, and the disparities that exist to this day are impressive. NALA was passed in 1990 and has had to change almost every year to meet the needs of Native communities. It has often been perceived more as an aspirational document than anything that can impact these communities.

In their article, *When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal*, Lomawaima and McCarty argue:

> …the struggle for Indigenous self-determination may be conceptualized as a struggle between two very different yet coexistent realities. One is the reality of a revolution in Indigenous education, of opportunity seized by Native people in the name of self-determination. The second is the reality of an entrenched federal bureaucracy that, despite its public rhetoric, has stifled and sabotaged self-determination at every turn. When Indigenous initiatives have crossed the line between allowable, safe difference and radical, threatening difference, federal control has been reasserted in explicit, diffuse, and unmistakably constricting ways (Lomawaima and McCarty 2002, 283).

Balancing these understandings, it helps to better understand the liminal space that exists wherein policy change might occur. In the early 1990s, one such space opened up, much like it had in the 1970s. "Evidence of this revival included the passage of the Native American Languages Act in 1990, the release of the final report of the U.S. Secretary of Education's Indian Nation at Risk Task Force in 1994, and the White House Conference on Indian Education held in 1992" (Reyhner 2017, 1). The primary argument for change was that "schools that respect and support a student's language and culture are significantly more successful in educating those students" (Reyhner 2017, 4). The Task Force that came out of this era

> …recommended 'establishing the promotion of students' tribal language and culture as a responsibility of the school' and 'training of Native teachers to increase the number of Indian educators and other professionals.' Furthermore, they recommended that school officials and educators integrate the contemporary, historical, and cultural perspectives of American Indians' and 'give education a multicultural focus to eliminate racism and promote understanding among all races (Reyner 2017, 4).

This about-face came as a direct result of the data collected by the task force. The findings were conclusive: "After centuries of minority language repression worldwide, researchers are finding that bilingualism is an asset rather than a handicap. It is not necessary to forget a home language to learn a second 'school' language and be academically successful in that second language" (Reyner 2017, 11). They have found that developmentally, when we learn more than one language, although it can take longer to begin speaking, and there are some issues with code switching, or mixing the languages, it can greatly improve empathy in children. The changes to

Indian education have been vast in recent years. When we look at the visions AIM sought, and even the UN, we see that we are getting closer to that reality. Indeed,

> The current policy of Indian self-determination in the United States, while not perfect, approaches the ideal of freedom and cultural democracy envisioned in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights…And the renewal of traditional Native cultures in and out of school is re-establishing a sense of community and is fighting the materialistic, hedonistic, and individualistic forces of the popular culture." (Reyner, 2017; p. 11)

When we look at the grand intents of many of the policies implemented to serve Native communities, we cannot help but see how they so often fall woefully short. They ultimately need multiple amendments to fill the gaps, to truly serve Native peoples. However, with the work being done at the more local level, with state legislation, we see how things can work if both parties choose to work together. When the State and tribes work as a team to create and implement the policies, they can actually work for tribal communities. The dreams of the American Indian Movement, and the United Nations are indeed attainable when we honor the sovereignty of Tribal Nations.

No Child Left Behind Act

> The Congress has historically controlled Indian/Native policy which for at least the years of my experience, was basically devoted to phasing out Federal education responsibility of Indian/Natives and transferring all BIA schools to the public schools. Indian self-determination has placed an obstacle in the path of this historic policy, but not all together. The administration of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, which also made Indian education a trust responsibility, was used to turn over the curriculum of all Federally funded schools to the states in which the school was located (Reyhner et al. 2009, pg. 169)

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was a piece of legislation passed by George W. Bush in 2002. This law was passed as an update to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, one of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs. The ESEA was passed in

an effort to bolster the education of disadvantaged youth. However, it largely served as a first step in increasing the federal role in education. The NCLB law was initiated as a push to improve American schools which were considered less effective at the international level. This law pushed for a "special focus on ensuring that states and schools boost the performance of certain groups of students, such as English-language learners, students in special education, and poor and minority children, whose achievement on average, trails their peers."[21] This law emphasized education in reading and math, requiring students to meet a key level of proficiency, this was measured through a mechanism known as "adequate yearly progress," or AYP. This law required extensive standardized testing of students to ensure that they met their proficiency standards.

The No Child Left Behind Law was passed to improve the quality of education for students considered in-need, which included Native American students. However, this law narrowed the focus of education from several key areas to two, reading and math. If you did not focus on these areas, did not meet the AYP, you lost funding every year that you were in deficit, and as many reservation schools could not meet these standards, they were arguably hurt the most. The students were restricted from learning their traditional languages, something that had been promised just twelve years before with the passage of the Native American Languages Act, and were left with few alternatives. There is a "growing body of research [which] points to the academic value of Native language education for Native American students. Given the importance of not only maintaining threatened Native American languages but also supporting student academic achievement, policies like NALA are increasingly important" (Warhol 2011). The power of these policies in shaping education in Native communities is immense; we need to understand them and how to best advocate for Native youth as we move forward.

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[21] Klein, A. (2015, April 10). No Child Left Behind: An Overview. *Education Week.* Retrieved Oct 16, 2020 from https://edweek.org/ew/section/multimedia/no-child-left-behind-overview-definition-summary.html

When Washington state implemented the No Child Left Behind law in 2002, the understanding was that this law would support Native students, close the achievement gap, and bring quality educators to reservation schools, however, upon review of the act, the National Indian Education Association found that

- The statute is rigid and it tends to leave children behind
- We need opportunity; we need resources to do that
- (Any) success has clearly been at the expense and diminishment of Native language and culture
- The approach dictated by the law has created serious negative consequences
- Schools are sending the message that, if our children would just work harder, they would succeed without recognizing their own system failures
- Indian children are internalizing the (school) systems failures as their personal failure
- Children have different needs
- It does not provide for the level funding that we need
- Music, art, social studies, languages – these areas are totally ignored by the law.

(National Indian Education Association 2005, 7-8)

Two years after the implementation of No Child Left Behind, President Bush signed the Indian Executive Order, an amendment to the NCLB with regards to American Indian and Alaska Native communities. This amendment stated that in recognition of the sovereignty of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples,

> this order builds on the innovations, reforms, and high standards of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, including: stronger accountability for results, greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds; more choices for parents; and an emphasis on research-based instruction that works (Indian Executive Order 2004, 1).

The primary objective of this Executive Order was to support tribal traditions, languages, and cultures. Despite the fact that the needs of Native communities were seen, and indeed the need to teach Native culture and language acknowledged, this Act was never implemented, as there were no stipulations regarding accountability.

The needs of Native communities are unique. Our relationship with state and federal governments can be tenuous at the best of times, and our history with education is troublesome.

We need to be aware of the policies that impact us, we need to know how they work, how they will be implemented, and how to make sure they suit our needs if we have any hope of raising a successful next generation, unhindered by oppressive hegemonic systems.

Washington State Language & Education Policies

The Centennial Accord & The Millennial Agreement

The Centennial Accord (1989; see Appendix A) is a piece of Washington state legislation that was enacted to facilitate a more streamlined relationship between the state and the tribes of Washington. The goal was not only to establish, but put into action, a working relationship between all Washington state tribes, and the Washington state elected officials. This involved educating people about the importance of Washington tribes in the history and founding of this land. The language of the accord states that it:

> …commits the parties to the initial tasks that will translate the government-to-government relationship into more-efficient, improved and beneficial services to Indian and non-Indian people. This Accord encourages and provides the foundation and framework for specific agreements among the parties outlining specific tasks to address or resolve specific issues. The parties recognize that implementation of this Accord will require a comprehensive educational effort to promote understanding of the government-to-government relationship within their own governmental organizations and with the public. (https://goia.wa.gov/relations/centennial-accord)

In the decade following its inception, the Millennial Agreement (1999; see Appendix B) was enacted by the state. The Millennial Agreement sought to reaffirm and strengthen the relationship established in the Centennial Accord. In this new agreement, the Washington state legislators and Tribes sought to create a clear mechanism whereby not just the general populace, but the youth were to be taught about the tribes of Washington. The specific language used stated:

> Educating the citizens of our state, particularly the youth who are our future leaders, about tribal history, culture, treaty rights, contemporary tribal and state government

> institutions and relations and the contribution of Indian Nations to the State of Washington to move us forward on the Centennial Accord's promise that, "The parties recognize that implementation of this Accord will require a comprehensive educational effort to promote understanding of the government-to-government relationship within their own governmental organizations and with the public."[22]

However, despite their symbolic and well-meaning intent, the implementation of these two endeavors was rather for naught. According to one of the elders that I had the privilege of interviewing in 2019:

> …from 2002, to probably 2012 or so they, they were mandated again, to bring history and culture and language back into the schools. And then right around 1912…19, or 2012, and 2013. They were…said that there was going to hurt their funding if they didn't do anything. So now the schools are, are trying to make it sound like that they really want the programs and the school history and cultural things and language in the schools. But that's only because they want…they can get more funding not because that's what they want to, want to be able to teach. [...] I think that the tribe should have sued all local, public schools for not not living up to their obligations to the Native American languages act and to… I can't think of the name of the other one now [...] Centennial Accord. (E. Brooks, Interview, August 22, 2019)

The Native American Languages Act (1992), the Centennial Accord (1989), the Millennial Agreement (1999), and up to Since Time Immemorial (2008), have seen a lack of implementation in our local public schools here on and around the Colville Indian Reservation. During the interviews I conducted in 2019 to gather information regarding language, history, policy, and education, I had the opportunity to speak with a tribal elder, former program manager of the language program, and current tribal employee, Ernie Brooks[23], felt that the tribe needed to pursue legal action against the state for failing to live up to the intents and purposes of these policies (Interview, August 22, 2019).

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[22] "Institutionalizing the Government-to-Government Relationship in Preparation for the New Millennium" https://goia.wa.gov/relations/millennium-agreement/agreement, accessed August 31, 2023.

[23] Each of the interview participants I had the opportunity to speak with signed consent forms allowing me to use their name and any interview materials for this research. They each had the opportunity to look over their interviews and approve the material they shared and amend as needed. Please see appendix for the full consent form.

Since Time Immemorial

The third generation of the Centennial Accord is Since Time Immemorial (2008). This third iteration sought to do what its predecessors had failed to achieve; teaching Washington tribes' culture, history, and language in public schools. The Centennial and Millennial Agreements were implemented to create a stronger government-to-government relationship with Washington state tribes and to encourage the education of not just the general public, but the youth about tribal history, culture, and language. However, these past endeavors were unenforced, and therefore were not actively implemented in schools. The official goal of STI seeks to right this wrong and finally bring tribe and region-specific education to public schools. This curriculum

> …was officially released for pilot testing on October 10, 2008. This curriculum represents the work of the OSPI Tribal Sovereignty Curriculum Advisory Committee… The focus aligns with the commitment of the Millennium Agreement (1999) to educate all youth, Native and non-Native, on American Indian tribes, tribal sovereignty, treaties, and government-to-government relationships in the contexts of historical events and contemporary issues. The sovereignty curriculum is designed (a) to be integrated into existing social studies curricula at the elementary, middle school, and high school levels; (b) to be adapted to relate to the tribe(s) in the local community; and (c) to focus on inquiry-based learning, where students take initiative in finding information (The People 2008, 115).

In order to make STI more user friendly, easier to integrate into school curriculum, a pilot program was developed and implemented wherein eight tribes worked to create curriculum specific to their communities that they would share with area local schools. They were able to create

> …a menu of tribal sovereignty information, short lessons, and even entire units for every U.S. History, Washington State History, and Contemporary World Problems units that OSPI recommends. Within each unit, teachers choose from three levels of instruction based on curricular needs and time constraints. So districts may choose how much information to include in selected units. The STI curriculum is designed to be easily integrated into existing units. It is available to all schools free of charge. It is a web-based curriculum for Grades 4–12 and is aligned with our state standards, grade level expectations (GLEs), and Common Core State Standards in English Language Arts

(Office of Native Education 2012, 17).

Despite the high quality of the curriculum that was created and released, it was all largely focused on Coast Salish tribes, with no content applicable to Interior Salish and Plateau tribes. The tribal communities in central and eastern Washington had, and continue to have, their work cut out for them in terms of creating content for area public schools. This was difficult as schools had to work with area tribes to coordinate, not just the state. However, as of 2019, when I was able to interview Annette Timentwa, this process was finally moving forward. She worked on the language and culture curriculum while other members of her team focused their time and efforts on the history curriculum (A. Timentwa, Interview, 2019). This will be discussed further in the following section.

RCW 28A.320.170: Curricula-- Tribal history and culture

Each of the people that I was able to interview during the summer of 2019, during my internship with the language program, was chosen for their specific background and knowledge of different aspects of language work, from advocacy, to education, to policy and beyond. One of the people I was able to interview at the time was the Curriculum Coordinator of the Colville Tribes Language Program, Annette Timentwa. Annette is a Colville Tribal member of Okanagan, Sanpoil, Moses-Columbia, Lakes, Wenatchee, and also Port Gamble Klallam descent. She works with both the nsəlxcín and nxaʔamxčín languages, beginning with nsəlxcín in 2010 when she was a student at Spokane Falls Community College learning under Larae Wiley, and shortly after as a language instructor at the Salish School of Spokane. Annette has worked with the language for years now and begun teaching her children in the languages. I was keen to interview her as she was working with the Lake Roosevelt School and the Language program actively developing and implementing the Since Time Immemorial curriculum. She was actually

at the Washington State Education conference when they unveiled this mandate, before most communities were even aware of its existence. During our interview, she shared what it was like to begin the process of implementation at the school stating:

> Like, there’s a lot of people that know about it, but then, you know, they don’t really have the resources or like, the time to be able to, like, look up, everything or that sort of thing. And then I don’t know, but what I did like those, like my coworker, Lisa Carson, when she was, when we were there, she was like putting together stuff, like basically for like, Since Time Immemorial, like to be more relevant to like, us here. And then she gives those resources that she found to like the teachers and does like, more geared towards like, fourth, sixth grade. But, you know, she was, like, trying and she’s putting, like, these packets together or these like, playlists of videos and stuff or anything like that, just to you know, have that available for like our teachers and stuff. So it’s like being at LR, it was like, a pretty good spot to be like a Title VI or JOM worker, because Kim, I don’t know shit. I don’t know how she does it, but like, she just did this really good job of like, funding everyone. And then kind of letting us like however, like, like freedom and our position, so like mine was language focused because that’s what she knew that I could do. And that’s what I knew that I could do. And then, like we said, hers was kind of like research, and then finding, like all these materials for teachers and like our kids too, you know, that way they can have exposure to that stuff. And then, um, whereas like other schools, like, when you’re Title VI, or JOM, like, you’re mostly, like, all you get to do is like, crunch numbers and count kids and like, that kind of stuff. Like is that like administrative or that sort of thing? And so it’s like, our know, if more schools were able to have their day when positions have more freedom, or even like positions like that, where they could just research or they could just be like more language involved or community involved? Then I think that would maybe release some tension. And then people could work together. Or I guess, in our, in our tribe to have like, high school. Okay (A. Timentwa, Interview, 2019).

It was really great to speak with someone who had actually been there through each phase of the STI and could speak to the intent, and what it actually looks like in our schools. Annette was there when it was passed, and she was there when the schools began implementing it on and around the Colville Indian Reservation. She worked with the tribes as one of the first liaisons between the language program and the school to create the language curriculum that they used to teach in the schools. This was a very bumpy process as the materials created in the test phase of STI were for Coast Salish tribes, but as the tribes and schools began working together they were able to create tailored materials for each of the schools on and near the reservation. I cannot

begin to say how grateful I was to Annette for sharing this valuable information on what it really looks like on the ground implementing new policies in our schools.

First Peoples' Language, Culture, and Oral Tribal Traditions Certification Program: WAC 181--78A--700

In response to the Native American Languages Act, the Centennial Accord, and a 2001 Washington state Multi- Ethnic Think Tank, the Language Certification Program was developed to support the certification of Native American language instructors so that they might provide language education for students across Washington.

> INTENT. It is the intent of the professional educator standards board to work in collaboration with the sovereign tribal governments of Washington state to establish a Washington state first peoples' language, culture, and oral tribal traditions teacher certification program in order to:

(a) Act in a manner consistent with the policy as specified in the Native American Languages Act, P.L. 101-477 Sec. 104(1) "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages" (WAC 181-78A-700)

The legislation that has been passed at the Federal and State levels to support Native students have had varying levels of success. Some have lacked any mechanism to enforce them, while others have flourished.

Policies and Programs Created With, By, and For the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation

Colville Tribal Language Program

Mission Statement:
Yaʕyáʕt iʔ‿kʷu‿cyəx̌əntím kəl̓ sqəlxʷúlaʔxʷ uł ʔú msəlx Colville
All the Indian people that were driven to the Indian Reservation and called it Colville
Taʔlí kʷu‿səckswitmístx ksm̓aʔmáyaʔntəm uł txət̓əntím iʔ‿nqʷíltəns
We are trying very hard to teach and preserve their languages
Mi mipnúsəlx iʔ‿snək̓ʷsqílxʷtət uł nłək̓ʷtmísəlx iʔ‿cəw̓cáw̓tət
So our people will understand and remember our traditional ways.

Goals:

- To create new generations of fluent speakers and writers of our traditional languages and to ensure its permanent existence.
- To promote and support the use of the spoken and written traditional languages by our Tribal Members as an acceptable and desirable means of communication.
- To create innovative bilingual and cultural curriculum programs in the public schools, at work and in the home.
- To strengthen family, community and school environments in which older and younger tribal members come together and encourage learning of our culture and language.
- To encourage more fluent speakers to read and write their traditional language and enable them to facilitate development and dissemination of materials to be used for the teaching and enhancement of traditional languages.
- To build self-esteem of our youth and to encourage them to stay in school, say no to drugs and alcohol and stop them from committing suicide.[24]

Above are the Mission Statement and Goals of the Colville Tribes Language Program. The Colville Tribes created the Language Program in response to the need to keep our languages alive. The state of our tribal languages was reaching a crisis point and the need was urgent. As stated above, the Language Program seeks to revitalize each of our Native languages, not only for posterity, but for the benefit of the membership, to increase the number of fluent speakers, and writers, and to improve the state of being of our tribal membership, especially the youth. For generations our languages had been suppressed, at St. Mary's Mission, across the reservation, and elsewhere. Due to this

> …policy of cultural extermination practiced by the government, those who were fluent speakers were reluctant to pass the language to their children. They were humiliated and punished for who they were and for the languages they spoke; they didn't want those they loved most to go through the same treatment (A. Joseph Jr., Letter, February 11, 2002).

During an interview with tribal member and language program alum Ernie Brooks in the summer of 2019, he shared a bit of history with our tribal languages and related a story about how

[24] The above mission statement and goals are from an early document produced by the Colville Tribes language program that I came across while working with the language program as an intern in 2019.

families would refuse to speak the language in their homes because of what they saw when their children returned home from the mission school. There is more content from this interview in Chapter 2.

The Colville Tribes established the language program as it is today in the early 90's:

> We established the Language Preservation Program, seeking to record the languages before they were lost. That work has moved forward steadily, and much of the grammar and vocabulary have been recorded on paper and tape. But can a language or a culture exist on sheets of paper, drying and growing brittle as they age? (A. Joseph Jr. Letter, February 11, 2002).

It was shortly after its inception that the language program sought grant funding to support an internship program. The intent of the program was to create

> …interns from the "in between'' generation. Those who grew up hearing their grandparents speak, hold the knowledge of the language somewhere inside themselves even if they never have spoken. They are the ones who can bring that knowledge forth. They can provide the vehicle with which the elders will be able to pass on their cultures (A. Joseph Jr. Letter, February 11, 2002).

The language program tiered their approach with a three-year plan. "In the first year, the interns would be identified and placed in an immersion setting with the elders" (Joseph Jr 2002, 2). From there they would be placed in reservation and area schools to begin teaching the languages. "As their fluency increases in the next year, higher level instruction will be added for the children. New interns will be brough in and, as they become ready, will take over the teaching of the introductory level of the languages (Joseph Jr 2002, 2). In the final year of the internship program, the goal is to have language interns in every school from Head Start to High School.

The language program as a whole, and the internship program in particular, have been instrumental in bringing our languages back into our communities. We now have our languages being taught in most of the area schools, from Grand Coulee to Inchelium. This is due in large part to the internship program. Although housed in the Higher Education program now, the

internship program allows students to choose an area of interest and study intensively for the summer. There is also funding for internships beyond the terms of summer that allow yearlong instruction. With these mechanisms in place, we have been able to build up our heritage speaker base from near extinction.

CCT Language Surveys

Over the years, the Colville Confederated Tribes have conducted a number of language surveys to assess the community's level of fluency, their desire to learn, what they would like to see in terms of language education and more. These surveys have been conducted sporadically over the years at community functions and district meetings. Between 2017 and 2018, my youngest sister was employed by the tribal language program. She was hired jointly as the curriculum coordinator and under a grant from the Potlatch Fund to conduct a language survey of Colville tribal members. When she told me about her work, I was excited, because I was in the midst of preparing my own language survey to give to tribal members about language. I told her as much, and she talked with her supervisor about collaborating on the project and giving me access to this information afterwards. This collaboration took a great deal of stress off of me and my dissertation since I could work with someone else on this, and they were able to share the results afterward. During the early stages we talked about the questions that had to be asked as part of the project directive from the Potlatch Fund, and we also talked about what I wanted to include. I had already begun drafting my own survey at this time so we shared information and worked together to include as much as we could to make the survey useful to me and to the Tribe. Once a quality survey was developed, my sister began administering the survey across the reservation. She drove to district meetings, and sometimes I would travel with her and help out, or sometimes she would go on her own or with another language program employee. She was

also able to share the survey online via Survey Monkey, so that more community members had access. My sister was able to collect surveys over a number of months, and it was such a pleasure to work with her on this project.

It was some time before I was able to access this valuable information though. After working with my sister on this survey, I had to go through the tribal research permit process and the IRB process. These hurdles proved more time consuming than initially anticipated. However, during the summer of 2019, I applied for a summer research internship with the tribe and completed all required research permit processes. I began working with the tribal language program in June, at which point I was given access not only to the surveys that my sister had conducted, but a survey conducted in 2003, and another conducted in 2017.

I was completely unprepared for this deluge of data, but I dove in headfirst and began entering the results. While working on these surveys, I was informed by many of my coworkers that they didn't even know about the surveys and would like to hear the results when I was finished. I was taken aback by this revelation but saw it as my responsibility to share this information with the people responsible for running our tribes' language program. It took me weeks to completely enter all of the data from these surveys. There were hundreds and hundreds of surveys spanning fifteen years. The comments alone were pure gold. It was an amazing opportunity. Once I was finished, I shared everything. After making sure that everything was shared, I began graphing the data, looking at trends and correlations. During my initial assessment of the raw material, I noticed that many surveys were not included in the final report because the responses were not entered correctly; this data had been completely ignored in those early calculations. As I looked over these specific surveys, I couldn't help but include them. They had so much valuable information. Many of them included comments and suggestions,

some people crossed out the acceptable responses and gave their own. So, rather than ignore these troves of information (I mean really, they took the time to share their opinions, even if in a non-standard way), I had to find a way to include that data. So, I entered everything. Some of these surveys had heartbreaking responses that made me feel ashamed, while others showed so much hope.

The language surveys conducted in 2002 were organized in a manner very similar to that of the more recent language surveys conducted by my sister between 2017 and 2018. The first page was dedicated entirely to general statistical information about the respondent including age, enrollment status, language background, and tribal affiliations. As the tribe is primarily composed of Salishan speakers, it should come as no surprise that the highest number of respondents of the twelve composite tribes were Okanagan (51), Colville (32), and Wentachi (30). The next question was a measure of general understanding regarding language with the options as follows: a little, used to understand, understand quite a bit, understand well, it was my first language, and none. While analyzing the survey data, I was able to ascertain that the majority of language resources and time were going to the Colville-Okanagan language, while little was being done for the other three languages. Although this survey was largely constructed to measure the level of fluency of speakers and what they would like to see for language programming, it became clear that there was also a need for further support of the other languages spoken on the reservation. From this stage the tribes came to add further support for the Moses-Columbia dialect, and it became the primary language taught at Lake Roosevelt School. Additionally, this survey data resulted in more options for language support during the workday and more language programming overall. It was refreshing to see so much come from these!

My Language Internship

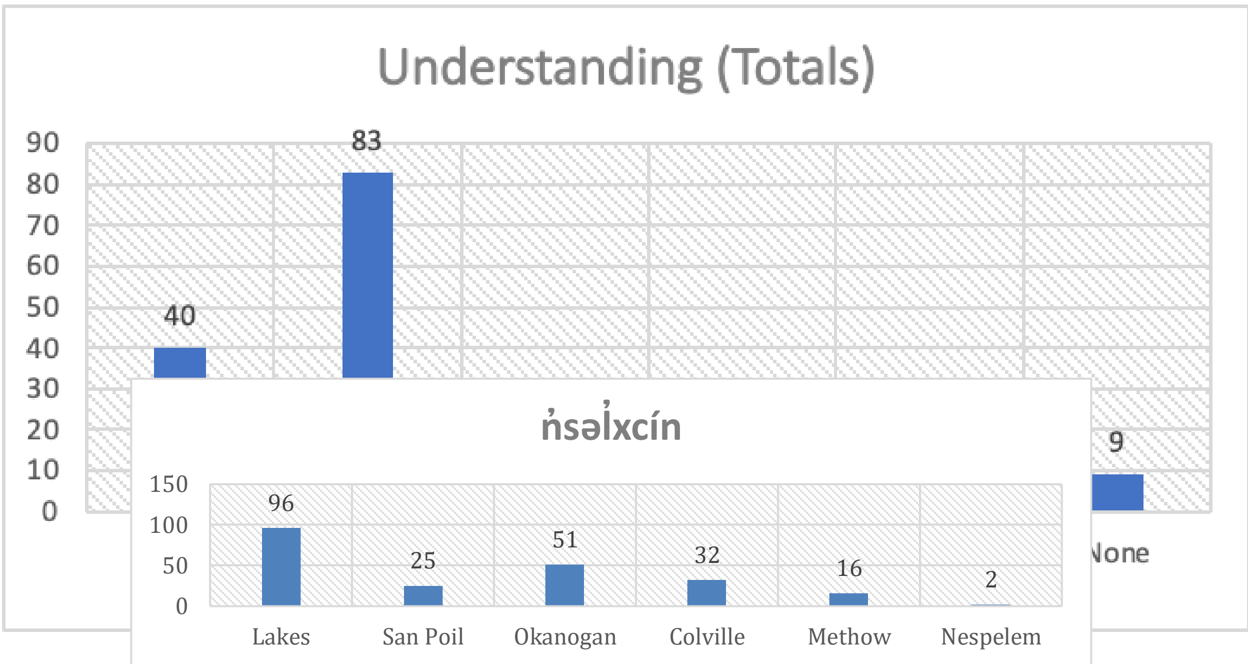

Table 2. CCT Survey regarding “Understanding”

In 2019 I was a summer intern with the language program. Now housed under the Higher Education program, the internships place high school and college students with different tribal programs based on their interests. I specifically asked to work with the language program in order to continue working on my dissertation. I knew that I wanted to conduct multiple interviews with people working in the language program. I also knew that if I worked with the language program, I would have access to materials I would later need for my dissertation.

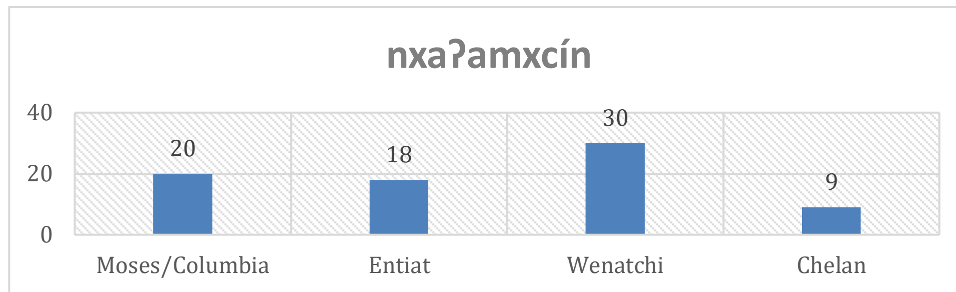

Table 3. Number of nxaʔamxcín speakers per in each tribe

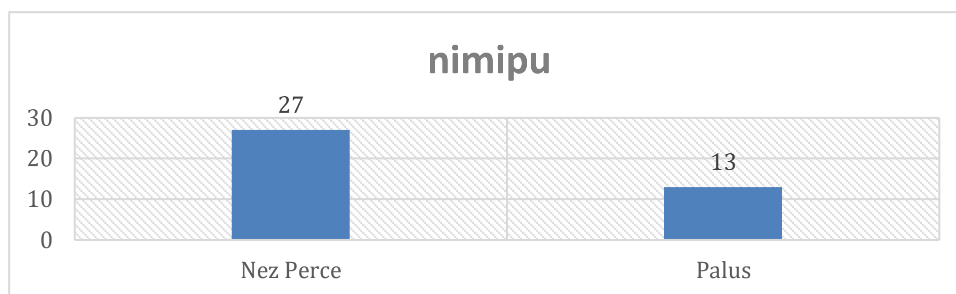

Table 4. Number of nimipu speakers in each tribe

Among the data collected through the language survey were statistics regarding the number of people who spoke each of the three languages and their tribal affiliation. There is some question as to the inclusion of Palus as part of nimipu as they are related languages, but Palus peoples speak Sahaptin, which is related, but different. Throughout the survey, I saw that many respondents were very interested in learning the languages, but they struggled with time constraints. This paved the way for language classes in the main government building during the lunch hour so that they could learn while at work. Additionally, there were respondents who shared struggles they endured, and a desire to learn the language for their children and grandchildren.

While I worked in the Language Program, I was able to conduct three interviews with program employees. I was also given access to language surveys conducted across the

reservation to assess what the community would like to see from the language program as a whole. The surveys contained valuable information regarding interest in learning the tribal languages and knowledge of culture. While I was employed as an intern, I was also able to find great documents from the early days of the language program, including the grant proposal for the first language internship program cited above. In addition to accessing resources within the program, I had greater access to tribal programs in the tribal government office. I was able to conduct interviews with two members of Tribal Council while I was an intern.

One of the best, most effective ways to gain access to people, resources, and materials is to work within the system. Even as a tribal member, there is a lot of gatekeeping and if you work for the tribes, it takes away a lot of the red tape. It was also a great way to reconnect with the community after being away for so long. I had been away and at school for years and working as an intern helped me ground myself after so many years in academia. I made sure to try to be involved in the summer internships each year so that I would maintain my connection to my community. A number of family members and community members alike have been very invested in my journey through school through the years.

Colville Tribal Language Policies

Each year, the Colville Confederated tribe elects a Tribal Council. This council represents each of the four tribal districts on the reservation. In 2015, our Tribal Council made language a priority for the Tribe and began a number of initiatives to support language revitalization and growth. Among the changes initiated by the 2015 Tribal Council was the 2015-101.cul (Phone Policy) which stated that Tribal Council:

> …recognizes that our languages are vital to the survival of our culture, traditions and way of life. It is the recommendation of the culture committee to require all employees to answer their work phones in one of the 3 Languages of the Colville Confederated Tribes.

> Each employee will have the option to choose for themselves which Language they answer their phone in.[25]

This policy, although only sporadically employed, has been the most prevalent across our tribal programs. This policy has led to the creation of language curriculum available for tribal employees that includes basic greetings in each of the tribal languages, as well as information used in email signatures by tribal employees. It has spread beyond its initial purpose for those who are motivated to use more language in their daily lives. In addition, it has spawned language classes for employees during the workday so that they may attend classes during work hours if their managers are willing to allow it.

Another policy that the 2015 council spearheaded was 2015-100.cul (Sign Policy) which stated that:

> …to formally abandon the use of anglicized tribal names and re-establish our identity as the People we truly are, namely (in no particular order) the: 1. Sn̓ʕay̓ckstx (Lakes); 2. Sx̌wy̓ʔiłpx (Colville); 3. Sn̓pʕawílx (San Poil); 4. Nspiləm (Nespelem). 5. Sʔuk̓wnaʔqín (Okanogan) 6. Walwáma (Chief Joseph Nez Perce) 7. Sp̓aƛ̓mul̓əxwəxw (Methow) 8. Ščəl̓ámxəxw (Chelan) 9. Šntiyátkwəxw (Entíat) 10. Šnp̓əšqwáw̓šəxw (Wenatchee) 11. Škwáxčənəxw (Moses Columbia) 12. Palúspam (Palús)

The above policy has yet to be properly implemented. The tribal signage has been updated several times, and has incorporated more language, but we have yet to see signage across the reservation like that of other tribes, which implement traffic signs in their language in tribal land. This may have to do with the fact that we have multiple languages across the reservation, and it could be difficult to decide which languages to employ for this purpose.

The aforementioned tribal policies and the funding that the 2015 Tribal Council allocated for language projects are clear indicators that the Colville Confederated tribes seek to revitalize our heritage languages and see them in more common use. The questions then remain: how

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[25] Rosenbaum, Cary L. "Resolutions." Tribal Tribune [Inchelium, Keller, Nespelem, & Omak] Feb. 12, 2015: A5

effective are these measures? What more can we do to ensure that our languages survive? The issue is that Tribal Council purports to support our languages, but there is very little action behind those words. The language program is supported via grant monies more than tribal monies. The tribes give more money to support non-tribal language endeavors, in lieu of those conducted by the tribes, through the language program. If they wanted to implement more language requirements and support more language-minded endeavors, they could; you see it done on other reservations. During my interview with Darnell Sam, he spoke to this issue quite passionately. He wanted to see more action to support the language and culture (D. Sam, Interview, 2019). The committee chair at the time for education, Joel Boyd, wanted to see more being done to bring language and culture into the schools as well, and was dissatisfied with what was currently being offered (J. Boyd, Interview, 2019).

Culturally Responsive Education

Native peoples possess an innate understanding of the inherent value of their languages, they "have been decades ahead of the scientific community regarding the positive effects of cultural practices and cultural identities for their people" (Hoyt et al 2001, 21). It has been only recently that scholars have come to realize the true significance of language and cultural revitalization for Native peoples. The survival of Native languages is acutely linked to the survival of Native peoples, their cultures, and their epistemologies.

One of the key components of this particular area of instruction is, as previously stated, to take back the education of Native peoples. For hundreds of years' Native peoples have not been in control of the education of their children. Following contact, Native children have been educated by outsiders, by missionaries, and by government-appointed officials. Their education has often been conducted in manners considered inhuman by today's standards. In the last 50

years, Native peoples have been taking back education in their own communities and in their own cultures using traditional pedagogies. “The concept of culturally responsive education was born in the socio-political upheavals of the 1960’s Civil Rights Movement” (Reyhner et. al., 2017, 176). Curriculum responsive to the needs of tribal communities aims to reclaim Indian education, for, by, and with their communities by seeking to create programs and policies geared toward such goals. According to Ladson-Billings, “culturally relevant pedagogy rests on three criteria: a) academic success of students, b) development/maintenance of cultural competence, and c) development of a critical consciousness (i.e., understanding how the past influences current conditions) for active citizenship” (Ladson-Billings, 1995). If we strive to meet these criteria, as a community, we are capable of creating the change we want to see in Indian country.

We have a chance here to create a new generation of Native American scholars that are rooted in their identity, and who know the history of their people; how they were abused by the United States government, how they were able to retain their cultural practices through song and dance despite every effort to police their bodies, and how they fought for change, and were able to create programs such as the ones examined in this dissertation. Native American students today are a legacy of change that does not end when they leave school but goes on to impact everyone they interact with afterward. The students coming out of these programs will leave with the knowledge they need to go back into their own Native American communities and do something for their people. They will help their communities better their conditions and make a stand against further loss of rights because they have the tools they need. They know how to fight government encroachment on fishing rights because they have learned about how their ancestors fought it, and they know how their grandparents fought it, and they have the skills required to help their community continue to fight it.

There are many arguments in favor of culturally responsive education. It has been strongly advocated for since the early 60s and 70s, and there have been supportive policies at the federal and state levels. "The arguments for culturally responsive education for Native Americans generally fall into one of four interrelated categories: 1) tribal diversity, 2) self- determination, 3) remediation for past injustices, and 4) addressing the achievement gap" (Reyhner et.al., 2017; p. 178). According to Murry, "culturally responsive education is a manifestation of self-determination in that it gives Native communities input and control over what and how education will be implemented" (Reyhner et.al., 2017, 180). It is so important for Native communities to wrest some power from the government over the education of Native youth, as it has been long overdue. "By recovering the past through a strong sense of identity and by using culturally appropriate curriculum and Indian instruction, some Indian and Alaska Native students are achieving educational success that heretofore proved elusive" (Reyhner, 2017; p, 1). However, despite the changes, and the advocacy, there are still issues with implementation at every level. It was not until recently that real changes in schools have been seen at the state level here in Washington. Despite the Centennial Accord, and the Millennial Agreement, it was not until the passage of the Since Time Immemorial legislation that schools actually began to implement curriculum that teaches about local tribal culture, Indian history, and languages.

Indian Nations at Risk Task Force

Between 1990 and 1992, the U.S. Department of Education commissioned twenty papers suggesting "solutions to the problems facing Native education and, in fact, all American education. The 20 commissioned papers review current Native education and set forth rationale, plans, and strategies for improvement of American Indian and Alaska Native education. The commissioned papers are the primary product of the *Indian Nations at Risk Task Force*. The task

force was established March 8, 1990 by Education Secretary Lauro F. Cavazos to make "practical recommendations for action to be taken by all those having a vital interest in the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives" (Cahape and Howley 1994, vii). The task force collected materials for this report through a variety of venues, including a call for papers, public meetings, regional hearings, special issues sessions at the National Indian Education Conference, and site visits. The primary content of this report, however, are the commissioned papers which were contracted by experts in the field of American Indian and Alaska Native education. The papers covered topics that were established as key areas of interest from the meetings, hearings, and site visits:

> Among the general findings, the task force identified four important reasons the Indian Nations are at risk as a people: (1) Schools have failed to educate large numbers of Indian students and adults; (2) The language and cultural base of the American Native are rapidly eroding; (3) The diminished lands and natural resources of the American Native are constantly under siege; and (4) Indian self-determination and governance rights are challenged by the changing policies of the administration, Congress, and the justice system (Cahape and Howley 1994, iv).

These findings are long-standing issues in Indian education. Indeed, these echo back to the original findings from the Meriam Report of 1928.

Paschal Sherman Indian School

In 2005, in an effort to revamp the school and move away from the previous location, both physically, and emotionally, a new school was built south of the where the campus of Saint Mary's Mission once stood. The new facility cost eighteen million dollars and serves students from kindergarten through ninth grade. It is still a residential boarding school, but it now provides Native American cultural education for students in the Pacific Northwest (Leaver 2013). The school is owned and operated by the Colville Confederated Tribes and funded through the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE).

Paschal Sherman Indian School, like any other school in the United States, must comply with certain federal policies, meaning, Indians are not exempt from the No Child Left Behind Act. “In accordance with NCLB, Paschal Sherman Indian School is required to administer the” State of Washington’s Measurement of Student Progress (MSPs) in math, reading, writing, and science.” (Leaver 2013, 4) Additionally, in compliance with the Centennial, Millennial, and Since Time Immemorial initiatives, they offer a robust Salish language and culture program. “A Salish speaking instructor provides the foundation of the Salish language to all students who attend Paschal Sherman School. Salish is reinforced by staff members who are familiar with the language. Language and culture are integrated into instructional units” (Leaver 2013, 5). By not only offering a language and culture course but prioritizing the instruction of language and culture at PSIS, this school is moving away from the assimilative past it once had and moving toward healing. They have a great deal of programming to support language and culture as well. These initiatives work toward healing the students and healing the community, and building resilience as well.

Conclusion: Turning pain into power

During the summer of 2017, while interviewing tribal elders as a summer intern, my team and I were able to interview Pam “Gooch” Abrahamson. At the time of our interview, she was a language teacher at Paschal Sherman Indian School. During our interview she related that she went to St. Mary’s Mission from the first grade to the eighth grade. It was because of her time at the mission that she refuses to wear dresses today; she says she had to wear them six days a week while she was at the mission and now, she cannot stand them. She told us that she learned the language from her mom, and she had a very traditional upbringing. It is because of her mother

and her teachings that she became a language teacher at Paschal Sherman. She cannot stress enough the importance of language and culture for the next generations (P. Abrahamson, Personal Communication, 2017). At the time of our interview, Pam was a Salish language instructor at Paschal Sherman Indian School. The work she was doing at the school was instrumental in undoing the damage that its predecessor, St. Mary's Mission, had done to the Colville tribes and our languages.

The Colville Confederated Tribes are one of the largest confederacies in the nation, and there are four languages spoken amongst the twelve tribes. These tribes were put together on this reservation by means of an Executive Order in 1872. It was during this era that the Federal Government sought to end the Treaty making period. It is a commonly held belief that the twelve tribes that compose the Colville Confederacy were placed together with the express purpose of terminating one another. However, in spite of this, we have come to live with one another in peace. The work that the Language program has been doing seeks to revitalize each of the languages spoken on the reservation and bring all of our cultures back into use. This has meant working with the state and public schools to create language and culture programs for youth and creating language and culture education to the workplace as well. The largest scale efforts have been conducted at Paschal Sherman Indian School, where the greatest amount of hurt took place for our people. But with language educators and advocates and leadership, we are slowly making progress toward language and cultural revitalization and healing for our peoples.

Chapter 5: Conclusion: How to Save our Languages in the Modern Age

> Each language encodes ancient memories as well as current meanings. Its parts of speech reflect a people's unique way of categorizing phenomena. Along their etymological routes its words have picked up freights of unstated knowledge. Its metaphors, songs, jokes, and formulae carry troves of assumptions, values, historical understandings, and other kinds of information… When a language dies, therefore, a people's worldview dies with it (Miller 2011, 29).

Introduction

Pop culture occupies a central space in our lives, and today, Indigenous communities are utilizing it, in its various forms, to revitalize their languages in fun and innovative ways. Sharing information online, via Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, SnapChat, YouTube, or other social media is just a few taps away for most people today. These tools allow Indigenous communities to share content in their languages in multiple forms all across the globe. Native peoples understand that their languages are the crux of their cultures and the need to fight to revitalize their languages is becoming more and more imminent with each passing year that their languages are not being passed to the next generation. Especially with the Covid 19 pandemic, many Native communities have been hit hard, and we have lost many of our elders, our fluent speakers, and our knowledge bearers. In an effort to meet the need for language revitalization, Indigenous communities have been working with online forums and social media outlets to share their languages with their communities, and the public so that their languages do not disappear forever. Language revitalization is an essential component of Indigenous culture, and in order to persevere as Indigenous peoples we must work together to pass this knowledge on to the coming generations.

This concluding chapter ties together all of the efforts taking place on and off the Colville Indian Reservation to improve our heritage speaker community, bringing us back to why our

heritage languages matter, as well as the impacts we hope to see from the Federal, State, and tribal language policies that have just been passed. This chapter will answer the question: In what ways are current pedagogic practices working to keep Salishan and Sahaptin languages alive? I will summarize the results of a language survey conducted by the Colville Confederated Tribes language program and funded by the Potlatch Fund. This survey was conducted with tribal members based both on and off the reservation regarding the current speech community, community language classes, current language program efforts, what can be done to improve the heritage speaker community on our reservation, and the overall interest tribal members and community members alike have in language revitalization efforts. This chapter will provide some insight into what tribal members really want from language reform, and how we can best move forward in our efforts on the reservation to revitalize our languages. Additionally, we will look into how best to implement the suggested reforms found during the interview and survey process.

Why Language Revitalization Matters

During the interviews I conducted with tribal members in the summer of 2019, I had the opportunity to speak with Vincent Adolph, a language learning apprentice who had been learning the nxaʔamxčín language for two years. Vincent is from the Omak area and is of Okanagan, Moses-Columbia, Palus, Lakes, Entiat, Methow, Colville, Wenatchee, and Spokane tribal descent. He grew up with the Spokane language, and when he was hired on as a language apprentice with the Colville Tribe's language program, began learning nxaʔamxčín and nsəlxcín. During our interview, he had a great deal of insight to share regarding his philosophy about language revitalization, and its impact on community members:

> Well, the aspect of language revitalization, it's a mixed bag to me because on one hand, for me, it's important to not just call it revitalization. But I think it needs to expand into like language actualization, like, we're, we're actually speaking, like people are, you know, like, but I mean, it's important, because I'm part of something that's, you know, I don't even know how to explain it, but it's, it's bringing back. For me and me personally, it's giving me my identity. Why, throughout my life, I ran into all these problems. And I'm not saying that just because I didn't know the language, I was doing all these things. But knowing the language, I'm not doing those things. So there's, there's a counterbalance of the power of our, our, spoken language, and not not even just ours, you know, being able to understand when other people are saying things to you, in our language, it has a power that that protects you somehow, and heals you I don't even know. So it's important to me (V. Adolph, Interview, August 22, 2019).

As I listened to his impassioned speech around the value of language actualization as he called it, I couldn't help but be caught up in his fervor. Our languages are so much more than carriers of culture and knowledge, they carry parts of who we are as Native peoples, they connect us to our identity, they can help us heal from historical trauma. It was exciting to see that this was the next generation of language speakers that our tribe was bringing up, tribal members passionate about language revitalization or rather actualization, who could see all this value. It is truly beautiful.

Language revitalization is vital to Native Peoples broadly, but it is also vital to me on a personal level. The language work that I am involved in is driven by my family. I want language revitalization for my mom and dad, who were forcibly removed from their homes, their cultures, and their languages. I want language revitalization for my nieces, who are brand new to this world, and need to know who they are as Native peoples. I want language revitalization for my people. I want them to know about their culture, their ceremonies, and their history. I want language revitalization for all Native peoples, to help us become whole and connected with our identity on every level. I want everyone to know why our languages make this world beautiful, how they fill it with unique sounds. And I want language revitalization for the allies, the people who just love languages, who care about Native people and their cultures and want to have a deeper understanding of Native peoples through language.

Native scholar T. Alfred argues that "Native languages embody indigenous peoples' identity and are the most important element in their culture" (Alfred 2009, 172). He further asserts that our Indigenous languages, "must be revived and protected as both symbols and sources of nationhood…In addition, communities must make teaching the Native language, to both adults and children, a top priority" (Alfred 2009, 172). Miller asserts a very similar sentiment regarding the significance of Native languages, stating, that language encodes our ways of thinking and being, and when we lose our languages, we lose a part of ourselves. When we assess the value of our Native languages, we must look at each and every component, we need to fully understand what our languages communicate in order to really grasp the vital role they play in the cultural survival of Native peoples. Our languages carry so much information, and the sooner we acknowledge this, the sooner we can begin the process of language revitalization. Miller goes on to assert the epistemological value of Indigenous languages by stating,

> language encodes the fundamental formatting of the "mind" of a people. It is the basis of their shared identity. Only in their own language can their origin narratives, histories, ceremonies, and other verbal formulae express the ultimate truths they share. Language is so essential to a people's identity that its loss threatens their existence as a people (Miller 2011, 204).

Without a connection to this formatting via language, Native peoples run the risk of losing many of the details that are "encoded" therein. A single word can carry so much meaning in relation to ceremony, history, and culture. When we lose that single word, we lose all of those individual connections. We need to fight for every word we have, we need to retain as much as possible if we are to maintain our cultures and share the values of our people with the next generation.

In addition to the more material benefits of language revitalization, Whalen, Moss, and Baldwin's article, *Healing through language: Positive physical health effects of indigenous*

language use, summarizes contemporary language studies "that indicates language maintenance and revitalization efforts [that] result in health-related benefits for Native Americans and other indigenous populations." (Whalen et al., 2016,18) This article tracks the decline of ancestral language in Indigenous communities, arguing the greatest loss has taken place in the last fifty years, drawing parallels between this decline and that of Indigenous peoples' health. The purpose of this article is to "explore the limited existing literature on health outcomes of indigenous language use and outline promising research avenues for the future" (Whalen et al., 2016, 2). The four components of health that were considered through this study were, spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical.

Among the studies compiled herein was that of Hallett et al. (2007) who "found the youth suicide rate for indigenous bands in British Columbia in which 50% of the community is conversationally fluent (L1) to be 1/6th that of less fluent bands" (Whalen et al., 2016; p.3). It was also found that, in communities where indigenous languages were more widely spoken, there were fewer smokers, as opposed to less fluent communities. Indeed, another study of a Canadian First Nations community conducted by Oster in 2014 found that "groups with greater cultural retention, as indexed by language use, had significantly lower rates of diabetes after factoring out socioeconomic factors" (Whalen et al., 2016, 3) Highlighting these very positive indicators, this article suggests a comparative study of "such health measures as absentee rates from school or changes in the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004)" (Whalen et al., 2016, 3).

Language connects us to our culture in a way that little else does. There is a great deal of our history, culture, epistemology, and religion encoded in language, and when we lose them, we sever those connections. Who would have thought to connect language and suicide in Indian

country? These connections, these perspectives are something that comes from community members with vested interests in their community trying to make positive change. The impacts of historical trauma on Indigenous communities have been very widespread, and the fact that one form of treatment for this trauma might have a positive impact on another component of that trauma makes sense. I look forward to reading deeper into these connections and asking about any positive health outcomes in relation to the language programs in my own community.

Cultural Survival

During our interview, Annette spoke to a number of issues relevant to this research. In addition to sharing valuable information about the Since Time Immemorial mandate for Washington state, which was covered at length in the last chapter, she also spoke to the value of language and her own journey and perspective regarding language maintenance and revitalization. When asked if there was anything that she would like to add, after I had concluded with my own interview questions, Annette added, in regards to learning language:

> Like they're, like, they're usually trying to add in language, because that's what our people are missing. It's like, I don't know, even I felt that way. Like when I was in college and learning yeah, like I was kind of like at this point where I was like, kind of swaying back and forth on like, what kind of person I was going to be, I feel like, and then, but then because I was learning language, at that time, it made it easier to decide, like, where I wanted to go and who I wanted to be, I suppose. And then I got where it's like, I had my son. And now I really, like studying, like, what kind of mom I want to be for him. And I think like, all of our people want that. So if everything were to work out, just right, or in a good way, then more people can, like, be at that swing point. But then they could just come back and help the community or help themselves. Because even when you're helping yourself, you're making make it easier on the community. (A. Timentwa, Interview, August 14, 2019)

One of the other individuals that I was able to interview during the summer of 2019 was Tribal Councilman Joel Boyd. Joel is an enrolled member of the Colville Tribes, he is of Lakes descent, and is also Coeur d'Alene and Spokane on his mother's side. Although he is not a language speaker, he did learn a little nsəlxcín when he was growing up in Inchelium, WA. During our

interview, Joel was able to speak to a few key areas, and had some very strong opinions regarding the importance of language, despite his own shortcomings. He said that:

> I think it's just important, in general, to keep the language alive to keep all the, the, the dialects alive. And I really want like, where I'm sitting. I think it's really big to push that into some of the public schools. And I mean any of the schools on or near the reservation. That's what I'm really interested in, in, in, not only that, but I mean, I'm excited to see people my age or even older learning language. I've… I've had somebody come in who was in their 60s, that was just now learning language. And I thought that was pretty cool. And, and I think it's just, you know, it's part of our culture. And I think, I think it's important, because we're losing that in a sense that, you know, we're, we're in the day of modern day, to where, you know, it's not really, we're not using it anywhere, but we're, we need to, to do what we can to keep it alive, I guess (J. Boyd, Interview, August 26, 2019).

It was so heartening to hear how strongly our tribal council feel about supporting language and cultural revitalization. These are our leaders; these are our representatives. To know that they support these efforts and want to see more in the schools and community, these are the people that can really make it happen. I can only hope that he follows through on these sentiments.

In addition to speaking with members of the community and Tribal Council, I also spoke to tribal members who lived and worked toward language revitalization off the reservation. LaRae Wiley is a tribal elder and member of the Lakes tribe. At the time of our interview, she had been speaking the nsəlxcín language for over 18 years. She began her language journey on the Spokane Reservation with their language, and a few years later she became involved with language work on the Colville Indian Reservation. As Wiley explained,

> I guess just that, for me language has been, it's been a spiritual journey, as well as you know, intellectual journey and bringing back language to my family and bringing language to community. I think our language is really powerful, and that it has the sumíx, the power to change people's hearts and minds. And I think it makes people feel good about themselves and who they are and where they come from. And that's really important. With, especially with young people, you know, and I think I just feel lucky to have kind of stumbled into learning my language. And it's made a difference in how I see the world and made a difference in how I think of myself, and it's really helped me to become stronger (L. Wiley, Interview, August 14, 2019).

Working with Larae and having the opportunity to interview her for this research was a real pleasure. She is honestly one of the most passionate language advocates and teachers I have ever known. She really believes in the power of language and that it can help our people, and allies alike. She didn't grow up around the language, and her journey began with the Spokane language, but she has become a fluent speaker, and has brought her whole family into language work. Our languages have been on the brink of extinction and people like Larae and her family are the reason we have seen such a resurgence in the Colville-Okanagan language.

Our Native languages have seen tremendous loss over the years because of assimilation. Prior to first contact, this continent was populated with "[m]illions of people and hundreds of independent nations" (Pevar 2012, 1). The territories of these nations spanned across the entirety of what is now the United States. Each of these nations possessed their own government, culture, and language. However, today, our numbers are greatly reduced. According to the U.S. Census, there are approximately 6.79 million American Indians/Alaska Natives residing here in the United States. That amounts to a whopping 2.09 percent of the total population. The state of our languages is also greatly reduced, in fact, "[o]nly about 200 tribal languages of 300 spoken by Native Americans before the coming of the white man survive today, and of those, only about 20 are still being learned by children in the traditional way" (Echo-Hawk 2013, 201). These statistics illustrate the damage caused by numerous factors, namely government policies enacted here in the United States against Native peoples. For years Native peoples have experienced, both physical and cultural acts of genocide. This isn't even taking into account the toll that the pandemic has had on our remaining language keepers, which has been substantial as Native communities have been hit harder than most.

Forms of Language Revitalization

In an effort to bring Native languages back from the brink of extinction, Indigenous peoples have undertaken significant language revitalization efforts. Native peoples are fighting to make language learning as accessible as possible; to as wide and varied an audience as possible because they understand that many of their people and other vested interests are living in both urban and rural locations spread across the United States and beyond. These varied revitalization efforts are geared toward as wide an audience as possible in order to create as saturated a learning environment as they can. These efforts are not only geared towards Native peoples, but educators, students of all ages, scholars, and allies. In order to make the maximum impact possible, languages are being advertised and shared on as many forums as possible. Tribes are creating and sharing more and more content online to make language learning more accessible to their community and folks who just want to learn.

The programs that exist today have been instrumental in the current efforts at revitalization regarding documentation and creation of materials that can be used to learn and teach our languages. "However, from the time of Euro-American contact there has been a steady decline of fluent speakers of Interior Salish languages. This trend has accelerated in the last 30 years, and all Interior Salish languages are now extremely endangered." [26] However there have been waves of interest in language preservation and revitalization since then.

Immersion Schools on and Around the Colville Indian Reservation

> Our Native languages (nqlqilxʷcntət) have not been spoken in our homes as first languages for well more than a generation. Only a few fluent Native speakers remain on the Colville Reservation. Residents here have grown accustomed to speaking and knowing in a foreign tongue – English. Our languages were fading from use. [27]

[26] http://www.interiorsalish.com/home.html
[27] https://www.heartsgathered.org/

The immersion schools that have been established on and off the reservation, the educators are primarily tribal members teaching tribal members. For generations our people have been forcibly removed from their homes and sent to boarding schools across the nation. Today, as a result of these past educational practices, we only have seventeen fluent speakers of N̓sel̓xcin, fourteen semi-fluent speakers, four fluent speakers of Nimipu, three semi-fluent speakers, and only one fluent speaker of Nxaʔamxcin, and four semi-fluent speakers (Hearts Gathered n.d.). With the advent of immersion school education, we have the opportunity to teach our youth their heritage language through a culturally relevant curriculum. While learning in these new immersion schools, the students, taught using the "natural learning process – but rather than in a home, our students are learning their Native language in a school setting. Much like home though, our children learn in a stress-free environment and are not required to speak in their Native tongue right away. They speak when they are ready" (Hearts Gathered n.d.).

The first immersion school established on the reservation was Hearts Gathered, ʔaluspuʔús. It opened and began operating in 2004 near Omak, Washington, and in 2010 it grew into what it is today. From one student in preschool at the beginning of that first year, they now have 17 students ranging from preschool to 4th grade with a substantial waiting list. Due to the success of this first reservation immersion school, the tribe is currently working to open a second school which will be located in Nespelem, WA, where tribal headquarters are located. This next immersion school will be among the first Native trilingual immersion schools. The first immersion schools only taught n̓səl̓xcín, but this new school will offer to teach all three of the indigenous languages of the Colville tribes, n̓səl̓xcin, nimipu, and nxaʔamčín.

Figure 8. Inchelium Language and Culture Association (n.d.)[28]

In addition to the Hearts Gathered School, and also located on the Colville Indian Reservation, is the Inchelium Language and Culture Association (pictured above). ILCA is a 501(c)3 non-Profit Organization dedicated to the revitalization and preservation of n̓səl̓xcin. In the above image we see a collection of community, language speakers, advocates, and teachers together at the language house. They opened their doors at the Inchelium Language House in 2012 and offer language and cultural programming across the reservation and into British Columbia, in an effort to foster greater connections between the northern and southern tribal members of Lakes, Colville, and Okanagan descent, as well as those across the reservation. The mission of the ILCA is to

[28] Photo source: "Inchelium Language & Culture Association" https://incheliumlanguagehouse.org/the-language-house, accessed August 31, 2023.

> foster and sustain a dynamic community of Salish language speakers whose daily lives are expressed through a commitment to Lakes and Colville culture and a connection to their traditional territories. We work diligently to create new Salish Language speakers and teachers. Our teachers are trained in Second Language Acquisition techniques to ensure our language is retained at the highest levels possible. (https://incheliumlanguagehouse.org)

In the early 2000s Chris Parkin was working with the Spokane Tribe to develop a language curriculum based on his work with Spanish. Then in 2004, he and his wife LaRae Wiley began working with a fluent elder, Sarah Peterson, to learn the n̓səl̓xcin language and create educational materials for revitalization efforts. Today they run a very successful immersion school in Spokane Washington called the Salish School of Spokane. They were also instrumental in the creation of Salish language courses at the Spokane Falls Community College, Eastern Washington University, the local community school, and the creation of another immersion school on the Colville Indian Reservation in Inchelium, WA.

The Salish School of Spokane started in 2009 in a small basement. They only had two teachers, but that was all they really needed. From there they built up and out. They were able to recruit more and more students, and soon they were able to acquire a much larger piece of property to house the school. Today they teach children 12 months-18 years of age, but the program has since been granted permission to teach the students enrolled until they finish high school. "The mission of the Salish School of Spokane is to create a vibrant community of fluent speakers of Interior Salish languages by providing Salish language instruction to children and by empowering parents and families to speak Salish in their daily lives'."[29] To this effect, they teach community classes for parents and community members at the school, and they also teach language classes at the local community center.

[29] Salish language introduction video on the website homepage sharing background info for Interior Salish and the schools mission statement. www.Salishschoolofspokane.org accessed 3 September 2023.

Popular Music at the Celebrating Salish Conference

In addition to pioneering one of the most successful Indigenous language immersion schools in the Northwest, LaRae Wiley, and Chris Parkin were also instrumental in the founding of the Celebrating Salish Conference. This conference had a very humble start, much like the Salish school, but in maybe its second or third year everything changed. Prior to co-founding the Salish school, LaRae Wiley was a musician and singer, and during the conference, after dinner, she and her family performed a Salish language version of Crazy, by Patsy Cline. LaRae is a fantastic singer, and her family accompanied her beautifully in this performance, it was all anyone could talk about; it was the highlight of the conference. After the performance, many of those present asked LaRae if she would record the song. This song sparked a tide of interest in Salish language versions of pop songs, and her song specifically. In the years following, the founders instituted a Salish karaoke contest, which would eventually need to be broken up into age categories because the number of registrants was so high. That first performance of a translated pop song started something amazing. In the years after, kids, adults, and elders would perform their favorite songs in their language, everything from Adele to Guns n' Roses, to Hank Williams.

Music has served as a bridge that connects younger generations with elder generations with the language. It is amazing how hard a student, young or old will work on translating their favorite song for this event. This component of the Salish Conference has garnered increasing interest each year since its inception, and I cannot wait to see where it goes. I love how excited learners get in preparing for this event, from translation, to costumes, to dance to the showmanship. Each generation performs the songs that they care about the most, and the mix is amazing, but even more, is that they share this passion with the audience and bring more and more people to the language each year.

Conclusion: Changes Our Community is Calling For

During my interview with Tribal Councilman Joel Boyd, we covered a number of topics, and he had a some really powerful insights to share on each topic, but among those that stood out, was the following passage regarding the difficulty in teaching all four of our tribal languages, and how important it is to see actions being taken despite the how difficult it may be at times:

> So I would just say, you know, implementing them in each district. I mean, each, I guess you could say, each district, each school district, but really getting the dialects down. Because we have, what is it three dialects or four dialects that we can teach here? And so it's, it's different in each district. I would say, you know, so what they would learn here in Nespelem, I feel like would be the toughest or here in, here in, Omak because they would have, you know, the youth learning all the languages pretty much and so it's, it's a little tougher here. But I think, you know, in some, like in Inchelium where they're specifically mainly one dialect or a little easier to teach one dialect, I guess, but just having those courses available for the students, especially the Native students, but I think it's, I think it's so awesome when we see some of the non members taking those classes and, and learning the language and it makes people like me want to learn it. Because if they're learning our own language, and I don't even know, you know, any of it, it really pushes I think some of the tribal members to get involved too. Yeah (J. Boyd, Interview, August 26, 2019).

That our reservation is inhabited by twelve different tribes that speak four different languages makes the topic of revitalization more difficult. A lot of the models for revitalization are done in communities that speak only one language, there is a unity of culture, there are little to no tribal differences, but here, we have a great deal of diversity to navigate. The needs of each language are different too. The last fluent speaker of our Moses-Columbia language is now passed, there are no living fluent speakers of Nez Perce on the Colville Indian Reservation, there is little known about the state of the Sahaptin language as it is not currently supported by the Tribe's language program, and the Colville-Okanagan language is the most robust with thousands of fluent speakers on and off the reservation.

In my interview with Annette Timentwa, I was able to gain a great deal of insight regarding Washington state educational initiatives, and how they were being implemented in our tribal communities. As Timentwa explained:

> Oh, yeah. So like, like, my very first project that they asked me to do here was like, do language curriculum. And they just wanted to be the same across the board, and have a chain. And so she wanted to talk to me. And so, you know, that was just, I mean, we're still working on it. But that's like a good start for us, I feel like to have and then with that, like, I worked with Emma noise and loose boy, get art. And I feel like that's like a huge thing for our language is to have, like, our or, like people that are artistic to help create, like resources or learning tools. Because it's like, otherwise, you just get this like ugly, clipart, or whatever, it sort of thing. And it's nice, fine looking. But I feel like that, like just having these is huge, like having some imagery that is from Rare, like local people. And I feel like it's awesome. And then we're also working on these card games and apps. And there's, like, easy like, Go Fish card games, or like things you can do with beginning learner language learners. And then there's kind of more advanced ones, to help build fluency. And then even like, after, we've got to, like, we started that project, we, we talked with planning downstairs, and they're willing to, like, help us, like, create more cards or work on more stuff. And so it's like, all we need, I feel like is like the idea. And then we can, you know, have like, these pictures here, like, nice, like glossy papers, it's just, like, ready to go, like, available for instructors, or games or whatever, that would be cool. Like, I just have available for like our people to purchase, like, I know, when we presented like the games, like card games to council, they're like, like, can I buy this as a Christmas present? And it's like, something that people are interested in. And with it, you know, yeah, it's neat, like to the technology piece, too. So like, we have the word of the day app that they're going with, and then also working with WSU and Pascall Sherman, they're doing this indigenous science curriculum. And with that, they're able to do like, kinda like some GPS stuff. Or like maps, I feel like I can't remember. And then, like, when you're like, looking at the map, on the app that they have, they will like you can, you'll be able to, like, a place they can like, get like historical background with it, or like language words like about the area or like plants and stuff. And then like audio and stuff to like, sounds like it'd be pretty cool. I don't know how far they go with it. Like I don't think they do. Haven't gotten too far because they didn't weren't able to show like like the prototypes or whatever this past year, but like it's something that they've had. And then they will also use like apps with like their water restoration projects and stuff. I don't know if that was really like language based at all. But like, I think the potential is there to just be able to add on to it (A. Timentwa, Interview, August 14, 2019).

In addition to speaking with Annette, I was also able to interview one of her co-workers in the language program, Vincent Adolph. He was the newest member of the language program team and an intern for the Moses-Columbia language group. I wanted to have the opportunity to speak

with a diverse set of language holders and he had a lot to share. I really appreciated how passionate he was about language revitalization, and how driven he was. He shared some beautiful insights into the value of language and what he hoped to accomplish on his journey.

> Yeah, that's what I guess what you what you like, expand on there is, I guess, in the state school setting, and a local school, you know, just your regular school setting. Like the proper history of the region, life, because what you're taught in textbooks I'm learning, even on a grand scale is far, far from the truth. far from the truth. So, so like, you know, I think that the states really need to reevaluate, not just the language aspect of people come in and teach the language, but the history of the peoples in that area in that region, need to be represented, you know, and, and respected. Because a lot of the lands where the schools are currently at, you know, belong to us at one time, they were, they were places where we, you know, we associated with, and so, the respect to that, like, the teaching, what they're teaching, needs to be, like, upgraded, like they need to, you know, to get some, some true knowledge of this is the history that we have with these people. You know, this is our history with them, and what we've done and what has been done to us, good or bad, you know, so with respect to that, I really think the government really needs to step up the game up and start respecting, like the true history of peoples in our regions (V. Adolph, Interview, August 22, 2019).

Language is an invaluable component of Native people's identity. In his book *In the Light of Justice*, Walter Echo-Hawk states that "[w]here entrenched social problems are concerned, sweeping social change is often required" (Echo-Hawk 2013, 7). This is what we need in order to prevent the further decline of Native languages today. For decades Native peoples were discouraged from practicing their culture for fear of violence, and because of this, they were largely unable to pass on their languages and cultures. However, a stalwart few worked to retain their languages, and many of these individuals are now working within their communities to revitalize their languages.

Despite our sovereign status, and despite the fact that in 1970, President Richard Nixon denounced termination, and in 1983 President Ronald Regan began a campaign to "restore tribal governments to their rightful place among governments of this nation and to enable tribal governments, along with State and local governments, to resume control over their own affairs"

(Echo-Hawk 2013, 13). Native peoples continue to face assimilative forces outside of their control. However, within these movements to revitalize our languages we have hope. When I think about how the introduction of the Salish karaoke contest has brought so many people to the language, I am indescribably happy. People young and old work for weeks, even months at a time painstakingly translating their favorite songs to share with their friends and family during this awesome conference. I love it, I absolutely love it. I remember a friend of mine was working on translating a Nirvana song just for fun. We would work on it every day after class while we waited for the bus. In the years following he would perform in almost every contest. Most memorably with his mom in a rendition of TLC's *Waterfalls*. He later went on to get his Master's in education and became one of the teachers at the Salish School. His children are now students at the Salish School, and his wife also teaches there. We must have hope that the work we do will benefit those who come after us, this is just the start. We cannot stop working toward these goals.

Native languages will not save themselves. We need to know how to save them. We need to try everything. We cannot stop fighting this fight. Pop music and social media have opened doors that we never imagined possible and give us the opportunities we need to prevent the further loss of our languages. We must work with one another and share ideas, and fight together to revitalize our languages, uniting with peoples we never imagined and utilizing tools we never dreamed possible.

The tribal policies and initiatives that the Colville Confederated Tribes have passed are monumental steps for my people, they represent a movement to change and heal the wrongs that my people have endured. However, there is more yet to be done. We, as a Tribe, need to join the larger conversations regarding language revitalization globally, doing our part to encourage the

future enforcement of UNDRIP, as well as various federal, state, and tribal language policies and initiatives.

As a member of this community, I have a vested interest in the revitalization of these languages and given the support feel that I can be instrumental in creating positive change for not just my people, but all those interested in language revitalization with this research. I am uniquely qualified to do this work and feel it my duty to use the education I have received to serve my community and share our struggles and successes to help other scholars in similar pursuits. The world is just coming to understand the value of Native languages as transmitters of knowledge and the value of educating our youth in this knowledge is becoming increasingly clear with each new study conducted on Native students involved in language and culture programs showing signs of increased self-esteem, higher educational outcomes, and improved physical and mental health. This area of research is only growing, and I seek to do my part to contribute in any way that I can.

Survivance is a vital frame with which to understand Native peoples, and Native American Studies. It is often used "to describe the self-representation of Indigenous people against the subjugations, distortions, and erasures of White colonization and hegemony" (Greenwood 2009, 3). This is key when considering the foundation of Native American Studies as giving voice to Native peoples after generations of violence, forced assimilation, removal, and outright disregard. Gerald Vizenor defines Survivance as "an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction.... Survivance, then, is the action, condition, quality, and sentiments of the verb survive" (Vizenor 2008, 1, 19). It is survival and resistance, it is the condition of Indigenous peoples across the globe, but in relation to Native peoples, it is not just about survival, it is about actively

resisting the forces set on forgetting or erasing us as a people.

Native peoples have had to overcome a great deal just to survive to this point; history shares the scars of all the violence, the pain, the suffering, everything we have had to live through to get to this point. Our ancestors have had to fight for everything we have today - our languages, cultures, traditions, religious practices, epistemologies, everything that makes us who we are. They have carried those pieces of identity through the fire to share with the coming generations. Yes, some has been lost, but not as much as some would like to think. The teachings of the Purepecha and the legacy of the Thunder Shamans remain (Bacigalupo 2016), the accounts of the warriors who fought against the Indian agents for their religion despite punishment (Warren 2017), and the ways of Selu (Awiakta 1993) remain to this day and are taught in classrooms, when a few generations back, they were forbidden. Native American Studies is not just about teaching about Native peoples, it is about sharing these narratives, giving voice to our ancestors, and ensuring that these atrocities never happen again.

Appendix A: Centennial Accord 1989

I. Preamble and Guiding Principles

This Accord dated August 4, 1989, is executed between the federally recognized Indian tribes of Washington signatory to this Accord and the State of Washington, through its governor, in order to better achieve mutual goals through an improved relationship between their sovereign governments. This Accord provides a framework for that government-to-government relationship and implementation procedures to assure execution of that relationship.

Each Party to this Accord respects the sovereignty of the other. The respective sovereignty of the state and each federally recognized tribe provide paramount authority for that party to exist and to govern. The parties share in their relationship particular respect for the values and culture represented by tribal governments. Further, the parties share a desire for a complete Accord between the State of Washington and the federally recognized tribes in Washington reflecting a full government-to- government relationship and will work with all elements of state and tribal governments to achieve such an accord.

II. Parties

There are twenty-six federally recognized Indian tribes in the state of Washington. Each sovereign tribe has an independent relationship with each other and the state. This Accord, provides the framework for that relationship between the state of Washington, through its governor, and the signatory tribes.

The parties recognize that the state of Washington is governed in part by independent state officials. Therefore, although, this Accord has been initiated by the signatory tribes and the governor, it welcomes the participation of, inclusion in and execution by chief representatives of

all elements of state government so that the government-to-government relationship described herein is completely and broadly implemented between the state and the tribes.

III. Purposes and Objectives

This Accord illustrates the commitment by the parties to implementation of the government-to-government relationship, a relationship reaffirmed as state policy by gubernatorial proclamation January 3, 1989. This relationship respects the sovereign status of the parties, enhances and improves communications between them, and facilitates the resolution of issues.

This Accord is intended to build confidence among the parties in the government-to-government relationship by outlining the process for implementing the policy. Not only is this process intended to implement the relationship, but also it is intended to institutionalize it within the organizations represented by the parties. The parties will continue to strive for complete institutionalization of the government-to-government relationship by seeking an accord among all the tribes and all elements of state government.

This Accord also commits the parties to the initial tasks that will translate the government-to-government relationship into more-efficient, improved and beneficial services to Indian and non-Indian people. This Accord encourages and provides the foundation and framework for specific agreements among the parties outlining specific tasks to address or resolve specific issues.

The parties recognize that implementation of this Accord will require a comprehensive educational effort to promote understanding of the government-to-government relationship within their own governmental organizations and with the public.

IV. Implementation Process and Responsibilities

While this Accord addresses the relationship between the parties, its ultimate purpose is to improve the services delivered to people by the parties. Immediately and periodically, the parties shall establish goals for improved services and identify the obstacles to the achievement of those goals. At an annual meeting, the parties will develop joint strategies and specific agreements to outline tasks, overcome obstacles and achieve specific goals.

The parties recognize that a key principle of their relationship is a requirement that individuals working to resolve issues of mutual concern are accountable to act in a manner consistent with this Accord.

The state of Washington is organized into a variety of large but separate departments under its governor, other independently elected officials and a variety of boards and commissions. Each tribe, on the other hand, is a unique government organization with different management and decision-making structures.

The chief of staff of the governor of the state of Washington is accountable to the governor for implementation of this Accord. State agency directors are accountable to the governor through the chief of staff for the related activities of their agencies. Each director will initiate a procedure within his/her agency by which the government-to-government policy will be implemented. Among other things, these procedures will require persons responsible for dealing with issues of mutual concern to respect the government-to-government relationship within which the issue must be addressed. Each agency will establish a documented plan of accountability and may establish more detailed implementation procedures in subsequent agreements between tribes and the particular agency.

The parties recognize that their relationship will successfully address issues of mutual concern when communication is clear, direct and between persons responsible for addressing the concern. The parties recognize that in state government, accountability is best achieved when this responsibility rests solely within each state agency. Therefore, it is the objective of the state that each particular agency be directly accountable for implementation of the government-to-government relationship in dealing with issues of concern to the parties. Each agency will facilitate this objective by identifying individuals directly responsible for issues of mutual concern.

Each tribe also recognizes that a system of accountability within its organization is critical to successful implementation of the relationship. Therefore, tribal officials will direct their staff to communicate within the spirit of this Accord with the particular agency which, under the organization of [the] state government, has the authority and responsibility to deal with the particular issue of concern to the tribe.

In order to accomplish these objectives, each tribe must ensure that its current tribal organization, decision-making process and relevant tribal personnel is known to each state agency with which the tribe is addressing an issue of mutual concern. Further, each tribe may establish a more detailed organizational structure, decision-making process, system of accountability, and other procedures for implementing the government-to-government relationship in subsequent agreements with various state agencies. Finally, each tribe will establish a documented system of accountability.

As a component of the system of accountability within state and tribal governments, the parties will review and evaluate at the annual meeting the implementation of the government-to-government relationship. A management report will be issued summarizing this evaluation and

will include joint strategies and specific agreements to outline tasks, overcome obstacles, and achieve specific goals.

The chief of staff also will use his/her organizational discretion to help implement the government-to-government relationship. The office of Indian Affairs will assist the chief of staff in implementing the government-to-government relationship by providing state agency directors information with which to educate employees and constituent groups as defined in the accountability plan about the requirement of the government-to- government relationship. The Office of Indian Affairs shall also perform other duties as defined by the chief of staff.

V. Sovereignty and Disclaimers

Each of the parties respects the sovereignty of each other party. In executing this Accord, no party waives any rights, including treaty rights, immunities, including sovereign immunities, or jurisdiction. Neither does this Accord diminish any rights or protections afforded other Indian persons or entities under state or federal law. Through this Accord parties strengthen their collective ability to successfully resolve issues of mutual concern.

While the relationship described by this Accord provides increased ability to solve problems, it likely will not result in a resolution of all issues. Therefore, inherent in their relationship is the right of each of the parties to elevate an issue of importance to any decision-making authority of another party, including, where appropriate, that party's executive office.

Signatory parties have executed this Accord on the date of August 4, 1989, and agreed to be duly bound by it[s] commitments. (https://goia.wa.gov/relations/centennial-accord)

Appendix B. Millennial Agreement 1999

The undersigned leaders of American Indian Nations and the State of Washington, being united in Leavenworth, WA on November 1, 2 and 3, 1999 in the spirit of understanding and mutual respect of the 1989 Centennial Accord and the government-to-government relationship established in that Accord, and desiring to strengthen our relationships and our cooperation on issues of mutual concern, commit to the following:

- Strengthening our commitment to government-to-government relationships and working to increase the understanding of tribes' legal and political status as governments;
- Continuing cooperation in the future by developing enduring channels of communication and institutionalizing government-to-government processes that will promote timely and effective resolution of issues of mutual concern;
- Developing a consultation process, protocols and action plans that will move us forward on the Centennial Accord's promise that, "The parties will continue to strive for complete institutionalization of the government-to-government relationship by seeking an accord among all the tribes and all elements of state government."
- Enhancing communication and coordination through the Governor's commitment to strengthen his Office of Indian Affairs and the member tribes' commitment to strengthen the Association of Washington Tribes;
- Encouraging the Washington Legislature to establish a structure to address issues of mutual concern to the state and tribes;
- Educating the citizens of our state, particularly the youth who are our future leaders, about tribal history, culture, treaty rights, contemporary tribal and state government institutions and relations and the contribution of Indian Nations to the State of

Washington to move us forward on the Centennial Accord's promise that, "The parties recognize that implementation of this Accord will require a comprehensive educational effort to promote understanding of the government-to-government relationship within their own governmental organizations and with the public.";

- Working in collaboration to engender mutual understanding and respect and to fight discrimination and racial prejudice; and,
- Striving to coordinate and cooperate as we seek to enhance economic and infrastructure opportunities, protect natural resources and provide the educational opportunities and social and community services that meet the needs of all our citizens.

We affirm these principles and resolve to move forward into the new millennium with positive and constructive tribal/state relations. (https://goia.wa.gov/relations/millennium-agreement/agreement)

Appendix C. Language Readiness Survey

Community Readiness Interview Questions

1. On a scale from 1-10, how concerned are tribal members about teaching our languages, with 1 being "not concerned" and 10 being "greatly concerned"? Why?

COMMUNITY KNOWLEDGE OF EFFORTS

2. Are there any programs or schools on the reservation that teach our languages?

   If Yes, continue to question 3; if No, skip to question 16.

3. Can you describe any of them?

4. How long have each of them been going on?

5. Who do these programs or schools serve (e.g., certain ages, districts, etc.)?

6. About how many tribal members:

   - Have heard of these programs or schools?
   - Can name them?
   - Know the purpose of the efforts?
   - Know who the efforts are for?
   - Know how the efforts work (e.g. activities or how they're implemented)?
   - Know the effectiveness of the efforts?

   none, a few, some, many, or most?

7. Thinking back to your answers, why do you think members of your community have this amount of knowledge?

8. Are there misconceptions or incorrect information among community members about the current efforts? If yes: What are these?

9. How do community members learn about the current efforts?
10. Do community members view current efforts as successful?
    Probe: What do community members like about these programs? What don't they like?

11. What are the obstacles to individuals participating in these efforts?

12. What are the strengths of these efforts?

13. What are the weaknesses of these efforts?

14. Are the evaluation results being used to make changes in efforts or to start new ones?

15. What planning for additional efforts to address (issue) is going on in (community)?
    Only ask #16 if the respondent answered "No" to #2 or was unsure.

16. Is anyone in (community) trying to get something started to address (issue)? Can you tell me about that?

LEADERSHIP

I'm going to ask you how the leadership in (community) perceives (issue). By leadership, we are referring to those who could affect the outcome of this issue and those who have influence in the community and/or who lead the community in helping it achieve its goals.

17. Using a scale from 1-10, how much of a concern is language revitalization to the leadership of the reservation with 1 being "no concern" and 10 being "a very great concern"?
    Can you tell me why you say it's a _____?

17a. How much of a priority is language revitalization to our leadership?

Can you explain why you say this?

18. I'm going to read a list of ways that leadership might show its support or lack of support for efforts to address language revitalization.

    Can you please tell me whether none, a few, some, many or most leaders would or do show support in this way? Also, feel free to explain your responses as we move through the list.

    How many leaders…
    - At least passively support efforts without necessarily being active in that support?
    - Participate in developing, improving or implementing efforts, for example by being a member of a group that is working toward these efforts?
    - Support allocating resources to fund community efforts?
    - Play a key role as a leader or driving force in planning, developing or implementing efforts? (prompt: How do they do that?)
    - Play a key role in ensuring the long-term viability of community efforts, for example by allocating long-term funding?

19. Does the leadership support expanded efforts in the community to address language revitalization?

If yes: How do they show this support? For example, by passively supporting, by being involved in developing the efforts, or by being a driving force or key player in achieving these expanded efforts?

20. Who are leaders that are supportive of addressing this issue in your community?

21. Are there leaders who might oppose addressing (issue)? How do they show their opposition?

COMMUNITY CLIMATE

For the following questions, again please answer keeping in mind your perspective of what community members believe and not what you personally believe.

22. How much of a priority is addressing this issue to community members?

    Can you explain your answer?

23. I'm going to read a list of ways that community members might show their support or their lack of support for community efforts to address language revitalization.

    Can you please tell me whether none, a few, some, many or most community members would or do show their support in this way? Also, feel free to explain your responses as we move through the list.

    How many community members…
    - At least passively support community efforts without being active in that support?
    - Participate in developing, improving or implementing efforts, for example by attending group meetings that are working toward these efforts?
    - Play a key role as a leader or driving force in planning, developing or implementing efforts? (prompt: How do they do that?)
    - Are willing to pay more (for example, in taxes) to help fund community efforts?

24. About how many community members would support expanding efforts in the community to address (issue)? Would you say none, a few, some, many or most?

    If more than none: How might they show this support? For example, by passively supporting or by being actively involved in developing the efforts?

25. Are there community members who oppose or might oppose addressing language revitalization? How do or will they show their opposition?

26. Are there ever any circumstances in which tribal members might think that this issue should be tolerated? Please explain.

27. Describe the reservation.

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ISSUE

28. On a scale of 1 to 10 where a 1 is no knowledge and a 10 is detailed knowledge, how much do community members know about language revitalization?

    Why do you say it's a ____?

29. Would you say that community members know nothing, a little, some or a lot about each of the following as they pertain to language revitalization? (After each item, have them answer.)
    - Language revitalization, in general (Prompt as needed with "nothing, a little, some or a lot".)
    - the signs and symptoms
    - the causes
    - the consequences
    - how much language revitalization occurs locally (or the number of people living with (issue) in your community)
    - what can be done to prevent or treat
    - the effects of (issue) on family and friends?

30. What are the misconceptions among community members about language revitalization, e.g., why it occurs, how much it occurs locally, or what the consequences are?

31. What type of information is available in (community) about (issue) (e.g. newspaper articles, brochures, posters)?

    If they list information, ask: Do community members access and/or use this information?

RESOURCES FOR EFFORTS (time, money, people, space, etc.)

If there are efforts to address the issue locally, begin with question 33. If there are no efforts, go to question 33.

32. How are current efforts funded? Is this funding likely to continue into the future?

33. I'm now going to read you a list of resources that could be used to address language revitalization in your community. For each of these, please indicate whether there is none, a little, some or a lot of that resource available in your community that could be used to address language revitalization?
    - Volunteers?
    - Financial donations from organizations and/or businesses?
    - Grant funding?
    - Experts?
    - Space?

34. Would community members and leadership support using these resources to improve our language programs? Please explain.

35. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is “no effort” and 5 is “great effort”, how much effort are community members and/or leadership putting into doing each of the following things to increase the resources going toward addressing language revitalization in your community?
    - Seeking volunteers for current or future efforts to address (issue) in the community.
    - Soliciting donations from businesses or other organizations to fund current or expanded community efforts.
    - Writing grant proposals to obtain funding to address (issue) in the community.
    - Training community members to become experts.
    - Recruiting experts to the community.

36. Are you aware of any proposals or action plans that have been submitted for funding to address language revitalization on the reservation?

    If Yes: Please explain.

Additional policy-related questions:

37. What formal or informal policies, practices and laws related to this issue are in place in your community? (Prompt: An example of ―formal‖ would be established policies of schools, police, or courts. An example of ―informal‖ would be similar to the police not responding to calls from a particular part of town.)

38. Are there segments of the community for which these policies, practices and laws may not apply, for example, due to socioeconomic status, ethnicity, age?

39. Is there a need to expand these policies, practices and laws? If so, are there plans to expand them? Please explain.

40. How does the community view these policies, practices and laws?

Demographics of respondent (optional)

1. Gender:

2. Employment status? ____

3. Tribal Affiliation?
   ___ Arrow Lakes
   ___ Chelan
   ___ Colville
   ___ Entiat
   ___ Moses-Columbia

___ Methow
___ Nespelem
___ Nez Perce
___ Okanagan
___ Palus
___ Sanpoil
___ Wenatchee

4. Age range?
   ___ 18-29 ___ 30-44 ___ 45-59 ___ 60 and above

5. Do you live in your district? YES ___ NO ___If no: Which district? _________________

6. How long have you lived in your district? ________________________________

7. Do you work in your district? YES ___NO ___If no: Which district? ________________

Appendix D. Interview Questions

Questions: Community/Educators/Council

1. Age Range:
    a) 18-29
    b) 30-44
    c) 45-54
    d) 55+
2. Educational Background:
    a) Some Highschool
    b) Highschool Graduate
    c) Some College
    d) 2- year Degree
    e) Bachelor's Degree
    f) Master's Degree
    g) Doctoral Degree
3. Employment:
    a) Unemployed
    b) Subsistence
    c) Part-Time
    d) Full-Time
    e) Student
4. Native Language Background:
    a) nsəlxcín
    b) nxaʔamxčín
    c) titoqatimt
    d) Northeast Sahaptin
    e) Other________________________
5. Tribal Affiliation:
    a) Okanagan
    b) San Poil
    c) Moses-Columbia
    d) Palus
    e) Nez Perce
    f) Lakes
    g) Nespelem
    h) Entiat
    i) Methow
    j) Colville
    k) Wenatchee
    l) Chelan
    m) Other ________________________
6. District/Hometown:
    a) Keller
    b) Inchelium
    c) Nespelem
    d) Omak

e) Other_________________________

7. How long have you been a heritage language speaker?
8. Was your heritage language spoken in your home growing up? If not, where did you learn the language?
9. What kind of support did you receive when learning the language? Was there any resistance?
10. Do you teach the language?
    a) How long have you been teaching the language?
    b) What age group do you work with?
11. Why is language revitalization important to you?
12. Why do you think that our languages are in the state they are today?
13. What has contributed to our language loss? In your community specifically?
14. Should the tribe be taking additional measures to support our languages?
    a) How do you think the tribe should help support language revitalization efforts?
15. What kinds of language support would you like to see at the state level? Federal level?
16. What efforts at language revitalization would you like to see in the local schools?
17. What kinds of learning tools would you like to see for the language?
18. Is there anything I missed? Anything you would like to add?

Questions: Language Advocates

1. How long have you been involved in language revitalization and advocacy?
2. How did you become a language advocate?
3. How do you support language revitalization efforts in your community, at the state level, and at the federal level? What are some of the specific strategies you employ in this effort?
4. Which language policies impact you the most? Which are the best? Which are the most problematic? What would you like to change?
5. Which educational policies impact you the most? Which are the best? Which are the most problematic? What would you like to change?
6. What is the most pressing issue you face as a language advocate?
7. What would you like people to be aware about regarding language revitalization?

Appendix E. Consent Form

University of California at Davis
Consent to Participate in Research

Title of study: Language Policy and Practice on the Colville Indian Reservation
Investigator: SimHayKin S. Jack

Introduction and Purpose

You are being invited to join a research study.
This research looks into the process of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation's language loss, what remains of our heritage languages, and the current policies – nationally, at the state level, and at the tribal level – that are meant to revitalize them. This research tracks the history of tribal language use on the reservation and the policies relative to language maintenance and revitalization in our specific community. First, looking at past actions done by the United States government which led to major declines in language today, then, looking at current language practices on the Colville Reservation, particularly the different views regarding language maintenance and reproduction across generations. I conclude with an assessment of the current efforts to revitalize Colville-Okanagan, Moses-Columbia, Nez Perce and Northeast Sahaptin on the reservation and the implications of this for our community.

If you agree to participate in this research, you will be asked to participate in an interview. You will be asked questions about your involvement in various language revitalization efforts on and around the Colville Indian Reservation. It will take about half an hour to complete the interview.

Depending on your preference, the interview will be audiotaped and transcribed, or I will transcribe notes by hand, and your name will not be included on the transcription unless you choose otherwise.

There is no direct benefit to you from taking part in this study. We hope that the research will help the tribes and policy makers better advocate for various language revitalization initiatives and educational reforms aimed at supporting American Indian communities on the Colville Indian Reservation and across Indian Country.

The risks of this research are minimal. Some of the questions might make you feel uncomfortable or upset. You do not have to answer any of the questions you do not want to answer.

Confidentiality

As with all research, there is a chance that confidentiality could be compromised; however, we are taking precautions to minimize this risk. Your responses to the survey and interview questions will not/will include information that identifies you unless you choose otherwise. This identifiable information will be handled as confidentially as possible. However, individuals from UC Davis who oversee research may access your data during audits or other monitoring activities.

To reduce the risks of breach of confidentiality, we will assign your records an alpha-numerical ID. In addition, we will store all documentation in a secure filling cabinet with restricted access and any transcribed data will be scrubbed of all identifying markers unless you have consented to disclose your identity.

Compensation

You will not be paid for taking part in this study, however, to show appreciation for your involvement in this research, I will provide small tokens of appreciation.

Rights

Participation in research is completely voluntary. You are free to say no at any point in the interview process. You can decline to answer any questions and you can stop taking part in the project at any time. Whether or not you choose to participate, or answer any question, or stop participating in the project, there will be no penalty to you.

Questions

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact me at *530-574-8473* or ssjack@ucdavis.edu

If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a research participant in this study, please contact the University of California Davis, Institutional Review Board at 916 703 9158 or HS-IRBEducation@ucdavis.edu.

If you agree to take part in the research and allow the interview to be recorded, please give verbal consent or sign and date below.

____
Participant Name

____________________________________ __________________
Participant Signature **Date**

Appendix F. Colville Tribes Research Permit

Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation

Research Permit

Permit No. 2018 - 26 Approved by Resolution: N/A

This permit authorizes the following study, survey, or research project: **Language Policy on the Colville Indian Reservation**

This permit is valid from: **6/01/2019 to 9/30/2019**

In accordance with Colville Tribal Law, as well as the written research agreement entered into by the holder of this permit, the permittee recognizes and acknowledges that:

1) This Research Permit is conditional and may be canceled at any time if the study, survey, or research project is deviating or has deviated from the study design approved in the granting of the Research Permit, or from any provisions of the required underlying agreement upon which issuance of the permit is based.
2) All information and data gathered are the property of the Tribes, and the permittee may only publish or disseminate the data gathered, or any conclusions based on that data, under the conditions of the agreement underlying this permit, and with permission of the Tribes. Any unauthorized use of the data by the permittee or any third-party is strictly prohibited. All information and data gathered in the course of this project will be returned to the CCT Archives and Records Center at the conclusion of the project.
3) During the course of the study, survey, or research project the Office of the Tribal Chairman and the Archives and Records Center for the Tribes shall receive at least one copy of all interim and/or progress reports, and the final report resulting from the study, survey, or research project.
4) As a condition of receiving this Research Permit the research must comply with:
   a. The National Research Service Award Act, Pub. L. No. 93-348, 88 Stat. 342, as amended and as implemented by 45 C.F.R. pt. 46;
   b. All laws, ordinances, and codes of the Tribes regarding the protection of human subjects involved in the research, development and related activities; and
   c. Any other laws, regulations, policies, or procedures applying to the study, survey, or research project.
5) Failing to comply with the conditions of this permit, the underlying agreement, or any other applicable law. Will subject the permittee to any and all civil or criminal penalties available to the Tribes pursuant to the Tribes' Law and Order Code and any other applicable law, including but not limited to exclusion from Tribal property and criminal trespass.
6) As a condition of accepting this permit, the permittee consents to the jurisdiction of Colville Tribal Courts for all civil and criminal matters arising out of this research, and accepts the Colville Tribal Court as the appropriate venue for any such actions.
7) The permittee shall carry a copy of this permit at all times while conducting research on the Colville Reservation.

Rodney Cawston, CCT Chairman or Brock Belgarde, Designee — 12/13/18 Date

SimHayKin S. Jack — 13 DEC 2018 Date

Research Agreement

Research Permit #: 2018-26 Approved by Resolution: N/A

SECTION 1. TITLE

This agreement shall be known as the **Language Policy on the Colville Indian Reservation** Research Agreement ("Research Agreement" or "Agreement").

SECTION 2. PURPOSE

This is an agreement between the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation ("Colville Tribes" or "Tribes") and **SimHayKin S. Jack** ("Researcher"), whose names and addresses are listed in Appendix A to this agreement.

The purpose of the Research Agreement is to set forth the manner in which the Researcher may perform the **Language Policy on the Colville Indian Reservation** research project ("Project"). This Research Agreement governs the collection, sharing, and dissemination of data and conclusions created in the course of the Project. As used throughout this agreement "data" includes any physical or digital writing or recording of any form. Specifically, the purpose of this agreement is to:

1. Clarify the rights and responsibilities of the Tribes and the Researcher;
2. Ensure that the Researcher: (a) recognizes the rights of the Tribes and the people being studied, including the rights not to be studied, to privacy, to anonymity, to confidentiality, and to fully informed consent; (b) recognizes the primary right of informants and suppliers of data and materials to the knowledge and use of that information and material, including the right of the Tribes to have information and data returned at the conclusion of the Project; (c) respects traditional copyrights; (d) respects local customs and values, and carries out research in a manner consistent with this Agreement; (e) contributes to the interests of the community in whatever ways possible so as to maximize the return to the community for its cooperation in the research work; and (f) recognizes their continuing obligations to the local community after the completion of the fieldwork, including providing support and continuing concern for the well-being of the local community.
3. Protect the Colville Tribal community from unauthorized data sharing from this research and ensure that the Researcher recognizes Colville Tribes' ownership and control of data;
4. Reduce potential adverse effects of the Project data products on the Colville Tribal community;
5. Establish and provide Project data sharing expectations and responsibilities; and

6. Ensure that the Researcher can proceed with an effective, culturally-sensitive approach to researching on the Colville Reservation.

SECTION 3. PROJECT OVERVIEW

3.1. Project Details Incorporated. The attached research project proposal (Appendix A) contains a description of: 1) the purpose of the Project, 2) all final and intermediate products produced by or in the course of the Project, 3) the benefit to the Tribes of allowing the Project, 4) and a timeframe for all research and products. The proposal is hereby incorporated into this agreement, and the Researcher affirms that the information contained therein is true and complete.

3.2 Updates. The Tribes shall receive updates on the Project

- ☐ Monthly
- ☒ Quarterly
- ☐ Annually
- ☐ Other:___________
- ☐ N/A

3.3. Bond.

- ☒ No Bond is required
- ☐ A Bond in the amount of $_____ must be posted

3.4. Profit Sharing.

- ☒ Not applicable.
- ☐ Profit Sharing as described in Appendix C.

3.5. Fee. The Researcher agrees to pay a fee in the amount of $ 0 prior to issuance of the research permit.

3.6. Tribal Representative. The Tribal Chairman shall select a designee to represent the Tribes in the Project. The designee shall ensure that the Tribes' rights are protected and enforced, and the Tribes fulfills its responsibilities with regards to the contract. The Tribal Representative is identified in Appendix A.

SECTION 4. RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE TRIBES.

4.1. **Final Authority.** The Colville Tribes, as a sovereign, retains ultimate discretionary and final authority and responsibility for the research conducted under this agreement.

4.2. **Data Ownership.** The Colville Tribes is the owner of the data, data products, and information generated by this study from and about the Colville Tribes and its members. The Colville Tribes will receive all data and information collected and assembled in the course of the Project at the conclusion of the Project in a form and manner agreed to by the parties. In the event that the parties do not make an agreement about this return of information and data, the return shall occur as soon as reasonably possible. The Tribes shall have the right to inspect and review the information and data at any time upon a request sent to the Researcher.

4.3. **Limitation on Dissemination.** Except as described in Appendix A, no information or data gathered in the course of this Project, nor any conclusions based on that information or data, shall be released or disseminated in any form without the express prior consent of the Tribes.

4.4. **Right to Comment.** The Tribes has the right to have official comments made by or on behalf of the Tribes included in any final or intermediate published or released products. In addition, any final published work shall include a reference to the Colville Tribal Resolution approving this agreement and the corresponding permit.

4.5. **Right to Anonymity.** The Tribes reserves the right to have its identity protected by using a generalized term of its choice (e.g. "A tribe in Washington State") to refer to the Tribes in whatever final or intermediate products are produced as a result of this Project.

4.6. **Research Assistance.** The Tribes will assist the Researcher in identifying and contacting members of the community who may be of assistance in the research, as well as identifying other sources of useful information or data. The Tribes will also assist in developing culturally competent plans of research and data collection.

SECTION 5. RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESEARCHER.

5.1. **Confidentiality.** The Researcher will keep all data and information collected in the course of the Project strictly confidential, except for the purposes described in Appendix A. All agents and employees of the Researcher will similarly maintain strict confidentiality. Without the full informed consent of the individual, no individually identifying information will be released in any form. This includes information which could reasonably be traced to an individual or a small number of individuals. In the event

of a breach, the Researcher will act immediately to correct the breach and notify the Tribes of the breach.

5.2. **Data Protection.** All information and data collected by the Researcher in the course of the Project will be stored securely. In the event of a security breach, the Researcher will act immediately to correct the breach and notify the Tribes of the breach.

5.3. **Data Return.** All information and data collected by the Researcher during the course of the Project will be returned to the Tribes at the conclusion of the Project. The data will be returned to the Archives and Records Center for the Tribes.

5.4. **Informed Consent.** Before collecting information or data in any form from any individual, the Researcher will fully disclose the purpose of the Project, the nature of any documents or other products that will be produced as a result of the Project, how the information or data collected from the individual will be used, and whether it will be traceable or attributable to that individual.

5.5. **Cultural Sensitivity.** The Researcher will work with the Tribes to develop culturally sensitive methods of data collection.

5.6. **Native Preference.** Any contractors, subcontractors, or employees retained by the Researcher for the purposes of the Project must follow the Tribes' Native Preference policies described in Title 10 of the Colville Tribal Code and any other Colville Tribal regulations. The Researcher will contact the Tribes' Tribal Employment Rights Office before hiring contractors, subcontractors, or employees.

5.7. **Compliance With Other Laws.** The Researcher must comply with all other laws and regulations, including:

- the National Research Service Award Act, Pub. L. No. 93-348, 88 Stat. 342, as amended and as implemented by 45 C.F.R. pt. 46;
- all laws, ordinances, and codes of the Tribes regarding the protection of human subjects involved in the research, development and related activities; and
- any other laws, regulations, policies, or procedures applying to the study, survey, or research project.

5.8. **Right to Collect Data.** The Researcher has the right to enter the Colville Reservation to collect information and data in accordance with this Agreement.

5.9. **Right to Intellectual Property.** The Researcher has the right to the intellectual property rights in the final product, subject to this Agreement, and may choose when and how to publish the products produced as a result of the Project, in accordance with this Agreement. Researcher also has the right to profits as a result of such publication, subject to any profit-sharing provision of this Agreement.

5.10. Permit Carrying. The Researcher shall carry a copy of the research permit that corresponds to this agreement at all times while conducting research on the Colville Reservation.

5.11. Right to Assistance. The Researcher has the right to call upon the Tribes for reasonable assistance in identifying and contacting tribal members who may be able to provide information or data, creating culturally sensitive methods of data collection, and locating other resources that may provide useful information or data.

5.12. Fiduciary Relationship. The Researcher shall act as a fiduciary for the Tribes at all times during the course of the Project.

5.13. Contracting and Subcontracting. If any contractors or subcontractors are hired in the course of the Project by the Researcher or any of the Researcher's employees or contractors, the Researcher will ensure that those contracts contain the same provisions as this Agreement with respect to Sections 4 through 10.

SECTION 6. LIMITED TO THE PURPOSES OF THE PROJECT.

6.1. Data Uses Restricted. The information and data collected for the purposes of this Project, as well as any conclusions drawn from the information or data, shall not be used by the Researcher or any other person for any purposes except those specified in this agreement.

6.2. Third-Parties. Any third-party that wishes to access the data or information gathered in the course of the Project must apply for a permit with the Tribes, and will not have access to any information or data until a research agreement has been executed and a permit has been issued.

6.3. Secondary Use. Any use of the information or data other than that specifically listed in Appendix A is not permitted. Any such use will require the explicit permission of the tribe, and an additional agreement specifying the nature of the new use.

6.4. Modification. Any other modifications to this Agreement must be approved by both the Tribes and the Researcher, and memorialized in a written agreement.

SECTION 7. BREACH.

7.1. What Constitutes Breach. A Breach is the failure of the Researcher to comply with any of the terms of this agreement, including a breach of confidentiality or the security of information or data.

7.2. Remedies. In the event of a Breach, the Tribes will be entitled to pursue any or all remedies under Tribal or other law, including:

a. Termination of this Agreement;

b. Forfeiture of any research bond provided by the Researcher;

c. Civil or criminal liability under Tribal or other applicable law; and

d. Exclusion from the Reservation and criminal trespass.

SECTION 8. CONSENT TO TRIBAL JURISDICTION.

8.1. Consent to Tribal Jurisdiction. The Researcher consents to civil and criminal jurisdiction in the Colville Tribal Courts for any matters arising out of or in connection with this Agreement in any way.

8.2. Venue. The Colville Tribal Courts shall be the exclusive forum for any disputes arising out of this agreement or in the course of the Project.

8.3. Governing Law. In all matters or disputes arising out of or in connection with this Agreement in any way, the governing law shall be the law of the Colville Tribes.

SECTION 9. TERMINATION.

9.1. Conclusion of the Project. At the conclusion of the Project, on the date specified in Appendix A, the Researcher will discontinue collecting information and data, and will return all collected information and data to the Tribes.

9.2. Early Termination. The Project may be terminated at any time and without notice in the event of a Breach, or with 30 days' notice by either party to the other. In the event of early termination, all information and data will be returned to the Tribes by the effective termination date. No products may be produced after the termination date without the express permission of the Tribes.

9.3. Survivability. Regardless of how the Project terminates, this Agreement will continue in force, including the limitations on use of the data, consent to tribal jurisdiction, and profit-sharing.

SECTION 10. SEVERABILITY

The provisions of the Agreement are severable. In the event that any portion of this Agreement is found to be unenforceable or invalid, that shall not affect the enforceability or validity of any other portion.

Signed,

Rodney Cawston, CCT Chairman or Brock Belgarde, Designee

12/13/18
Date

SimHayKin S. Jack

13DEC2018
Date

APPENDIX B

Tribal Chairman

Rodney Cawston
CCT CBC
P.O. Box 150
Nespelem, WA 99155 (CBC)
rodney.cawston.cbc@colvilletribes.com

Tribal Representative

Brock Belgarde
CCT Archives & Records Program
P.O. Box 150
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Researcher

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