How Colonization Impacts Identity Through the Generations: A Closer Look at Historical Trauma and Education

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HOW COLONIZATION IMPACTS IDENTITY THROUGH THE GENERATIONS: A
CLOSER LOOK AT HISTORICAL TRAUMA AND EDUCATION

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Morgridge College of Education

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Michelle Garcia-Olp

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Dr. Bruce Uhrmacher
ABSTRACT

Through the lived experiences of 26 New Mexicans, this inquiry investigates how colonization impacts identity through the generations, particularly looking at historical trauma and education. The findings demonstrate the importance of decolonizing spaces within educational settings. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate the need for viewing educational systems and spaces through a Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) and Indigenous Storywork lens that lead Indigenous students in finding face (one’s identity), finding foundation (one’s greatest potential/full expression) and finding heart (one’s flow with the creator). The lens of TribalCrit enables the creation of a space where Indigenous students are empowered by their educational institutions in exploring their cultural and academic identity.

That being said, this dissertation needs to engage in aspects of decolonization. In the conceptualization and implementation of the decolonizing approach, an Indigenous and Western academic knowledge was sought and found in the following devices: Indigenous storywork protocol, conversation as method for data collection, data analysis in the usage of boxed writing, and arts-based research in data presentation. By merging
Indigenous knowledge with Western concepts, I’m recognizing that a dissertation cannot be fully decolonized, but an attempt should still be made.

Thus, this dissertation attempts to move towards decolonization in several ways. First, I utilized Jo-Ann Archibald’s (2008) seven Indigenous Storywork principles. Her seven principles permeated everything I did from beginning to end. The research questions are as follows:

Overarching research questions

- How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?

The following sub questions asked:

- How is knowledge generated within a family context?
- How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?
- What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?

Next, I used conversation as method as described by Kovach (2009), a research method grounded in Indigenous ideas derived from an Aboriginal writer. Conversation as method comprises my data collection procedures. Third, I used several different writers’ ideas as conceptual frameworks to analyze my data. Brayboy’s (2005) Tribal Critical
Race Theory was especially important. Finally, I incorporated arts-based research and digital storytelling for my data presentation.
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I would like to pay respect to the Arapaho and Cheyenne and all of the Indigenous people on the land of which the University of Denver stands.

To our ancestors who have come before us, may they walk with us in the present, guiding us towards what was lost. Together, with the knowledge of our ancestors, planting the seeds for future generations.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Pronunciation Guide & Key Terminology

For Indigenous people, it is important to practice the language of our ancestors as settler colonialism has tried, almost successfully, to eradicate these languages spoken (San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010). Because this research investigation is grounded in the work of decolonization, it is important that before I explain the investigation, that I introduce the language to the readers. This pronunciation guide and key terminology section is an attempt to familiarize the reader with the Nahuatl language and other key terms used in this investigation.

Pronunciation Guide

A language originating in early Mesoamerica, perhaps specifically in what is present day Chaco Canyon and New Mexico, Nahuatl was used as the official language out of 170 languages prevalent in Tenochtitlán during 1325 After Common Era (ACE) (Baca, 2008). During this time, Nahuatl could be found among pictographic renderings inscribed on stone and Codex papel amate (Baca, 2008). In 1521, most of these renderings were destroyed by Spanish conquistadors. Later, Spanish Franciscans along with surviving Aztec scribes (under very oppressive means), alphabetized Nauhatl and translated Nahuatl into the Latin alphabet (Baca, 2008).
Today, the language of Nahuatl can be found in Mexico, El Salvador, and the United States (Baca, 2008). With the imposition of colonization and other languages, Nahuatl has changed into many different varieties and can be found as the base language for many dialects encompassing the Toltec, Shoshone, and Hopi Nation discourse (Baca, 2008), people of the Triple Alliance or the Aztec Empire, Yaqui (Yoeme), Comanche, Plute, Ute (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018). The debate among scholars as to the exact spelling of Nahuatl and its vast forms of dialect is lengthy, however, according to Nahuatl scholars the following articulations are assumed to be the norm (Baca, 2008; Launey 2011; Lockhart, 2001):

- a is vocalized as “ah”
- e is vocalized as “eh”
- i is vocalized as “ee”
- o is vocalized “oh”
- c is vocalized as “cee”
- ch is vocalized as “ch”
- ll is vocalized as “l”
- x is vocalized as “sh”
- hu, uh is vocalized as “w”
- cu is vocalized as “kw”
gu is vocalized as “k”

z is vocalized as “s”

The above vocalizations can be seen in the following examples:

- *Nahuatl* is vocalized as “Náh-wahtl”
- *Quetzalcoatl* is vocalized as “keht-sahl-kówah-tl”
- *Mexica* is vocalized “Me-shée-kah”
- *Huehuetlahtolli* is vocalized as “weh-weh-tlah-tóh-lee”
- *Tenochtitlan* is vocalized as “te-no-ch-tée-tlan”
- *Coatlicue* is vocalized as “koh-at-lée-que”

**Key Terminology**

The terms and phrases used in this study are defined differently within different fields of study. For purposes of this discussion, the following definitions will be used:

- *Aztlán*: Southwestern United States (Saiz, 2014).
- Chicana/o (Chi-kan-a/o): Indigenous Mexican-Americans who identify with Mexican-Americans who identify with the Chicano Movement, and support LGTBQ identities and matrilineal social societies (Saiz, 2014). A political term (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018).
- *Cuicatl* (qui-cua-tl): Translated as song, it is storytelling of a physical
expression (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018; León-Portilla, 1963).

- **Genizaro**: A detribalized Indigenous person from Northern *Nuevo Mejico* and Southern Colorado (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018; Saiz, 2014). This form of detribalization is often the result of native captivity and slavery.

- **Huehuehuelhtolli** (weh-weh-tlah-tóh-lee): Known as proper discourse, discourse of the ancestors (Baca, 2008), or “discourse of the elders” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 7). It is also known as the wisdom of the elders (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018).

- **Indigenous**: An academic term defining the original inhabitants of a specific land base (Saiz, 2014).

- **Ixanchitlan** (E-zan-shee-lan): A Xikan@-Nahuatl term for the Western Hemisphere (Saiz, 2014).

- **Macehualli** (Mac-e-weh-al-lee): Indigenous people deserving of life because of the sacrifices made on their behalf by the gods (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018).

- **Mesoamerica**: What is present day Mexico and the southwestern United States (Baca, 2008; León-Portilla, 1963).
• Mesoamerican Codex Writing: pictorial images producing visual communication through figures, icons and symbols. Graphic rather than phonetic, depicting thought, ideas, and imagery specific to the mesoamerican area or mesoamerican people (Baca, 2008).

• Mestiz@: Of White and Indigenous racial makeup (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018). Mestizo has been reconfigured with the typographic symbol “@” in recognizing both genders as one; Mestiz@ incorporates the navigating of shifting identities and opposition to subjugation (Baca, 2008). Mestiz@s live in between various worlds, nepantla. They are forced (or choose) to live in categories that defy binaries of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Living in intersections, in cusps, we must constantly operate in a negotiation mode (Anzaldúa, 2015).

• Mexica (Me-shée-kah): An Indigenous contemporary people who identify with being from Anahuac (Nahuatl term for Meso-America), regardless of tribal affiliation (Saiz, 2014). There is a connection to religious, political, and cultural ties to the people of the Tochtitlan (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018)

• Mexicayotl (Me-shee-kai-yot): The essence of Mexican-ness (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018)
• Native: An informal term for describing Indigenous people of the United States (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018).

• Nahuatl (Nah-wahtl): Language spoken by the Aztecs from what is present day Wyoming to Costa Rica (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018; León-Portilla, 1963)

• Nahua (Nah-wah): People of Mexico who speak Nahuatl (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018)

• Nepantla (Ne-pah-ntla): in-between space; bridge between worlds (Anzaldúa, 2015)

• Pictographs: pictorial images producing visual communication (Baca, 2008).

• Raza: A Chicana/o term for “the people,” or community, or race (Saiz, 2014).

• Semasiographic-graphic rather than phonetic in nature (Baca, 2008).

• Temachtiani (Te-mash-ti-an-i): Teacher, wise person, counselor (teixcuitiani), a moralist (tetezcahuiani) (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018; León-Portilla, 1963)

giving wisdom to the face, or the public self (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018; León-Portilla, 1963)

- **Xikan@ (Shi-kan-a):** Indigenous Mexican-Americans who are from Aztlan and practice any form of Indigenous Identity. Ie. *Anahuacayotl, Ixanchilancayotl, Macehualyotl, Mexicayotl* (Saiz, 2014). A contemporary non-gendered response to “chicano” (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018)

- **Xik@nismo (Shi-kan-iz-mo):** The essence of being Chicano (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018).

- **Xochitl (Sho-sheet-tl):** Translated directly as flower (David Atekpatzin Young, Tlamachtiquetl, Personal Interview, January 6, 2018). An overarching depiction for what is known as art and rhetoric, through this artform, meaning is expressed (Baca, 2008).

**Research Protocol**

Indigenous Storywork, developed by Jo-Ann Archibald (2008), was created in order to weave Indigenous storytelling into westernized educational paradigms. The word work in storywork is a concept of research that involves listening and sharing Indigenous stories (Archibald, 2008). In this dissertation I will refer to Indigenous Storywork as Indigenous Storywork protocol to refer to the fact that the ideas permeate everything I did
from the beginning to the end of my dissertation process. Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008) consists of rigorous, reflective and collaborative work. Seven theoretical principles guide Indigenous Storywork including adhering to respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. These principles will be used to guide the research process from beginning to end will and ensure that relationships come first.

**Respect.** Respect in Indigenous Storywork is connected to the root for all “relationships, between individuals with future and past generations, with the Earth, with animals, with our Creator...and with ourselves. To understand [respect] and apply it to our lives is an ongoing process” (Neel, 1992, p.22; Wilson, 2008). Archibald uses the term, “respectful research relationships” in which respect is represented through cultural customs (Archibald, preface). Respect must also be expanded to language. Basil Johnston, an Ojibwa storyteller and author, describes respect for language grounded in traditional reverence for rhetoric and its powerful link to truth, “words are medicine that can heal or injure” (Johnston, 1990, p. 12). As Archibald (2008) says, “The mystery, magic, and truth/respect/trust relationship between the speaker/storyteller and listener/reader may be brought to life on the printed page if the principles of the oral tradition are used” (p.20). That being said, in using Native languages, nuances and meanings exist that defy translation. The next principle discussed is responsibility.
**Responsibility.** There are many different types of responsibility and in Archibald’s work she includes cultural responsibility (shared knowledge), communal responsibility (personal liberation), and the storyteller’s responsibility (the power that comes from the storytelling). All of these different types of responsibilities are interwoven and overlap and can be described as the sharing of knowledge. Neel (1992) states, “In the Native way, memory or history, is a tribal or family responsibility and is held and passed on by elders” (p. 22). Hanna, et al. (1995), explains that characteristics of importance are integrated into culture, language and stories. Through oral tradition, the re-telling of stories enables the continuation of the history and practices of ancestors. Without these stories, guidance and knowledge about our past would need to come from outside of the community and interpretation may not be accurate. For this reason, stories as teachings are necessary in individual and nation identity formation. As Hanna et al. (1995) states, “If we lose these stories, we will do a disservice to our ancestors – those who gave us the responsibility to keep our culture alive” (p. 201). Reciprocity guides us into the next principle.

**Reciprocity.** Recalling stories is vital for the continuance of oral customs and a healthy way of life (Archibald, 2008). Marmon Silko (1996) touches on this in *Ceremony* explaining, “The old-time people always say, remember the stories, the stories will help you be strong” (Marmon Silko, 1996, p. 71). Invoking the term “remember” indicates
that one may, if allowed, share the stories to others, thus, enacting the method of reciprocity (Archibald, 2008, p. 27). Reciprocity overlaps in substance, content, and micro and macro environment of oral customs within a larger system of reciprocity or “balance” (Archibald, 2008). Those larger systems of reciprocity or balance can be seen through oral storytelling and song in which the listener is as much of a participant as the storyteller. Through this means, oral storytelling and song is delivered as an art and is connected to social structure (Dauenhauer, 1986). Reverence is the fourth principle by Archibald.

**Reverence.** Gaining wisdom in regard to connecting story within a community’s ideology necessitates that one dwell or connect with the people for a long time. The collective idea of storytelling indicates that a listener is or is converted into a constituent of the community. Maracle (1992), of the Stó:lō/Coast Salish Nation, reiterates the collective metaphysical reverence of rhetoric describing rhetoric as situated within the place of prayer, to prevail. Therefore, reverence and rhetoric come from the creator—a spiritual entity. The storyteller must then come from a place of prayer and realize that words are not to be misused as they illustrate the collective understanding, cultural beliefs, and the perception of a community of people. Furthermore, reverence, rhetoric and storytelling must come from the act of doing as doing necessitates a component of
social connections, as such, storytelling offers the combined ideas and beliefs of a people. Holism is the next principle.

**Holism.** Holism, represented by the medicine wheel (Battiste 2011; Brown et al. 1984; Cajete, 1994; Calliou, 1995; Graveline 1998; Pepper and Henry, 1991), the Mexica medicine wheel (The Four Corners of the Aztec Universe) (León-Portilla, 1963), and sometimes by the sacred circle of life (Sioui, 1992) is the combination of balance and harmony (King, 1982; Tafoya, 1987). Holism, or the medicine wheel can also be seen in Figure 2 and my circle of courage. Holism is relevant to the connection amidst the analytical, metaphysical, sentimental, and physical spheres needed to create a complete person. The attainment of holism is equally impacted by one’s family collective and the wider community. Archibald (2008) states, “The image of a circle is used by many First Nations peoples to symbolize wholeness, completeness, and ultimately wellness” (p. 11). After holism comes interrelatedness.

**Interrelatedness.** Interrelatedness applies to the space between story and listener and amidst text and reader. According to Sarris (1993), of the Kasha Pomo Nation, the reader is invited to engage with a variety of stories. Sarris divides his interactions and analytical contemplations regarding the value of intention from Mabel McKay’s stories and discussions. Mabel McKay, a Cache Creek Pomo medicine woman and Sarris’s kin, taught Sarris for over a thirty years. As a result of this interaction, Sarris gives the reader
a basis for critically examining one’s personal history, culture, and present-day conditions in association to the story and the storyteller, using personal real-life examples. Therefore, interrelatedness is the cooperation of story, text, and the reader’s life situations. Archibald (2008) explains, “Sarris also cautions Indigenous people about using textual frameworks that are acceptable in academe but that result in disrespectful representations, or make us the objective “Other,” or create opportunities for sacred knowledge to be appropriated” (p. 32). In other words, when working with Indigenous knowledge systems and people, one must be immersed and practicing through an Indigenous lens as to not inflict harm. The last principle guiding this work is synergy.

**Synergy.** Storywork derives meaning from synergy that occurs from the story, the situation in which the story is utilized, the way the story is told, and how one witnesses the story (Archibald, 2008). Synergy is a point of strength that fuels and refreshes mind, heart, body, and spirit as a whole. Archibald (2008) describes the vigor of stories enable a person to contemplate and to consider emotional responses in connection to the stories plot and characters. Furthermore, the essence of stories creates a space for reflection on behaviors, past, present and future, and how it connects to a person spiritually. Archibald (2008) also mentions that each story told may have a different meaning for each listener and it is up to the listener to get from the story what they must.
Seven principles together. It is for this reason that Archibald’s seven theoretical principles together, much like basket weaving, create a strong foundation for engaging in cultural protocol. Without one of these principles the basket, much like the foundation, will become weak. These principles build on and overlap each other in ensuring the researcher engages with community in a respectful and conscientious way. Therefore, as Archibald (2008) explains:

Each principle has a separateness that is like a long flat piece of cedar bark used for weaving a basket. As each piece is woven together, it may lose its separateness and become the in-between space that creates the background for a beautiful design. As the basket maker continues, she interweaves the pieces, transforming them into distinctive designs. (p. 153)

Indigenous Storywork will be used as a basis for respecting cultural protocol, for gathering stories, and conducting in-depth interviews throughout the analysis. Overall Indigenous Storywork acknowledges and reclaims Indigenous ways of knowing into research.

Focus of the Study

This investigation focused on the identities of my Indigenous family to examine the influences of settler colonialism on Indigenous knowledge systems and to examine settler colonialism at the intersection of identity and education. The aftermath of settler colonialism within a family impacts people in ways that are notable and persistent. A study of these effects and their consequences views schools and historical trauma as
catalysts. Thus, this study necessitates a deeper investigation into the extensive implications of contact with settler colonialism and the significance that people take from situations and the situations of their families, including changes in identity and trauma associated with settler colonialism. Therefore, my study focused on the ongoing aftermath of settler colonialism, collecting and considering Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008) of generations of Indigenous people that were and are exposed to historical trauma as a result of 500 years of settler colonialism (Estrada, 2009). In addition, it explores and communicates the experiences of Indigenous people as a result of being many times defaced. Moreover, this study presents the stories of 26 of my Indigenous family members born from the 1800s to the 1900s. It reveals what happens to individuals and their families as a result of settler colonialism. This study contributes to a wider body of knowledge regarding settler colonialism and identity, hoping to provide a way for Indigenous people to regain their Indigenous roots.

Need for the Study

While there has been an increase in literature in the last decade regarding the impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous people, especially in the educational system (Allen, 1999; Baca, 2008; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Meriam & Work, 1928; San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010; Smith, 2012; Spring, 2011; Spring, 2013; Yosso, 2002),
the means to decolonize identity (finding face) using Indigenous Storywork and Arts-Based Practices have not been thoroughly utilized. Furthermore, as Estrada (2009) states:

...much more research needs to be conducted on the application of historical trauma theory to Mexicans and Mexican Americans residing in the southwest. This article has cited several social and historical events that theoretically could have a cumulative effect on the health and mental health status of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Clearly, the notion of cumulative causation effects from historical and social events should not be discounted. (p. 338)

Even though there is an obvious gap in the literature, it is an understandable one. Settler colonialism if successful, is oftentimes invisible and is constantly re-creating itself (McIntosh, 1988). For example, as a result of settler colonialism, Indigenous people found themselves as captives of slavery, separated by a caste system, impacted by segregated schools (Spring, 2011; Spring, 2013; Strum, 2010), and amidst deportation regulations (Baca, 2008; Estrada, 2009; Gomez, 2007; Romero, 2007).

Presently, the generations of today’s Indigenous people no longer have to contend with the issues that one’s Indigenous ancestors once faced. However, while what is left behind is an almost invisible form of settler colonialism, settler colonialism manifests itself through loss of Indigenous languages, the Spanish language, loss of an Indigenous identity, an increase in poverty, and historical trauma. Therefore, it is necessary to understand how settler colonialism re-creates itself to almost near invisibility before someone engages in the work of decolonization. This can only occur by historically examining settler colonialism through generations and identifying how trauma originally
was inflicted. Examining settler colonialism through a historical lens, one can see settler colonialism transforming itself into historical trauma, passing itself down through the generations and solidifying itself through education and sociopolitical structures. If successful, settler colonialism disrupts and erases Indigenous identity.

As an educator, researcher, fellow Indigenous woman, and an individual currently exploring how settler colonialism impacted me, I am in a unique position to study the experiences of other Indigenous people impacted by settler colonialism. Research conducted from within this community provides an opportunity to explore and study what has been experienced and to communicate lessons learned. My goal, through Tribal Critical Race Theory as a theoretical framework, conversation as method (Kovach, 2009) with an overlay of Archibald’s (2008) seven principles of Indigenous storywork, is to voice and name the impacts of settler colonialism on identity formation on my Indigenous family.

Documenting the stories of Indigenous people through the generations does more than offer an observation to the experience. It creates moments for others to engage in the process by which families constructed and reconstructed identity in order to cope with the impacts and aftermaths of trauma associated as settler colonialism manifests itself. Documenting stories can link critical themes and general components, informing those
who have had similar circumstances with historical trauma and settler colonialism, and how to begin the process of decolonization.

The Problem Statement

The goal of a settler colonial educational system is to silence Indigenous ways of knowing and being. Therefore, the problem my study examined is how a settler colonial educational system disrupts the identity of Indigenous students (Allen, 1999; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010; Yosso, 2002). A settler colonial educational system is an education where the settler narrative is at the forefront of policy, curriculum, instruction, assessment and discipline but never recognized as such; remaining invisible through its silence. The settler narrative here is defined as the perspective that privileges the abilities, values, and knowledge-base of the white settler as well as denies the historical racial subjugation and systematic oppression enacted towards Indigenous people. Through a settler colonial education, the settler narrative is evident in the scholars, frameworks, and ways of knowing presented in schools, and is introduced as the norm with no detailed explanation as to the chosen curriculum. As Allen (1999) comments:

Rather than dealing with what it means to be a White teacher, the participants simply wanted their race to be invisible. They also wanted race to be invisible in their classroom….Colorblindness, then, is a veiled strategy for promoting equality that in reality has the effect of making a place for Whiteness. (p.6)
For the sake of this argument, Whiteness and the settler narrative can be used interchangeably. A settler colonial education, with the settler narrative at the forefront, is actually a “deficit-laden traditional curricula” (Yosso, 2002, p. 98) that does not recognize Indigenous scholars or Indigenous people as “holders and creators of knowledge” (Delgado-Bernal, 2002, p. 106). A settler narrative perspective discounts or makes invisible the knowledge systems, beliefs and practices of Indigenous people.

Lomawaima and McCarty (2002) describe the deconstruction of identity and culture through the lens of American Indian education stating that the main objective of American Indian education has always been settler colonialism and assimilation of American Indian people. San Miguel Jr & Donato (2010) mention that a consistency of Chicano education, regarding education as a whole, is the deficiency of academic rigor and its linguistically and culturally subtractive means. In other words, subtractive education uses educational practices to discredit, degrade, and disrupt students’ linguistic and cultural knowledge systems, systematically erasing Indigenous knowledge and practices from the educational system (San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010). Through the practices of settler colonialism and assimilation, American education has replaced native languages with English, native spiritual practices with Christianity, and native family and community practices with westernized values and beliefs (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006, p. 282). This is also another example of the settler narrative in practice. Lomawaima &
McCarty further explain that a “theory” which situates students as “one-dimensional learners does great damage to the truth of human complexity” (p. 17). The damage to students’ human complexity is directly linked to the damage of identity and culture as well. In order to understand a settler colonial educational system and its intent to erase Indigenous identity (deface), it’s imperative to first scrutinize settler colonialism and the settler narrative from a historical perspective. The next three sections will historically investigate settler colonialism through a national, situational, and personal context.

**National Context**

Settler colonialism in the Americas occurred and is still occurring numerous and continuously. Through a historical lens, this study will look at settler colonialism through two invasions, the Spanish and United States invasion. In 1519 with the arrival of Hernán Cortéz and other Spanish conquistadors at Tenochtitlán. Spanish settler colonialism brought about the settler colonialism of Mesoamerican thought, culture, and rhetoric (Baca, 2008). After Indigenous people endured three hundred years of racial subjugation as a result of Spanish colonialism, a second manifestation of settler colonialism ensued from the United States of America. The United States declared war on Mexico in 1846. Two years later, Mexico was defeated, thus resulting in the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Estrada, 2009). Spanish settler colonialism fused with American settler colonialism has led to internal and external perceptions of negativity and labels.
(from an Indigenous perspective, these are known as spirits) including internalized racism (Jones, 2000) and isolation, diminished self-esteem, confusion regarding ethnic and racial identity, inequities, xenophobia, and discrimination (Estrada, 2009).

Estrada refers to the internalization of negative perceptions of self as historical trauma. The term historical trauma when situated amidst “500 years of oppression and subordination of Mexican-origin peoples, which continues today through anti-Mexican sentiment and the militarization of the United States-Mexico border as a result of the immigration dispute” (Estrada, 2009, p. 334) is still relevant. The next section will address the significance settler colonialism has had on the educational system and sociopolitical structures of the Americas.

**Significance of Settler Colonialism**

The significance of settler colonialism on the educational system and sociopolitical structures of the Americas can be seen in what Brayboy (2005) states in his first tenet of Tribal Critical Race Theory, “Colonization is endemic (ingrained) into society” (p. 430). For example, three hundred years of Spanish colonialism led to the subjugation and ill-treatment of Indigenous people, leading to a colonial hierarchy in which Indigenous people served the social and economic benefits of the Spanish (Estrada, 2009). This hierarchy created a set of social classes according to race and
birthplace. Presently, in Mexico to call someone *Indio* (Indian), is meant as an offense as it is an indication of lower social class (Estrada).

Settler colonial institutions such as missionary education, boarding schools, and K-12 education and higher education, for many Indigenous people, were the colonial imposition over Native people. This directly impacted one’s Native knowledge, language, and culture. This was also known as colonial education (Smith, 2012). Colonial education, missionary or religious education was then succeeded by public and secular education (Smith). The multitude of Indigenous experiences have revealed the pivotal part enacted by schools in defacing Indigenous people, often times in the form of the abusive negation of Indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Smith, 2012), not only by Spain but by the United States as well. As a result, a large part of society, in general, is raised through a Eurocentric educational school system; a school system where Eurocentric power, privilege, and history are all invested “in their legacy of colonizers” (Smith, 2012, p. 7). This type of settler colonial education disrupts the Indigenous process of finding face (Cajete, 1994; Brayboy, 2005; Smith, 2012) thus disrupting and erasing Indigenous identity.

Such a settler colonial system impacts and disrupts Indigenous identity (finding face) and can be observed through the generations (Baca, 2008; Estrada, 2009; Smith, 2012). The formation of identity of Indigenous people many times colonized, is a story of
contrasts; exclusion and inclusion, subordination and disruption, remembering and forgetting (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). The reticence and erasures are vast and can be traced through a historical lens. Through this lens, an understanding of identities, particularly among Nuevomexicanos, may reveal how the colonial force, which includes blood, whiteness, and citizenship, trickles down into the realm of politics and social relations (i.e., immigration, deportation, tourism and appropriation) (Nieto-Phillips). From the collective lenses of one's “‘heritage’ is decidedly a language of empowerment or, from another perspective, coercion” (Nieto-Phillips, p. 11). If one understands the impacts of settler colonialism on identity formation, one may begin to see their identity formation as not their own. This is what Nieto-Phillips calls, “heritage as coercion,” which can be viewed as a form of historical trauma. For example, in the past ten years, the domain of stress investigation specific to historical trauma has increased (Brave Heart 1999a, b; Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Brunello et al., 2001; Schnurr & Green, 2004). However, Estrada (2009) reminds his readers not to mistake historical trauma with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). As PTSD mainly analyzes the impact of stress reactions to a severe occurrence on individuals. Whereas historical trauma is intergenerational, impacting more than an individual (Estrada, 2009). Therefore, investigators researching historical and social occurrences note intergenerational stress reactions amidst individuals
and groups (Estrada, 2009). Sotero (2006) created a conceptual framework of historical trauma that encompasses three phases:

1. A mass trauma experience where the dominant group subjugates a population, resulting in segregation and displacement, physical and psychological violence, economic destruction, and cultural dispossession
2. A trauma response is elicited in the first or primary generation that includes physical, social, and psychological responses
3. Responses are transmitted to subsequent generations through environmental factors, psychosocial factors, social, economic, political systems, and legal and social discrimination. (p. 94-95)

The significance of settler colonialism on the educational system and sociopolitical structures of the Americas can largely be seen through the socialization and oppression evident in education. The next section will discuss the situational context of settler colonialism, enacted largely through boarding schools as detailed in Meriam’s (1928) report.

**Situational Context**

In 1928, after seven months of research, Lewis Meriam detailed a report to the Secretary of the Interior, Hubert Work, titled *The Problem of Indian Administration*. The report revealed the horrific economic and social conditions of American Indians. Although the report covers all aspects of Native American life, sections of this study focuses solely on education. Meriam’s report revealed that the main function of the boarding schools was to provide student labor. Meriam’s Report explains that students above fourth grade attended school half day and labored for the other half of the day.

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Meriam and Work (1928) state, “the question may very properly be raised as to whether much of the work of Indian children in boarding schools would not be prohibited in many states by the child labor laws, notably the work in the machine laundries” (p. 13). The labor of Indigenous youth in boarding schools is a form of settler colonialism, which encompasses the conquering and coerced working of Indigenous people as property, “whose bodies and lives become the property” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 6). In settler colonial situations, contrasting from other forms of agreements, excess labor is taken from the subjugated (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

Not only were Indigenous students forced to labor in working conditions that were in contrast to child labor laws, they were also taught by teachers with minimal credentials. Teachers’ wages were very low and, as a result, the lowering of standards for teacher credentials in Indigenous communities was adapted to accommodate these low wages. Meriam and Work (1928) observed, “The teaching taken as a whole is not up to the standards set by reasonably progressive white communities” (p. 13). In an effort to increase expectations, Indian Services implemented a singular curriculum for all boarding schools. However, high standards for teachers and differentiation for students’ needs still persist, despite a singular curriculum (Sousa & Tomlinson, 2011). Meriam and Work (1928) stated, “The uniform curriculum works badly because it does not permit relating teaching to the needs of the particular Indian children being taught” (p. 13).
In an effort to achieve full assimilation, which the boarding schools were designed for, they negated the rich ways of knowing and understanding of Indigenous family life and community. Boarding schools, silencing Indigenous identity, stripped students of knowledge of the social and economic development of Indigenous people. In fact, boarding schools weakened family and life connections. As Meriam and Work (1928) say, “The long continued policy of removing Indian children from the home and placing them for years in boarding school largely disintegrates the family and interferes with developing normal family life” (p. 13). This practice still persists today as most students’ culture is absent from the curriculum. Moving from a situational context to a personal context, the next section will detail my personal experience with settler colonialism.

**Personal Context**

Through my personal experience, it is my belief that settler colonialism and assimilation still exists in our educational institutions, thus creating systematic oppression. The history behind settler colonialism and assimilation can be seen in what is known as Manifest Destiny (America’s westward expansion) and before that, the settler colonialism by the Europeans (Gomez, 2007). Mexican-American’s racial identities were impacted greatly by Manifest Destiny and other forms of settler colonialism and assimilation (Gomez). Mexican-Americans became a racial category wedged between
whites and blacks. Because of the one-drop rule (having Spanish blood) Mexican-Americans were labeled white as a result of Spanish blood, however, socially they were not recognized as white (Gomez). Thus, two misconceptions arise for Mexican-Americans. The first misconception is that Mexican-Americans are an ethnic group, not a racial group. The reason for this is that Mexican-Americans when labeled White are treated as second-class citizens. Gomez explains the mixed Spanish, Indigenous and African ancestry of Mexican-Americans gave way to an unclear racial identity. The second misconception is that Mexican-Americans were a new group of people recently immigrated to the United States (Gomez). However, Mexican-Americans have been part of the United States since the 1800s and through our Indigenous blood, Mexican-Americans have been part of the land long before 1492. Gomez makes clear that because of Mexican-American’s thoroughly mixed racial identity (mestizo) Mexican-American’s assertion of whiteness was both feeble and conditional. Mexican-American’s unstable racial identity caused them to distance themselves from their Indigenous and African ancestry (Gomez, 2007). As Tuck and Yang (2012) explain, this is a form of internal colonialism in which an influence of control, including minoritizing, is implemented in order for white elitism to ensue. As a result, colonialism and assimilation have greatly impacted my personal sense of identity. Because my cultural identity, language and place are strongly interwoven into who I am, it is necessary to include not only my cultural
identity but also my racial identity as well. I will explain my story in the following order: (1) my own cultural identity, (2) language, (3) place, (4) Genizaro Affiliated Nations, (5) Mestizo, (6) Finding face.

**My own Cultural Identity.** I have struggled with my cultural identity for as long as I can remember. In New Mexico, where I am from, there is a long-standing misconception amidst New Mexican Spanish speakers (Tlapoyawa, 2016). New Mexican Spanish speakers have a very strong Spanish-speaking identity, which, as described above, has been drawn from the concept of the one-drop rule of Spanish blood (Gomez, 2007). In New Mexico there is a long held ideology among native New Mexican Spanish speakers that in order to be a true Nuevo Mexicana or be seen as a “true” Chican@, you need to speak fluent “Castilian” Spanish (Tlapoyawa, 2016).

However, Castilian Spanish is from Europe and is, therefore, a settler colonial language. A tribute to the conquistadors can also be seen at The University of New Mexico (UNM), a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), where I received my bachelor’s and master’s degrees. On every diploma issued, an emblem of a conquistador and a frontiersman are displayed (Appendix A). This implies that UNM has embraced that they are a settler colonial institution. It should be noted that after much work by UNM’s Kiva Club and the Red Nation, that UNM is no longer using this emblem (Minthron & Nelson, in press). However, with the UNM emblem first making an appearance in 1909 (New
Mexico, 2016), it took over 100 years for the board of regents to recognize and act on its contribution in colonizing spaces.

Settler colonial spaces are closely linked with settler colonial terms. They are meant to erase and disrupt Indigenous identities and beliefs. The term Hispanic can be viewed as a settler colonial term especially when linked to settler colonial spaces, such as Hispanic Serving Institutions. For example, Hispanic is a government term, given to Indigenous people by the United States. This is not a term chosen by the people but a term that erases Indigenous identity (Martinez, 1998; Skerry, 2000). As Skerry states, “Confirming this interpretation are the frequent complaints of Latino activists and scholars who reject ‘Hispanic’ as foisted on them by federal bureaucrats in washington” (p. 31). Martinez states, “Hispanic obliterates our [I]ndigenous and African heritage and recognizes only the European colonizer” (p. 2). Designating UNM as a HSI, communicates that UNM is a settler colonial institution. Tlapoyawa (2016) explains, “This idealized vision of Spanish ‘purity’ has been repeated so often, and with such near-religious zeal, that it has come to be accepted as fact in many circles. However, this romanticized version of New Mexican Spanish simply does not exist” (Introduction). The Spanish spoken in New Mexico is heavily influenced from Nahuatl, one of the numerous languages of Mesoamerica and the Aztecs. As a result, many New Mexican words emerge from Nahuatl such as nana, meaning mom or guacamole from the Nahuatl
ahuacamulli, to name a few (Tlapoyawa, 2016). As I am not a native Spanish speaker, the impact of being raised in a strong Spanish speaking community, has caused personal struggles with the “otherness” that comes from not speaking fluent Spanish, in a place where a strong Spanish speaking identity is held.

Language. The ability to speak Spanish wasn’t always seen as an asset. My mom grew up in Santa Fe, New Mexico, a town with only two classes, low-income and high-income. She remembers it wasn't always a good thing to be brown and speak Spanish (Maria, personal communication, January 17, 2017). Racist attitudes and practices among the white higher-class citizens of Santa Fe toward the lower-class brown Spanish-speaking citizens is still something my mom talks about, to this day. My dad recalls the story of his eldest sister, Catalina (a monolingual Spanish speaker), coming home from school crying because the language of the schools was English. This English-only speaking school contacted my grandparents and told them she could not attend unless she spoke English (Maria, personal communication, January 15, 2017). My Grandpa Diego, whose highest level of education was the completion of sixth grade, wanted his children to go farther in the education system. Because of that phone call, my grandparents who were bilingual in both Spanish and English primarily spoke English with their seven children, including my Aunt Catalina (Maria and Ignacio Naranjo, personal communication, January 15, 2017).
Place. My mother’s paternal family originates from the area of Nambé, New Mexico, just outside of the Nambé pueblo, located twenty miles north of Santa Fe at the bottom of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. In the Tewa language, Nambé means "People of the Round Earth" and the pueblo people are from the Tewa ethnic group of Native Americans (New Mexico, n.d.). My mom’s maternal family is originally from Wagon Mound, New Mexico. Wagon Mound is a town along the Santa Fe trail (Maria, personal communication, January 15, 2017). My father’s family originates from Cañon de Jemez, New Mexico, originally Cañon de San Diego, near the Jemez pueblo. My paternal Grandpa’s parents were ranchers and farmers and owned one acre of land in Cañon de Jemez (Ignacio, personal communication, January 15, 2017). My paternal Grandmother’s parents were also ranchers and farmers who owned approximately 100 acres of land. This land was divided among the two eldest boys while nothing was given to the two youngest girls, including my grandma. This ranch remains in the family and is still worked by the great-grandchildren of my great-uncles (Ignacio, personal communication, January 15, 2017).

Genizaro Affiliated Nations (GAN). Genizaro Affiliated Nations’ (GAN) people acknowledge that they are an Indigenous (tribal) people where their ancestry derives from slavery of Indigenous people by Spanish conquistadors (Delgado, 2016). Ned Blackhawk (2006) describes the term Genizaro in reference to “exiled Indians, ransomed captives,
prisoners of war and their children” (p. 45). The previous mentioned acts were intended to remove Indigenous people from their tribes, which in turn, are a settler colonial means to destroy an entire population of people (Delgado, 2016). Additionally, Chavez (1979) states that nations particular to GAN include the Pueblo, Apache, Ute, Navajo, and Nahuatl people from New Mexico. The term Genizaro encompasses Indians from the United States of mixed tribal descent (not necessarily affiliation) who have integrated amidst Hispanic citizens, partaking in Spanish culture, language and Catholic customs. For example, this encompassed Spanish last names “from their masters, Christian names through baptism, speaking a simple form of Spanish, and living together or sprinkled among the Hispanic towns and ranchos [in New Mexico]” (Chavez, 1979, p. 198-200).

Cultural, historical, and political actions have created unique traits and identities for GAN individuals in relation to their ancestry from local Indigenous nations of Colorado and New Mexico (Delgado, 2016). For example, although GAN people live alongside federally acknowledged nations or pueblos in the United States, they lack governmental documentation that comes from tribal affiliation. Therefore, the lack of understanding and acceptance of GANs as Indigenous people has been harmful, as a result of a lack of recognition by other native groups (Delgado, 2016). During the development and creation of native communities and the eventual federal recognition of tribes and pueblos, GAN people have been left out of the conversation, and are thus
marginalized and stereotyped as non-Indigenous people (Delgado, 2016). Brayboy (2005) examines federal recognition as a political and legal construction. He states, “the idea that there are tribal governments who are federally recognized and those who are not is constructed by the federal government and ignores what Deloria and Lytle (1984) call the ‘extraconsitutionality’ of ‘non-recognized groups’” (p. 433). Once, there were more than 100 pueblos in New Mexico but today only 19 exist (Baca, 2008). Like many constructions, the political and legal construction of tribal affiliation are rooted in settler colonialism and then perpetuated by social constructions in which people of the “in” groups start policing or chastising those in the “out” groups.

**Mestiz@.** Mestizo has been reconfigured with the typographic symbol “@” in recognizing both genders as one; Mestiz@ (Baca, 2008). Furthermore, Mestiz@ ventures away from westernized notions of a paternalistic society towards a more maternalistic one. Mestiz@ is derived from the 15th century term mestizaje which is the combination of Indigenous and Spanish Iberian Peninsula blood (Baca, 2008). For example, Mestiz@ incorporates the navigating of shifting identities and opposition to subjectivity (Baca). Baca continues to explain Mestiz@ as the navigating of shifting identities running along a continuum where individuals view themselves as part of a mostly communal Indigenous identity. At the other end of the continuum lies those who refute their Native American identity as part of their heritage and instead identify as Spanish Iberian.
Mestiz@s have contended with contrasting views that question their cultural and racial identities. As a result, the language of Mestiz@s needs to reconfigure the didactic identities that place them as either Indigenous or of Spanish Iberian Peninsula descent. Furthermore, as Mares (1992) as cited by Baca (2008) state, we need to continually be aware of “the stories we tell and the stories we deny” (p. 1) pushing ourselves to move past didactic identities and realize these identities lie along a continuum situated and differentiated by personal and historical circumstances and happenings (Mares, 1992; Baca, 2008).

Mestiz@, in the 1960s was used as a form of liberation by Chican@ or Xikan@ in acknowledging their personal and collective identity as derived from Indigenous roots. Using the designation Chican@ or Xikan@ rather than Hispanic disputes centuries of settler colonialism and assimilation. As a result of settler colonialism and assimilation, Mestiz@s have been largely isolated from their Indigenous and Mexican ancestry (Baca, 2008). Because of this, Mestiz@s, past and present, continually navigate the world around them. For example, this navigation of the space between was first identified as Nepantla, meaning “the space between two oceans,” which is a Nahuatl expression coined in the early sixteenth century (Anzaldúa, 2015; Baca, 2008; León-Portilla, 1963). Mestiz@s are often raised without understanding the theoretical and cultural detachment that comes from living across the borderlands of their ancestors. Baca (2008) explains
that during the 1900s community elders, as a result of a heavily racially segregated nation, desperately claimed that as Mestiz@s we were in fact “Spanish,” not Mexican or Indigenous at all.

The use of the term Mestiz@ is controversial, can be seen as didactic, and runs along a continuum. Depending where one is located along this continuum, the term Mestiz@ is a form of liberation and reclamation and to others it is a form of denial and oppression. In his dissertation, Saiz (2016) asked his participants their opinions on the use of mestizaje and a mesti@zo identity. Saiz (2016) stated:

It seems that participant opinions on mestizaje were open to a mestizo identity, and they found a way to still reclaim Ixanchilancah identities while still preserving a Chicana/o Studies lens. This perspective looks at the mestizaje process as a positive motion towards liberation as opposed to a colonial tool used to oppress Ixanchilancah communities. (p. 64).

Additionally, one of Saiz’s (2016) participants explains the use of Mestizo as a designation: “Mestizo is a first good step to re-identifying with identity, but that then needs to go on the shelf once we become reacquainted with identity” (p. 65). Another participant stated:

It is a way to homogenize everybody and it has been used as a tool to oppress in Mexico. For Chicanos they used it towards liberation, however, this is a new day, and it can be looked at as a myth. It does not apply to Xikan@s. Identifying with colonizer can be problematic, not all Mexicans can fit into the mestizaje concept. It does not fit a Xikan@ objective. It is not about mestizaje, but reclamation of Indigenous identities. (p.65)
Another participant explained:

Mestizo culture in us is a fantasy culture. Problems of mestizo identity are real because it becomes a barrier for Xikan@s. However, for young blind Chicanos, mestizo identification from a Chicano definition (an Indigenous mestizo) is a beginning. Mestizo is much better than Latino, Hispanic, or nothing, because at least they’re in our house, our calli. Identity can be a form of privilege. (p. 65)

Because of this, I wonder if identifying as a Mestizo@, which means mixed-blood, is actually harmful as a designation and identity marker.

**Finding Face.** For me, the path to identity development has not been linear and, at times, has been confusing. I realize now that my identity as a “Hispanic” never made sense to me without a connection to my Indigenous knowledge. This is often the result of settler colonial institutions and educational systems disrupting the process of finding face (Indigenous identity). In other words, settler colonialism and assimilation are so deeply ingrained in society that Indigenous identity work and voices are left out of educational institutions. Bennett (1997) discusses excelling in the western world, attending Ivy League colleges, but at the cost of a loss to his culture and ancestors, “I was learning about my culture and ancestors from a white professor in a white institution [speaking of taking Native American classes at Harvard University]” (p. 137). As Cajete (2015) mentions, the result of westernized education has been detrimental not only for Indigenous people but also for all of humanity as it has created a rejection of environment and communal education. Cajete’s (2015) own endeavor to restore and incorporate an
Indigenous perspective of education came from his separation from the methodology of westernized paradigms. My own endeavor in wanting to find face comes from both the views of Cajete (2015) in which I feel a separation towards westernized practices in education but also is much like Bennett’s story in which I feel a loss of culture and ties to my ancestors. Thus, I acknowledge that the institutions that I’ve attended (the University of New Mexico and now, the University of Denver) have created in me, a settler colonial person. And yet, I also maintain an awareness of these impacts. Attending the University of New Mexico, where scholars of color are visible in every aspect of the curriculum and instruction, provided an awareness that prepared me to see invisibility, evident in Predominantly White Institutions such as the University of Denver.

Through decolonizing the curriculum and identity of educational institutions, I propose to explore identity (finding face), culture, and a link to my ancestors’ ways of knowing and being (finding face). This can be referred to as cultural integrity (Deyhle, 1995). Anzaldúa (2015) describes Deyhle’s (1995) cultural integrity as Nepantla in action. Nepantla functions as the liminal expanse between individual and social (Anzaldúa, 2015). For example, nepantla in action requires that students navigate the in-between space of individuality and the mainstream world without the loss of culture and identity. Bear (2000) states, “Any individual within a culture is going to have his or her own personal interpretation of the collective cultural code; however, the individual’s
worldview has its roots in the culture – that is, in the society’s shared philosophy, values, and customs” (p. 2). Therefore, it is through GAN, situated in the place of New Mexico and in the language of New Mexican Spanish, and heavily influenced by the Aztec language of Nahuatl, that I can begin to find my face.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the study is twofold: (1) To examine the implications of colonization on Indigenous knowledge systems; and (2) To examine colonization at the intersection of identity and curriculum. This study uncovered what the Aztecs and Cajete explain as the importance of finding face (one’s identity), finding foundation (one’s greatest potential/full expression) and finding heart (one’s flow with the creator) in which one understands and values their true identity (Cajete, 1994; León-Portilla; 1963). The following research questions were used when keeping in mind the purpose and need of the study.

**Research Questions**

Central research question:

A. How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?

Sub-question

B. How is knowledge constructed within a family context?
C. How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?

D. What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?

**Overview of the Literature**

This study was rooted in the literature on settler colonialism, the impact of settler colonialism as a result of exposure, the dynamics of families who have experienced settler colonialism through the generations, and the process of decolonization. Throughout the process of conducting a systematic literature review (Appendix K) it became evident that most research on settler colonialism has been conducted within the educational sphere (Allen, 1999; Baca, 2008; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Meriam & Work, 1928; San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010; Smith, 2012; Spring, 2011; Spring, 2013; Yosso, 2002). This is understandable because education is where settler colonialism of Indigenous people occurs in copious amounts (Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Meriam & Work, 1928; Smith, 2012; Spring, 2013; Spring, 2011). This information is relevant in order to understand the historical context of settler colonialism and its manifestations. Furthermore, in order to understand the process of decolonization one must be familiar with the impacts of settler colonialism. Therefore, a chronology of settler colonialism in the Americas will be presented.
Although there is a substantial amount of literature regarding the impacts of settler colonialism, especially pertaining to educational institutions (Allen, 1999; Baca, 2008; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Meriam & Work, 1928; San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010; Smith, 2012; Spring, 2011; Spring, 2013; Yosso, 2002), there are few empirical studies that address the need to decolonize identity (finding face) using Indigenous Storywork and Arts-Based Research and Arts-Based Decolonial Research. Moreover, even fewer resources exist using these methods to study historical trauma (Estrada, 2009).

Following the review of literature is a summary of research regarding the role of decolonization. Through this, an explanation of the process of decolonization will assist to understand Indigenous people’s experiences who have undergone the process of decolonization. In chapter two, Figure 1 provides a Conceptual Model of Review of the Literature and further elucidates and defines the focus of this review. For a visual model of the overarching concepts see Appendix D.

**Overview of Methodology**

In writing this dissertation, I utilized the following: Indigenous storywork protocol (Archibald, 2008) which permeated everything I did to complete this dissertation; conversation as method (Kovach, 2009), which informed the way I collected
data, Tribal Critical Race Theory (Brayboy, 2005) predominantly, but also many other scholars such as Tuck and Gaztanbide-Fernandez (2013), León-Portilla (1963), Cajete (1994), and San Miguel Jr. and Donato (2010), to name a few, that provided guidance on data analysis, Uhrmacher et als.’ ideas on data analysis such as annotations (Uhrmacher, Moroye, & Flinders, 2017), and arts-based research (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Leavy, 2015), particularly elements of storytelling that also include digital storytelling (Gubrium, 2009). Data presentation was used in the form of ceremonial display in which arts-based means were used. Research as ceremony (Wilson, 2008) is at the heart and center of my work and tied with Archibald (2008) it represents a strong attempt at decolonizing the research process as a whole.

The selection of 26 of my Indigenous family members, represented an evolving process, where a few participants were selected at the beginning of the study, and then the selection of the other family members consisted of an evolving process (Uhrmacher, Moroye, & Flinders, 2017). All 26 participants are members of my family and have been impacted by settler colonialism to some degree. In a series of two to three conversations as method (Kovach, 2009), over a period of time, these living Indigenous family members shared their stories, revealing their individual experiences in order for others to better understand their perspectives. For the members of the family who are deceased,
artifacts and family stories helped capture individual stories and experiences (see Uhrmacher, Moroye, & Flinders, 2017).

Brayboy (2005) explains that Tribal Critical Race Theory (also known as TribalCrit) and research moves away from settler colonialism and assimilation to self-determination and tribal sovereignty. Brayboy emphasizes the need for praxis in research in which praxis calls upon researchers to use theory towards activism and social justice. For example, Brayboy (2005) states, “Praxis involves researchers who utilize theory to make an active change in the situation and context being examined” (p. 440).

Furthermore, TribalCrit reveals contrasting or westernized structural systems in higher education with Indigenous knowledge and thought. TribalCrit is grounded in numerous traditions, concepts, thinking, and epistemologies passed down from generation to generation (Brayboy, 2005).

Arts-Based Practices (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Leavy, 2015), but more specifically when applying a decolonial lens, derives the viewpoint of huehuetlahtolli in which value is found in all forms of representation, not solely through the written form (León-Portilla, 1963). Reexamining language and writing from an Arts-Based Decolonial Research stance invites and promotes all types of knowledge, while at the same time revealing the political impact of the English language and writing (Baca, 2008). As Baca explains, decolonial “...rhetorics have continually worked to create ‘new’ literacies: new ways of
speaking, writing, and reading that promote anticolonial translations and revisions of colonial narratives” (p. 3).

**Organization of Dissertation**

This dissertation is composed of five chapters. Chapter One has introduced the purpose of this research to shed light into the experiences of Indigenous people and their formation of identity when interacting with settler colonial systems and institutions and considers the significance of this topic of investigation. Chapter Two provides a review of literature in the fields of settler colonialism and its impact on the formation of Indigenous knowledge systems at the intersection of identity and curriculum. Chapter Three delineates the methodology, sampling, and participant safeguards. Chapter Four reveals each story told. Ceremonial Display is presented in Chapter Five.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This study’s guiding research question – How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization – focused on three areas of investigation: (1) colonization in the educational system; (2) the impacts of a settler colonial hidden curriculum on Indigenous identity; (3) and family functioning as a result of colonization. The literature regarding the impact of settler colonialism on Indigenous people is substantial, especially in the area of education (Allen, 1999; Baca, 2008; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Meriam & Work, 1928; San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010; Smith, 2012; Spring, 2011; Spring, 2013; Yosso, 2002). However, the means of decolonizing identity (finding face), through Indigenous Storywork and Arts-Based Practices reveals a gap in both the literature as well as in practice. Furthermore, even fewer references address the use of these methods to study historical trauma (Estrada, 2009). Consequently, this review focuses on the area of settler colonial education in order to address an area of need; to move towards decolonizing (finding face) education using Indigenous knowledge systems. Figure 1 below explains the conceptual framework for this study.
This review of the literature does not attempt to capture research from all of these lenses of investigation. It does not address all aspects of settler colonialism in the educational system but rather settler colonialism specifically in relation to education and identity. Furthermore, this literature review does not attempt to identify all forms of family functioning as a result of settler colonialism but rather is focused on family functioning as a result of being many times settler colonial. This study presents the interconnectedness of these areas of understanding to determine the implications of
settler colonialism on Indigenous knowledge systems at the intersection of identity and education.

The review of literature examines the substantive amount of research in the area of settler colonial education in order to address an area of need, the decolonization of education and identity using Indigenous knowledge systems. This research is examined in the following order: (1) Settler colonialism as a system of oppression (Alfred & Corntassel 2005; Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Smith, 2012) as seen in Predominantly White Institutions (PWI), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), and in the disruption of identity; and (2) the impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous identity (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Baca, 2008; Estrada, 2009; Smith 2012) as seen in hidden curriculums, through the generations, and as a form of trauma.

The above two lenses of settler colonialism are needed in order to move towards decolonizing education and identity using Indigenous knowledge systems and Tribal Critical Race Theory, which take place in the following order:

1. Settler colonialism as systems of oppression
   a. Predominantly White Institutions
   b. Hispanic Serving Institutions
   c. Disruption of Identity

2. The impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous identity
a. A Settler Colonial Hidden Curriculum
b. Settler colonialism through the generations
c. Settler colonialism as a form of trauma/poison

3. The Process of Decolonization: Finding Face
   a. Decolonizing self (finding face)
   b. Decolonizing knowledge systems
   c. Decolonizing the curriculum

4. Indigenous knowledge systems
   a. Belonging
   b. Mastery
   c. Independence
   d. Generosity

5. Theoretical/Conceptual Framework
   a. Tribal Critical Race Theory (Brayboy, 2005)

**Settler colonialism as a system of oppression**

Settler colonialism is ingrained into societal structures. As Cajete (1994) emphasizes, “The American society that many Indian students experience is fraught with contradictions, prejudice, hypocrisy, narcissism, and unethical predispositions at all levels, including the schools” (p. 19). Settler colonialism as a societal structure,
especially in education, can be seen in the white settler narrative and practices (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013). It’s important to note the difference between colonialism and settler colonialism here. Colonialism is the act of a political entity that seeks to gain control over people and land and occurs as an event rather than as an ongoing structure (Veracini, 2010). Settler colonialism, in order for the settlers to make a place their home, is the act of displacing or erasing the Indigenous people already living there. This explains what Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) call the Indigenous-settler relationship or lack thereof. These authors address the connection between settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism and argue that settler colonialism is representative of the structures of the community. For example, settler colonialism is a consistent social and political creation in which colonizers settled in a place, declaring the land as their own, and erasing, by whatever means possible the Indigenous inhabitants; including murder, displacement, and cultural genocide (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013). Heteropatriarchy is the social structures in which heterosexuality and patriarchy are deemed as common and customary, as is evident in society as refuting any other structures and deeming them as unusual, deviant, and repugnant. Heteropaternalism, can be defined as heteropatriarchal arrangements, consisting of the male as both the center and leader/boss, therefore serving as the reproduction for social structures of state and federal institutions (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013). It is therefore an ongoing system,
ingrained in the past, present and future (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005) and needs to be treated as such. We do not live in a post-colonial society and need to start viewing western educational practices as colonial means to privilege the settler colonial narrative. 

As Vine Deloria, Jr. states, “From the beginning of contact with European culture until the present, education has been a major area of conflict and concern” for Indigenous people (Cajete, 1994, p. 11). This is also known as internal colonialism where specific modes of control are applied to “ensure the ascendancy of a nation and its white elite” (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 5). From settler colonialism and what Little Bear (2000) calls “jagged worldviews colliding” (p.1), the creation of boarding schools disrupted a way of life and knowing sacred to Indigenous people. With the creation of boarding schools, Indigenous students were forced to live in sub-par environments (Coulthard, 2014) and treated as prisoners rather than students (Alfred, 2009; Brayboy, 2005). Meriam and Work (1928) describes the students of boarding schools are described as “Indian wards.” Furthermore, General Pratt, the founder and superintendent of the Carlisle Indian school (boarding school) in the nineteenth century, believed in full assimilation in which he advocated, “Kill the Indian...save the man” (Utley, 2008, p. 1). As such, Brayboy and Maughan (2009) note, “teachers have historically been frontline actors in attempts to assimilate Indigenous peoples” (p. 4). That being said, the idea of full assimilation led to cultural genocide and defaced Indigenous people through the removal of children from
their homes as well as the removal and denial of their native languages (Meriam & Work, 1928; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Defaced here is in opposition to what Cajete and the Aztecs call finding face, in which a person connects and esteems their Indigenous identity (Cajete, 1994; León-Portilla, 1963). As Meriam and Work (1928) states, “The belief has apparently been that the shortest road to civilization is to take children away from their parents and insofar as possible to stamp out the old Indian life” (p. 15).

Evident in boarding schools, through the use of oppression, death, abuse, fear, and educational policy, settler colonialism sought to destroy the Indigenous people and their notion of the world and their identity (Meriam & Work, 1928; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). From settler colonialism and boarding schools, a segmented view of the world transpired where neither an Indigenous nor a Eurocentric worldview was apparent (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Little Bear, 2000). Indigenous people’s “consciousness became a random puzzle, a jigsaw puzzle that each person has to attempt to understand” (Little Bear, 2000, p. 9). As a result of settler colonialism, a segmented view of oneself and the world emerged (Little Bear, 2000); thus, the aim of settler colonialism was achieved. Thus, settler colonial institutions perpetuate the loss of finding face (identity) (Alfred & Corntassel 2005; Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Smith, 2012), which can be seen in Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) (Pewewardy & Frey, 2004) and Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI) (Charleston, 1994).
Predominantly White Institutions. PWIs, where the make-up of faculty is predominantly white, presents conflict and harm when white professors practice a lack of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Pewewardy & Frey, 2004). With whiteness driving a curriculum, there may be negative effects regarding the success of Indigenous students due to the lack of culturally relevant pedagogy in the classroom (Allen, 1999). Fenwick (2001) explains that “Although colleges and universities have become increasingly diverse in recent years, the composition of the faculty and student body has remained predominantly White, middle class” (Fenwick, 2001; Pewewardy & Frey, 2004). As a whole, universities, students, and professors who are exposed to a greater amount of racial and ethnic diversity generate an escalation in democracy, creating a more inclusive environment (Milem & Hakuta, 2000). For example, students who are immersed in diversity show awareness and appreciation for racial understanding, diverse cultural knowledge, and are more active in social and political matters (Milem & Hakuta, 2000). As such, it is imperative that institutions of higher education are analyzed from the inside out, resulting in real transformation (Blue & Day, 1999). It is also vital that policymakers create educational organizations that provide advancement and development of all people, regardless of their race or ethnicity (Charleston, 1994). PWIs aren’t the only institutions who promote settler colonialism and whiteness. Hispanic
Serving Institutions (HSIs), have also been known to celebrate the colonizer throughout their institution, which will be discussed in the next section.

**Hispanic Serving Institutions.** The evolution of Hispanic-Serving Institutions during the past three decades is directly related to the growth of the Hispanic population (Laden, 2001). HSIs are known for their reasonably priced tuition and close proximity to students’ communities (Núñez & Bowers, 2011; Santiago, 2007). Most students who attend HSIs have dealt with poverty and discrimination, structural oppression in education which may prohibit access and resources (Núñez, Hurtado, & Galdeano, 2015). Because of this, it is imperative that HSI’s also be scrutinized. Because of government funding in sustaining some of these HSIs, some lawmakers and university leaders increase admittance for Hispanics solely for financial self-interest, without support of academic success (Malcolm, Bensimon, & Davíla, 2010). It is in this light that HSIs are known to be Hispanic Counting Institutions (HCI) rather than serving institutions. Therefore, researchers should support policies and resource allocation creating institutional reforms of empowerment and liberation (Núñez, Hurtado, & Galdeano, 2015) rather than for their own self-interest. It is therefore vital, in the scope of research, that these institutions are viewed as organizational systems that greatly influence the framework of higher education in the United States (Núñez, Hurtado, & Galdeano, 2015).
In looking at HSIs through the sphere of the specific population of students they serve as well as through a transformative lens in seeking social justice (Nuñez, Hurtado, & Galdeano, 2015) it is through an Indigenous lens where more questions arise. Forsaking the right to a Native American identity began with state governmental records organizations assigning a Hispanic or White identity (Martinez, 1998). In doing so, Indigenous Mexican American/Chicana/os experienced an act of violence against them as their Native American identity was erased (Martinez, 1998). The naming of institutions as “Hispanic Serving Institutions” inflicts more violence on an already systematically oppressed population. Additionally, depending on the state, the term “Hispanic” in Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), may be seen as racist (Martinez, 1998) as history, culture, and identity impact Indigenous Mexican American/Chicana/os differently in various states (Maestas, as cited by Delgado, 2007). For the sake of this study, the history, culture, and identity of Indigenous Mexican American/Chicana/os will be viewed in the context of New Mexico and its HSI. The term “Hispanic” erases Indigenous and African ancestry and claims only the colonizer, the conquistador (Martinez, 1998). Furthermore, the term Hispanic did not arise from the community nor the people it is named for. Instead it manifested from the dominant society of the 1970s (Martinez, 1998; Skerry, 2000). A term that is continually persistent and is rooted in negative connotations, those who label an individual or themselves as Hispanic may do so in thinking that this
label is the norm, as it is ingrained in society and settler colonial systems (Martinez, 1998). By labeling others Hispanic or labeling one’s self Hispanic, colonialism is perpetuated so much so that, “colonialism creates the patriotism of the colonized” (Memmi, 2013, p. 25). It is through these means that the system turns the oppressed in to the oppressor (Freire, 1972).

According to Garland (2013) a vital component of higher education and student affairs is knowing the student population that is being assisted. Garland further states that knowledge of Indigenous students in higher education is flawed. This, in part, is due to Indigenous “invisibility within the academy” (Garland, 2013, p. 1). Indigenous “invisibility within the academy” is settler colonialism in which “in order for the settlers to make a place their home, they must destroy and disappear the Indigenous people that live there. Indigenous peoples must be erased, must be made into ghosts” in order for settler colonialism to be successful (Tuck and Ree, 2013; Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 6). Although HSIs serve underrepresented populations, by using the identity marker “Hispanic” and stamping the conquistadors on every single diploma issued (Appendix A), it appears as if some HSIs, such as the University of New Mexico, are perpetuating settler colonialism rather than creating a space for liberation and empowerment. As Alfred (2009) states, “The imposition of Western governance structures and the denial of Indigenous ones continue to have profoundly harmful effects on Indigenous people”
Disruption of Identity (Defacing). Identity is a social construct created by human interaction (Delgado, 2007) which is particularly evident in Indigenous-settler relationships (Delgado, 2007; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Alfred and Corntassel (2005) further explain that Indigenousness is an identity formed, molded, and experienced in the political arena of modern-day colonialism. Therefore, identity, politically and socially constructed, places emphasis on people’s nationalities with identifying markers such as race, nationality, ethnicity, histories, blood-quantum, etc. (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Delgado, 2007). In order for a country to establish an outside presence in a historically Indigenous continent, the colonizing government focuses on the above mentioned identity markers, establishing certain races, nationalities, and languages as dominant or more superior over the other (Alfred, 2009; Brayboy, 2005; Delgado, 2007).

Furthermore, Alfred and Corntassel (2005) emphasize:

The communities, clans, nations and tribes we call Indigenous peoples are just that: Indigenous to the lands they inhabit, in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from Europe and other centres of empire. (p. 597-598)

In this contrasting, derived in place existence, there lies an immersion and awareness of struggle set forth by settler colonialism, thus, distinguishing Indigenous groups from non-Indigenous groups of the world (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). That being said, there are
various differences between Indigenous groups which can be seen but are not limited to their cultures, political-economic environments, and connection to colonizing settler population. The battle to survive as individuals is grounded in one’s heritage, homelands, organic way of life, and the knowledge of the impacts of settler colonialism (cultural, political, and physical eradication) as well as battling those forms of settler colonialism. Therefore, it is through Indigenous-settler interactions and displacement that a disruption of identity (defacing) occurs (Alfred, 2009; Brayboy, 2005). Therefore, the process of finding face, an Indigenous identity, is not properly formed without the community, land, and place (Alfred, 2009; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994). Alfred and Corntassel (2005) further explain:

The challenge of ‘being Indigenous’, in a psychic and cultural sense, forms the crucial question facing Indigenous peoples today in the era of contemporary colonialism – a form of post-modern imperialism in which domination is still the Settler imperative but where colonizers have designed and practised more subtle means (in contrast to the earlier forms of missionary and militaristic colonial enterprises) of accomplishing their objectives. (p. 597-598)

In other words, although colonialism still exists, it has found ways to be more covert in its domination and erasure of Indigenous people. This type of colonialism can be seen in systematic oppression, and through educational practices and policies in K-12 education and in higher education institutions.

Brayboy (2005) states in his third tenet of TribalCrit “that Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the legal/political and racialized natures of
our identities” (p. 432). Furthermore, current rhetoric regarding what it means to be Indian can be seen in how the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) (2005), a government agency, defines an Indian: “Indian means any person who is a member of a federally recognized tribe. Some tribes have enrollment criteria that allows their members to have a blood quantum less than one-fourth specified in 25 CFR 20.1” (p. v). This definition, created by the government, has caused Indigenous people to scrutinize other Indigenous people through the lens of blood-quantum as each tribe has the right to determine the quotient of blood quantum from which Indigenous tribes obtain enrollment (Delgado, 2007). Another way to obtain Tribal enrollment is through lineage. If one has a documented ancestor and can produce documents verifying such ancestry, enrollment can be obtained (Delgado). Indigenous people are the only race of people who must, by law, validate that they are Indigenous whereas other races are recognized and acknowledged solely by declaration or physical attributes (which, in itself, can be complicated) (Russell, 2005 as cited by Delgado, 2007). Individuals who do not meet the minimum blood quantum as set by the federally and state recognized tribes nor are able to produce documentation of ancestry are labeled as the “throw away Indians” (Delgado). For example, Indians termed genizaros in New Mexico were captives and slaves, resulting in individuals not having an identity marker that linked them to their tribe or pueblo (Delgado). This was a type of internalized exclusion, where through
colonialism, a disruption of identity was created. Therefore, tribal nations were practicing exclusion based on governmental imposition and criteria (Delgado). As Delgado reminds us, “the numbers of throw aways are increasing along with their need to be heard and respected...Many times the acceptance that needs to be felt needs to come from other Indigenous people” (p. 120). Exclusion of Indigenous people also comes in the form of hidden curriculums, also known as a settler colonial hidden curriculum, which the next section will discuss.

**The impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous identity**

**A Settler Colonial Hidden Curriculum.** A settler colonial hidden curriculum can be constructed as a curriculum where the settler narrative is at the forefront of curriculum and instruction but never recognized as such, thus remaining invisible through its silence. This is harmful as settler colonialism, unnamed, remains invisible and is allowed to re-create itself through many different forms (McIntosh, 1988). For example, throughout history, settler colonialism has shown up in the form of people of color being taken captive, forced into slavery, forced exploitation both emotionally and physically, separated by caste systems, and impacted by segregated schools (Spring, 2011; Spring, 2013; Strum, 2010; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Today, one of the ways settler colonialism emerges is through a settler colonial hidden curriculum evident in education. As Jay (2003) states “dominant power structures are maintained through the hidden curriculum
of schools” (p. 6-7). Through a settler colonial hidden curriculum, the settler narrative is evident in the white scholars, white frameworks, and white ways of knowing presented and introduced as the norm; void of explanation as to the chosen curriculum being taught (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). This is harmful as it disrupts and makes invisible Indigenous knowledge and belief systems. Allen (1999) investigated white teachers’ experiences in the classroom and found that white teachers hoped for race to be invisible or viewed race as an issue that did not need to be discussed. Allen further stated that the white teachers did not provide a space for race to be present in their classroom. This is a form of defacement, in which student identity is made invisible and an environment for whiteness is perpetuated. A settler colonial hidden curriculum, with whiteness at the forefront, is a “deficit-laden traditional curricula” (Yosso, 2002, p. 98) that disrupts the Indigenous process of finding face, perpetuating settler colonialism.

As Hooks (1994) explains, if the histories, languages, and cultures of students of color proceed to the forefront of school curriculum, then the White middle class understanding loses exclusivity as the norm by which everyone else is assessed. This can also be applied to settler colonialism in which the settler narrative in curriculum is revealed as systemic oppression designed to erase and make invisible Indigenous people. As Buras (1999) says, the knowledges of students of color have the capacity to provide a robust counter-narrative to authoritative ways of knowing. Furthermore, Margolis and
Romero (1996) explain that the growth of theories and frameworks that include feminism, critical race theory, and critical pedagogy are notions of opposition. I’d like to add to Margolis and Romero’s list and include Tribal Critical Race Theory (2005) as a framework for not only disrupting settler colonial hidden curriculums but in creating a framework where curriculum can aid in the process of finding face and identity. Through these notions of opposition to the settler colonial hidden curriculum, a lens representative of all genders, races, and ethnicities is revealed. Additionally, through this means, a space is created where finding face is possible for Indigenous students.

It should be noted that disrupting a settler colonial hidden curriculum is possible and strongly advised in aiding students toward finding face. However, the historical and systematic context from which settler colonialism is created and perpetuated needs to be thoroughly studied in order for the process of finding face and identity to be possible in the area of curriculum. Therefore, the next section will take a closer look at settler colonialism historically and through the generations.

**Settler colonialism through the generations.** Identity formation for Indigenous people many times colonized involves exclusion and inclusion, subordination and disruption, remembering and forgetting (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). This can be viewed as a disruption of Indigenous identity, or defacement. Therefore, when scrutinizing the historical make-up of how identities are created, specifically through the location of
place, settler colonial power is located. This settler colonial notion of power is seen in blood quantum, whiteness, and citizenship, to name a few which seep into the socio-political sphere (Nieto-Phillips, 2004) which then trickles down into the area of education and curriculum. These settler colonial notions of power are meant to disrupt Indigenous knowledge, belief systems and identity. As Nieto-Phillips (2004) describes, these notions of power when directly linked to identity formation can be seen as one's “‘heritage’ is decidedly a language of empowerment or, from another perspective, coercion” p.11). If one acknowledges the means of settler colonialism to deface the formation of Indigenous identity, one may begin to view their formation of identity, as not their own. This can be viewed as a form of historical trauma and is seen through the generations. The next section will historically examine, from pre-invasion to the twentieth century, how identity formation is a product of settler colonialism and a means to disrupt Indigenous identity or finding face.

**Pre-invasion - sixteenth century:** During this time, the Indigenous people of Mexico were known as “the people in the altepetl” (Lockhart, 1992, p. 14) in which they organized the land according to *altepetl* (Lockhart, 1992). The word *altepetl* broken down as *atl* and *tepelt* refer to the water and mountains, meaning a group of people organized over a given region. The *altepetl* was not governed by one person but was a communal group of people sharing responsibilities and resources amidst themselves (Lockhart,
1992). According to Lockhart, the Indigenous people that resided in the southernmost areas of Mexico were known as the Uto-Aztecans. The Uto-Aztecans people living in the core regions of central Mexico, spoke Nahuatl. The central Mexicans before Christian Castellano Spanish invasion were united by a shared culture and one of many common languages including Nahuatl (Lockhart, 1992). The Franciscan Friars in the sixteenth century alphabetized the Nahuatl language, created Nahuatl grammar, and published a Spanish-Nahuatl dictionary (Lockhart, 1992), thus colonizing an oral and pictographic language to an alphabetized one. Not only was settler colonialism used in painting the practice of oral and pictographic Indigenous languages as less than but the historical settler narrative regarding Indigenous peoples’ lack of immunity from diseases upon invasion also positions Indigenous people as less than able or deficit. This again, is a way for settler colonialism to erase Indigenous people from the land in order to make it their own.

For example, according to Aldama (2001) and Anzaldúa (2007) 25 million Indigenous people resided in Mexico and the Yucatán precontact. After the invasion, the Indigenous population dropped to less than seven million people (Aldama, 2001; Anzaldúa, 2007) as a result of diseases and epidemics in the late 1540s and late 1570s (Lockhart, 1992). The settler colonial narrative explains that as a result of the mixing of Spanish blood with Indian blood (mestizos), those that survived, as a result of
intermingling, were made stronger. The settler colonial narrative states that mestizos, who were immune to diseases brought by the Spaniards, survived smallpox, measles, and typhus (Aldama, 2001; Anzaldúa, 2007). The mestizo identity when positioned through the settler colonial narrative disrupts Indigenous identity and portrays Indigenous knowledge and abilities as a deficit.

**The sixteenth - eighteenth century: ¿Indios o Españoles?**. By the late eighteenth century, the Indigenous culture and identity was impacted in every way by the Christian Castellano Spanish invasion (Lockhart, 1992). This includes the notion of blood purity, *limpieza de sangre*, which came about with the arrival of Hernán Cortéz and invaders at Tenochtitlán, in 1519 (Baca, 2008; Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Thus, in the 16th century, settler colonialism of Mesoamerican thought, culture, and rhetoric began (Baca, 2008). In 1524, the conquest of Pedro Alvarado of the Quiche Maya civilization of Guatemala resulted in the burning of Indigenous libraries and schools (Baca, 2008). In the 1530’s, these Spaniards, mostly friars, were dappling in pictorial communication while moving oral Nahuatl towards alphabetization (Lockhart, 1992). Baca (2008) explains that for Spain to defend its undertaking, Mesoamerican pictographic was portrayed as “less than” when compared to the Roman alphabet. At that time, scribes aided Franciscan missionaries to translate Latin and Spanish texts to an alphabetized Nahuatl, as one did not exist. They then rewrote the codices that they had destroyed (Baca, 2008). That being
said, during the early 1570s, Nahua nobles with the ability to write and read an alphabetized Nahuatl would integrate this form back into the Indigenous central Mexico “tradition of recordkeeping”, covertly and overtly, relying heavily on oral tradition and pre-conquest pictographic fashion (Lockhart, 1992). By the end of the 16th century, however, the pictographic writing system as a means for communication progressively declined. As mentioned above, this form of settler colonialism greatly disrupts Indigenous knowledge, belief systems and one’s identity formation (finding face).

It’s important to remember that settler colonialism is different than colonialism in that it is not a one-time event and it persists and occurs consistently and constantly. That being said, another means to enact settler colonialism occurred on April 30, 1598 when Don Juan de Oñate performed the solemn ceremony of claiming New Mexico for Spain. Through this ceremony Oñate claimed Spain had authority over the Indians, the trees, the stones, and every other natural resource (Silverberg, 1970). That same year, Oñate massacred Acoma men, women, and children, removing the right foot of every male 25 years and older, and enslaving women over 25 years of age. Decades of Spanish injustice and oppression continued throughout the area of the Rio Grande river (Silverberg). In 1675, 47 Pueblo leaders were publicly flogged and jailed in Santa Fe (Silverberg). Among those who survived was the Tewa medicine man leader, Popé, who began covertly organizing a revolt against Spanish regimes (Silverberg). In 1680, in what was
known as Popé’s Pueblo Revolt, Pueblo nations, Navajos and Apaches revolted against the Catholic Church and Spanish inequality (Silverberg). During this time, pueblos ran the government in Santa Fe and restored the land and Spanish institutions, churches, libraries, and the encomienda mines (a product of native slave labor) were destroyed (Baca, 2008). However, it should be noted that many pueblos ran their villages independently of the government in Santa Fe (Silverberg, 1970).

In 1688, Popé died and was succeeded by Tupatú. On September 25, 1690 Don Diego de Vargas (a Spanish colonizer) was sworn in at Mexico City (Silverberg). It took de Vargas until the end of the century to gain control against the Pueblo Revolt, along the Rio Grande (Baca, 2008). By this time, Spanish settler colonialism, Christianity, and the introduction of metal tools, weapons, horses, fruits, and crops forever altered pueblo cultures (Baca). Returning to life before Spanish settler colonialism became an impossibility (Baca) because Pueblo and Hispano communities adopted and combined aspects of each culture (Baca). With cultural mingling came a new identifier in the 18th century for those of mixed ancestry. These new identifiers also emerged as a result of the Spanish enacting a caste system of 20 plus levels.

Table 2.1 Spanish Caste System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish Translation</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* Some of these are direct translations and may not convey the exact meaning as intended by the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish Caste System.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Español</td>
<td>1. Spanish (White)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Indio Vecino</td>
<td>2. Indian Male who has been acculturated into Hispanic society (Could be Mexican Indians or Native Indians no longer living among their pueblos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Español x India = Mestizo (NM)</td>
<td>3. Spanish Male married to an Indian Female = Mestizo (50 % Spanish and 50 % Indian, though during the 1800s this term came to be known as mixed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Español x Castiza = Torna a Español</td>
<td>4. Spanish Male married to a Mixed Female = Spanish, Indian, and Black (Literal translation means back to Spanish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Español x Negra = Mulato (NM)</td>
<td>5. Spanish Male married to a Black Female = Mulato (50 % Spanish and 50 % Black)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Morisco x Española = Albino</td>
<td>6. Moorish Male married to Spanish Female = 50 % Black and 50 % Spanish (Literal translation is the absence of pigment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Albino x Española = Tornatrás</td>
<td>7. Mixed Black and Spanish Male married to Spanish Female = Mixed race person of Black and Spanish descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mulato x India = Calpamulato</td>
<td>8. Mixed Male (Mulato: 50 % Spanish and 50 % Black) married to Indian Female = 50 % Indian, 25 % Black, and 25 % Spanish person (No direct translation available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Negro x India = Lobo (NM)</td>
<td>9. Black Male married to Indian Female = 50 % Black and 50 % Indian (Literal translation is wolf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Lobo x India =</td>
<td>10. Mixed Black and Indian Male [50 % Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambija and 50% Indian [married to Indian Female] = 25% Black and 75% Indian (No direct translation available)</td>
<td>11. Calpamulato x India = Jivaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Indio x Cambija = Sambahiga</td>
<td>12. Indian Male married to Mixed Female [50% Mixed Black and 50% Indian] = 25% Black and 75% Indian (No direct translation available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Mulato x Mestiza = Cuarteron</td>
<td>13. Mixed Male [Mulato: 50% Spanish and 50% Black] married to Mixed Female [Mestiza: 50% Spanish and 50% Indian] = 50% Spanish, 25% Black, and 25% Indian (No direct translation available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Cuarteron x Mestiza = Coyote</td>
<td>14. Mixed Male (Cuarteron: 50% Spanish, 25% Black, and 25% Indian) Mixed Female (Mestiza: 50% Spanish and 50% Indian) = 50% Spanish, 37.5% Indian, and 12.5% Black (According to census reports, in New Mexico the term coyote included the mixture of Mestizo and Indio and that of Spanish and Indian. In NM, today, coyote includes mixed Mexican and Anglo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Coyote x Morisca = Albarazado</td>
<td>15. Mixed Male (Coyote: 50% Spanish, 37.5% Indian, and 12.5% Black) and Black Female (Morisca) = 56.25% Black, 25% Spanish, and 18.75% Indian (Direct translation not available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Albarazado x Saltatras = Tente</td>
<td>16. 56.25% Black, 25% Spanish, and 18.75% Indian married to Mixed Spanish, Black, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en al Aire</td>
<td>Albino = Mixed Black, Spanish, and Indian (Direct translation not available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Mestizo x India = Cholo</td>
<td>17. 50% Spanish and 50% Indian Male married to Indian Female = 25% Spanish and 75% Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. India x Mulato = Chino (NM)</td>
<td>18. Indian Female married to a 50% Black and 50% Spanish Male = 50% Indian, 25% Black, and 25% Spanish (Literal translation means Chinese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Español x China = Cuarteron de China</td>
<td>19. Spanish Male married to a 50% Indian, 25% Black, and 25% Spanish Female = 62.5% Spanish, 12.5% Black and 25% Indian (Direct translation not available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Negro x India = Sambo de Indio</td>
<td>20. Black Male married to an Indian Female = 50% Black and 50% Indian (Literal translation is partner of Indian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Negro x Mulato = Zambio</td>
<td>21. Black Male married to a 50% Black and 50% Spanish Female = 75% Black and 25% Spanish (Direct translation not available)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Genízaro - Cambujo x China = Genízaro en Mexico</td>
<td>22. Mixed Spanish, Indian and Black (In New Mexico, the term genízaro has a somewhat different meaning.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Adapted from León (1924) and Bustamante (1991)

Table 2.2 Racist casta system introduced by the Castellanos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Españoles (White)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peninsulares (Whites born on the Iberian Peninsula)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negros (Africans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indios (Amerindians, people Indigenous to the Americas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genizaros (captured/enslaved Amerindians)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestizos (Amerindian and White)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castizos o Ladino (White with Mestizo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criollos (White and Castizo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuartero o Cholos (Amerindian with Mestizo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardos (White, African, and Amerindian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulatos (African and White)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambos (Amerindian and African)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calpamulato (Amerindian and Mulato)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambur o Cimarrón (African and Mestizo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro fino (African and Mulato)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prieto (Negro and Negro fino)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuarteron (White and Mulato)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salta Atrás (White and Cuarteron)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chino (Amerindian and Salta Atrás)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo (Mulato and Chino)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote (White and Lobo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibaro (Mulato and Lobo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvarasado (Amerindian and Gibaro)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Español</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mestizo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indios Vecinos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genízaro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Native Indian ancestry. Not ethnically casta)

| 8. Color quebrado | 8. Catchall category for the castas. Translated as broken color |

* Adapted from Bustamante (1991).

It should be noted that because of the close inter-ethnic contact in New Mexico the *casta* system was hard to maintain. The friars in charge of the census reports, during this time, were not consistent in their *casta* group classification nor were they consistent in which terms they used. Therefore, what can be said about the New Mexico *casta* system is that the label of Spanish was considered the most ideal with the other categories falling underneath it, but not necessarily in the above order.

Numerous descriptive and demographic published investigations have studied the Spanish colonial *casta* system. However, Bustamante (1991) focuses on the *casta* system specifically in New Mexico. The New Mexico *casta* system included political and legal actions to identify clearly the characteristics of the many ethnic groups as a result of the intermixing of Spaniards, Indians, and Blacks. This *casta* system enacted a hierarchy where some groups were more oppressed than others. Although Spain insisted upon all groups under the *casta* system to assimilate to Spanish ideals, language, beliefs and laws, the mixing of ethnic groups in New Mexico began blurring the stratification of the *casta* system, rendering it ineffective (Bustamante).
The nineteenth century: Mexican or American? In 1821, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a criollo (born in Mexico of Spanish parents) priest, led the movement for Mexican Independence from Spain (Baca, 2008). In 1823, it should be noted that in New Mexico a *casta* system of sorts was still enacted. This time it consisted of three groups: *Español, Indios*, and *Pardos* (people of Black or part-Black descent) (Bustamante, 1991). In 1824, Mexico was represented by a republican government which included a president, a two-house congress, and governors and legislatures leading the states. In the early 19th century, the 11th President of the United States, President James K. Polk, mobilized the U.S. Army to invade and occupy vast amounts of sovereign nations in Mexico (Sides, 2006). After offering to purchase Texas, California and New Mexico to no avail, Polk decided war would be his only means in occupying these lands. In 1846, the United States declared war on Mexico and won. The result was the 1848 signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Baca, 2008; Estrada, 2009). The signing ceded land to the United States, in what is known today as California, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico (Baca, 2008). With the settler colonialism enacted by the United States in the 19th century and the end of the Mexican-American War (1845-1848) came a new identity marker for some; Mexican-American (Baca). The last ripples of the *casta* system can be seen during this time as well, with classifications such as *indios* and *genízaros*. Although Bustamante (1991) mentions that these classifications are technically not part of the caste
system. During this time, the change to *mexicano* as an ethnic classification began to show the fading caste system.

*The nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the Spanish-American identity or limpieza de sangre uno mas vez.* Spanish American identity formation came about nationally and locally, from the 1880s to the 1930s, originating in various political and social marginalization, and by cultivating the Hispanophilic cultural movement tourist industry (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Hispanophilic can be described as a person or groups of people who are drawn to Spain, Spanish culture and ways of life. A native author, Joel Martínez Hernández, born in Huaxteca, speaks to Hispanophilic, referring to what he and many Nahuas call “Coyotes.” Coyote is a term applied to non-Indians in which coyotes want the Indians to disappear, take over Indian land, to make Indians into coyotes, and leave no trace of the presence of Indians (León-Portilla, 1962). The Hispanophilic movement led to the erasure of Indigenous presence, people and practices in New Mexico. Although many New Mexicans took on the identity of Spanish-American, in order to move away from an Indigenous identity, they still received discrimination from the United States.

Discrimination of Spanish-Americans resulted from congress’s denial to grant New Mexico statehood, claiming it to be a territory of mixed-blood people, sub-par cultures, near zealous belief in Catholicism, and Spanish speaking tongue (Nieto-Phillips,
2004). As a result, New Mexico's Spanish speaking population were identified racially as Spanish, citing their purity of blood. By 1910, the legacy of conquest and settler colonialism began to emerge amongst Spanish Americans (Nieto-Phillips). Amidst the push to abolish the Spanish language came the campaign, from Spanish speaking New Mexicans, to speak Spanish publicly (Nieto-Phillips). This plight did little to challenge the “white” racial prerequisite for full citizenship (Nieto-Phillips). It should be noted that Mexican-Americans perceive Spanish-Americans with caution, as this identity marker acknowledges assimilation which is often in contrast to Mexican-American efforts and, more recently, Chicana and Chicano awareness (Nieto-Phillip).

*The twentieth century: Hispanic or Chicano?* By the 20th century, a new language, a new legal system, and the imposition of American culture created conflict between Mexican-Americans and the United States settlers (Baca, 2008). Some of these United States settlers called themselves the Texas Rangers. As Spanish-Mexicans for nearly 300 years, the Spanish and Mexican laws which abided by local custom rather than a court system as well as a rural, community formed system of land-holding, led to even more conflict (Baca). Mexican-Americans as a designation, lasted for several decades (Baca). In 1912, New Mexico became one of the last states to be recognized by the United States (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). In some cases Mexican-Americans were brutally killed by groups such as the Texas Rangers (Rosales, 1996); for example, in 1913 they
massacred approximately 3,000 Mexicans (Gonzales, 1999). These massacres continued throughout the first half of the twentieth century (Baca, 2008).

During the 1920s and 1930s and even in the 1950s overt segregation efforts resulted in many Mexicans (including U.S. born) being deported to Mexico. As a result, this caused another disruption of identity (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Many who once identified as Mexican or Mexican-American utilized the term Hispanic as to avoid deportation (Nieto-Phillips). In 1931, Lemon Grove Grammar School decided to exclude Mexican-American students and segregated them to another section of town (Baca, 2008; Doña Ana County Historical Society, 1999). Throughout this time, many forms of segregation occurred based on race, including separate movie nights, swimming pool times, and housing areas (Baca, 2008). In the 1960s the Chicano Movement signified another shift in identity. The term Chicano signified a Mesoamerican past and a dedication to Indigenous conflicts of the present. Some Chicanos began referring back to the Nahuatl use of the letter X, creating Xicano (Baca). The settler colonialism of the Indigenous people of the Americas, created a disruption of Indigenous identity passed down through the generations or what is also known as historical trauma.

**Settler colonialism as a form of trauma.** Historical trauma (HT) is defined as a collective trauma manifesting through the lifespan and amidst generations as a result of oppressive events aimed at specific communities by governments or government-
sponsored organizations (Beltrán & Begun, 2014; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Evans-Campbell & Walters, 2006; Brave Heart, 1999). Another term used for HT is called Post Apocalypse Stress Syndrome (PASS) (Gross, 2002). PASS is described as a culture that undergoes great stress (Gross, 2002). The stress impacts the whole society and reveals that while attempts at cultural genocide have affected more communities than others, not one Indian nation is living in a pre-colonization environment (Gross, 2002). Specific events impact those affected both personally and collectively and may be passed from generation to generation (Beltrán & Begun, 2014; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Evans-Campbell & Walters, 2006; Brave Heart, 1999). As a result, generations not directly impacted by life-altering events can still produce signs of the trauma (Beltrán & Begun, 2014; Evans-Campbell, 2008; Evans-Campbell & Walters, 2006; Nagata & Cheng, 2003; Brave Heart, 1999), including “denial, personalization, isolation, memory loss, nightmares, psychic numbing, hypervigilance, substance abuse, fixation on trauma, identification with death, survivor guilt, and unresolved grief” (Sotero, 2006, p. 96). Gross (2002) describes these signs of trauma or stress in 10 examples:

1. an abandonment of productive employment;
2. an increase of substance abuse;
3. an increase in violence, especially domestic abuse;
4. an increase in the suicide rate;
(5) an increase in the rate of mental illness;
(6) the abandonment of established religious practices;
(7) the adoption of fanatical forms of religion;
(8) a loss of hope;
(9) sense of despair;
(10) a sense of survivor’s guilt. (450)

Original trauma may be experienced through deculturation and language loss, events of oppression, inequality, low socioeconomic status, and social discrimination. Transference of HT has proven evident through various means such as vocalization and taciturn and unresolved anguish (Evans-Campbell, 2008; Nagata, 1998; Sotero, 2006; Brave Heart & Debruyn, 1998), as well as genetics (Beltrán & Begun, 2014; Bohacek, Gapp, Saab & Mansuy, 2013). Sotero (2006) explains individual and social hardships as learned behavior, passed down through the generation, which has continued the cycle of trauma. PASS also recognizes these stresses as not only individual but institutional as well and passed on generationally, thus making recovery difficult (Gross, 2002). Secondary and subsequent generations also engage in trauma through the memories of the community, through storytelling and oral traditions. Offspring then share in the ancestral pain of a community, developing emotions of grief, anger, and wariness. Meyer (1994) has studied PASS thoroughly with an emphasis on inter-tribal relations. Meyer’s
acknowledges that while settler colonialism (market capitalism) intent was to displace the Anishinaabe of their land resources, the Anishinaabe, as a result, developed strategies for adaptation and survival. Meyer’s states:

Many contemporary Indians in Minnesota blame poverty, disease, domestic violence, and chemical dependency ultimately on the processes of dispossession that snowballed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The stereotype of the irresolute, drunken Indian grew out of these conditions. Contemporary stereotypes and misunderstandings conceal historical processes that have created current conditions. Mary Many-penny and others recognize this as they urge all of us to remember that ‘the history is everything’. (p. 235)

Without a critical examination of history, it is difficult to understand or to see historical trauma and PASS for what it really is. In understanding these generational sources of stress and trauma, one can begin to view colonial brutality as the cause of these stressors and trauma rather than a direct deficit of oneself.

As Battiste (2000) notes, the experiences of colonial brutality, trauma, cultural and traditional genocide, and displacement in Indigenous populations are acknowledged as part of trauma transferal. While there may be tendency to refer to this as PTSD, scholars argue that the definition for post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) fails to capture the wound of the spirit, also known as a “soul wound” (Beltrán & Begun, 2014; Duran and Duran, 1995; Duran et al., 1998). In contrast to PTSD, HT can be seen in internalized settler colonialism, which is rooted in racial subjugation. This type of internalized settler colonialism occurs when people identify with multiple manifestations
of bio-psycho-social and cultural brutality inflicted by the colonizer (Beltrán & Begun, 2014; Duran, 2006; Fanon, 1965). In order to move away from historical trauma, one must first heal from settler colonialism and its impacts. This cannot occur without the process of decolonization. Through this process, a person can move towards healing and finding identity, which is also known as finding face.

**The Process of Decolonization: Finding Face**

The process of decolonization (finding face) in order to help rather than harm, must be approached with an Indigenous lens or framework (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, 2013; Tuck and Yang, 2012). Tuck and Yang (2012) investigate the meaning of decolonization naming, “what it wants, and what it requires” (p. 2). The term “decolonize” needs to be used in relation to finding face or what is also known as Indigenous sovereignty. For example, Indigenous sovereignty includes the use of Indigenous scholars and community members who situate the process of decolonization through an Indigenous lens (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Tuck and Yang emphasize that decolonization can only be used when referencing settler-indigenous relationships. When decolonizing work does not name settler-indigenous relationships it puts the settler narrative at the forefront, allowing the settler to play the role of innocent, perpetuating a space where the settler may prosper (Tuck & Yang). In using and engaging in positive decolonizing methodologies, space must be created in which recognition is given to the
Indigenous people who first belonged to the land (Tuck & Yang). Thus, finding face does not occur without situating oneself to place.

The recognition of Indigenous people in the acts of decolonization needs also be present when engaged in decolonizing methods (Tuck & Yang). For example, Tuck and Yang (2012) state, “There is a long and bumbled history of non-Indigenous peoples making moves to alleviate the impacts of colonization” (p. 3). Therefore, when engaging in the work of decolonization, one must constantly be aware of how he/she comes at this work with a “settler” mind-frame (Tuck & Yang). The process of decolonization (finding face) needs to be authentic and productive in putting Indigenous ways of knowing and being back at the forefront of educational practices and empowering Indigenous youth (Tuck & Yang). Furthermore, decolonization used outside the framework of an Indigenous lens permits others not to be committed to decolonial aspirations as it transforms decolonization into an empty glass, waiting to be occupied by any form of independence (Tuck & Yang). Thus, decolonization without an Indigenous framework ends up occupying Indigenous land and people in settler contexts (Tuck & Yang). This is precisely why decolonization as metaphor is disturbing, as “Decolonization never takes place unnoticed” (Fannon, 1963, p. 36). Decolonization through the lens of settler colonialism involves and disturbs all (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Decolonization through an Indigenous framework is not successful without first decolonizing oneself, as to begin the
work of decolonizing spaces, outside of oneself, would be through a settler perspective lens and would further cause harm.

**Decolonizing self (finding face).** Alfred (2005) states that the act of living an Indigenous pathway of action and freedom is an everyday process of engagement; thoughtfully expressed in our lives and in our communities as in opposition to the decolonization process from the perspective of the settler. By practicing an Indigenous way of action and freedom one reshapes society through the recreation of ourselves (finding face), therefore revitalizing our cultures, and rising in opposition to the constraints that tie us to settler colonialism (Alfred). This warrior's path, as Alfred explains, is a form of Wasáse, a ceremony; an undertaking towards the creation of unity, strength, and commitment. Alfred says, “Wasáse is an ancient Rotinoshonni war ritual, the Thunder Dance” (p. 19). Alfred further explains that this warrior’s road contains the spirit of Wasáse (an Onkwehonwe perspective), a courageous way of living on earth. This courageous way of living on earth combines a sort of new politics, forming many identities and ways for creating change towards action in challenging “white society’s control over Onkwehonwe and our lands” (Alfred, 2005, p.19). Alfred mentions that Wasáse, the ceremony of unity, in this context, represents the social and cultural living entity present among the Onkwehonwe devoted to tipping the scale of the current
political and economic power; as such, renewing the social and physical space for liberation to resurface.

On the path to liberation and decolonization of self are tools towards the process of finding face (Beltrán & Begun, 2014). These tools can include a reclamation of Indigenous ancestral practices and beliefs, as well as finding a sense of place and belonging within your Indigenous community. These tools and concepts of culture and cultural identity bring healing to the stressors that impact Indigenous communities (Beltrán & Begun). As Walters, Simoni and Evans-Campbell (2002) state, beliefs about identity (internalization or externalization beliefs towards self and an individual's group) are vital in improving self-esteem, managing psychological distress, and thwarting depression. Once a person engages in the work of finding face, then they may move towards decolonizing spaces. For this study in particular, decolonizing knowledge systems in education is of utmost importance as historically education has always been used to assimilate and oppress the students they serve. This type of oppression can be seen in deficit action and rhetoric.

**Decolonizing knowledge systems.** Brendtro and Brokenleg (2001) reveal deficit actions and rhetoric present in the school systems towards children throughout teaching practices. In the schools, academic deficit terms sound more polished than labels created by the public; however, both are damaging (Brendtro & Brokenleg). Brendtro and
Brokenleg name the four ecological threats in the lives of children at risk. These four ecological threats are ways in which finding face is disrupted. These profiles originated from Bronfenbrenner (1986):

1. Destructive relationships, as experienced by the rejected or unclaimed child, hungry for love but unable to trust, expecting to be hurt again;
2. Climates of futility, as encountered by the insecure youngster, crippled by feelings of inadequacy and a fear of failure;
3. Learned irresponsibility, as seen in the youth whose sense of powerlessness may be masked by indifference or defiant, rebellious behaviour;
4. Loss of purpose, as portrayed by a generation of self-centered youth, desperately searching for meaning in a world of confusing values. (p. 8)

To address these threats, a person needs transparency in seeing how exclusion impacts the life of youth (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001).

Although Brendtro and Brokenleg do not use the term settler colonialism, seeing Indigenous students in a deficit lens as well as enacting exclusionary practices is considered a form of settler colonialism. Brendtro and Brokenleg, drawing from Lakota Indigenous knowledge, offer a solution that moves away from ecological threats and from settler colonialism towards finding face and Indigenous ways of knowing and being. For many Indigenous cultures, storytelling and oral tradition is understood as a ‘medicinal practice and form of traditional knowledge. Cerebral knowings are imparted through stories as part of a mythic mind (Gonzales, 2012, p. 39). As such, they provide opportunities to recover personal and communal knowledge (Gonzales). Including
personal and communal knowledge is vital in decolonizing curriculum. The next section will provide examples of incorporating Indigenous knowledge into curriculum, thus decolonizing the curriculum.

**Decolonizing Curriculum.** In order to examine the impact of settler colonialism, one must be aware of traditions and beliefs specific to Indigenous populations. Imagining a curriculum that enables students to find face, privileges Indigenous knowledge systems rather than the settler narrative perspective. The below is an example of how the curriculum can be reimagined or decolonized from an Indigenous perspective, specifically from an Aztec and Lakota Indigenous framework. Although this below vision of a decolonized curriculum does not encompass all of the Native or Indigenous populations from around the world, the Aztec and Lakota knowledge systems were chosen to frame this reimagined curriculum because of my own ancestral ties to the Aztecs but also to the Lakota authors, Brendtro and Brokenleg’s (2001) universal concept of Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity.

The Aztec & Lakota Indigenous Framework can be seen in what the Aztecs call, *Tlacahuapahualitzli* (the art of strengthening people) and *Neixtlamachilitzli* (the act of giving wisdom to the face) (León-Portilla, 1963) through the Lakota tenets of belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Derived from Lakota knowledge, Brendtro and Brokenleg include the following four components (1)
belonging, (2) mastery, (3) independence, and (4) generosity in representing Indigenous knowledge systems and educational methods. Brendtro and Brokenleg (2001) call these four components the circle of courage and are explained as, traditional Native educational practices with a foundational basis of self-worth include:

1. **Belonging**: significance was nurtured in a cultural milieu that celebrated the universal need for belonging;
2. **Mastery**: competence was ensued by guaranteed opportunities for mastery;
3. **Independence**: encouraging the expression of independence fostered power;
4. **Generosity**: virtue was reflected in the pre-eminent value of generosity. (Brendtro & Brokenleg, p. 45)

The four traditional practices above, are not only a traditional cultural practice of Native people but are inclusive of all people (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). It is through my circle of courage (see Figure 2 below) that “we develop the courage to accept the responsibility of becoming co-creators with the world” (Cajete, 1994, p. 72). A large part of decolonizing curriculum is to include Native and Indigenous languages in the curriculum. As Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) explain, the English-only movement of schools was detrimental to Indigenous youth, explaining that the English only movement led to the deterioration and stigmatization of Native languages. For instance, certain challenges facing American Indian and Indigenous people in the English-only movement of schools included language loss and language shift (Brayboy, 2005). It is for this
reason, that Indigenous words will be used throughout the imaginings of this decolonized curriculum.

*My Circle of Courage in conjunction with the four corners of the Aztec Universe.* Utilizing Indigenous words throughout this decolonized curriculum is vital in reclaiming Indigenous knowledge and belief systems, which can create a space for finding face. For example, Cajete (1994) explains that in Indigenous education, language is a “...tool for teaching and learning” (p. 33). This was because the spoken or sung word expressed the spirit and breath of life of the speaker, and “was considered sacred” (p. 33). Little Bear (2000) emphasizes that “Language embodies the way a society thinks. Through learning and speaking a particular language, an individual absorbs the collective thought processes of a people” (p. 1). Accordingly, it is important to incorporate Indigenous language when describing Indigenous knowledge systems and educational models, thus, combating the impacts of language loss, language shift, and ideological power towards Indigenous people.

It is for this reason that *Totacho* (Our way of talking) derived from the Nawatl (Nahuatl), language of the Aztecs, (Tlapoyawa, 2016; León-Portilla, 1963) will be applied to my circle of courage (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Furthermore, my circle of courage will be referred to as *Omeyocan*, which means “the place of duality” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 90). *Omeyocan* refers to the place where *Ometéotl* resides. *Ometéotl* is
the “Giver of Life” or creator (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 81). According to León-Portilla (1963), the Nahua people “aspired to discover the path which led to Ometéotl” (p. 81). This path will also lead students to becoming a whole person and produce the type of education that develops generous and balanced children (Cajete, 1994, p. 68). As Cajete (1994) explains, “For Indian people, traditional learning begins and ends with the spirit” (p.69). The four components of Omeyocan (circle of courage) will also be given Nawatl (Nahuatl) words that include: Nel-huá-yotl (Belonging), Tloc (Mastery), Yocoya (Independence), and Yoltéotl (Generosity) (Adapted from León-Portilla, 1963; and Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001), which will be discussed in further detail below.
In order to develop courage and overcome challenges, Indigenous students must breathe new life into themselves and stir up the valor and awareness needed (Cajete, 1994), as represented in my circle of courage. My circle of courage with its components of belonging, mastery, independence and generosity aid students in overcoming challenges faced as well as provide grounding in their Native community practices and beliefs.
The Spirit of Belonging. Within spirit of belonging, *Nel-huá-yotl* (Belonging) refers to the “root, foundation, or base” (MSS Cantaras Mexicanos as cited in León-Portilla, 1963, p. 73) in which a person finds their face (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001; Cajete, 1994). The Nahua people believed that they are born “faceless” and such are in search for self-identification or *Nel-huá-yotl* (Belonging) (León-Portilla, 1963, p.104).

Cajete (1994) also mentions the importance of finding face in which one understands and values their true identity. For example, within *Nel-huá-yotl* (Belonging), students’ basic learning (sense of place & respect) and societal education (survival skills & learning relationships) are realized (Cajete, 2015).

An example of sense of place, respect, and societal education can be seen in tribal education. Cajete (1994) states that tribal education transpired naturally as a result of residing in kinship with others and the earth. It is for this reason that “kinship” or a sense of family in tribal environments didn’t occur strictly from biological ties (Cajete, p. 47); instead, kinship is viewed as those within a shared community (Cajete, p. 47). Cajete mentions the home, the student’s family (outside of the home), the clan, and tribe as sources from which the student learns. Therefore, a secure presence of belonging creates students who are more open to instruction from those in their community (Cajete). Education is infused in the habitual, communal, and metaphysical of everyday life; thus, allowing living and learning to be wholly incorporated (Cajete).
The ideals of *Nel-huá-yotl* (Belonging) and a shared community were built upon the progressive growth of knowing oneself, to be involved in the task of creation, in direct consciousness with “tlalticpac (earth)” (Cajete, 1994; León-Portilla, 1963, p.71). Therefore, the knowledge of function and position within a cultural collective and an awareness of the metaphysical workings of the world are important in attaining characteristics vital to contribution in a shared cultural community (Cajete, 1994). *Nel-huá-yotl* (Belonging) is not only linked to a shared community but also to identity and culture. Brayboy (2005) explains that cultural knowledge fosters a sense of *Nel-huá-yotl* (Belonging) as cultural knowledge reveals one’s identity.

**The Spirit of Mastery.** Within spirit of mastery, *Tloc* (Mastery) means “near” in which a person (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 92) finds their foundation through a competency that gives way to full expression and greatest potential (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001; Cajete, 1994). Thus, through the lens of *Tloc* (Mastery) students, through guidance and the communities nurture and support, strive for mastery of their surroundings (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). This concept, also known as survivance, originally termed by Vizenor (Vizenor, 1998; Vizenor and Lee, 1999), refers to the merging of survival and resistance in which the skills of acclimation and planned adaptability for the continued survival and growth of the shared community are fulfilled (Deloria, 1970). According to Brayboy (2005), understanding survival creates awareness of what is needed in order to
change and persevere. Thus, the notion of survivance can be achieved through myth, ritual, and ceremony (sense of tradition), integration with tribal culture (empowerment), visioning (relativity), and individuation (deep learning) (Cajete, 2015). Through ceremony and oral legends, children are taught the ideals of Indigenous people; thus, stories weren't just used as entertainment but rather a method of teaching ideas, ways of being, and construction of the world (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Brayboy (2005) claims that through the telling of stories, theory is revealed, in this way, theory reveals data and ways of life particular to Indigenous people. That being said, through the repetition of storytelling, teachings became more significant as the increased listening of stories led to an increased revelation of meaning (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Storytelling encouraged higher-order mental functioning in the retelling as well as appreciation and interpretation (Brendtro and Brokenleg).

As Cajete (1994) explains, “myths live or die through people. Myths, as human creations, are messages—as well as a way of conscious reflection—that live through the people who share them by the breath of their thoughts, words, and actions” (p. 116). Also, within Tloc (Mastery), competence was achieved through the cultivation of games and creative play, all of which stimulated adult responsibility (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). As a result, the rationale of Indigenous culture was that in order to feel proficient,
one must be guided towards the skill. When students achieve mastery, determination for further growth is desired (Brendtro & Brokenleg).

**The Spirit of Independence.** Through spirit of independence, *Yocoya* (Independence) can be described as “to invent” or “create mentally” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 87) in which a person finds their heart in the knowledge and gratitude of the spirit that flows through one’s life (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001; Cajete, 1994). Through *Yocoya* one finds enlightenment and wisdom (spirituality) (Cajete, 2015) and *Nepantla* in action (Anzaldúa, 2015). *Nepantla* in action requires that students successfully navigate the in-between space of individuality and the mainstream world without the loss of culture and identity (Anzaldúa). León-Portilla (1963) explains Independence as seen through the Nahua people as “Is there any truth to man?” (p. 105). Furthermore, in order to find an answer to this question the Nahua people followed various pathways (León-Portilla) on which the Nahuas saw people as substantial, individual entities with an intrinsic foundation to utilize the resources and consciousness to navigate life (León-Portilla).

Through Indigenous knowledge, students must be provided a foundation for dependence and discover respect and esteem towards elders, as well as be educated in character and ways of behaving (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). In this way, student have the ability to make wise decisions, so a student had willpower over their actions early on (Brendtro & Brokenleg). Therefore, youth respond better to self-established goals rather than the
demands of others. This is an example of Indigenous practices towards raising children through guidance rather than intrusion (Brendtro & Brokenleg). Brayboy (2005) expands on this notion of Independence and self-determination explaining, “self-determination is the ability to define what happens with autonomy, how, why, and to what ends, rather than being forced to ask permission…” (p. 434). From elders, one is taught values through modeling, all the while being given opportunities for options without outside influence (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Indigenous child-rearing practices ensure children have foundational appreciation for all persons to be in control of their own destiny. Thus, independence is achieved through the capacity to maneuver independently all while being rooted in community (belonging) (Brendtro & Brokenleg).

**The Spirit of Generosity.** Through spirit of generosity, *Yoltéotl* (Generosity) describes, “a heart made divine” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 78) where one can become a complete person in discovering their Life and are grateful to the spirit that is within and speaks to us (Brendtro and Brokenleg, 2001; Cajete, 1994). Through, *Yoltéotl*, one comes to find the center of completedness and transformational understanding (shared knowledge) (Cajete, 2015). This is fitting as *Ometéotl* the “Giver of Life” the creator resides in the center of the earth (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 81). In completing *Omeyocan* (the place where *Ometéotl* resides), one finds their centeredness as well (León-Portilla).
Once a person has found their center, they then have the means to give to others (León-Portilla).

León-Portilla expands on the idea of generosity saying Nahuas encompassed the highest of ideals and virtues through Nahuatl thinking and activity where the truth in a person’s heart will renew them “into an artist, a poet, or a sage. With this gift people would be capable of making things divine” (León-Portilla, p. 105). Generosity can be seen in Elders engaging in conversation with youth regarding the path towards adulthood and what it means to animate a good life emphasizing that the best characteristic was to be generous (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). For example, the integration of generosity into ceremony and community was evident through marriage, memorials, and gifts for elders, orphans, and widows (Brendtro & Brokenleg). Indigenous knowledge through generosity is visible through intrinsic value rather than external gains (Brendtro & Brokenleg). For example, to acquire possessions such as land for individual use was seen as selfish (Brendtro and Brokenleg). Generosity can heal most of life’s tensions, for in giving our services to others, one moves away from narcissism (Brendtro & Brokenleg).

As Brendtro and Brokenleg state, “Children are the purpose of life. We were once children, and someone cared for us, and now it is our time to care” (p. 59). By implementing Indigenous knowledge into the curriculum students are able to see themselves in the curriculum and what is being taught. By this means, the aim of
education is no longer to silence Indigenous identity but to empower and develop
Indigenous identity rooted in Indigenous frameworks. In order to ground this paper in
Indigenous frameworks, the theoretical/conceptual frameworks will follow Brayboy’s
frameworks will be discussed in more detail below.

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, the theoretical framework used includes Tribal
Critical Race Theory (also known as TribalCrit) (Brayboy, 2005). TribalCrit research
shifts the lens from colonization and assimilation to self-determination and tribal
sovereignty (Brayboy). Brayboy emphasizes the need for customary practices in research
that call upon researchers to apply grounded theory towards changes in activism and
social justice. This theoretical framework provides a foundation when engaged in
decolonizing practices.

Tribal Critical Race Theory

TribalCrit is grounded in numerous traditions, concepts, thinking, and
epistemologies that come from millennia old tribal experiences (Brayboy, 2005).
Brayboy’s nine tenets provide a starting point to Tribal Critical Race Theory and a
foundation for decolonizing settler colonial narratives present in education and
curriculums:
1. Colonization is endemic (ingrained) into society;
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous people are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain;
3. Indigenous people occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities;
4. Indigenous people have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification;
5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens;
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous people are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation;
7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous people, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups;
8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being;
9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change. (Brayboy, 2005, p.429-430)

The first tenet reveals that settler colonialism is everywhere and disrupts the process of Indigenous people finding face. The first tenet explains that settler colonialism is deeply rooted in civilization (Brayboy, 2005). An example of this is that European-American thinking, understanding, and dominant structures control current American people. Brayboy’s first tenet aligns with settler colonial curriculums evident in K-20 (beyond high school) schools. As explained by Brayboy, settler colonialism is a European-American concept, understanding, and power formation that is evident today in the United States. It encompasses what Cajete (1994) examines as the European-American concept and its impacts on education: “The American society that many Indian
students experience is fraught with contradictions, prejudice, hypocrisy, narcissism, and unethical predispositions at all levels, including the schools” (p. 19). He describes how academic discord, displeasure, and multiple means of separation remain prevalent by numerous Indigenous people as a result of their experiences with westernized/settler colonial practices of education (Brayboy, 2005). Through this first tenet the perpetuation of settler colonialism is revealed, and the system is seen for what it is allowing the deconstruction of colonizing practices to be possible (Brayboy).

The second tenet refers to American policies which are created when interacting with Indigenous people that are grounded in colonialism, white elitism, and monetary advancement (Brayboy). American policies were created with self-interest at the forefront (Brayboy). From the creation of these self-interest policies, white settlers justified and authorized the stealing of land and the abuse and oftentimes the death of Indigenous people (Brayboy). One important concept to note is the contrasting views of land as property between Indigenous people and white settlers (Brayboy).

The third tenet, Indigenous people are situated in an in-between space that holds dually the political and racialized makeup of our identities (Brayboy). In this third tenet, Indigenous people are situated in a liminal space of in-between, where through legal and political actions tribal recognition and affiliation are mandated by the government (Brayboy). Because of this government mandate of tribal affiliation, the government
determines a person's racial category of American Indian. Furthermore, the government decides the designation of federally recognized tribes and state recognized tribes (Brayboy). However, Brayboy emphasizes that these Indigenous groups were nations prior to the signing of the constitution and their standing, as nations, should be irrefutable.

The fourth tenet states that Indigenous people want to engage and name their rights to “tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 433). Self-determination and autonomy are the tribe's ability to govern land and all that lies within the tribal parameters without interference from the United States government (Brayboy). Self-identification is the means authorized for groups to determine for themselves what it means to be Indigenous (Brayboy).

In the fifth tenet, notions of culture, knowledge, and power are re-defined when viewed through an Indigenous perspective (Brayboy, 2005). In altering the European lens of knowledge, culture, and power one sees that culture is both fluid and fixed (Brayboy). For example, an Indigenous person is always tied to place and community and is grounded by that anchor, yet, is free to live their hearts calling (Cajete, 1994). This implies that, what is good for the Indigenous heart is good for the community (Cajete). Within this tenet there are three forms of cultural knowledge: (a) Cultural understanding: the ability to be a member of a specific tribal nation; which encompasses the knowledge
of traditions, topics, and ways of life that form both individual and community knowledge and understanding; (b) Understanding of survival which encompasses a skill set of how to evolve and a desire to evolve, alter, modify, and to develop as an individual and within a community; (c) Academic understanding that is obtained from educational establishments. While Indigenous ways of knowing and academic or institutionalized knowledge differ, they do not need to be in opposition to one another (Brayboy, 2005). By aligning curriculum and education to Indigenous ways of knowing and being one can begin the decolonization process of settler colonial hidden curriculums.

Brayboy’s (2005) sixth tenet, governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous people are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation. As Brendtro & Brokenleg (2001) explain, the educational system lacks the means of facilitation of learning when the natural flow is inhibited. As a result, school structures do not allow the fostering of both individual and cultural differences. Furthermore, Brendtro & Brokenleg state, “Every culture embodies its most basic values in its language” (p. 113). Lomawaima & McCarty (2002) describe the deconstruction of identity and culture through the lens of American Indian education stating that the main objective of American Indian education has always been settler colonialism and assimilation of American Indian people. Through the practices of settler colonialism and assimilation, American Indian education replaced native languages with English,
replaced native religions with Christianity, and native family and community practices with westernized values and beliefs (p. 282). Lomawaima & McCarty further explain that the belief that situates students as “one-dimensional learners does great damage to the truth of human complexity” (p. 17). Damage to students’ human complexity correlates to the damage of identity as well as culture (Lomawaima & McCarty). Through this knowing and understanding of governmental and educational policies and practices one can begin to know the causes of assimilation (Lomawaima & McCarty). This reveals itself as a strength in that the unmaking of assimilation can occur through the awareness of where and when it manifests (Smith, 2012). The sixth tenet grounds the belief that settler colonialism still persists in the educational system today (Smith).

The seventh tenet states, “Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 429). As Brayboy explains, educational experiences of Native Americans are rooted in customs, understandings, strengths, ideologies, consciousness, and traditions of Indigenous persons. Brayboy adds that Indigenous educational experiences and ways of knowing include cooperation rather than competition. Individualization, often seen in competitive environments, is in conflict with the cooperation seen in traditional Native American practices (Brayboy, ). Because of this,
boarding schools were created, removing Native Americans from their community and traditional ways of knowing, pushing them towards a more individualistic society such as these seen in westernized educational settings (Lomawaima, 1994, 1995).

In the eighth tenet it is stressed that, “Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). Stories create the means to situate oneself and others within the environment and life and provide moral instruction in thinking and being with the world (Brayboy). He describes that within TribalCrit the value of the stories is that they come from the community of Indigenous people, elders, and spirit guides. He states that through the telling of oral stories where one is created, one is found and the collection of stories as data comes from hearing the stories told. Through this means, creating a space for Indigenous identity to form (finding face) is possible.

Brayboy’s (2005) ninth tenet that theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change which explains the need to decolonize the current curriculum present in K-20 schools. The necessity of researchers to use theory towards activism and social justice is evident in Brayboy’s position that research must take on the role of praxis. Additionally, through praxis “we must expose structural inequalities and assimilatory processes and work toward debunking and deconstructing them” (Brayboy, p. 440). As Cajete (1994) affirms, a
cross-cultural barrier revolves around the vast dis-congruencies that Indigenous people have been coerced towards assimilation through the educational methods not of their fashioning. Moreover, when Indigenous students do not adopt the western ideals of education, students either end up being pushed out (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006) or adapt to western education but at a loss to their identity (Bennett, 1997). This is an example of what happens when Indigenous students are defaced as a result of settler colonialism enacted through education.

In summary, this theoretical framework allows one engaged in the decolonization process to view settler colonialism as a systematic structure. Through this means, the work of decolonization includes dismantling that structure, especially in education and identity work (finding face).

**Chapter Summary**

As reflected in this literature review, settler colonialism impacts identity formation through the generations, particularly through historical trauma and education. Looking at Predominantly White Institutions (PWI), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), and disruptions of identity, the literature reveals how settler colonialism is a system of oppression. Furthermore, this system of oppression is seen through a settler colonial hidden curriculum, settler colonialism through the generations, and settler colonialism as a form of trauma/poison in which the literature reveals the impacts of settler colonialism
on Indigenous identity. The above two lenses of settler colonialism are necessary in order to inform the work of decolonization on the curriculum using Indigenous knowledge systems, and Tribal Critical Race Theory. In order to decolonize the curriculum one must first decolonize oneself, as the literature suggests. In identifying Indigenous knowledge systems the literature followed the tenets of Belonging, Mastery, Independence, Generosity. And lastly, this literature review Theoretical Framework uncovered the tenets of Tribal Critical Race Theory in order to engage in decolonizing methodologies and processes.
CHAPTER THREE: INDIGENOUS RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This investigation focuses on the identities of my family to examine the influences of settler colonialism on Indigenous knowledge systems and to examine settler colonialism at the intersection of identity (finding face) and education. The aftermath of settler colonialism within a family impacts people in ways that are notable and persistent. A study of these effects and their consequences and one that views schools and historical trauma as catalysts, necessitates a deeper investigation into the extensive implications of contact with settler colonialism and the significance that people take from situations and the situations of their families, including changes in identity and trauma associated with settler colonialism. In order to engage in research and methodology that do not further inflict harm or mis-represent ideas and feelings, one needs to start with Indigenous Research. It’s important to note that what I am doing is not unique. There are many Indigenous scholars that have come before me and guided the way towards Indigenous Research. Indigenous Research is not the work of one scholar but many scholars.

Indigenous Research

By engaging in the acts of decolonizing research, a protocol (Archibald, 2008) is set forth that attempts to protect participants from harm or misrepresentation. Furthermore, when decolonizing research, it is vital to reveal the political implications
decolonizing research entails (Kovach, 2009). Therefore, it is important to understand that although integrating story into methodology involves the act of decolonizing research, research is still a colonial conception born within the academy. Therefore, stories, must be held and told void of harm, misuse or appropriation. The researcher’s role in story as inquiry, is that of caretaker (Kovach). Through this role, the researcher acknowledges the importance and care needed when bringing oral story into the academy (Kovach).

Throughout the lens of various research methods, story is seen not only in Indigenous knowledge systems but also in feminism, autoethnography, phenomenology, and narrative inquiry, life history and oral history (Kovach, 2009). Story is utilized within methodologies focusing on relational understandings. As Kovach states, “However, the way that a culture employs story differs” (p. 96). Story as research, for Indigenous people, positions the sharing of stories amidst a cumulative consciousness. In this regard, stories that decolonize research may include resistance stories that resonate the strength of the culture. Therefore, Indigenous researchers have a profound obligation when requesting oral histories and stories. An investigator's obligation when gathering stories should be with the intent of care and respect and acknowledge the relationality from which the stories emanate (Kovach). The relationality from which stories emanate means comprehending their embodiment, function, and essence, from an Indigenous
perspective. To embody a Western lens alone (or any other cultural lens) is likely to create a misunderstanding and cause potential harm. Thus, story and the utilization of Indigenous inquiry are rooted in a relationality-based framework (Kovach). The importance of Indigenous qualitative methodologies rooted in story and relationality between researcher and research participant requires trust. The culmination of these relationships hold a story in and of themselves and with one another (Kovach). Another component of Indigenous Research lies in how a story is told. For this investigation in particular an Indigenous research method and process were utilized to tell or present the participants’ story. In short, this investigation applied Arts Based Practices in relation to data presentation (telling the story), through story and other mediums of art. It’s also important to note that western research terminology is placed in parenthesis to aid the reader in ways that I attempted to situate Indigenous practices within the field of research.

**Indigenous Storywork Protocol (ISP)**

Indigenous Storywork Protocol (ISP) integrates story into research, resulting in a decolonizing act. Story, especially the process of oral storytelling, disrupts a normalized colonial process; research. Therefore, through an Indigenous lens, the Indigenous researcher must hold the role of caretaker when involved in data collection, analysis, and presentation and situating Indigenous research within the academy. The culmination of
these processes results in Research as Ceremony (Wilson, 2008) and sets the stage for proper Indigenous research protocol. Research as Ceremony involves adhering to respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy (Archibald, 2008 & Wilson, 2008). It is important to note here that the center, in Indigenous thought, is always the aim. Just like the center of the earth (Omeyocan), refers to the place where Ometéotl resides. Ometéotl is the “Giver of Life” or creator (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 81). According to León-Portilla (1963), the Nahua people “aspired to discover the path which led to Ometéotl” (p. 81). Once you have reached the center, you have reached completedness or Ometéotl. Therefore, the outside circles are the practices to help you reach your goal; the innermost circle.
Conversational through Indigenous Storywork Protocol (ISP)
Indigenous Storywork Protocol (ISP) is the overlay to every component in the methodology. These components include the research questions, conversation as method, meaning making through the lens of Tribal Critical Race Theory and other scholars, and ceremonial display using arts-based research with the goal of research as ceremony. It’s important to note that this process is not a hierarchy but a circular process.
The Seven Principles

Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous Storywork seven theoretical principles guide the protocol for adhering to research as ceremony, including adhering to respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. These seven principles as the overlay to the components in the methodology also change the way traditional methods are conducted and include an Indigenous lens and practice to research.

Respect

It is vital that research depicts Indigenous people truthfully, void of misrepresentation or stereotype. The investigation acknowledged Indigenous understanding, customs, and traditions without a settler colonial scope. Finally, accountability towards Indigenous communities being studied was implemented. As such, Indigenous participants had primary access to the results and maintained control regarding the reporting of the results (Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008).

Responsibility

Rigney’s (1999) Indigenist Research Methodology requires three fundamental and interrelated principles: (1) Resistance as the emancipatory imperative in Indigenist research; (2) Political integrity in Indigenous research; and (3) Privileging Indigenous voices in Indigenist research. Resistance as the emancipatory imperative in Indigenist
research is a historical investigation regarding the physical, cultural, and emotional genocide (Rigney) placed on Indigenous communities. It is also an investigation revealing survivance (Vizenor, 1998; Vizenor and Lee, 1999) against oppression. Moreover, it is research that integrates healing personally, communally, culturally, and politically (Rigney, 1999). Political integrity in Indigenist research insists that Indigenous communities must set their own political plan for emancipation. As Walters, Simoni and Evans-Campbell (2002) state, through their Indigenist Stress-Coping Paradigm, an inclusive research process must include Indigenous communities and elders as to reduce further repetition of colonizing research methods. Therefore, it is vital that an Indigenous person from that community conduct the research in union with the community; creating a social link between research and the political endeavor of the collective (Rigney, 1999).

The third fundamental principle is privileging Indigenous voices in research. It is through this means that Indigenist studies “focuses on the lived, historical experiences, ideas, traditions, dreams, interests, aspirations, and struggles of Indigenous peoples” (Rigney, p. 117). Although Rigney states that Indigenist research pertains primarily to Indigenous Australians, the investigator applied Rigney’s fundamental principles to the participants of this study. Through that means, Indigenist research gives voice to Indigenous people. That being said, the researcher ensured that they were accountable, both to their institutions and to their communities equally (Rigney). The participants of this research
are people whose aim is to benefit and communicate the Indigenous struggle for self-determination. Indigenist research is also very honestly political as Rigney’s intent is to reveal overt and covert harmful oppressions, which have become our reality.

**Reciprocity (Methods of Trustworthiness)**

Wilson (2008) explains trustworthiness, validity, believability, and reliability as a type of reciprocity and asks researchers to ensure that there is not an unequal balance of power where the association between researcher and participant gains advancement and power at the exploitation of the other. Furthermore, the researcher conveyed to the participant they are willing to be attentive to the story. By listening attentively to each other, story as method raised the investigation from an extractive means to a holistic means grounded firmly within the scope of relationality (Kovach, 2009). In linking validity and accuracy the below validation methods were used.

**Reverence (Methods of Validity)**

Storytelling is a personal act and raises questions about the validity of knowledge (Kovach, 2009). Does relationality imply inner experience rather than fact? Does inner experience taint evidence of concrete knowledge? From a western perspective this is known as research validity which falls heavily on that which can be tested, is true. From an Indigenous perspective, truth is held as a sacred undertaking. As Stevenson (2000) says, “So when the Old People accept tobacco from one seeking knowledge, and when
they share the pipe, they are saying that they will tell the truth as they know it. They are bound in the presence of the Creator as witness to speak from the heart, to speak their truth” (p.249). Therefore, it is important for the storyteller to emanate from a place of prayer and be mindful of their discourse used as this creates a collective knowledge, cultural understanding, and the consciousness of a people (Kovach, 2009). The investigator partook in this type of reverence, in which the stories told by the participants were truth, not needing to be tested but held as sacred.

**Holism**

A collaborative partnership may take on the role of participants creating interview questions, engage in data collection and analysis, and designing the layout of the final report. The investigator’s accounted for voice and representation in the data collection and analysis. Which included family members checking and approving transcripts of the stories in order to ensure accurate representation and checking and analyzing how the data was presented. In this act of co-creating knowledge, story represents listening, learning, an inner-knowing and reflexivity in research. This level of participation in storytelling is crucial in co-constructing understanding from an Indigenous lens (Kovach, 2009).
Interrelatedness

Oral traditions allow stories to be fluid, constantly changing creations, entwined with the relationality amidst speaker and listener. (Kovach, 2009). It is for this reason that rigid structured interviews were not employed as they do not align with oral stories which are fluid in nature. Nor do they align with the relational disposition in Indigenous research. This investigation engaged in conversation as method which is in line with Indigenous beliefs that included a processes equivalent to conversation. Conversational methods include open-ended designs which are fluid enough to welcome Indigenous oral tradition (Kovach).

Synergy

The exchange of story relates between participant and researcher that the stories told are told in truth as each person knows it. Furthermore, an awareness is created in that the participant's story was ingrained into the social and historical underpinnings of the community creating a historical truth (Kovach, 2009). This type of synergy necessitates acceptance in the storyteller’s morality, creating a relational balance. Therefore, if relational balance is not culturally valued, methods of ‘validity’ would have been unsuccessful. Relational validity is only incomprehensible if one’s view differs from this Indigenous viewpoint. As Kovach states, “From a methodological perspective, researchers who employ story as part of their research framework will need to be aware
of the objectivity bias in research so as to support their own claims” (p.103). In holding respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy throughout the research process, the investigator engaged in a research protocol that allowed a space in building and maintaining relationships with participants. The next section will discuss how my family members were selected as participants.

**Research Questions**

This Indigenous storywork inquiry looked at how colonization impacts identity through the generations, specifically through the lenses of education and historical trauma. The overarching research question guiding this inquiry asked: How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization? The following sub questions asked:

- How is knowledge generated within a family context?
- How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?
- What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?

These research questions were designed to elicit emergent themes as they are open ended and exploratory (Uhrmacher, Moroye, & Flinders, 2017). It is also important to implement an interview strategy to ensure the research questions align with the interview questions (Appendix B).
Collecting Stories (Data Collection)

Gathering of Stories: Conversation as Method

Kovach (2009) views the gathering of stories as conversation as method, different from formal structured or semi-structured interviews that enforce outside parameters on the participant’s narrative. An open-structured conversational method utilizes respect for the participant’s story, creating a space where participants control what they prefer to share within answering the interview questions. Utilizing open-structured methods, I then improvisationally replied to the stories, actively listening and gaining understandings. This process of sharing stories provokes memory and possibly emotions, requiring that I be prepared. Indigenous research frameworks are positioned with a decolonizing initiative aimed towards healing and transformation. This may involve decolonization on a micro or macro level encouraging me to be aware of such responsibilities associated when using conversation as method (Kovach, 2009).

Therefore, utilizing conversation as method in the data collection process included: (1) the gathering of stories in conversation; (2) deviating from formal interview questions; and utilizing (3) warm, non-formal introductions (Kovach, 2009).

It should be my aim to culminate an environment that is comfortable enough to emanate reciprocity, authenticity and care. If the family members were not strained for time, a three-part conversation process was conducted with each family member,
spanning a three-week period. If the participants were unable to engage in a three-part conversation, interview two and three were combined. Each conversation was conducted one-on-one in a semi-structured fashion and lasting approximately 15-120 minutes. Telephone interviews were conducted due to access of location and financing. As Novick (2008) explains, “Reported advantages of telephone interviews include decreased cost and travel, ability to reach geographically dispersed respondents, ability to oversee interviewers (Aday, [1996]), and enhanced interviewer safety (Bernard, [2002])” (p. 391). Researchers engaged in telephone interviews suggest that contact or rapport must be established in person, before administering telephone interviews (Burke & Miller, 2001; Carr & Worth, 2001). Because a rapport and familiarity had been established prior to these interviews, it made telephone conversations possible. Before the first conversation, the participants were asked to complete a consent form (see Appendix G). Open-ended questions were used to elicit participants’ perceptions and descriptions of the formation of identity through the generations. If the conversation deviated from the interview questions, I respected and encouraged the deviation in order to stay true to conversation as method.

These conversations as method were audio-recorded with the consent of the participant. After each conversation, transcriptions were completed. Notes regarding the process were documented, which supplied the possibility for additional questions in the
subsequent interviews. This three-part conversation process allowed for vital trust-building amidst myself and participant; producing rich, detailed communication and discussion regarding the story inquiry investigation. In sum, a total of 30 interviews were conducted with the 11 living participants to gain insights across the lived experiences of 26 participants. In the ensuing sections, I outline the purposes and structure of each conversation session.

**Conversation 1: Introduction and building trust.** The purpose of the first conversation was to create an environment that is relaxed and encourages trust, collaboration, authenticity, care, and reciprocity all while participants are asked to share their backgrounds and experiences (see Appendix J). These are foundational concepts for creating a relationship between the researcher and the participant that allow for deep, rich conversation (Wilson, 2008). Prior to the conversation, participants were asked to review, acknowledge, and sign their consent to participate in the investigation. A copy of the consent form was provided containing pertinent information regarding the investigation, the purpose of the study, benefits and risks involved, and a request for audio-recording. My own personal motivations for conducting the study, including my background and experiences, which were conveyed to the participants. Initial questions prompted the participants to share their own backgrounds, educational experiences, and stories. The first round of conversations engaged participants in reflecting upon their identities and
family, racial, ethnicity as well as the link between the two. Particular stories were encouraged as well as in-the-moment perceptions regarding their personal happenstances. At the end of the first interview, the second interview was scheduled, the participants were invited to reflect on their experiences and express them at the next meeting.

**Conversation 2: Reflexivity and insights.** The aim of the second conversation was to clarify experiences revealed during the first interview, to uncover insights roused by the discussion, and to investigate particular experiences of identity formation through the generations (see Appendix K). The conversation began with a short reflection of the first conversation which inspired new thoughts or questions that needed to be discussed and clarified. The primary part of the conversation included a discussion of any questions that arose from the first preliminary analysis of the primary conversation. The family members had a chance to elucidate and or expand on their stories and experiences. The second part of the conversation centered in great detail on family members’ educational experiences. Specifically, the questions centered around their perceptions of race, racism, racialization, experiences, and relationships, as well as its impacts on their educational experiences. Variations of the following conversation were asked: What role did your family play in your educational journey?; What is your earliest memory about going to school?; What were your experiences like in K-12 education?; How have your racial/ethnic/cultural identities shown up in your education? At the end of the
conversation, family members were asked to reflect on the preceding conversation and share their perspectives. If time permitted and the participant was available, a third and final conversation was then scheduled. If the participant was not available for a third conversation, conversation two and three were combined.

**Conversation 3: Participation, Reflection and Arts-Based Practices.** The purpose of the third and final conversation was to understand family members’ perspectives regarding their educational experiences, identity, identity formation, and settler colonialism as expressed through Arts-Based Practices. The conversation began with another reflection and opportunity for family members to share their thoughts and feelings through the course of the research study process and its impact, if any, on their identities and identity formation. Clarifying questions were asked in relation to the stories shared in the last two interviews. Next, family members were asked to share their thoughts on what their identities mean in relation to education. At the conclusion of the interview, the family members were asked to share their final thoughts and ask any questions related to the progression of the study, which included a member checking process, in which participants had the opportunity to validate the accuracy and authenticity of the findings. Uhrmacher, Moroye, and Flinders, (2017) refer to the member checking process as referential adequacy and deem it a necessary aspect of validity. The member checking process was conducted at the conclusion of the data.
analysis process. Participation in Arts-based Practices was encouraged but not pushed with each participant.

**Meaning Making through Tribal Critical Race Theory (Data Analysis)**

Tribal Critical Race Theory was the means in which the meaning of the data was made and analyzed. As Brayboy (2005) explains in TribalCrit, academic discord, displeasure, and multiple means of separation remain prevalent by numerous Indigenous people as a result of their experiences with westernized/settler colonial practices of education. Through this first tenet, the perpetuation of settler colonialism is revealed, and the system is seen for what it is allowing the deconstruction of colonizing practices to be possible (Brayboy). By using TribalCrit to analyze the data, established practices of academic knowledge are challenged. Therefore, in decolonizing research, the Indigenous investigator must be reminded that the Western academic world of research has long silenced the actuality of knowledge held by Indigenous people as seen in Indigenous-settler colonial relations. Furthermore, it’s important to note that historical and systematic oppression are ingrained in Indigenous-settler colonial relations that directly impact educational policy, practice and research (Kovach, 2009). By utilizing TribalCrit, Indigenous investigators engaged in decolonizing work are able to look at areas they themselves have conformed to settler colonialism before confronting the academic institution in which they received their training (Smith, 2012). By doing so, Indigenous
existence within Western institutions brings forth Indigenous belief, practices, and ways of being; causing Western institutions to take notice of different and sometimes contrasting theories, scholars, and research practices (Kovach, 2009). Indigenous research creates a space for Indigenous investigators to enter “the tightly guarded academic research community” as well as create a space for Indigenous investigators to better serve their communities (Kovach, p.156). This aligns with Brayboy’s ninth tenant in which Brayboy (2005) insists that research must take on the role of praxis.

Designing novel conceptual strategies was paramount as these new strategies require looking at and creating relationships anew. Kovach (2009) states, “Through our minds, hearts, bodies and spirits we are pushing the edges here in these Western schools, we are taking a little bit of friggin’ space...” (p. 173). In creating space for Indigenous relationship building and research, it was important to look at research as ceremony. It is through this lens that relationship-building and community create the process for which the research is conducted. Research as ceremony looks and feels very different than Westernized research practices where the agenda of the research drives the protocol.

This process of data analysis does not align with traditional styles of Elder storytelling in which listeners are left to convey their own meaning to stories told. In Brayboy’s (2005) eighth tenet it is stressed that, “Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of
being” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 430). Therefore, when data analysis is aligned with traditional styles of storytelling everything is done in and with community. This enables the concept of Indigenous research in that giving participant voice throughout the data analysis process is held in the forefront. As Brayboy explains in his fifth tenet, notions of culture, knowledge, and power are re-defined when viewed through an Indigenous perspective. It should also be noted, that many other authors (Cajete, 1994; León-Portilla, 1963; Tuck and Gaztanbide-Fernandez, 2013; and San Miguel Jr. and Donato, 2010; to name a few) were used in aiding me in the data analysis. In other words, I went in thinking about Brayboy’s tenants but came out utilizing the ideas of several other authors.

Alongside participants, once the transcriptions were typed they then were analyzed. The investigator read through the transcribed interviews thoroughly, numerously, and discerned important statements or quotes. Once this step was completed, the typed transcriptions were sent to the participants who checked for accuracy and added, deleted, or clarified the conversation; thus becoming a collaborative process (Wilson, 2008) or what Smith (2012) describes as an “all community approaches process- that is, methodology and method–is highly important. In many projects the process is far more important than the outcome” (p. 130-131). For this reason, when analyzing transcriptions with participants, I engaged in respectful practices, as Indigenous research should allow people to heal, to educate, and engage in self-determination. Brayboy’s
(2005) fourth tenet aligns with the process of self-determination explaining that Indigenous people want to engage and name their rights to “tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification” (p. 433).

**Ceremonial Display (Data Presentation)**

Data analysis when presented in the written form disrupts an Indigenous paradigm. Indigenous thought and practice requires experiential ways of knowing that don’t often correlate to the written word. That being said, the investigator acknowledges that this is a dissertation and dissertations require data of some sort being written. There are options to present data that include the written word and to acknowledge and engage in oral storytelling. Presenting data through the written word will be used in this study through literary license or what is also known as narrative inquiry (Leavy, 2015). Oral storytelling can be accomplished through digital storytelling. According to Gubrium (2009), “Digital stories can influence indigenous healthiness and resilience by offering a means of owning and being able to tell one’s own story” (p.187). Digital storytelling offers a way to partake in conveying of the data using oral storytelling and pictures. It is here where one can engage in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices. Arts-Based Decolonial Practices, in this investigation, involved the presenting of the data through flower (pictures) and song (oral poetry). This can result in various arts-based decolonial
practices to include digital storytelling, spoken poetry or storytelling and pictographs, or other Arts-Based Decolonial Practices.

In presenting song, Leavy (2015) states:

The representation of the data in poetic form can help the researcher evoke different meanings from the data...Poetry can interrupt traditional ways of knowing and help us see differently and thus may be particularly appealing to those conducting identity research or seeking to express alternative or nondominant viewpoints. (p. 299)

It’s important to note that when engaged in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices, that oral poetry be represented as the focus in decolonizing the written form. In presenting flower, Leavy goes on to explain that visual images are an expression of communication and reveal and evoke new perspectives. Furthermore, visual art has the capacity to challenge observers’ perceptions all while deriving a multitude of meanings. Through digital storytelling, one is able to present both flower and song create a form of Indigenous digital storytelling. Iseke (2011) notes that Indigenous digital storytelling provides a lens through which Indigenous people witness stories of their communities. This type of Indigenous digital storytelling centers Indigenous traditions, ceremonies, elders, and ancestors (Thomas, 2005). An example of this type of Indigenous digital storytelling or ceremonial display (data presentation) was used in investigating my researcher role and will be presented in the next section.
It is through Arts-Based Research (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Leavy, 2015) that one can move deeper into Indigenous research methodologies and processes; something that Indians have been practicing since the beginning of time (Anzaldúa, 2007; Baca, 2008; Cajete, 1994; León-Portilla, 1963; Smith, 2012). Anzaldúa (2007) says that the “ethno-poetics and performance of the shaman, my people, the Indians, did not split the artistic from the functional, the sacred from the secular, art from everyday life. The religious, social and aesthetic purposes of art are all intertwined” (p. 88). Baca (2008) reminds us that value is found in all forms of representation, not solely through the written form and non-alphabetized language and writing invites and progresses knowledge of parallel composition while still analyzing the bureaucracy of writing today. Cajete (1994) explains that art transforms the growth of human learning. León-Portilla (1963) mentions that the poetry of the Nahuas depicts a high regard for their Toltec ancestors, even when speaking about artists (singers, painters, sculptors, potters), it is recognized that one was a “Toltec” or labored like a “Toltec” (p. 68) Smith (2012) states:

The project of creating is about transcending the basic survival mode through using a resource or capability that every indigenous community has retained throughout colonization—the ability to create and be creative. The project of creating is not just about the artistic endeavors of the individual, but about the spirit of creating that Indigenous communities have exercised over thousands of years. (p. 159)

Looking at pre-colonized forms of communication or non-alphabetized language and writing lies in the importance of examining and showing the many forms and modes of
communication. Through this means, it is evident that knowledge sources don’t lie solely inside institutions of higher learning. But rather, knowledge sources are everywhere especially within our rich cultures and backgrounds.

As Barone and Eisner (2012) explain, Arts-Based Research (ABR) is an endeavor to expand farther past the restraint of dialogue in being able to demonstrate wonderings that would otherwise be incommunicable. Pre-colonization, the earliest known demonstrations were seen in pictographs as early as 50,000 BCE (Gregorian Calendar) in Piaui, Brazil (Baca, 2008). In Nauhatl these demonstrations were evident in what is now known as huehuetlahtolli (weh-weh-tlah-toh-lee), or “proper discourse” or “discourse of the ancestors” (Baca, 2008, p. 70; León-Portilla, 1963). It is important to note here that although these pictographs were pre-colonization era they are not pre-literacy (Baca). To name huehuetlahtolli as pre-literacy is to situate Mesoamerican oratory and written practices in a settler colonial lens of alphabetic hierarchy (Baca).

Arts-Based Decolonial Practices engages and delivers research in pre-colonization form, Huehuetlahtolli, pictograph rhetoric and codex history (Baca, 2008; León-Portilla, 1963). Amoxtli and pictographic writing systems are believed to derive from three Mesoamerican societies, the Teotihuacáños, the Zapotec, and the Olmec, in what is today known as Mexico and the southwest United States (Baca, 2008). Because parts of present day Mexico and New Mexico (my community) were known to be home to the Aztecs
(Baca, 2008; León-Portilla, 1963), the literacies/pictographs described in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices focus on language (Nahuatl), poetics and art by the Aztecs. Aztec poetics and art includes similar interpretations, constant phrases, and difrasismo; defined as the combination of two concrete terms to represent an abstract meaning (Baca, 2008; León-Portilla, 1963). It is through this figurative expression that meaning is conveyed, as seen in paintings (xochitl/flower) and poetry (cuicatl/song) (Baca, 2008; León-Portilla, 1963). Flower and song consists of pictorial images producing visual communication as seen in figures, icons and symbols, signifying thought, ideas, and imagery (Baca, 2008). Through the viewpoint of Arts-Based Decolonial Practices, value is found in all forms of representation and literacies, not solely through the written form found in settler colonial languages (Baca, 2008; León-Portilla, 1963). Speaking of the written form being a construction of settler colonialism, it is noted that the dissertation process as a whole is a manifestation of settler colonialism; one that I must partake in in order to receive a doctorate degree. It is therefore vital to practice research as ceremony when engaged in the dissertation process.

**Research as Ceremony**

Research as Ceremony (Wilson, 2008) was used as the ultimate goal, or the center, in decolonizing the research process. Although the research process is listed here as a hierarchy (Indigenous Storywork Protocol, Research Questions, Conversation as
Method, Meaning Making, Ceremonial Display, and Research as Ceremony) it is a circular process where I begin with the protocol as noted by Archibald (2008) and end with Wilson (2008). The reason why Archibald and Wilson are used together is because they both complement each other's work and Archibald’s protocol strictly is for storytelling and storytelling in education. I utilized Wilson to aid me in tying storytelling and protocol with the research process. Wilson (2008) notes that Research as Ceremony requires relationship-building in which the researcher comprehends the responsibility that comes with bringing stories into fruition, or voicing (making visible) an existing story. Wilson states:

The new relationship has to respect all of the other relationships around it. Forming and strengthening connections gives power to and helps the knot between to grow larger and stronger. We must ensure both sides in the relationship are sharing the power going into these new connections. (p. 79)

Therefore, accountability towards reverent and reciprocal unions became my axiology. Although there are aspects of storytelling in the data presentation piece, research as ceremony (Wilson, 2008) along with Archibald (2008) are used for protocol and relationality when interacting with the participants whereas the aspects used in presenting the data were informed through arts-based research (Barone & Eisner, 2012; Gubrium, 2009; Leavy, 2015) and flower and song (León-Portilla, 1963).
Family Members (participants)

It’s important to note that the family members, at the time of this study, do not identify as Indigenous, except for myself. Therefore, the term Indigenous when applied to the participants historically, situates the participants as being tied to place (New Mexico), which was not only occupied by Mesoamerican Indians, but also by pueblos and nations Indigenous to New Mexico, from which the participants have ancestry. That being said, a total of 26 of my Indigenous family members were sought for this story inquiry. The criteria for participant selection is different based on if they are living or deceased. Below is a list of the participants and the criteria, broken up into two groups (those that are living and those that are deceased):

**Deceased family members.** The importance of collecting stories of deceased family members lies in the importance of giving voice to their stories as well as the historical importance of their lives. For example, my great grandpa Matias Naranjo born 1894 in New Mexico, was born right after the Mexican-American war and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Gathering his stories provided a narrative to the conditions and life experiences as a result of the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Since I am unable to speak to my great grandpa Tomas, as well as the other deceased participants, I utilized the stories of the living participants as well as documents to gather their stories and lived experiences. The following is a list of criteria for
participant selection: (a) born before the 1900s, from my maternal or paternal side of the family; (b) born after the 1900s, from my maternal or paternal side of the family; (b) born in what is today known as New Mexico; (c) have been involved with education in some form (through the community or formal education); (d) whose life can be retold through living family members or documents and (e) have been impacted by settler colonialism and historical trauma in some way.

1. Maternal grandfather (1884-1957: New Mexico; Santiago Flores)
2. Maternal grandmother (1885-1974: New Mexico; Sofia Flores)
3. Maternal grandma (1913-2011: New Mexico; Isabella Flores)
4. Maternal grandpa (1908-2001: New Mexico; Mateo Flores)
5. Maternal grandmother (1915-2010: New Mexico; Valentina Flores)
6. Maternal grandma (1942-1988: New Mexico; Camilla Flores)
7. Paternal grandpa (1849-unknown: New Mexico; Miguel Naranjo)
8. Paternal grandpa (1894-1973: New Mexico; Matias Naranjo)
10. Paternal grandmother (1897-1989: New Mexico; Ximena Naranjo)
11. Paternal grandpa (1897-1989: New Mexico; Alejandro Naranjo)
12. Paternal grandpa (1921-1993: New Mexico; Diego Naranjo)
13. Paternal grandma (1928-2017: New Mexico; Natalia Naranjo)
14. Paternal aunt (1952-2011: New Mexico; Catalina Naranjo)

15. Paternal uncle (1950s-Unknown; New Mexico; Sebastian Naranjo)

Due to the lack of documents and living members who could recall stories from before the 1870s, the number of participants of this time period was limited.

**Living family members.** The importance of collecting stories of living family members lies in the importance of giving voice to their stories as well as the historical importance of their lives and the impacts of settler colonialism through the generations. The following is a list of criteria for living participant selection: (a) lived or living in what is today known as New Mexico; (c) have been involved with education in some form (through the community or formal education); (d) ages 24 and older, (e) who are able to reflect upon their experiences of identity development; and (f) have been impacted by settler colonialism and historical trauma in some way. All names listed below are pseudonyms (except my first name).

16. Great aunt (Born 1935: New Mexico; Felecita Naranjo)

17. Great aunt (Born 1938: New Mexico; Elena Flores)

18. Second cousin (Born 1960: New Mexico; Rose Naranjo)

19. Second cousin (Born 1960: New Mexico; Theresa Naranjo)

20. Mom (Born 1961: New Mexico; Maria Flores)

21. Dad (Born 1961: New Mexico; Ignacio Naranjo)
22. Uncle (Born 1964: New Mexico; Ricardo Flores)
23. Myself (Born 1982: Colorado; Michelle Naranjo)
24. Sister (Born 1986: New Mexico; Maricella Naranjo)
25. Brother (Born 1992: New Mexico; Sam Naranjo)
26. Cousin (Born 1994: New Mexico; Anthony Naranjo)

Due to unknown living family members born between the 1940s-1970s, this decade was left out. Furthermore, I limited the amount of living participants born past the 1990s in order to reduce the number of participants because of time constraints. The next section will focus on how these participants stories were collected.

**On data saturation.** When data collection and data analysis occur together, it provides as much data as possible to be collected. While other qualitative traditions pursue the point of data saturation, in which data is collected to the point that no more meaning is uncovered, Indigenous storywork inquiry focuses more on the collaboration and relationship building required as a result of this interaction. A key element in Indigenous storywork inquiry is to focus on the investigator/participant relationship in which both investigator and participant grew and developed as a result of the exchange. Additionally, with each participant story told, literary license, also known as narrative inquiry, was used to recreate the story as told by the participant (Leavy, 2015). These stories are works of creative non-fiction and member checked with the participant for
accuracy. Within the participant's story, I gained insight into the participants individual experiences. Thus there is less focus on saturation and more focus on relationality and growth. Indeed, while the purpose of this inquiry is twofold: first, to examine the implications of settler colonialism on identity through the generations; and second, to examine identity development at the intersection of historical trauma and education, I accepted that this inquiry cannot, and should not, be the sole, penultimate understanding of this lived experience. Again, this exploration is context-bound and situated in the current understandings of myself, the researcher and learner, and the participants, the experts, at one point in time. There will always be opportunities for further inquiries into this qualitative inquiry under different contexts. Even with this point in mind, data collection efforts in Indigenous storywork inquiry seek to uncover as much rich, detailed information as possible and the three-part interview process was useful for achieving this goal. The next section investigated methods of ethical consideration.

Methods of Ethical Considerations

Indigenous Research in a Good Way-Ethics and Reciprocity

Four key principles were ethically proposed when working with this Indigenous population: (1) ownership; (2) control; (3) access; and (4) possession (Kovach, 2009; Schnarch, 2004). Ownership implies that a community possesses cultural understanding or data as a whole and so the community’s permission is necessary to utilize its
knowledge. Control maintains that Indigenous people are guaranteed to guide all forms of research conducted on them. This includes, the development of research frameworks, data collection, and analysis. Access allows Indigenous people the right to retrieve and scrutinize data concerning them and their communities. Possession indicates the tangible possession of data. Through these Indigenous investigative principles the aim lied in decolonizing the Indigenous-Western investigative interrelationship, providing investigators straight forward guidance in determining if the proposed research is damaging or beneficial to Indigenous people. Therefore, the researcher participant relationship demanded trust and relationship-building (Wilson, 2008). Overall, the process designed when engaged in ethical considerations required a clear protocol.

In order to avoid any unethical practices, a project consent form was created and utilized before conducting this investigation. Participants were given a consent form detailing the benefits and risks of the investigation. While some participants expressed a direct benefit (non-monetarily) of this study, their views also informed a deeper knowledge of the underlying meaning, regarding the impacts of settler colonialism. Participants were notified that they were not required to answer any question and could withdraw from the investigation at any point. The data collected from the investigation (e.g., interview recordings, demographic information, transcriptions, artifacts, detailed notes and other documents) were kept in a password-protected, cloud-based server and
computer, to which only the researchers had access. Identifying information was deleted from the inventory and participants were identified only by age, race, and gender. A rigorous protocol was enacted to safeguard the confidentiality of the participants.

All family members were assured that their participation was in no way an obligation of our kinship, and that at any time, they could refuse to answer any question, create a pseudonym, or simply terminate their consent to be interviewed. All family members signed a detailed form specifying their consent to be interviewed and audio-taped for this research and for me to publish their results for the purpose of this dissertation. As part of the consent process, all participants who felt discomfort during the interview were given the option to end the interview or pass on interview questions. Family members were assured that their audio recordings were not archived, only used for the purpose of the research.

**Potential Limitations of the Study**

As previously noted, I recognize that the findings and results produced in this investigation are bound by the conditions and the subjectivities of the participants and myself. In and of itself, this may be seen as a restriction. However, these investigative limitations, through the lens of story inquiry, remind one that, “...narrative, often figurative or literary in character... display the essential and often subtle qualities of the situation experienced….Descriptions of events experienced ‘freezes’ aspects of life so
that we may contemplate their meaning” (Uhrmacher, Moroye, & Flinders, 2017). Additionally, the illuminative nature of qualitative inquiry reveals the conditions and understandings of the study as unique to the specific investigation, thus claims made should be humble and sensible (Rossman & Rallis, 2011).

First, a limitation to the study is that the consent form stated that all audio recordings would be deleted. Although this is a necessary step in protecting participant identity, because this is an investigation that promotes storytelling, especially orally, it would have been beneficial to save the audio recordings of participants telling their stories, if permission was granted. Through this means, the voices of the participants could have been used in the digital storytelling aspect of data presentation.

Second, the formulation of the sample may be of potential concern. The representation of identity formation as a result of settler colonialism may be a potential limitation as the unpredictable nature of the sampling process can influence which participants are willing to participate and who identify as either Native American, Mexican American, Mexican, Indigenous, Hispanic, New Mexican or Spanish. With the minimal sample size, it is vital that I attempt to achieve a heterogeneous sample in terms of ethnic identity, gender, and other demographic makeups or identities.

Third, as a result of trepidation or distaste to the possible uneasiness of the questions, participants may limit their disclosure. Furthermore, participants may answer
questions in socially-acceptable ways or to please the researcher. Through these potential situations trust and relationship-building are vital. The importance of sharing honest viewpoints were discussed with participants, reminding them that their viewpoints and experiences, through various means, add to the overall understanding of how settler colonialism impacts identity through the generations.

**Researcher Role and Reflexivity**

My path to identity development has not been linear and at times has been confusing. I realize now that my identity as a “Hispanic” never made sense to me without a connection to my Indigenous knowledge. In retrospect, this makes sense. Hispanic is a settler colonial term, meant to strip Indigenous identity from a person. I have moved from the label of Hispanic into the realm of *Mestiz@*. I am aware that nationalist terms such as Latino or Chicano can also be applied to me. In my community, terms such as Mexican or Hispanic or Spanish were used. If asked, I say I identify as a *Nuevomexican@*, Chicana, and of *Genizaro* descent. However, I feel I am moving away from the space of in-between or of mixed blood (*Mestiz@*) to a deeper more conscious path of Indigeneity, which lies in the realm of Indigenous Chican@-*Genizar@*. I am engaging in this investigation as a way back to my roots. And since family is such a big part of my culture, I’ve asked them to come along on this journey. This is important as finding face (identity formation) for Indigenous people does not occur without community.
Data Collection of Researcher Role

In an attempt to delve deeper into the role of researcher, I’ve engaged in an Arts-Based practice called digital storytelling. As Gubrium (2009) mentions, digital stories can positively impact Indigenous people through the telling of their personal story. Therefore, it was through the process of poetic inquiry and visual art (Leavy, 2015) that I began to investigate and tell my own story, resulting in a digital storytelling. The digital story is broken up into three segments. Each segment shows the process of my self-investigation. The first segment, I’ve colored in red (a representation of anger) and in the background is the sound of a heartbeat. The transition between the two clips is broken by the trickling of water (representative of healing). The second segment is colored black and white (representative of me connecting to my ancestors) and in the background calm music plays. The transition played in-between these two clips is the sound of a tape recorder rewinding or moving forward, depending on how it is interpreted (representative of me connecting to my Indigenous roots). The third segment is colored in sepia (representative of finding balance and harmony), while happy music plays in the background. Below are snippets of my digital story with first, the poetic transcriptions. The poetic transcriptions is then followed by the visual art, which I produced as I read the poems in the digital story. Warning: This visual art does contain nudity as it is a drawing of Coatlicue (Koh-at-lee-kway). I made the decision not to put clothes on her, as to cover her up felt like a
form of settler colonialism. This digital storytelling video can be seen at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/edit?o=U&video_id=SCz9Bn4kuUg

Segment 1

Audio: Heartbeat plays in the background.

Visual: The color red colors the screen. Moving hand is drawing.

Don't ask me to name my pain, there is no healing.

I’ve carried this poison in my body, in my mind, in my soul for far too long.

No relief from the pain.

The poison is in everything.

The academic air I breathe, the books I read, the stories not told.

It blinds me. A cloth wrapped over my eyes

Don't ask me what tribe I'm from, I do not know.

I carry the spirits of colonization and white supremacy.

¿Hablas Español?

Poco.

That too was taken from us. Our language, our Indigenous knowledge.

I'm a shell of myself.

Confused by mi raza

Wanting something that has long been removed. Not passed down.
I'm alone.

No, not alone.

The spirits of colonization and white supremacy are always here.

I do not know who I am. They have taken everything.

My body no longer holds me. My spirit is dormant. They have made their home inside of me.

There is no healing.

Transition 1

Audio: drops of water

Visual: blank screen

Segment 2

Audio: tranquil music plays in the background

Visual: Black and white colors the screen. Moving hand is drawing.

I believe my ancestors are with me along this journey of identity work, their sacrifices have led me to where I am now. Their hands guide me as I capture the essence of the stories and struggles they lived. They guide me in the direction I need to go for the most growth, to reclaim a part of me that was lost. My story is their story. We are reconnecting to our Indigenous past, connecting it to the present, so it may be carried into the future. I believe they want this as much for me as I want this for myself.
Transition 2

Audio: sound of tape recorder rewinding

Visual: Sepia colors the screen. Moving hand is drawing.

“The Brown emerge”

Created from clay,
this form we take,
The coming together of
all the races.
From the East comes the
Red.
The rising sun and
new knowledge.
From the South comes the
Yellow.
The south winds to bring seeds
for nourishment.
From the West comes the
Black.
The end of day when we hold our ceremonies
and speak to the Great Spirit.

From the North comes the

White.

The white winter snow that cleanses Mother Earth,
giving her rest and restores her for Spring.

All of the colors fit into

me

In my body.

A body,

made from earth,

Mother Earth. Coatlicue (Koh-at-lee-kway)

From the ground,

I rise,

From the ground,

I climb

I remember

that which I am made of.

I remember

From where I come

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From Mother Earth

I

transpire.

Made from creation

Up from the ground

We surface.

Figure 3. 2 Coatlicue

*Adapted from the original Coyolxauhqui stone at Templo Mayor Museum, Mexico City and https://www.pinterest.com/pin/416020084301935049/
Here I am practicing xochitl (flower). This act of arts-based decolonial practices is taking place on the back of my first draft of my dissertation, symbolizing an integration of Indigenous knowledge into a colonized creation, known as research.

My choice of data collection stems largely from what the Aztecs call xochitl (flower) and cuicatl (song), meaning visual representation and poetry, as this was the same methods used by the Aztecs in finding their face (identity) (León-Portilla, 1963). For example, a poem written by a 16th century scribe depicts the Aztecs engaging in not only flower and song but also dance (León-Portilla). As to engage in finding face was a ceremonial event (León-Portilla) as depicted below:

I sing the pictures of the book
   As I unfold [its pages]
I am like the flowery parrot
   As I make the codex pages speak
   Inside the house of the picture-writings (p. 72)

Mesoamerican rhetoric made use of the whole body “through choreography, recitation, chanting, and choral production. The flowery parrot is a metaphor for vitality and spirituality. References to flower and song reinforce the sacred association with the act of writing” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 72).

Another connection to my Indigenous roots lies in the petroglyphs located in New Mexico. This is another form of flower, or in New Mexico it is called rock art or pictographs. Through this process I have begun to find healing.
New Mexico is the site of many petroglyphs or pictographs. Some may even call the above rock art. No matter the name, this is an Indigenous form of communication, millennia old. By situating the communication utilized by my Indigenous ancestors of my community into my research investigation, I’m positioning Indigenous people as the first holders and creators of communication.
**Chapter Summary**

This study explored the experiences of family members impacted by settler colonialism through the generations. Generational consideration of this topic was given as well as participants’ various constructions of identity formation. These considerations included the impact of settler colonialism on the participants’ lives, and their recommendations for individuals who have gone through similar traumatic experiences. Utilizing a purposive sample of 26 family members impacted by settler colonialism, this research focused on the aftermaths of settler colonialism, and institutions or systems that further caused or further prevented trauma. While my perspective from within the community as a family member gives me a certain lens in which to view settler colonialism, it was necessary to incorporate strategies in minimizing the impact of further harm. Chapter Four reveals the findings of each Indigenous story told. Ceremonial display (data presentation) of each of the Indigenous stories as well as future research are presented in Chapter Five.
CHAPTER FOUR: EACH STORY TOLD

Introduction

This section focuses on each participant story told with the stories of the deceased interwoven throughout the stories of the living 11 participants. There are a total of 26 participants, 11 of these participants are living. Each participant was given a pseudonym with their real ages, birthdates and birthplaces given. This section starts with a paternal and maternal family tree, each participant story told, and an overview (presentation and analyzation) of the research questions in relation to each participant story told and participants’ experiences.

The maternal and paternal tree contain the deceased and living participants. The deceased participants are italicized, and the living participants are bolded. For the family members listed on the tree that aren’t bolded or italicized, these family members did not participate in the study but are listed to show the lineage of the family members that did participate in the study.

Each participant story told begins chronologically, from the oldest living participant to the youngest living participant. This was done purposefully as to not only show a sign of respect to my Elders but to also portray the differences of each story based on age. Furthermore, with each participant story told, literary license was used to recreate
the story as told by the participant. These stories are works of creative non-fiction and
member checked with the participant for accuracy.

After each participant story told, the Arts-Based Research (ABR) projects of those
who participated, will be showcased. One participant, Ricardo chose to participate in
ABR through the creation of a creative non-fiction short story. His creative short story
was taken from events of his childhood and are interwoven through his participant story
told. It should also be noted that although I encouraged each participant to participate in
Arts-Based Practices, it was not pushed. Therefore, the participants practiced self-
determination in not only the practice of Arts Based Decolonial Practices but Arts-Based
Practices and research as a whole. As a result, 5 out of the 11 participants participated in
Arts-Based Research. I, as a participant, chose to participate in Arts-Based Decolonial
Practices which will be included in the section of Ceremonial Display in Chapter five.
Family Tree

Figure 4. 1 Paternal Family Tree

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*Key
✓ Bold - Living Participants
✓ Italicized - Deceased Participants
✓ Normal font - non-participant family members
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Matías Naranjo (1894-1973)

Valeria Naranjo (1896-1988)

Diego Naranjo (1921-1993)

Catalina Naranjo (1952-2011)

Maria Flores age 55 (1961)

Anthony Naranjo age 24 (1993)

Marina Naranjo age 36 (1982)

Sam Naranjo age 27 (1991)

Sebastian Naranjo (1950s-Unknown)

Natalia Naranjo (1928-2017)

Ignacio Naranjo age 55 (1961)

Maricella Naranjo age 31 (1986)

Felecia Naranjo age 83 (1935)

Ximena Naranjo (1993-1975)

Theresa Naranjo age 57 (1960)

Rose's Mom

Diego Naranjo (1921-1993)

Anthony's Mom

Maria Flores age 55 (1961)

Sam Naranjo age 27 (1991)

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My phone pings with an incoming message, the name Aunt Felecita is displayed across my phone. As I open the text message, it’s a list of all her favorite Rudolfo Anaya books, *The Old Man’s Love Story*, *Aztlán*, *Albuquerque*, and *Bless Me, Ultima*. A couple
of romance novels are mentioned and then the message ends with happiness about me working towards my PhD and to keep up the good work. “Love you and stay safe” she says with added heart emojis.

Felecita, born in Cañon de Jemez, New Mexico in 1935 identifies as Spanish. She is the youngest of four children. Cañon de Jemez, where Felecita was born and grew up, is located in North-Central New Mexico. Surrounded by red rocks nestled amidst the Jemez mountains, the flow of the Jemez river can be heard running through the small populated town. Aunt Felecita describes her upbringing in Cañon de Jemez as one of community and family, recalling community potlucks and cultural events. Aunt Felecita said, “On my mom’s side, her parents lived right next to us when I was little. So we were right next to ... we were together all the time.” When she was little, she remembers her dad would go to the neighbors for corn, “because they always planted a lot of corn” she said. Alejandro, my great-grandfather, would bring the corn and put the corn in a big kettle over a fire. As evening rolled by, the neighbors would come around and “they would all sit down, and it was like a little potluck”, with everyone sharing the food they had brought. Aunt Felecita continues, “We would bring corn and they would bring biscuits and other stuff to eat, and us kids would play all the time.” Aunt Felecita describes growing up monetarily poor but rich in love because of love from the
community, “we were very poor, but like I tell my grandkids, we were poor, but we didn't know we were poor because there was a lot of love in our family and the community."

The community in Cañon de Jemez lived off of the land as the nearest grocery store was very far away. Aunt Felecita said it wasn’t acres and acres of land that her family owned. She said:

But we had enough to have a garden….And to grow alfalfa for the ...cattle. We had horses, chickens, and stuff like that. And so we had enough land to provide for the alfalfa, the corn for the crops for the animals, and then my mom used to do a lot of canning.

Aunt Felecita also describes a fruit orchard. The fruit from the orchard was used for canning. Canning is a time-intensive process that includes boiling the fruit in sugar and water and then adding it to cans for preservation. Ximena, my great-grandma, used to can and put food away for the winter. Meat, specifically beef would be pressure cooked and stored underground as a refrigerator was not accessible. The Naranjo household did not have running water nor electricity but utilized the closest ditch for running water and drinking water.

The boys in the family, helped great-grandpa Alejandro to work the land while the girls, helped great-grandma Ximena indoors. Aunt Felecita reflects on this memory saying:
I remember getting home from school and your Grandma Natalia, she would help my mom with all the ironing and whatever had to be done and my brothers would go outside and bring in the wood for the stove for the night or whatever. And my mom made me go for the mail. I don't know why we expected mail, but every day after school I had to walk about a mile to go get the mail and there was hardly ever any mail.

School was very important to great-grandma Ximena and great-grandpa Alejandro, they made sure the girls finished high school. Aunt Felecita says that her parents never went to school but remembers a picture of her mom standing outside of grade school. Aunt Felecita reflects on this image:

Way back when, I don't even know how...I never asked her. We never discussed how far she went into school, but I do remember seeing a picture of her from her brother, [he] sent me a picture of her one time of her being in a classroom....It's funny, I wish I would have asked this of my parents and I didn't.

While the girls finished high school, Felecita’s brothers completed 9th grade and grade school. Felecita states, “I think they mostly thought the men should get out and work. So I guess...and then my brother...joined the service, you know.”

The house where my Aunt Felecita grew up is no longer in the family. A couple of years ago she went and visited it and said it no longer looks the same:
So our parents' house has been sold out of the family...It was terrible. We were out there not too long ago, and it looked terrible. I mean it had a big front porch. It's not there. It looks like it's falling apart, and they put a trailer in the back and all kinds of junk all over the yard....It was so sad to see it like that.

Although the house in Cañon de Jemez no longer looks as it once did, the essence of family and community still remains. To this day, Aunt Felecita speaks about the importance of family, especially the bond she shared with her sister:

We were so close Michelle, it was...I still wanna tell her things. And you know that, I would talk to her, and she could talk to me, and we never repeated what we said to each other. We had a confidentiality bond. That we talked to each other and ... she had a real good common sense….She loved her family so much....Your family comes first.

My Aunt Felecita and my Grandma Natalia were great examples of love, being selfless and keeping the family together. Even if the house in Cañon de Jemez is no longer in the family, the love for family and community still remains.

**Elena Flores, age 80; Born in 1938**

The hustle and bustle of the restaurant and the waft of New Mexican food fills the air at El Serape. Aunt Elena is behind the stove with her sisters, cooking up a batch of
great-grandma Isabella’s recipe of *chile rellenos* and *chalupas*. The whole family helped out at the restaurant. Aunt Elena contemplates this time together saying:

> My aunt, her sister [great-grandma Isabella’s sister] would be the dishwasher, and her brother-in-law would be the janitor, and Rosie and I would be the cooks. So it was fun. It really was fun...I mean we had a real sense of unity and a real sense of oneness, cause we were all together, on this one endeavor.

Her brothers would also help at the restaurant once they finished with their day job as insurance brokers. In Santa Fe, NM, great-grandma Isabella previously ran many more restaurants in her venture as an entrepreneur. She opened a restaurant in the Desert Inn, the DeVargas Hotel and even ran a restaurant with her then husband Mateo in Las Vegas, NM before saving enough money to open up El Sarape.

Aunt Elena speaks of her mother in admiration stating:

> Mom was always such a go-getter, she was always doing something, she was always doing some kind of project….It was mom who instilled values in us as children. One I will never forget is that when someone needs help of any kind, especially family members, you go out of your way to help. Even if it requires you take that person into your home. You never turn anyone down if they need help. You always do the right thing.
Great-grandma Isabella also practiced the healing power of nature. During camping trips or outdoors in the wilderness she’d look for herbs and was often seen teaching her children and grandchildren about *ochá, herba del gato*, golden seal, and many more. Great-grandma Isabella was born in 1913 in Santa Fe, NM. She was born to Santiago Flores (1884-1957; New Mexico) and Sofia Flores (1885-1974; New Mexico). Her grandparents were one of the original land grant families given land from the United States in 1905. Great-grandma Isabella was one of five siblings but only grew up with her three sisters, as a result of her brother being stolen by the Apaches. Aunt Elena says:

so the girls were very independent... they would just get on the horses and they would ride, and they would do whatever guys would do... their dad [great-great grandpa Santiago] kind of showed them how to do men's stuff, like chop wood and go hunting and stuff like that... they grew up very independent, all my aunts did and my mom.

Many of great-grandma Isabella’s independence and entrepreneurial spirit came from her dad, Santiago Valdez. During the great depression (1929-1939) Santiago became a bootlegger in order to support his family during this time. Many times, in the middle of the night, great-grandma Isabella would be woken up by her dad in order to accompany him to his warehouse to make booze to get ready for selling. The stories of my great-

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grandma Isabella’s upbringing encouraged Aunt Elena to be bold and independent herself.

Aunt Elena, in her eighties, is a very independent and adventurous woman. Aunt Elena born in 1938, identifies as Spanish American. A retired teacher, she owns a grocery store and frequently travels out of town. Her most recent adventure, was a girl’s trip to the March Madness basketball tournament in Las Vegas, NV. Before Las Vegas, NV she traveled to Israel. Aunt Elena was also a first generation college student and attended the University of New Mexico (UNM) in the 1960s. When asked about her decisions to attend college she said she was greatly influenced by her older brother:

He was the one that would always try to encourage us to ... I think he's the one that took me and helped me get into college at UNM...Yeah, yeah, he took me, and he got the application and I filled it out and, but you know, I went to school because he made me go.

It was at UNM that she double majored in Education and Spanish.

As a result of her parents separating, Elena notes that her oldest brother took on the role of dad. Elena mentions, “We would always, and still do, go to him for advice. He started working, like most of us, during high school and contributed to [the] household bills.” To this day he still looks out for his siblings and the rest of his family. Her oldest brother is the one who's sponsoring the first ever Flores reunion this summer.
Theresa Naranjo, age 57; Born in 1960

The lyrics from Anita Ward’s “Ring My Bell” blasts from the speakers of the 1976 white Monte Carlo. The sunroof is open, taking in the night sky as Theresa and her friends cruise central (Albuquerque street). Theresa’s low rider is not the only lowrider cruising central on Friday nights. Cadillacs, Buicks and Le Mans with chain steering wheels, leather and velvet interiors, custom paint jobs, dual exhaust pipes and hydraulics can be seen riding down the road. The guiding principle in the making of a lowrider is low and slow or as they say in Spanish, bajito y suavecito. A plaque that reads “Midtown Car Club” sits in the rearview window of Theresa’s white interior leather car. “We were the only car club in the heights” Theresa says. Theresa’s brother owned a 1974 black Le Mans that was featured in Low Rider magazine. “Those were the days. We had so much fun” Theresa reflects.

Theresa was born in 1960 in Albuquerque, NM. Theresa identifies as Hispanic. She was born to Felecita Naranjo (1935-living) and her husband. Theresa has two brothers born in the 60s. Theresa’s father, worked for the Albuquerque Fire Department (AFD). His sons followed in his footsteps also becoming firemen with the AFD. Felecita, Theresa’s mom, worked at and retired from the phone company.

Theresa and her mom, Felecita share a special bond. Theresa reflects on this bond saying, “Yeah, my biggest cheerleader, my mother was behind me every step of the way,
gently nudging me in the right direction, you know?” A lot of customs and Spanish traditions were passed down because of this bond. Theresa says:

me and my mom every year make tamales...when we make tamales we turn on the KANW on that Saturday and we listen to Spanish music all day and drink a little wine...we make biscochitos we do all that stuff and it's - we make a few dozen but it's just to get together and do that…and we also make the chili relleno's, we make her mom's [cousin] recipe for the chili relleno's...during lent, her and I will get together and make like the natillas and the torta de juevo and the salmon patties and the quelitas and all that kind of stuff you know?

Another big influence in Theresa’s life has been music. Especially New Mexican music. Theresa’s favorite station to listen to is KANW, launched in 1951, it is the oldest FM radio station in New Mexico, playing song such as, Valentin de la Sierra, Maria Ángel del Cielo, and Por Favor Vuelve. But Theresa’s all-time favorite band is the Al Hurricane Band. Theresa remembers dancing to their music at the club and knew that when she got married, Al Hurricane would play at her wedding.

When Theresa married her husband, sure enough, the Al Hurricane Band was there. Theresa’s family attended this momentous event. Theresa stresses the importance of family getting together. She says, “You know, we're so lucky. Because, a lot of
families get together and they fight, you know? Our family, we can get together and have
a good time, you know? And laugh and just enjoy each other's company.”

Rose Naranjo, age 57; Born in 1960

It’s four o’clock in the morning and Rose is heating up the stove to wash her hair
before work. She piles the wood and drizzles a little bit of kerosene into the belly of the
stove. Rose reflects on this memory saying, “Yeah, I always had really long hair. I don’t
know how many trips I had to make to the sink, to rinse my hair...I’m sure I always
smelled like smoke and didn't even know it.” Once this is done she makes her way to the
other rooms of the house where great-grandma Valeria and Tio [name of Uncle] are
sleeping. She fires up the potbelly stoves in each of their rooms, so the house is warm for
them when they wake up.

Rose was born in 1960 in Albuquerque, NM as Albuquerque was the closest
hospital from Cañon de Jemez. Rose identifies as both Spanish and Mexican. Rose’s
grandparents, on her mom’s side of the family were Valeria Naranjo (1896-1988; Cuba,
NM) and Matias Naranjo (1894-1973, Cañon de Jemez, NM). Rose reflects on the first
time great-grandma Valeria and great-grandpa Matias met:

my grandma [Valeria] grew up in old town [Albuquerque, NM] and she was
pretty wealthy and then she went to a dance one night and grandpa, great-grandpa
[Matias] saw her at the dance. Found out who she was, found out who her dad
was, wrote her dad a letter asking for her hand in marriage, just like that, without a date. And he replied, ‘Yes, you can have my daughter in marriage.’ They arranged the wedding, my grandma moved to Cañon de Jemez, [NM].

Once in Cañon de Jemez, great grandma Valeria had to haul water and irrigate the garden, take care of the kids, and the animals. Great grandpa Matias would irrigate the fields of vegetables and his orchard. He was also a sheep herder and was gone for long periods of time herding the sheep. Rose says, “Grandma had a hard life compared to living the good life in old town.” Great grandma Valeria had 14 kids. My Grandpa Diego (1921-1993, Cañon de Jemez, NM), the third born child, was delivered at the family home without medical assistance.

Rose recalls very special memories in great-grandma Valeria’s house. Rose’s native language was Spanish, when she entered the school system she became a monolingual English speaker. It wasn’t until she moved in with great-grandma Valeria that Rose began to speak and read Spanish. Every night before bed, they would read the Spanish bible and pray on the rosary. Great-grandma Valeria’s dad, Miguel Naranjo (1849-unknown, New Mexico) passed away in great-grandma’s house praying the rosary. Rose says great-great grandpa Naranjo was in his 90s and he lived with great grandma Valeria and great grandpa Matias. She says:
And every morning, he would get up and grandma would take him a cup of coffee. He got up, she went to go get him his cup of coffee, he prayed the rosary every morning in bed and drank his coffee, when she came back with his coffee, that one morning he was already dead, he was lying on the bed. He died just like that, with no warning, or nothing like that.

The catholic religion was a very important practice in the Naranjo household and the community, so much so that the Native Americans in Cañon de Jemez and the catholic customs greatly influenced one another.

There is a dance in New Mexico still danced by the Native Americans in Jemez called the mantachinas. The mantachinas is a Mexican dance. Rose recalls great grandpa Matias and his brothers teaching the Indians on the Jemez pueblo how to dance the mantachinas, “him and his brothers and the other men in Cañon, taught the Indians...how to dance the mantachinas. And until this day they still dance the mantachinas the same dance that my grandpa taught them.”

Rose to this day, carries the customs of her family. So much so, that she is known as the family historian, not only can she recall and retell her family’s history, but she also practices family customs and traditions. Rose still cans fruit and cooks the recipes that her great-grandma Valeria taught her.
Maria Flores, age 55; Born in 1961

Maria grabs two yellow page books and throws them on the seat of the truck. Under age driving often occurs in small towns. Maria smiles wide as the truck flies over the dirt hills. Maria’s love for adventure and independence was born in many moments such as these. As a young child she spent most of her time outdoors whether it was on her family’s ranch in Las Vegas, NM or swimming in the river in Santa Fe, NM. In Las Vegas, NM she often remembers her grandma Isabella yelling, as she swam in the pond, “Be careful or the water *jaudalote* will swim up your *nalga!*”

Maria has many memories of her family. Especially spending time with her paternal grandma Valentina. In one memory, Maria was spending time in Nambé, NM, where her grandma Valentina's family is from. Grandma Valentina would reveal to Maria that when she was little she would travel in the back of the mail man’s wagon, from Santa Fe, to visit her family in Nambé. Grandma Valentina’s family had an orchard there. From this orchard Maria remembers drying fruit and meat. They had to cover the food with a cotton cloth to keep the insects off. Another time, Maria remembers staring out a window as a goat was being butchered. Her dad and a couple of cousins slit the goat’s throat and hung it upside down from the tree, in preparation for the winter.

Maria was born in Santa Fe, NM in 1961 to the parents of Camila Garcia (1942-1988, Santa Fe, NM) and her father. Maria identifies as Hispanic. She has two brothers
and two sisters. The two people who had the biggest impact on her growing up were her mom, Camila and her grandma Valentina Flores (1915-2010, Santa Fe, NM). Maria’s mom, Camila, was the glue that held the family together for all of the birthdays and catholic holidays. Maria recalls her mom, “Trying to get people together for birthday parties and Easter.” Throughout her life Maria has done the same thing with her family, making sure that family always came first. When reflecting on her grandma Valentina’s impact on her she says:

Her house [Valentina] and our house were right next door. Her house was in the front and our house was in the back….She would drag us to all these catholic events in Santa Fe. Like processions and a lot of conquistador traditions, which were catholic. They always had to do with the church.

As a result of these two women in her life, Maria’s relationship with her cultural background is strongly tied to family and catholic traditions.

Grandma Valentina’s strong faith in the catholic tradition was born as a result of her growing up in a catholic orphanage (about 1930) in Denver, CO called the Convent of the Good Shepherd. Grandma Valentina when recalling her time spent in the orphanage remembers spending the majority of the day praying to the Virgin Mary. It was in this orphanage that she learned English, as a result of her bilingualism, she was able to
support herself, her mom, and her two kids in the early 1940s as a secretary for the
governor’s office of Santa Fe.

The women in Maria’s life passed on the importance of family and independence.
Maria says, “on my deathbed I want to say I was always there for my children...I want to
make sure that one of us was always there to help you guys.” Her independence and
sense of adventure are still evident in her present day life. Maria, in her 50s, travels the
globe with her husband, Ignacio. Her home showcases many picture of these adventures.
In one picture she is seen with her son and husband, behind them the Costa Rican forest
and its lush green vegetation is depicted. She has also started taking classes at the local
community college. When she retires from teaching, in four years, she wants to become
an x-ray technician.
Maria’s reflection of her ABR project:

In my mind, when I was a little girl before school age. I didn't feel like, because of my age, I didn't notice any prejudice or identify with anything. In elementary school, whatever prejudices I was taught or heard about was through my parents. I ended up taking on whatever their thoughts were. I do remember my dad saying things against African Americans. And that would offend me. Like I never said anything. But I would think, well that's not very nice...And then I remember my mom talking about, ‘well we are poor, we can't do that.’ She would put herself
and us in a category, like we are not financially able. Because we don't make a lot of money, we’re not going to try to do this stuff. I do remember we wouldn't ask for a lot of things unless they noticed we needed things. And then in high school when I got a job, now I’m out of my family circle. So now I have circles at school. I didn't ever notice people being in the White group or the Brown group it was mostly the athlete group. I did notice at work, I worked at McDonalds, I did notice people would ask me, ‘Well are you Spanish?’ You know, what are you? And I would think, “I’m a human.” So other people try to put me in a category. And I’m like whatever...I think what bugs me is when I have to fill out forms, ‘Are you Hispanic?’ And then when they ask me, ‘What Race are you?’ Technically I’m the human race. But it has Hawaiian, white. If you don't identify with any of these, pick white. I feel like, I’m not, I don’t want to put white, well I don't want to be just white, I’m a bunch of things. So society tries to categorize everybody. So that’s my wording, not written down yet. I made a picture, I did it with clip art...Family in the middle, and all around it is a picture of a little girl about toddler age, some kids in elementary, some kids in high school and adults and traveling. The globe with an airplane and a couple of picture with walls that were barriers ‘Are you from Spain?’ Your last name is Flores. I don't feel any derogatory, it’s just like making conversation.
Ignacio Naranjo, age 55; Born in 1961

Ignacio observes his sister Catalina as she walks through the door. In her hand is a police baton. “How’d you get that?” Ignacio asks. “Some cop dropped it, and I picked it up.” Catalina responds. Catalina just returned from a riot at Roosevelt Park, a neighborhood park, near their house. This was in the 1960s, during the Chicano Movement. Catalina and Ignacio’s brother Sebastian heavily influenced his racial identity. Ignacio says, “Yeah, I’d say my older brother and sister, Sebastian, Catalina, because...they were deep into the 60s. So they were teenagers in the 60s...they would come home...the brown fists raised, Chicano Power.” Ignacio recalls his parents also having a big influence on his identity formation. He says, “my mom and dad, they were more concerned with making sure I passed my school grades and that sort of thing...they were probably the most influential, they spoke Spanish to each other, so I got that influence from them.”

Ignacio was born in 1962 in Albuquerque, NM. Ignacio, although he has Native American blood, identifies as Hispanic because that’s how he was raised. He was born to Catalina Naranjo (1928-2017, Cañon de Jemez, NM) and Diego Naranjo (1921-1993, Cañon de Jemez, NM). Ignacio has four sisters and two brothers. One of Ignacio’s fondest memories of family is the preparation of meals. He says:
when we'd spend the night over there, my grandma [Grandma Valeria] would make a meal for us. They would have to go out to get wood, put it in their wood-burning stove, let those plates heat up, and then they're busy preparing the food while it's heating up and then rolling out the dough and rolling it to make tortillas or making the beans and how they kind of clean the beans and all that stuff.

Food wasn’t the only memory of his childhood but language and work ethic as well. He says, “Yeah, just because of being around the culture cause you know, they were bilingual [his parents]. And like we talked about earlier, my mom making the food and you know, how my dad kind of, what his work ethic was.”

Grandpa Diego quit school when he was in the sixth grade to help his parents on their ranch. On the ranch he learned the value of hard work. Something he carried into life as an adult and modeled for his seven children. Although Ignacio’s parents were bilingual (Spanish and English) Ignacio and his siblings, besides his oldest sister, grew up monolingual English speakers. Ignacio reflects on this saying:

My parents probably grew up with some prejudice [towards them] then they saw that we are brown, we are not white. In order for our kids to succeed, our kids need to acclimate to that white culture. We are not going to teach them Spanish we are going to teach them just English….Their goal was to make sure we were successful in White America, right. So that’s the reason for it. That’s why we lost
a little bit of it. We held on to some of it [speaking of culture] through my mom and her cooking and that tradition. Her making tortillas and her sorting out the beans. We held on to it through our food. So, food seems like a good way to hold on to your own culture, but we lost the language, which is probably a little more important.

Ignacio’s work ethic parallels his dads. He retired from the Albuquerque Fire Department and then pursued his degree as a Physician's Assistant. In his 50s, Ignacio has passed the importance of family to his three children. Ignacio every day is working towards becoming a fluent Spanish speaker and speaks to his kids and grandkids in Spanish as much as possible.

Figure 4. 4 Ignacio’s participation in Arts-Based Research (ABR)
Ricardo Flores, age 53; Born in 1964

Uncle Ricardo tells his favorite story of visiting Wagon Mound, NM, about eating honey pot ants, a delicious but oddly crunchy delectable. Their swollen bellies filled with honey, the ants make their own food in order to survive the winter. With a shovel in hand, [cousin], Grandpa Mateo, and Ricardo uncover the earth to reveal a world of insects, right under their feet.

“Over here!” Grandpa yelled. He was standing a few yards away holding his hand in the air as if we might miss seeing him there. We ran to where he was standing, looking down at an anthill. “Take your shovel and dig right here, on the outside of the mound. About a foot down.” He smiled as he said it, looking at us with those brilliant blue eyes. He didn’t seem old to me in that moment. Beaming with vitality and life, I understood why mom loved him so much.

Grandpa Mateo Flores was born in 1908 in New Mexico. Married to Grandma Isabella and then later to his second wife. Grandpa Mateo and his second wife ran a small cafe in Wagon Mound, NM. On another visit to Bernal, NM, Ricardo remembers visiting the ranch with Grandma Isabella. He remembers riding horses, shooting guns, and swimming in a deep clear swimming hole at the bottom of the hill.
Ricardo was born in 1964 in Santa Fe, NM to the parents of Camila Flores (1942-1988, Santa Fe, NM) and his father. Ricardo identifies as Hispanic but says he doesn’t have much of a relationship with his racial and ethnic identity:

I never knew, beyond our great-grandparents, anything. I didn't know where they came from. I didn't know who they were. I think what it did was it made me not have as much of an identity as I have now...though when I lived in Santa Fe, you know, they have the Fiestas de Santa Fe and all that stuff, and that...I don't know if that's really a connection, a direct connection, to Spain. It's a connection to Santa Fe.

The Entrada held during the Fiestas de Santa Fe celebrates the Spaniards reclaiming the city after the Pueblo Indian revolt with no (Spanish) bloodshed. To Indigenous and Native American people, the celebration of the Entrada is a celebration of the slaughter of Native Americans on Pueblo land.

Ricardo says Santa Fe advertises itself as a tri-culture city, where the culture was a mix of White, Hispanic and Native American traditions. In regards to traditions specifically from his culture he says, “I don't have any, other than making traditional dishes, Northern New Mexican dishes, that's probably the best way I connect with culture these days.”
We filled in the holes we made in the anthill and headed back. I trailed behind my companions realizing that as I was looking around at the sand and grass and rock, for more tiny wonders, the others were indulging me by walking slowly too. At the truck, this time [cousin] and I got inside the cab. I sat in the middle, being mindful of the gearshift. The old truck sputtered to life and as he released the emergency brake, Grandpa said we should be thankful to the ants for giving to us. As we drove off in the old pickup, I pondered what he said. Thank the ants? It seemed an odd suggestion. For a moment, I thought the idea silly. But then I did – I thanked the honey ants. From his childhood experiences, Ricardo still loves spending time outdoors.

**Michelle Naranjo, age 35; Born in 1982**

“Mom, look a snake is swimming with us!” I turn my head and see the head of a snake gliding along next to us. Many summers in New Mexico are spent this way, outdoors, swimming in the river, being with family. I feel most at home outdoors and with her family. Many family vacations and staycations, growing up, were also spent in nature. She tries to pass on her love of nature to her two children.

I was born in 1982 in Colorado Springs, CO to the parents of Maria (1962) and Ignacio (1962) at the Colorado Air Force base. I have one sister, Maricella (1986, Albuquerque, NM), and one brother, Sam (1991, Albuquerque, NM). I identify as Chicana-Genizara, but when identifying with place will call herself a Nuevo Mexicana.
Identity has always been a point of contention for me. She remembers a time in college when everybody in the class had to say how they identified:

I remember feeling really nervous, I didn’t know what to say when it was my turn. Most everyone in New Mexico, of Spanish descent, identifies as Hispanic but I really didn’t know what the term Hispanic meant. I always felt it was something that I was told to be rather than something I chose.

Growing up, I recall that race and ethnicity weren’t really talked about. She engaged in fiestas such as posadas, dancing the marcha at weddings, going to the south valley to participate in the matanzas, and visiting the El Santuario de Chimayo church. But to me, it was something I did because her parents invited her along. I didn’t understand the meaning behind these events and traditions on a deeper level. I felt removed from the historical significance of the events. “I wonder, if my culture was taught in schools, if I learned the historical significance of fiestas, the marcha and matanzas, perhaps then, I would feel a historical connection to my culture and traditions.”

Schools were involved in cultural genocide and assimilation throughout time. Perhaps it is time for the schools to take responsibility for these past and present forms of historical trauma and engage in inclusive practices of teaching.

My parents strongly influenced me regarding the importance of education. For example, “There was never a discussion of if we were going to college, only which
college we would choose.” I realize that my family has given up a lot so that I may be in
this space of privilege, attending and graduating with her PhD. I wonders, if in this space
of privilege, if I can still be strongly tied to my culture. I want my ties to my culture to be
more than just my last name.

Not everything has been lost, I remember cooking tortillas with my grandma
Camila, my mom taking me to historical sites around New Mexico. I said, “I think we
still have ties to our food, closeness of family, and being outdoors. Those things we have
not lost.” I am trying to pass on these three things to my two children. Hopefully through
learning more about my culture I can pass on even more.

Maricella Naranjo, age 31; Born in 1986

In 1680 the Pueblo Revolt occurred in New Mexico. Don Juan de Oñate cut off
the foot of captured Acoma Pueblo men and woman over the age of 25. Maricella
remembers visiting the San Miguel Chapel with her family, “that Native American place
where they ... It was like some battle, and then they had blades, it's actually kind of
seared in my mind, they were talking about how they cut off the legs or the arms of some
of them but made them still work.”

Maricella’s memories of her childhood consisted of visiting many historical sites
around NM. She remembers visiting the Billy the Kid site, El Santuario de Chimayo
church, and many more. Maricella’s parents have been most influential in her identity development saying:

Our Catholic religion was a big part of my upbringing. We went to church every weekend thanks to Dad who made sure to get us out the door. We made sure to spend this time as a family and the rest of our extended family was also the same religion, so we had that in common, Family has always been a big part of our lives. All the family members went to everybody's gatherings, and birthdays and there was always a big focus of being there for each other.

Maricella was born in 1986 in Albuquerque, NM to the parents of Maria (1962, New Mexico) and Ignacio (1962, New Mexico). She has one brother (Sam) and one sister (Michelle). Maricella identifies as Hispanic but even more so as a Christian. Maricella says, “I currently feel a strong affinity to Christianity and God. I feel like I am finding myself through the word of the lord. As well as finding greater peace and patience...It would be neat to immerse myself in more of my history, culture and rituals of ancestors.”

Maricella also gives credit to her mom and dad for helping her see past stereotypes for Hispanic people. Maricella says, “Sometimes you think Hispanic and you think more poor or uneducated, but we had examples like mom and dad, who strove and worked hard. Mom's a teacher and Dad's on his second career. I think that has helped me to be more educated and successful.” Today Maricella is a physical therapist and has three
children under the age of 8. Her love for family and travel is something she passes on to her children as well. Right now Maricella is focused on family and work and hopes that one day she can learn more about her culture.

**Sam Naranjo, age 27; Born in 1991**

Sam sits in class reading Don Quixote, a Spanish novel by Miguel de Cervantes. This book was very influential on Sam’s identity development. Sam started delving deeper into his Hispanic identity after taking a Hispanic writing class. Sam says, “they actually had a class. It was called a Hispanic writing class. And it was a bunch of Hispanics in that class. Other people could take it if they wanted to, but it was a class about Hispanic writers and some were from New Mexico.”

Sam was born in Albuquerque, NM in 1991 to the parents of Maria (1962, New Mexico) and Ignacio (1962, New Mexico). Sam identifies as Hispanic and says, “I grew up around Hispanics, so I am Hispanic.” He also mentions that his high school was segregated by race mentioning that:

we kind of just stuck around our own....Those were all races. The white girls all hung out with each other and then there were the Hispanics and then the Mexicans had their own little group and the blacks all had their own little group. Like they all hung out with each other in certain areas.
The only time Sam recalls being integrated was through sports or fights. When asked if he has ever felt like he was anything other than Hispanic he mentions identifying with the word Chicano but not Mexican or Latino. Sam has also never felt a need to learn more about his Indigenous roots. Now that he’s out of high school he mentions that race isn't that big of a deal. Sam cares more if the people around him are cool rather than what race they are. Sam says, “I hang out with anyone who's cool and wants to hang out. It doesn't really matter what race you come from.”

Sam attributes his strong Hispanic ties to his parents. Sam says, “Just from being Hispanic and being proud of being Hispanic...when I was learning about all that Chicano stuff, and wanting to learn more about the past, dad was all proud of it.”

Anthony Naranjo, age 24; Born in 1993

Maybe my contribution could be as small as hoping that words can turn to birds and birds would send my thoughts your way. These lyrics from Lana del Rey mean a lot to Anthony. Anthony explains what the lyrics mean to him saying, “What she's saying ... She's this musical icon and she can help everybody in the war, like she can't physically help them. But just sending her best intentions forward, that, to her, that's the most that she can possibly do. And so that just means a lot to me there.” Lana del Rey’s lyrics encompass how Anthony lives his life as well. He lives with intention and an awareness
Anthony’s always had a passion for curiosity and wonder and isn’t afraid to delve into deep thinking ideas. But that doesn’t end there, Anthony also has a big heart. He is kind and compassionate and makes others around him always feel welcome. These traits can be traced to a loving home but also his unwillingness to conform to gender norms in high school. There is one particular incident that sticks out in Anthony’s mind:

...freshman year, they should've never done this to anybody. Freshman year of high school at [name of high school] in P.E. class, we got our weight, our height, in front of everybody….It's just wrong. It's awful. It's so wrong. Our weight and height in front of everybody, and then we had to bench press in front of everybody….I couldn't bench the bar, 45 pounds. Really, high school was kind of hard.

Anthony’s resiliency was built in moments such as these. He says:

...my brain kind of still works the way it does now. I've always been intentional and deep and stuff. I was like, okay. I know that I have to relate, in some way, to these people, for me to feel okay about myself. So I'm going to be shouted out at all of the honors events, and I'll be top 10 in my class, and I'll do all these things, so no one can judge me on my body frame and stuff like that. It was honestly very
strenuous, and I didn't have a lot of friends until….It's funny, cause I didn't have a lot of friends until sophomore, junior year, and then I had a ton of friends simply because I was already good at school.

Anthony, in his twenties, surrounds himself with deep thinkers which he calls, “woke” individuals. They are not only intentional but also help defy social norms.

Born in 1993 in New Mexico, Anthony self identifies as ambiguous and says:
Sometimes I get overwhelmed because it's actually something I think about a lot that I don't identify with anything. If any culture I identify with, honestly, it's African American culture. That's just with everything that I like naturally. All the music choices I like, all the….The way hip hop is influenced so many….The way that the African tribe has influenced hip hop, which is now my favorite music. Even the clothing they wear, everything. It's hard to be ... It's hard to look one way but feel like another way. You know?

Anthony's parents identify as Hispanic, but he says he’s always wondered why nobody questions their Hispanic identity:
We're the only ones who….Nobody questions in New Mexico. No one asks what country we are from, though. Like other than United States, what country is our family from...Yeah, I would love to be able to say ... Especially here [Los Angeles] because everybody is either third generation or something, but they
know something. Or even if it's fake knowledge they know that they are from Cuba, and so they drink Cuban coffee, and things like that, whereas we really don't have those things at all...naturally always been inclined to wonder. That's the same with me.

Anthony mostly identifies with his spirituality more so than his racial or ethnic background and says that Dr. Wayne Dyer has been most influential in his spiritual identity.

Anthony participated in Arts-Based Research (ABR) to explain why he identifies as ambiguous. He wrote the below piece and used a visual (the visual was not included because of copyright infringement):
Anthony’s oral reflection of his participation in ABR is as follows:

Yeah, it's [above poem] like what I wish I could tell everybody who asks me that [how he identifies] question. Then, down here, is kind of a pretty good reflective of my life….So obviously there's the chilies. Everything up top is kind of like my base of who I was brought up to be, you know?...So, there's the chilies, there's the sweet rice that I remember for forever. I know you know that. I don't even know if that's New Mexican or just our family...Arroz con leche...Our beautiful Santa Fe skies...Obviously my high school, and then I linked some videos in there.
can't see them on my phone, but one of them is the Albuquerque Balloon Festival is my favorite. The balloon fiesta is my favorite, favorite thing of my childhood by far. . . . I miss it so much... So that's one thing I like to go back and visit. So you can just tell on the top, there's the Frontier Restaurant where I have so many memories there with my friends in high school... And then our beautiful sunsets are just unforgettable, and then the clouds to the right ... The two pictures to the right, see the guy with the bear on the Kanye West album? . . . He's wearing a bear suit and then the cloud above that was kind of like the transition time of when I remember ... To me, the clouds represent when I was in Albuquerque thinking I could really move to Los Angeles if I want when I was in middle school... Yeah, I always knew. I didn't even apply to UNM, so I always just knew that I was gonna go. And so that represents kind of like the opportunity and the open sky, how there's no ceiling on top of me... Then that album right there was one of the first albums where I was like, ‘Wow, what is this hip hop influence? What is this?’ ... I liked the sound so much. Then every other picture is kinda like what I'm into, what kinda represents me know. So the video that's hyperlinked literally under the bear is Lana Del Rey. She's a cool inspiration for me. Took one of her interviews in "Complex" who interviews her is actually one of my favorite magazines.... And then right there to the left is Zane and I just like High Snob Society, the magazine,
a lot...He's kinda like a fashion icon too, which is cool. Above him is A$AP Rocky, who I was talking to you about earlier...That video is really close to me cause one it's A$AP Rocky but two it's GQ and I have that connection from Auntie Catalina with GQ. She'd always tell me how I was so GQ, and I didn't know what it meant, so now I love the magazine...Yeah, I know it's cool. Then next to him is Future, who's another rapper, one of my favorites on the GQ cover. And then all the way to the left is just the iconic picture of A$AP Rocky I've always loved. This is a Lana Del Rey lyric, actually, but I've loved it ever since I heard it, and it kind of sums up my spirituality, I guess, in some kind of way. It says, ‘Maybe my contribution could be as small as hoping that words could turn to birds, and birds would send my thoughts your way.’...What she's saying ... She's this musical icon and she can help everybody in the war, like she can't physically help them. But just sending her best intentions forward, that, to her, that's the most that she can possibly do. And so that just means a lot to me there. So this is a cool little collage that represents a lot of different parts of my life....That's why I want to say. This is my culture. This is me, you know….I's cool. I liked doing it.

For the remainder of the chapter, I’m going to present and analyze the information by research questions A through D. I feel it’s more useful to relay the information
according to the research question. In this way, we will be able to come back to this information in chapter five and see its full importance and significance through ceremonial display.

Research Questions Presented and Analyzed

A. How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?

The overarching research question of this study asks, how do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization? As seen above in each participant story told most of the participants identify as Hispanic, Spanish or Chicano. With many of the participants saying that each of these terms are interchangeable. One participant identified as having an ambiguous identity. Although the idea of race is immediately thought of when one is asked how they identify, the participants more strongly identify with family and faith. These two identity markers, most of the time, outweighed their identity of race. However, it should be noted that Hispanic, Spanish, Chicano and ambiguous are not racial markers but rather ethnicities, languages, and unidentifiable. It should also be noted that the United States government recognizes Hispanic, Spanish or Chicano people as belonging to the White race. That being said, the participants of this study recognize their Spanish ancestors but do not view themselves as belonging to the White race. One participant, Maria, says, “Yeah on the census it did, I
had no choice. I didn’t want to fill it out and they told me, ‘You have to, it’s the law.’”

She continues saying, “I don’t want to mark White,” and the website for the census said, “you have to mark white.”

Nevertheless, identities are lenses through which one sees themselves and maybe how the world sees them. Keeping that in mind, social structures can impact one’s identity formation. These social structures can impact one’s identity at the micro and macro level. For instance, when the participants were asked, “Can you tell me about your background? How do you identify yourself?” the participants replied:

Table 4. 1 Interview Question Answered

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<tr>
<th>Name and age</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felicita (83)</td>
<td>I'm Spanish American</td>
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| Elena (80) | So I kind of identify myself as, I don't know, just being a woman and a human being and trying to get along with everybody that I meet.  
*It should be noted that later on in the interview Elena identifies racially/ethnically as Spanish American. |
<p>| Rose (57) | Um, Hispanic...My mom’s dad said he came from Mexico. I don’t know, Grandpa came from Mexico...Yeah, my mom’s family all came from Mexico but my dad’s family came from Spain...So I guess I am pure Spaniard or Mexican, I don’t even know the difference [laughter] anymore. |
| Theresa (57) | I identify myself as a middle-aged Hispanic woman who grew up in [city], married, working for the city. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Identification</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria (55)</td>
<td>I guess just Hispanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ignacio (55)</td>
<td>I grew up in a Hispanic home with ... I know I have some Native American blood in me, but it was primarily a Hispanic home</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ricardo (53)</td>
<td>I identify as Hispanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michelle (35)</td>
<td>I'm Nueva Mexicana. Like...my family has been in New Mexico before the 1800s, before the Spaniards came....I’m an Indigenous Chicana-Genizara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maricella (31)</td>
<td>I guess I identify myself most, I think, through family</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sam (27)</td>
<td>I am a straight male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony (24)</td>
<td>I identify myself as being not native of Los Angeles, so I'm from New Mexico. I identify as being, from my knowledge, at least four generations in because I have no knowledge of any....I have no ties to any specific country....My blood would tell me I am...tied to the Iberian Peninsula so it's being Portugal. But at the same time, I couldn't tell you one Spanish tradition that I love. I've never been to the country. So I identify as New Mexican, but I would never let out, or I would never not say how much African American influences my day to day life.</td>
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From age 83 to age 24 the participants answered with various responses. Three participants took gender (Elena, Theresa, and Sam) into account. Four participants identified themselves through place (Rose, Michelle, Theresa and Anthony). Three participants identified themselves through family (Rose, Michelle, and Maricella). One participant identified through his sexual orientation (Sam). When mentioning race or ethnicity, five participants (Rose, Theresa, Maria, Ignacio, and Ricardo) used the term
Hispanic, two participants used the term Spanish or Spanish American (Felicitia, Elena, and Rose), one participant used the term Mexican and Spaniard (Rose), and I used the term Chicana (Michelle), and two participants identified also as having Native American or Indigenous blood (Ignacio and Michelle).

It is interesting that the government uses the label of White to identify the participants of this study but not one of the participants identified themselves as White. Even if these participants did identify with belonging to the White race, amid the White race, Chicanos, Hispanics, Latinos are seen as second class citizens (Sandoval & Miller, 2009). It is also intriguing that participants use the term Spanish and Hispanic (Felecita, Elena, Rose, Theresa, Maria, Ignacio, and Ricardo) to describe their identity. The highest caste, as mentioned in chapter two of this study, in the New Mexico and Spanish castas system was that of an Español or a Spanish. As Bustamante (1991) explains:

In 1821 when Mexico won its Independence from Spain, and the Plan of Iguala gave equality to all citizens and in effect eliminate the casta system, one might assume that any further references to the system would have been eliminated because casta connoted inferior citizenship. Surprisingly this was not the case in New Mexico. The census of 1823 divides the population in españoles eligible to exercise their rights as citizens and those not eligible. Other categories included indios, eligible to exercise their rights as citizens and those ineligible. Since social habits die slowly, especially in isolated frontiers, the mention of español and indio could be explained in that way. (p 162)

Furthermore, even though the participants have Native American ancestry from the United States, and Indian blood from Mexico, being Native American is a political
status enacted by the United States government (Brayboy, 2005). As a result, the participants in this study have detribalized status. This is because, after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe, courts grappled with the issue of racial designation for its citizens of what was once Mexico (Spring, 2018). For example:

In 1897 Texas courts ruled that Mexican Americans were not ‘white.’ In California, Mexican Americans were classified as Caucasian until 1930, when California’s Attorney General Webb categorized them as Indians, saying, ‘the greater portion of the population of Mexico are Indians.’ ....Though classified as Indians, Mexican Americans were not considered ‘the original American Indians of the United States.’ (Spring, 2018, p.187; Donato, 1997)

As mentioned above, in New Mexico, a casta system, although abolished in 1821, left rippling impacts on Nuevomexicanos, ripples that can still be felt today in regards to the notion of blood purity between Spanish and Indians. The intricate reality of Nuevomexicanos contrasting sociopolitical ethnic, racial, and cultural identities such as Hispanics, Chicano, Indian and Spanish, to name a few, grapple and clash with each other (Trujillo, 2009). As Brayboy states in his third tenet, Indigenous people are situated in an in-between space that holds dually the political and racialized makeup of our identities. Furthermore, during the Spanish invasion, Mexican period, and the U.S. invasion, New Mexico formed relationships despite colonial attempts of control (Brooks, 2002;
One of these colonial attempts of control included human trafficking, impacting Native, Hispanic, and Mexican women and children who were sold and bought (Trujillo, 2009) resulting in a mixed raced group of people, also known as the *genizaros* (Córdova, 1979; Swadesh, 1974; Trujillo, 2009). *Genizaros* consisted of an ancestral and cultural hybrid group of people as a result of human trafficking (Brooks, 2002; Farago and Pierce, 2006; Rael-Gálvez, 2002; Trujillo, 2009).

Another important factor to consider is not only a person’s identity marker but their relationship with their identity marker. Which leads to the next interview question, which is, “What is your relationship with your racial/ethnic/cultural background?” the participants replied:

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Felicita (83)</td>
<td>I try to keep my cultural background just to keep it up, you know? And not lose that cultural background. That's what I feel like. That's my relationship with it. As far as identifying myself as a different person because I'm Spanish, I don't do that. I'm just part of a melting pot...We speak both...Spanish and English.</td>
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<td>Elena (80)</td>
<td>We grew up speaking English...we never spoke Spanish. The only ones we ever spoke Spanish to was my grandma...my grandma on my mom's side would always speak to us in Spanish....I guess it was spoken more than I realized because I was able to speak to mom in Spanish,</td>
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because she would never talk to us in English. She would always, if we'd go talk to her, we would always speak in English and always ask her something in English and she would always respond in Spanish.

| Rose (57) | I think it’s very strong….Yeah, the food. The way I cook today is the way my grandma taught me, because I lived with her. Her beliefs in anything, like, the curanderas, the llorona, all those stories that they used to tell us. I still think about -em. I try to teach my kids, but of course, they just laugh….Especially now during lent. You know, the religion, you know, the catholic religion. The Spanish ways during lent, you don't go out, you don't drink, you don’t dance, you don’t do anything, you’ll come across the devil. You’ll come across the llorona. I try to tell my kids that and they just roll their eyes. I don’t want them to feel the way I did growing up, the way my mom and my grandma would talk to us and scare us. And we believed everything they told us. |
| Theresa (57) | I embrace it totally, Michelle. I've said out loud, so many times, ‘I don't know what I would do without this music.’ How to make tamales. And learning, you know, being with my mom, for like, even on Good Friday, to make torta de huevo. I embrace it totally. I'm so glad that I am who I am….And that I was raised the way I was raised. Do you know what I mean? With the music, and the language. I always say, and I say it at work, I say it to my nieces and nephews, you know, ‘We're the last generation that's going to keep this going forward. You know, the language, the language is gonna die.’ My nieces and nephews, they don't speak Spanish. And ours is the New Mexican Spanish. It's a unique dialect. Because, it's not the proper Mexican, you know. If you learned the proper Mexican, their words are different. Ours is a lot of slang, but it's what we grew up with, you know. |
| Maria (55) | I think it would be Catholicism, would be how I relate to... |
my cultural background. That’s how I grew up with my, you know, mom saying you have to go to church. The other thing would be the food that, you know, the chile. And then the third way would be to keep in touch with relatives. Like Auntie Elena and Auntie [name] that way they are always telling us what they used to do when they were young.

| Ignacio (55) | both grandparents speaking primarily Spanish and very little English. My parents spoke both English and Spanish, but the culture was deeply rooted in Catholic faith as well as Hispanic culture. I mean with the foods we ate, the viewpoints of my parents, and that sort of thing. |
| Ricardo (53) | Well ... I would say that I don't have much of a relationship. I mean, the biggest thing that's happened in recent years is the genealogy that your mom and you have been working on. It's given me, just knowing ... because I never knew. I never knew, beyond our great-grandparents, anything. I didn't know where they came from. I didn't know who they were. I think what it did was it made me not have as much of an identity as I feel like I have now, so how do I ... I don't know. I mean, I guess I really don't. I don't have any, other than making traditional dishes, Northern New Mexican dishes, that's probably the best way I connect with culture these days...But a lot of the traditions are Spanish, but there are some Native ones mixed in, too. I mean, and white. Zozobra was invented by a white guy....Yeah, so our culture, the way we grew up, it wasn't in a single culture. There were several. That's what's noteworthy about Santa Fe. But I have to say, I mean, because I didn't know I had any Native blood until you. |
| Michelle (35) | So I was taking an indigi qualitative methods class, and there was a student from Mexico who had a lot of indigenous practices from Mexico, and he was explaining to us some of his cultural practices that he has with his mom, or with grandparents, and I started crying in class. It was ugly crying. Because a lot of these tradition, like he |
was speaking in Spanish. And I was like, oh man, that hurts so much that we lost so much just from becoming monolingual English speakers. We weren't able to pass that down from our grandparents, or great grandparents. It hurts a little bit because I feel like I don’t have a relationship.

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<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Maricella (31)</td>
<td>I feel like I don't really know that much about ... I don't think I'm in touch much with my ethnicity. I mean, I kind of label myself as Hispanic, but other than eating spicy food, I don't really think I know much about my culture or history, I would say.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam (27)</td>
<td>Yes, family and the people I’m around….I grew up around Hispanics, so I am Hispanic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anthony (24)</td>
<td>That's a good question. I would say ... What's my relationship with my ethical or cultural background? I would say it's ... it's ambiguous, not strong, and kind of a soft spot, a little bit</td>
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The participants’ relationship with their racial, cultural and ethnic background, when looked at through the ages, seems to diminish as the participants get younger. There was one participant, Sam, age 27, who said his relationship to his cultural background is strong because of his ties to his family but he did not elaborate. The participants between the ages of 55 to 83, felt they had a strong relationship with their culture, race or ethnicity in some way. It’s important to note that race or ethnicity was mentioned by five participants (Felecita, Rose, Ignacio, Ricardo, Maricella, and Sam). One thing that can be seen is that the participants who feel they do have a strong relationship with their culture feel this connection through religion (Felicita, Elena, Rose, Theresa, Maria, Ignacio),

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family (Elena, Rose, Theresa, Maria, Ignacio, Sam), food (Rose, Theresa, Maria, Ignacio), music (Theresa), language (Felicitia, Elena, Rose, Theresa, Ignacio) and place (Theresa). The participants, ages 53 to 24, that stated they don’t have a strong relationship with their cultural, racial, or ethnic background, felt the connection (although minimally) through food (Ricardo and Maricella), and place (Ricardo). The two other participants (Michelle and Anthony) didn’t mention any connection in regards to a relationship with their cultural, racial, or ethnic background, rather they expressed the pain felt when disconnected from their cultural, racial, and ethnic background. This pain may be attributed to the loss of connection to their ancestors and ancestral practices. One Indigenous way culture is passed down is through oral customs. As Archibald (2008) explains, recalling stories is important for the continuance of oral customs and a healthy way of life. Marmon Silko (1996) touches on this in Ceremony explaining, the Elders always say, recall the stories, the stories will assist you in being healthy (Marmon Silko, 1996). This, from Marmon Silko’s book, I believe, points us to our Indigenous identity and how to survive in a settler colonial world. A closer look at family stories will be examined in the section sub question B.

Based on the participant responses to the above two interview questions, the themes that will be drawn in order to answer the overarching question will include
family, place and culture. Culture was chosen as it encompasses language, food, music and religion.

**Family.** Cajete (1994) explains that relationships are the heart of community and identity. This could be seen in the participants mention of family during the interviews. For example, Theresa age 56, when asked how she sees herself said she sees herself in relation to family, “But, I think that big part is just that I love my family...I do, I love being around my family for get-togethers.” Theresa age 56, when asked to identify family members who have been most influential in her ethnic identity said:

> Probably like my mom, and I would say my auntie. I think those two women were probably, you know, the most strongest influences as far as the culture went in my life. I would say auntie and my mom. Especially because they were so family oriented, too, Michelle.

As Nogar and Lamadrid (2016) mention, the powerful and sovereign totality of women situated north of the Río Grande is termed *mujerota*. *Mujerota* can be described as the ancestral, historical, and everyday women of what is now southwest America. *Mujerota*, as Nogar and Lamadrid explain, is the social importance women exercised in their life and to generations after. Thus, these matriarchs pass on values and beliefs of family, culture, and community (Deutsch, 1987; Schulman and Smith, 1963).
Theresa continues her expression of kinship explaining:

Our families were always together...You know, they were so close, and we were so close of cousins...they’re more like brothers and sisters to me than cousins, you know...But, we grew up so close with them, because of my mom and my aunt. You know?

Lockhart (1992) describes the same type of kinship as Nahua kinship stating:

The Nahua sibling terms also differed from European ones in that they could be extended cousins, or rather included both cousins and siblings….the grandparent terms can mean great-aunt and great-uncle. Likewise, ‘-(i)xhuiuh’ can mean great-niece/great-nephew as well as grandchild, and the same applies to terms for more distant ascendants and descendants. (p.75)

Therefore, the Indigenous value of family and kinship varies from the European view of family. It can be said that Theresa’s view and practice of family relationships very strongly resembles that of her Nahua ancestors. As Brayboy (2005) states in his seventh tenet, “Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous people, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups” (Brayboy, 2005, p. 429). Although Theresa and her family are a people many times colonized, Theresa is expressing her family’s resilience and adaptability of family connections, despite colonial impositions.
Theresa age 57 also said:

We have good memories and good family stories. I loved to hear how my dad was growing up, you know? It feels good, because I think you feel connected to something that's bigger than just what's here now. You know, the past. It's where we came from, so it's good to hear those stories. It's important to hear those stories. I should get my dad on tape with some of the stuff he tells us, you know...One of these days he'll be gone and we won't hear him anymore, and we'll start to forget.

Brayboy (2005) reminds us in his eighth tenet that through the telling of oral stories, where one is created, one is found and the collection of stories as data comes from hearing the stories told. For this reason, stories as teachings are necessary in individual and nation identity formation. As Hanna et al. (1995) states, if we forget these stories, it would be a detriment to our ancestors. The ones who gave us the obligation to sustain our culture and keep it living.

Felicita age 83 also spoke about the importance of family, especially her siblings and those that have walked on. She said:

Yeah, because once they're gone, once they're gone, they're gone. There's nobody to ask. Like me, my oldest brother knew a lot. He was the oldest. He knew a lot of our older family and he would tell us things about it, but I wish I would have
asked him a lot more...Because he's gone now. Who do I have to ask? I've got nobody to ask anything...And your grandma, her and I talked. That's what I miss the most, that her and I used to talk so much about the past. And she could relate to, we could relate to each other. And now there's nobody, you know...They've known you your whole life and you've known them their whole life, and you can relate to each other.

The relation to family members who have walked on is a very important one. In Indigenous cultures it is known that ancestors never leave, rather are constantly guiding and looking out for their living loved ones. Ancestors should be prayed to everyday, and an altar placed in the home honoring these ancestors. There is a special day called Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead), November 2, in which the dead are honored with an altar, marigolds, pictures of the dead, food, drinks and candles (Avila & Parker, 1999). It is said that on this day, the dead smell the food and drink and are brought back to the world of the living, reminding all of the cycle of life (Avila & Parker).

**Place.** Cajete (1994) speaks about the importance of place saying, “...a subjective experience [is] tied to place environmentally, socially and spiritually” (p. 33). A person’s subjective experience including their personal, emotional, and intuitive makeup heavily rely on place. For the subjects of this study, the subjective experience of place lies in
New Mexico, particularly the place of their childhood. For Theresa and her family this experience of place is linked to Cañón de Jemez. Theresa age 57 says:

You know, it was neat, I wish I would have done it more...But, there towards the end, when they were still getting around, your aunt and, my mom... I would take them to Cañon, and oh, they would talk all the way. I would take off a day during the week from work, or on a Saturday...and we would go to Cañon. We would take a chicken...And, I would drive them 'em up there...I only did it, probably maybe four, five times. Just the three of us went. But, those were the best visits that we had. That's when your grandma would let loose. I mean, her and my mom would just talk, and talk, and talk, and talk, and talk about growing up, and you know, I would just sit there and listen. And then, when we'd get there, we'd stop at Smith's over there on Fourth Street, and get a chicken, mashed potatoes, and rolls to take lunch up there. But, that was so good, the neatest times, and I wish I would have done that more often.

Nabhan (1997) says that Indigeneity is grounded in cultures of environment, people longest connected with place. Brayboy (2005) explains that an Indigenous person is always tied to place and community and is grounded by that anchor. Deloria and Wildcat (2001) describe place and its connection to what is known as Indigenous. Deloria and Wildcat explain that “...indigenous in the sense that people historically and culturally
connected to places can draw and do draw on power located in those places. Stated simply, *indigenous* means ‘to be of place’” (p. 31).

Rose age 57 recalled of her time in Cañon de Jemez saying:

The kitchen had a wood stove but all the bedrooms had potbelly stoves. So in the morning before I would go to work, in the winter I would start a fire for grandma, then go to Tio Joe’s room, start a fire for him. Just so they would be nice and warm when they got up. But you know what? I would go back to the days anytime. Those were the nice days, nice and calm. It seemed like Christmas took forever and now Christmas flies. It goes by fast, it's scary how time flies. And back then, everything was so mellow and slow...To experience the nice, easy, slow days...even now when my boys go to Jemez. There’s no TV, there’s no internet, no cell service. They play in the mountains, they go fishing, they go hiking, stuff that we did. And then they come home and I don’t see them. They are in their rooms on their phone, on the computer. They don't hear me. It's so sad.

Myself, age 35 says:

It's very interesting talking to the cousins who have...my older cousins who grew up near Cañon de Jemez, had a very strong tie to the land and to culture and to language. And it seems once they moved away from the land, the generations
after were assimilated. So we're no longer tied to land because our parents moved away or our grandparents moved away. We no longer speak the language, we no longer listen to Spanish music, we don't participate in any of the fiestas. So it seems to be tied really around place, first and then language.

The *tlamatinime*, the Aztec word for wise man, viewed place as the point where innate experiences and human life permeate each place and each moment such that they develop into an essence of unique and specific qualities (León-Portilla, 1963). Jacques Soustelle writes about the *tlamatinime* notion of place saying, “Each ‘place-moment’ complex of location and time determines in an irresistible and foreseeable way, everything existing within it’” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 56). The third theme in answering the overall research question is culture. The next section will discuss culture from the viewpoint of the participants.

**Culture.** Cultural trauma and physical violence inflicted on communities can have major and long lasting impacts. Community responses to these impacts can result in spiritual practices such as the Matachines dance in New Mexico (García and Lamadrid, 2012). Diedre Sklar (1999) explains that these community spiritual practices are just as important as verbal knowledge and can be translated as cultural communication where the body and symbol are interwoven through performance (García and Lamadrid, 2012). As García (2012) notes about “the Matachines of Bernalillo, New Mexico that the lineage
of “La Promesa,” the final movement and somatic vow of the dancers, dates to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, which occurred on the feast day of San Lorenzo on August 10” (p. 99-100). The Matachines in this area, celebrated by both Hispanics and Puebloans, remember the Peace of 1786 that ended almost 100 years of bloodshed between the New Mexicans and the pueblos (Lamadrid, 2003). Also through the matachines, the history of the 1800s which included the capture and ransoming of children and adults, honor the duration of suffering during that time. During the matachines, Pueblos and Hispanics wear plains clothing consisting of buckskin and headdresses. These cross-cultural dances recognize one's own culture and history as well as the other person's self and history. As Michael Taussig notes, “Mimesis plays the trick of dancing between the very same and the very different. An impossible but necessary, indeed and everyday affair, mimesis registers both sameness and difference, of being like, and of being other” (Taussig, 1993). These Matachines celebrations, celebrated all over New Mexico in many different fashions recognize circumstances of the history of New Mexico as well of each individual community, family and multi-generationally (Williams, 1977). Rose, age 57 describes how her grandpa and the men from Cañon engaged in the Matachines dance with the Jemez pueblo Indians:

And then great grandpa taught the Indians, the Native Americans in Jemez, him and his brothers and the other men in Cañon. He taught them how to dance the
mantachines. And until this day they still dance the mantachines the same dance that my grandpa taught them...It’s a Mexican dance...there's a lot of different ones...Yeah, my mom would say that I used to dance it when I was little. Because grandpa would teach all the Indians in the pueblo and I would be right next to him dancing...That dance they dance around Christmas.

Another spiritual practice includes the feast of the Virgin de Guadalupe which occurs on December 12th. Although dances can accompany the feasts, known as Jeyena dances, which are known as a mix of Native and Spanish lyrics, different versions of the feast of the Virgin de Guadalupe are celebrated (García, 2012). The saints, rendered through different means, were celebrated every year through family and community traditions with “velorios or prayer vigils” (García and Lamadrid, 2012, p.101). Felicita age 83 speaks about the feast of the Virgin de Guadalupe and how it was celebrated in her community:

But the Catholic traditions that we had back then, it's like they had the fiestas, which was December the 12th in Cañon...they would get together at a different house 12 days before the fiesta and say the rosary and have dinner together...And then they have the posadas...It's right before Christmas, and we still have them here at our house, too...they go from house to house and they come to the door
and they sing and you sing back...And then they go to the church and have something at the church to eat at the parish hall.

Theresa age 57 describes her family traditions practiced around this day:

...when we make tamales we turn on the KANW [Spanish station] on that Saturday and we listen to Spanish music all day and drink a little wine and you know, we eat and - it's just really nice...I still have tamales from two Christmases ago, it's not about eating them so much as getting together and making them for us...So we make like about 80, if we make that...Then we share them with [cousin] and she makes her mom's chili relleno's, it's not the ones where you stuff the chili with cheese or anything, it's the little, they're like little meatballs...Yeah they're like, you get like the beef and you grind it with garlic and green chili and then you go put them in batter and then you deep fry them and those are the chili relleno's from, those are the old, old school chili relleno's.

According to the Aztec calendar, Tonantzin Guadalupe (the beloved mother of the gods) was celebrated on the winter solstice, today celebrated on December 12th (León-Portilla, 2014). Avila and Parker (1999) also note that these ceremonies for the Virgin of Guadalupe, also take place in Mexico on December 12th. The Virgin of Guadalupe, for the Aztecs, is also known as an ancient goddess and goes by many names. Some of these names being coatlicue, snake woman, and Mother Earth (León-Portilla, 1963). The next
section will present and analyze the first sub question of the study from the participants’ lived experiences.

B. How is knowledge constructed within a family context?

Knowledge is constructed within a family context in many ways. For the sake of this study, knowledge was looked at through four lenses (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001): (1) Belonging; (2) Mastery; (3) Independence; and (4) Generosity. The first lens of knowledge construction within a family context is through belonging. Knowledge constructed through belonging creates an inclusive environment where each person in that environment is charged with the task of caretaker. Belonging is cultivated when family members feel a part of their environment in relation to place and community. Mastery is the next step in which knowledge is constructed when engaged in tasks with a caring mentor, thus, supporting the nourishment of the child or family member. The third type of knowledge is Independence. Independence occurs when the child or family member have mastered a task and are ready to engage in the task independently. This task is never performed without benefiting the community. Independence is attained through the ability to navigate independently all while being grounded in belonging to their community and family. The fourth type of knowledge is generosity. Knowledge constructed through generosity occurs once the child or family member has proficiently learned a task and is now ready to teach others. Generosity can be seen in Elders,
engaged in storytelling with youth, regarding the path towards adulthood and what it means to live a good life through generous character traits (Brendtro & Brokenleg). The next section discusses these four types of knowledge in relation to the participants experiences or narratives.

**Belonging.** The home, place and community, are sources from which family members learn (Cajete, 1994) and a sense of belonging is constructed. It is for this reason that “kinship” or a sense of family not only occur from biological ties but also those within the shared community (Cajete, 1994, p. 47). Knowledge and teachings are incorporated in the everyday acts of living and learning (Cajete). Elena age 80, speaks about belonging when working at her mother’s restaurant. She says:

“Yeah. Then she had all the relatives working there. My aunt, her sister would be the dishwasher, and her brother-in-law would be the janitor, and Rosie and I would be the cooks. So it was fun….It really was fun….I mean we had a real sense of unity and a real sense of oneness, cause we were all together, [all in] this one endeavor, you know?

The ideals of belonging and a shared community were built upon the progressive growth of knowing oneself, to be involved in the task of creation (Cajete, 1994; León-Portilla, 1963, p.71). Therefore, the knowledge of function and position within family and community creates an awareness of the workings of the world. This is vital in
attaining characteristics needed in a shared cultural community (Cajete). Belonging is not only linked to a shared community but also to identity and culture. Brayboy (2005) explains that cultural knowledge fosters a sense of belonging as cultural knowledge reveals one’s identity. This can be seen in the interview question, “Do family members have the same racial/ethnic identity as you?” The participant responses included:

Table 4. 3 Interview Question Answered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and age</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felicita (83)</td>
<td>Yes….I guess Spanish, Hispanic is the same thing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elena (80)</td>
<td>I'm assuming they do….We never talk about anything, you know, personal like that ... or maybe we do and I don't recognize it as being something that they identify with racially….But like I said, not talking to them about it, I don't really know.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rose (57)</td>
<td>Did not directly answer question</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Later on in the interview, Rose had this to say about how she identifies herself. It’s important to note that she identified in relation to family: Yeah, my mom’s family all came from Mexico but my dad’s family came from Spain…..And then like our great-great grandmother was Navajo. We have Indian blood too, you know….So there are so many mixtures of blood in our family. I don’t know.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theresa (57)</td>
<td>Yeah….I think they do, especially like my siblings, my brothers do. We all kind of grew up with the same music. My mom and dad to. Now, the nieces and nephews, though Michelle, are growing up in a different kind of world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Statement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maria (55)</td>
<td>All on Grandma Isabella’s side, no….They would be insulted to be called a Mexican. But then on Grandma Valentina’s side, yes, I think she would be more open to whatever. I think she would be more open to saying that her family came from Mexico or I’m part Native American. She would be more open to not being stuck in the Spanish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ignacio (55)</td>
<td>I'd say yes….I think they would say it's both. I think those labels or identifiers for that generation, I think it was, either Hispanic or I’m a Chicano, I think are basically one and the same….they definitely identified themselves as Mexican-Americans….They took pride in that. And there was some prejudice during that time frame in America. This was the late 60’s early 70’s. All cultures were trying to figure out their place in America and people would use race as an identifier and now hopefully the majority of Americans are starting to look at a person’s character over their skin color.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ricardo (53)</td>
<td>Yes….Grandma Valentina….would identify as Hispanic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michelle (35)</td>
<td>No, but I didn't realize it until I moved away from New Mexico. I just knew I didn't like that title, Hispanic, but I didn't really know why I didn't like it until I moved away….Yeah, and that's how it was in Denver. In Denver, if you say Hispanic you're basically saying that you have no culture, like it's….Like you're assimilated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maricella (31)</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam (27)</td>
<td>Yeah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony (24)</td>
<td>Yes. Well, my Hispanic side, yes. I mean, my sister if you asked her she is not super into it, so she wouldn't do it on the research. She would be like, yeah, “I guess I'm Hispanic” but ... Same kind of thing with me. And my dad and my mom would say, “yes, I'm Hispanic.” Yeah, it's very strong in my family.</td>
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One’s identity and the identity of family is seen as type of belonging. For example, what ethnicity or race our family is, is what subsequent generations may also be. This can mostly be seen in the above participant responses. For example, nine (Felecita, Elena, Maria, Ignacio, Ricardo, Maricella, Sam, and Anthony) out of the eleven (Rose and Michelle) participants agreed that the identities of their family members, within the same generation or the next generation after, are the same identities as themselves. Rose mentions that we have many different mixtures of blood in our family so she isn’t quite sure. One thing that is for sure is that when looking at the third generation of family members, the family members in their 30s and under, the identities start to change. Theresa mentions this in her response, “Yeah….I think they do, especially like my siblings, my brothers do. We all kind of grew up with the same music. My mom and dad to. Now, the nieces and nephews, though Michelle, are growing up in a different kind of world.” I, age 35, said my identity is not the same as my family but it took moving away from New Mexico to realize this. Two of the participants (Elena and Ignacio) mentioned that terms to describe their racial, ethnic or cultural identities, can be used interchangeably. Another way one can view knowledge construction and belonging within a family is through Anthony’s view of identity. Anthony, age 24, when asked if he viewed identities as harmful or helpful responded by saying:
Oh, helpful. Totally helpful. Everyone is looking for it. You know what I mean? Everyone is looking for some type of identity. It's only harmful if you don't know what it is, or if you're confused about it. But in the perfect world, everybody would identify with something, and then feel part of something bigger, and then they would feel comfortable with themselves.

Many times people see identities as already formed, a type of knowledge constructed through belonging and family. However, it is interesting that not all of the participants identified the same way as their family. Theresa and I mention that the generations in their 20s and 30s do not have the same identities as the generations in their 50’s, 60’s, 70’s, and 80’s. This may be because the younger generations cultural knowledge is different than that of the older generations or it may be because of the younger generations relationship with education.

Education for the Nahuas was called, “Tlacahuapahua liztli (the art of strengthening or bringing up men) and Neixtlamachiliztli (the act of giving wisdom to the face)” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 134). Education did not come strictly from the schools. Education of cultural standards was also taught in the home as well. As León-Portilla mentions, “Many of the functions assigned to the father are analogous to the tlamatini (wise man) in his role as educator. He is a man of good heart and foresight, and brings
support and protection to his children. He is the first to teach self-awareness and self-discipline” (p. 135).

The Nahuas education in the home and education in the schools (Telpochcalli and Calmecac) were very similarly aligned and taught the cultural awareness of their community through a moral code, history and art. This type of education is very different than education enacted through settler colonialism where education is used as indoctrination. Through Indian education, modeling takes place rather than indoctrination (Deloria and Wildcat, 2001). Education through settler colonialism strips Indigenous children of their culture, misaligning them from the cultural education of their family and community, thus resulting in cultural discontinuity or cultural schizophrenia. The Hopis call cultural schizophrenia Koyaanisqatsi, meaning “world out of balance” (Hopi Dictionary Project, 1998). The Nahua people use the term Nepantla to describe cultural schizophrenia as no man's land (Anzaldúa, 2007; García & Lamadrid, 2012; León-Portilla, 1963). Each participant in their 20s and 30s except for one, has received a master’s degree or higher. It can be said that being educated through the settler narrative has created in the participant’s what has been described above as cultural discontinuity or cultural discontinuance. In relation to belonging, cultural discontinuity creates a separation from cultural awareness and may cause a separation from belonging. This will be examined further in Chapter five.
Whether cultural knowledge or formal schooling, in order for knowledge to be passed down to the younger generations, mastery is an integral step in the process. Mastery knowledge, especially within a family context, can aid in describing the world around us and connect us to our cultural knowledge.

**Mastery.** Mastery of knowledge includes guidance from family and the community through nurturing and supporting a child or family member toward mastery of their surroundings (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Ignacio, age 55 speaks about knowledge construction through mastery with the sorting of beans:

I remember when I was a kid and my mom would make beans. And she would...the night before, she would sit at a table....I would always sit with her. And she would kind of, after the beans would soak, she would kind of go through the beans and know which ones were good and spread out the bad ones before she would cook 'em....So I would kinda do that with her and it was like, *Oh, that's kind of cool.* I don't know nobody that does that anymore....cause like I said, I would sit there with my mom as a little kid and I would see how she would separate the beans. I would help her separate beans out of the package and I don't know if I was doing what right, but I was just trying to mimic what she was doing and you know....And you could talk about your day and stuff like that...
Here it can be seen that Ignacio not only felt a sense of belonging while sorting beans but he also was being taught an important family ritual of preparation of a meal. Therefore, mastery of Indigenous culture was that in order to move towards proficiency, one must have guidance in the task.

Ricardo age 53 speaks about mastery through hauling water:

Grandma used to make us haul water. There was a cabin. It was pretty big. I shouldn't even call it a cabin….It was a ranch house. It sat kind of at the top of this hill. If you go down the hill, there was a pond and that's where we got our water. We would go down there with buckets and haul them up the hill. Grandma used to...what she would do is we'd bring the buckets, we'd give them to her, she'd have water boiling on the stove, and that's how she sterilized it. That would be the water that we drank, or they boiled water so we could all take baths. They had one of those round galvanized steel tubs, and they would just pour the water in that.

That's what we would take our baths in.

Mastery for Indigenous people is also a means of survivance (Vizenor, 1998; Vizenor and Lee, 1999). Brayboy (2005), explains this notion of survivance as creating awareness of what is needed in order to change and persevere. Thus, the notion of survivance can be achieved through sense of tradition, empowerment, relativity, and individuation (Cajete,
A sense of tradition, empowerment, relativity, and individuation can be seen in Ricardo's' experience with honey ants.

**Independence.** Through Indigenous knowledge, children and families must be provided a foundation for independence and discover respect and esteem towards Elders, as well as be educated in character and ways of behaving (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). In this way, Indigenous youth are able to make well thought out decisions, so their ability for self-control starts at a young age (Brendtro & Brokenleg). Therefore, youth respond better to the setting of innate goals rather than from the insistence of others. This is an example of Indigenous practices towards raising children through guidance rather than intrusion, shame or blame (Brendtro & Brokenleg). Anthony age 24 explains this sense of independence saying:

I think my parents were a good balance of not putting pressure on us at all in terms of what types of grades we get, but they made school feel so important to me and my sister that we were like, ‘Okay, we have to try hard at this thing called school.’...They would never get upset if we got B's or whatever. It wasn't like straight A type of environment. It was just like, this is an important thing me and my sister have to accomplish….Yeah, they just cared if you were doing your homework, and they were always, always there to help….So me and my sister always knew it was an important thing.
Felicita, age 83 experienced Independence in regards to household chores. She says:

When we were little, my mom had the Parkinson's ever since I can remember....So she was not a very healthy lady, but I remember getting home from school and your Grandma, she would help my mom with all the ironing and whatever had to be done and my brothers would go outside and bring in the wood for the stove for the night....And my mom made me go for the mail. I don't know why we expected mail, but every day after school I had to walk about a mile to go get the mail and there was hardly ever any mail.

Felicita describes working Independently in direct relation to the community. Everyone had a job that benefited the family. Indigenous child-rearing practices ensure children have foundational appreciation for all persons to be in control of their own destiny. Thus, independence is attained through the ability to navigate independently all while being grounded in belonging to their community (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001).

**Generosity.** Family stories are also a form of generosity in which stories are passed down to help the generations after. That being said, through the repetition of storytelling, teachings become more significant as the increased listening of stories led to a deep revelation of meaning (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Storytelling inspired higher cognitive thinking in the recitation as well as gratitude and analysis of that story (Brendtro and Brokenleg). As Cajete (1994) explains, stories and teachings continue or
cease through people. Stories and teachings, as living inventions, are forms of communications, mindful ponderings, that are sustained through the people who share and breath them (Cajete). Rose, age 57, remembers learning about spirits through stories. She said:

I always think about that. I always wonder, all the stuff that they would experience or witness, or hear about back then. Because everyone believed in all that stuff….I remember one night we were sitting, playing cards, because there was only one TV in the house and we didn’t want to go to the back room, because it was too cold. We would always play cards, every night, every night, we’d play cards. One night we were sitting there and we heard a knock on the door. So my grandma went out there and looked around and there was nobody there. So she comes back and she says, ‘nobody was there.’ Somebody must’ve died. They believed in that, the spirits would come and let them know that somebody died….So the next day, one of her nieces had died. And she told us that’s how the spirits would come and let us know.

The other participants relate to stories in various ways. For example, when the participants were asked, “How have family stories shaped who you are?” The participants responded with the below answers.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and age</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felicita (83)</td>
<td>They have helped. They have shaped who I am because they talk of things that have been in the past that have stayed with me and that have stayed with me and to where I want to do the cultural thing with the stories….I tell the stories to the grandkids about how my dad used to get together, the community together for potlucks.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elena (80)</td>
<td>You know who else is a really good story teller is my brother….Oh yeah. Some of them are gifted that way, he just knows how to tell these really wonderful stories. I don't know where he got it from, I don't know, but he's the only one in the family that I know….well he's really my cousin...who would be his mom and my mom were sisters….So you know, I do have some family members that have these wonderful, wonderful stories that they tell you of things that they remember when they're growing up that have to do with family.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rose (57)</td>
<td>Um, yeah there are some stories, I guess so, and some of them I tell to my kids. I mean, grandma, we always sat around every night around the wood stove and just talked about old times and she would tell me about her childhood growing up in old town. Everything that she saw, the hangings, the murders, her dad was the judge there. She taught me how to read the bible in Spanish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theresa (57)</td>
<td>Oh my god, I think that's part of what gives me like my sense of humor. You know what I mean? I mean, because our family is funny, you know….We have good memories and good family stories. I loved to hear how my dad was growing up, you know? It feels good, because I think you feel connected to something that's bigger than just what's here now. You know, the past. It's where we came from, so it's good to hear those stories.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Response</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maria (55)</td>
<td>I don't know if they have. I just think it’s nice knowing your history. How people were, what they did. What different things they celebrated and how they celebrated. Like their traditions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ignacio (55)</td>
<td>Let's see. I think growing up, listening to my parents and uncles, when they would have conversations, I guess you kind of looked up to them and you'd see the things that they did. So yeah, I think it always influences you….Because basically that's your world right there, that family. You're looking to them as your examples, and you want to try to make them proud I guess.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ricardo (53)</td>
<td>Well, I don't think I heard a lot of family stories. I heard stories from family, but they weren't about our lineage. Grandma Isabella and her sister...they loved the supernatural. They would tell us about ghosts and La Llorana and all this stuff, and that was part of our culture, too. I guess I forgot about that. They taught me more about the earth and the way things are here and the spirituality of it. Have you ever read &quot;Bless Me, Ultima&quot;....Okay. That book, if you wanted to know what my childhood felt like, it's all in that book. The street that we grew up on was a dirt road, you know, in the heart of Santa Fe and there was still a dirt road because we lived in the poor part of town. Let's see. What else? Yeah, but I don't remember her talking about family or tradition or anything like that.....They would, both of them, would tell us about spirituality more than anything else. I don't want to call it witchcraft because that's never what they called it, but Grandma Isabella, I heard, was a Curandera when she was younger. She was a healing witch, basically. Those are the things I learned about….It never went beyond that generation. They never told us about our great-grandparents.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michelle (35)</td>
<td>Well, I don’t think family stories were told past my parents lived experiences. My parents would tell me stories of their mistakes in life or successes. That helped shape my decisions in the future.</td>
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Creation stories were not told to us. Well, except through the catholic church. The catholic church would teach us the creation story of Adam and Eve. But nothing of Indigenous creation stories.

| Maricella (31) | Stories about our ancestors or just….I don't know if I know much about the history. I mean, I remember dad talking about family in Cañon stuff like that. I do actually remember going on ... where did we go with mom and dad? To that Native American place where they ... it was like some battle, and then they had blades, it's actually kind of seared in my mind….But I forget what it was called. I think a lot of our stories revolved a lot around Catholicism. |
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relatives lived as well as what traditions they practiced. Theresa mentioned that family stories helped give her a sense of humor. Ricardo mentioned learning about the earth through family stories but wishing that he heard stories about the lives of his great-grandparents. Three participants (Rose, Michelle, and Maricella) mentioned catholic stories influencing the stories that were passed down. Rose mentioned reading from the Spanish bible with her grandma, while I described wanting to know about non-Catholic creation stories, and Maricella mentioned that a lot of her stories revolved around Catholicism. Not only religion was passed down through family stories but spirituality. Ricardo remembered learning about the spirits and his family's spiritual practices. Rose learned about the history of New Mexico from her family stories.

Regardless, of the many stories told, stories pass on the history, traditions, beliefs and cultures of those who have come before us. Stories connect us to our ancestors, help us in the present and hopefully help guide us to our center. Generosity is about finding your center, or what the Aztecs call, completing Omeyocan, the place where Ometéotl resides (León-Portilla, 1963). Once a person has found their center, they then have the means to be generous, to give to others (León-Portilla), and pass what they know to future generations. The next section will address educational impacts of Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family.
C. How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?

Education such as missionary education, boarding schools, and K-12 education and higher education, for many Indigenous people, were the oppression and assimilation over Native people (Smith, 2012). These institutions of colonial education, unequivocally forced the change and decline of one’s Native belief, language, and culture (Smith). In a continuous effort to oppress and assimilate Indigenous people towards American society, colonial education, missionary or religious education was then replaced by public education (Smith). In Brayboy’s (2005) sixth tenet, he highlights that governmental and educational strategies against Indigenous people are closely tied around the goal of acculturation. Therefore, it is important to investigate how educational experiences of family members are passed on intergenerationally and impact one's identity. In order to further present and analyze the third sub question, two interview questions and participant answers will be displayed and then the participants educational experiences will be considered through the following themes: (1) age difference; (2) gender differences; and (3) race and place differences. The first interview question “Have your family's educational experiences impacted your ethnic or racial identity?” was asked and the participants answered with the below responses.

Table 4. 5 Interview Questions Answered

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name and age</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tr>
<th>Felicita (83)</th>
<th>No, they didn't. They didn't have an education whatsoever….No.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elena (80)</td>
<td>So I don't think that anybody influenced me in any way….No...they [parents] lived at the ranch….Dad, I don't really know that much about dad. All I know is they got married...when they were pretty young, I guess. I don't even know how they met. I don't remember how they must have met, but I have no idea….They never went to high school. Maybe grade school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rose (57)</td>
<td>Did not directly answer the question</td>
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<td></td>
<td>It should be noted that later in the interview, Rose was discussing her father's educational experiences and how that impacted her family’s educational experiences. She said, “Uh huh. It’s just that my dad liked to speak Spanish and my mom spoke it, so that's how they communicated. And then when I came along, they just kept talking in Spanish and then when I started school, I didn’t know any English. So they helped me a lot. My mom always made sure that every word I spoke I knew how to spell….Yeah, she was really good. She was always reading to us and stuff. And my dad he had to quit school when he was 14 because his dad died and there were seven kids after him. So, he quit school and he went to go work to finish raising the kids, and the youngest one was nine months. But my dad, oh yes, education was very important to him and my mom. My brother wanted to quit school, they didn’t let him. They made him stay in school and they made him” graduate. He suffered a lot, you know, he just didn't like school. He fell behind a year. But he was with my sister and she helped him along too. He did graduate finally.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Theresa (57)</td>
<td>You know, their educational experiences, like my mom and dad's, were mostly like Anglo teachers coming to these small towns to teach them. Then like, not knowing the language, and not letting them speak the language. Which, I guess,</td>
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maybe that's why I'm so like, "Oh my god. I'm so glad I'm Spanish." Like a little defiance. Like, who are you people to tell these people not to speak, you know, Spanish. That's what they grew up with. And, they knew they needed to learn English, and all that. But, it was like a really bad thing for them. I guess I feel fortunate. You know, now Spanish is being taught in school. You know what I mean?

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria (55)</td>
<td>I’d say no.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignacio (55)</td>
<td>No, they didn't have a lot of education.....So I'd have to say no to that one. Yeah, because my dad only went to the 7th grade. My mom graduated high school, but that was it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ricardo (53)</td>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michelle (35)</td>
<td>I think that’s what happened to my dad and all his siblings. Because Auntie Catalina spoke [Spanish only], and then, I think, when she went to school it was really hard for her too. And then after that, they decided to teach everyone English and so yeah, the younger ones only spoke English....Yeah and that the school called and said she can’t come back until she speaks English....In’t that awful. That’s what my dad was telling me and then after that they thought oh my gosh, none of our kids will be allowed in school, we better teach all of them English.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maricella (31)</td>
<td>Well, I guess like mom and dad's, they were college educated, did that change the way that I thought about my....Probably. I mean. Sometimes you think Hispanic and you think more poor or not educated, but then mom and dad, who strove and worked hard, and mom's a teacher and dads on his second career. I think that has helped me to be more educated and successful...You can strive for more, right.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sam (27)</td>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anthony (24)</td>
<td>I don’t think much about how my family’s educational</td>
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experiences impacted me in terms of how I feel about my racial background. They more motivated me to pursue a degree because I know it would make them and myself proud. Also, because I have always been in an English school, meaning I never learned Spanish, which is the native language of my “Hispanic” upbringing. It added to the confusion.

Most of the participants when answering the interview question, “Have your family's educational experiences impacted your ethnic or racial identity?” responded no. To be more specific, four (Rose, Theresa, Michelle, and Maricella), out of the eleven (Felecita, Elena, Maria, Ignacio, Ricardo, Sam, and Anthony) participants said that their family's educational experiences impacted their ethnic or racial identity. It’s important to note, Felecita and Elena, in their eighties, were the first in their families to attend grade school and complete high school. Rose, Theresa, myself, and Maricella all commented on how their family’s educational experiences impacted their ethnic or racial identity in some way. Rose recollected that although her parents were bilingual, they only spoke Spanish in the home. Because of this, Rose was a monolingual Spanish speaker when she entered the school system. Because her parents also knew English they were able to help her with her studies at home. It’s unclear if her parent’s educational experiences impacted her racial or ethnic identity but her parents’ bilingualism greatly impacted her success in school. Her success in learning English eventually led her to becoming a monolingual English speaker and then later she became bilingual (Spanish/English) when she went to
live with her grandma. Theresa mentioned the bias her parents faced when confronted with having Anglo teachers and how they were not allowed to speak Spanish in the school. Because of this, Theresa says it makes her proud that she can still speak Spanish despite the schools enacting English only policy. I describe my experiences with English only policy as leaving a negative impact on her. I states, “Yeah and that the school called and said she can’t come back until she speaks English….In’t that awful. That’s what my dad was telling me and then after that they thought oh my gosh, none of our kids will be allowed in school, we better teach all of them English.” San Miguel Jr and Donato (2010) affirm that the intent of schools (in the 1900s) was to acculturate Indigenous students:

> education in all its forms, served to reproduce a highly stratified society aimed at ensuring the political and cultural hegemony of the dominant Anglo group in the society….Education was also a site of contestation….Latinos, likewise, sought to use education to promote their own identities and to improve their socioeconomic status in American society. The result has been many decades of conflict and tensions in the educational arena. (p. 27)

Because Maricella’s parents used education to improve their socioeconomic status, Maricella explains her parents’ educational experiences as positively impacting her racial and ethnic identity. For example, Maricella states:

> Well, I guess like mom and dad's, they were college educated, did that change the way that I thought about my….Probably. I mean. Sometimes you think Hispanic and you think more poor or not educated, but then mom and dad, who strove and
worked hard, and mom's a teacher and dads on his second career. I think that has helped me to be more educated and successful….You can strive for more, right.

Although schools have long been a point of acculturation, assimilation and settler colonialism, schools have also been a means for Indigenous people to improve their socioeconomic status. That in itself, when viewed through the lens of settler-colonialism, is problematic. Western notions of education not only strip Indigenous people of their cultural practices but enforce the notion that success is only for those who adopt every aspect of Western education and culture. In order for Indigenous students to feel a sense of belonging and a tie to their cultural practices and beliefs, it's important to name ways Indigenous practices and beliefs are celebrated in the schools. The next section will examine the ways Indigenous teachings, practices, or beliefs were included in the participants’ school experiences. The interview question, “How have your racial/ethnic/cultural identities shown up in your education?” was asked and the participants replied with the following responses:

Table 4.6 Interview Questions Answered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and age</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felicita (83)</td>
<td>No, they didn't have anything like that. Everything was in English. In fact they wouldn't let us talk Spanish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elena (80)</td>
<td>Did not answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose (57)</td>
<td>Did not directly answer</td>
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It should be noted that later in the interview, Rose spoke about her school including cultural ties to which she responded, “No, I don't think so. I don't remember them ever doing that. The only thing I remember is I never had to go to school on my birthday. That's when they would celebrate the feast day at the pueblo. They would give us the day off because a lot of the students were dancing. They weren't allowed to go to school on that day, so they would close the school down. They had all of their doings. I don't know what that means but they wouldn't go to school that day. That seems like so long ago.”

Theresa (57)

Yeah, but I guess just - it showed up in my education. I think part of it was being the Spanish club president… BUT I can't even remember what the Spanish club did or if we did anything…..But I think once I got to high school and I met [friend], we just wanted to cruise and meet guys. You know what I mean….That was like our big thing. I wasn't that involved. I think I took a creative writing class…..But I wasn't too involved at [high school].

Maria (55)

I don't know if they have. The only thing I did was gymnastics. I'm sure in high school if I looked at my yearbook I would see all those groups, but I wasn't aware. Maybe I felt like they didn't apply to me, you know. Even in college, studying stuff, I never even thought my ancestors were a part of that. I wasn't enlightened to that.

Ignacio (55)

Racial, ethnic, cultural….I recognized with that, more in middle school and high school….Cause that’s when you know, that's when you're growing up. When you're a kid, I don't think anybody really pays attention to race…..I think everybody's more… they're just another face that you can see eye to eye with, little kids…..And you can kind of talk and play with. So I don't think anybody really... at least I don't think it's that important when you're really little kid. I think you probably start more identifying with who you are
as you get older.

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<th>Ricardo (53)</th>
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<td>Well, I'd say that because of that bilingual program we mentioned earlier, it had a huge impact in who I perceived myself to be. Because we're culturally...what's the word, we have an identity here in this part of the country....And the bilingual program in the school that I went to incorporated local custom in what they taught.</td>
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<th>Michelle (35)</th>
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<td>It was...just like a one-sided Colonial narrative. Like they didn't bring in...for me anyways, any brown scholars or black scholars or red scholars.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Maricella (31)</th>
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<tr>
<td>I don't know if they have, really. I'm trying to think.....I can't recall anything, really....Oh, yeah...something with La Frida.....I can't remember exactly what we did, but I remember seeing her uni-brow....That's the only thing I can recall.</td>
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<th>Sam (27)</th>
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<tr>
<td>I don’t think they have.</td>
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<td>* It’s important to note that Sam later mentions taking a Hispanic writing class</td>
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<th>Anthony (24)</th>
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<td>Well we had New Mexico history, which was a class I really liked. I remember it vividly, and was I a freshman? Yeah, I was a freshman....I remembered I learned a lot about the language of Spanish, not just ... I didn't learn Spanish in that class, but I learned why we spoke Spanish and I learned a lot about Pancho Villa. I learned a lot about just what made up New Mexico, and why we are there, why we are part of the United States, which is cool. And I was so young, and I shouldn't have appreciated it so much back then, but I did, even back then.</td>
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Most of the participants when asked, “How have your racial/ethnic/cultural identities shown up in your education?” responded that they didn't. Six (Felecita, Rose,
Maria, Ignacio, Michelle and Sam) out of the ten (Theresa, Ricardo, Maricella, and Anthony) participants replied that their racial, ethnic, or cultural identities have not shown up in their education. Later on in the interview, Sam did mention that he took a Hispanic Writing Class. For those participants (Theresa, Ricardo, Maricella, and Anthony) that do remember their racial, ethnic and cultural identities showing up in their education, they remembered them through clubs, bilingual classes, Mexican artists, and through electives. Theresa mentioned that she was Spanish club president but didn’t remember the details of the club. Ricardo recalls taking bilingual classes with the teachers incorporating local New Mexican customs. Maricella calls to mind learning about the Mexican artist Frida Kahlo but doesn’t recollect the details of this event. Anthony mentioned that he had a New Mexico history class and he learned about the language of Spanish and Pancho Villa, who was a Mexican revolutionist. Although four of the ten participants recall some sort of racial, ethnic or cultural custom being implemented in their education, it’s not enough. In fact, only one of the participants recollects the exact details and impacts these educational events had on them. As Spring (2018) argues, schools are managers of public thought. What are known as culture wars in the United States, Spring calls ideological management. As Spring explains, “Ideological management involves the creation and distribution of knowledge in a society. Schools play a central role in the distribution of particular knowledge in a
society. Public schools were established to distribute knowledge to children and youth” (p.8). Spring continues saying that because knowledge is not impartial, an ever present dispute remains regarding the socio-political, and economic subject matter of schools. This dispute spills over into the area of multicultural education in public schools. Because of this, the next section, will investigate how education impacts Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family through the following themes: (1) age differences; (2) gender differences; (3) place differences.

**Age differences.** Prior to the 1900s, New Mexican superintendent of Public Instruction, Amado Chaves, called for more bilingual teachers (Spanish/English). He said, “English and Spanish are to go hand in hand in our schools, and only the height of bigotry and supine ignorance can ever affirm that the possessor of more than one language is unfit to be a good citizen” (Chaves, 1896, p.8-9; Nieto-Phillips, 2004, p.198). By 1905, New Mexican superintendents were being replaced with Anglo Americans and the push for bilingual schools by these superintendents became nonexistent (Nieto-Phillips). This can be seen through Felecita’s (age 83) school experiences. Felecita who started school in the 1940s stated:

> Everything was in English [language of the schools]. In fact they wouldn't let us talk Spanish...No, that wasn't nice either when we were growing up. No, we couldn't speak our language...We felt bad about it, because we couldn't talk. But
when we were in recess, we would talk Spanish...If the teacher wasn't there. But if we were inside the class we could not say anything in Spanish. If they heard us they would get upset...and we didn't know that much English, so we didn't talk...It's amazing how I'd look back and I think...before you go to school back then, your parents didn't know English, but you go and you start from scratch, really. Learning your numbers and everything...Looking back, now I think well it must have been hard. Because there was nobody at home that could teach me numbers, or anything. Cause my parents didn't have an education...And they only spoke Spanish.

Felicita was able to remain bilingual because her parents only spoke Spanish. It could also be imagined that Felictia’s Nahua speaking ancestors experienced the same type of oppression of their nauah language when the Spanish colonized Mexico. Gonzales (2012) recounts this first wave of settler colonialism with the King and Queen of Spain. Gonzales explains that not only did they use settler colonialism to exploit the land and resources, but they also used education to erase Indigenous identity and shift towards a Spanish body politic identity. As Lockhart (1992) explains:

Linguistic phenomena prove to be the most sensitive indicator the historical record contains of the extent, nature, and trajectory of contact between the two populations [Nahuas and Spanish]...the Spanish spoken by the Nahuas...belongs more to the history of Hispanization--the absorption of indigenous people into Hispanic society. (p. 261 & 262)
Another Participant recalls her time in class learning English but only at the cost of losing her native tongue, Spanish. Rose age 56 says of her education:

Learning English. Sitting there in class, looking at the teacher lost. I just felt so alone. I guess I picked it [English] up pretty fast, my mom said. Pretty soon I was forgetting the Spanish. My Spanish language, and I really didn't speak it that much until I went to go live with Grandma. Knowing that she spoke English she rather have me talk to her in Spanish, which I did. She taught me to read the bible in Spanish.

In 1940, George Isadore Sanchez described the sad shape of education and how it impacted his “forgotten people,” describing New Mexicans as remaining on the cusp of American society, still waiting for complete acceptance (Nieto-Phillips, 2004, p. 204). Nieto-Phillips explains that the exclusion of New Mexicans will forever be one of the immense paradoxes of New Mexico's past, where contrary to Anglo Americans love for Hispanophilia, their love, admiration, and tourist dollars did not cross over into the socio-political sphere for New Mexicans (Nieto-Phillips). As Ignacio, age 55, recalled:

Something, I guess a regret of mine, is...growing up in that timeframe that I grew up in, my culture was kind of looked down upon. Remember I said there was racial lines, white, black, and everybody kind of looked down on one another and they put everybody in boxes...But when my brothers and sisters went to school,
they could speak nothing but Spanish, and they were looked down upon. So my parents decided, ‘Well, we're just not gonna teach them Spanish, we'll just teach them English.’ So I never picked up my language, which is kind of a regret for me.

The participants all attended public New Mexico high schools during the 1900s. As seen above, the push for English only education greatly impacted the participants native Spanish language, culture and identities. Spring (2018) notes:

By the twentieth century, Western forms of schooling had spread around the world as European colonies girdled the globe with colonial settlements….Wherever they went, European colonists assumed the role of cultural imperialists trying to replace what they considered inferior local traditions. (p.12)

The next section will discuss the gender differences of each participants’ educational experiences.

**Gender differences.** Spring (2018) reveals that families living in rural areas needed children for farm work, or in Felicita's case, her brothers helped out the family by working at the local sawmill. Gender differences greatly impacted the participants experience with school. In Felicita’s family, the boys left school early to enter the workforce while Felicita, age 83, and her sister were encouraged to obtain their high school diploma. She said:
I know he [brother] went to high school, him and my sister. ‘Cause they used to talk that they were in high school together. And then my brother didn't like high school so he quit...and at that time it was no big deal, I guess. My parents didn't force him to stay in school. So I think he was in nine or tenth grade, when he quit school...and then they had a sawmill, and that's where all the men worked. At the sawmill, that's where they got their money. My dad worked at the sawmill....and my brothers were too. And the pay at that time was pretty good....I graduated in '53, so that had to have been in the 50's.

Although Felecita did not comment on the working conditions of the sawmill, historically, mills are not known for providing the best working conditions for their employees. For example, Spring (2018) explains that children working in textile mills worked from 5 A.M. to 7 P.M. six days a week, with only half hour off for breakfast and dinner, and the environment being described as being void of sunlight, with dust and fibers filling the air. Thus, a social class of child laborers was very high during this time period.

Another thought to consider is not only the working conditions of children who did not complete school but the centering of settler colonialism in relation to gender norms. Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) describe the centering of settler colonialism within gender studies as shedding light on the ever present systemic design of settler
colonialism and its influential impacts on Indigenous people. Revealing settler colonialism within the lens of gender studies creates fresh perceptions of what decolonization might entail for all of humanity (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill). Anthony’s experiences with gender norms in high school when scrutinized through settler colonialism uncover ways that settler colonialism still persists today. As Anthony (age 24) said socially, he felt like he didn’t fit in in high school. He explained:

it was hard for me, because everyone's going through puberty and I was just such a late bloomer...I was so small, yet my brain kind of still works the way it does now. I've always been intentional and deep and stuff. I was like….I know that I have to relate, in some way, to these people, for me to feel okay about myself. So I'm going to be shouted out at all of the honors events, and I'll be top 10 in my class, and I'll do all these things so no one can judge me on my body frame and stuff like that. It was honestly very strenuous and I didn't have a lot of friends until….It's funny, cause I didn't have a lot of friends until sophomore, junior year, and then I had a ton of friends simply because I was already good at school. Then I actually had a little growth spurt. So in my mind, everything was okay, especially senior year of high school was like….I still think about that all the time now. Always...I don't think if I wasn't as small as I was, I don't think I would work out as much as I do now. I really don't...It's so different. Honestly though,
freshman year, they should've never done this to anybody. Freshman year of high school at [name of high school] in P.E. class, we got our weight, our height, in front of everybody….When I was a freshman in high school, I couldn't bench the bar, 45 pounds.

As Anthony describes, having to physically demonstrate settler colonialism ideals of masculinity in front of his peers is disconcerting and damaging to a child’s development of sense of self and identity. Thus, Anthony’s experiences, are what Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill described “as both heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism” which can be described as interpretations of patriarchy and paternalism defined within “the male/female binary, in which the male gender is perceived as strong, capable, wise, and composed and the female gender is perceived as weak, incompetent, naïve, and confused” (p. 13).

Settler colonialism gender norms can also be tied to my, age 35, school experiences. When growing up, I hated school, explaining:

I hated school, but I felt like I was just there socially, I was just there for the social adventure….Yeah, but I never felt smart until right now, where I'm getting my Ph.D….I've always felt really, really dumb….It took me a long time to realize I just didn't get a very good education. It's not me personally, I just didn't get the best education. And so I think now, I'm so determined to make sure my
kids get the best education....I don't think I ever really challenged myself. I took the easy classes. There was one time where I signed up for trigonometry, and I dropped it because I'm like, *I don't know what the heck this person's talking about*, you know?

My experiences when viewed through settler colonialism, are seen as settler colonialism’s influence of gender roles among Indigenous people. As Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) explain, “As Native feminist theories suggest, a decolonization movement must thirst for the eradication of both heteropatriarchy and settler colonialism or else it will do little to achieve decolonization for either Indigenous women or men” (p. 16 - 17). A move towards decolonization of gender roles lies in the way Indigenous people have always seen gender roles, as non-binary, and defined, or not by that individual person.

**Race and Place differences.** Spring (2018) speaks to the creation of the high school explaining:

High school[s] became a mass institution around the 1920s and 1930s....As the high school became a universal institution in the 20th century, the concerns with formal learning for the discipline of the mind would be displaced by concerns for preparation for occupations. (p.111)

A deceased participant Natalia Naranjo, who was born in 1928 went to a Catholic school in a larger New Mexico town. Because she lived in a smaller neighboring town, she had to be bussed to the Catholic school:
But then she graduated from a Catholic school. Because at that time, they...in [larger New Mexico city], where they came to school, it was a Catholic school....But when I started, they had already built another school, because they didn't wanna mix religion with government. And the government was paying the buses to bring them to a Catholic school. So they had to make a change. So your grandma graduated from [Name of Catholic high school]. And then they built [name of public high school]....When I started school, it was [name of public high school].

Felecita age 83 describes her town as small saying there wasn’t a lot of discrimination as everyone mostly identified as Spanish, “And my background, when I was growing up we lived in a very small community, mostly Spanish people. So there was no thinking of well, I'm Spanish and therefore I...it was just altogether….There wasn't enough interracial in our little community.” It is interesting that the local pueblo was about 20 minutes away from where Felecita grew up, but as Felecita explains, her community was made up of mostly, if not all Spanish-Americans.

Rose’s experiences in this same town were very different than Felicita's experiences. Almost 30 years later, a local high school was built in town and students no longer needed to be bussed to the larger nearby city. Rose (age 56) went to school near a
New Mexico Pueblo. When asked if her culture was incorporated into her classes she responded:

The only thing I remember is I never had to go to school on my birthday. That's when they would celebrate the feast day at the pueblo. They would give us the day off because a lot of the students were dancing. They weren't allowed to go to school on that day, so they would close the school down. They had all of their doings. I don't know what that means but they wouldn't go to school that day.

That seems like so long ago.

Rose’s explanation leads us to believe that after almost 30 years, from the time Felicita went to school, the Hispanos and the Native Americans were integrated in the small town near the New Mexico pueblo.

Ignacio, grew up in a bigger city in New Mexico, it was there that he noticed discrimination:

I think, okay, I think as we were growing up like I said in elementary school, I don't think it [race] really mattered...I really started identifying as being Chicano until I got to middle school and high school. You know I always knew I was Hispanic because I grew up in the household, but I guess not really saying, ‘Okay, this is who I am. I'm brown and I'm proud.’ ....Well to be honest, a lot of times there were other people....I'm more...my skin tone is more fair....And I had light

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colored hair. So I would sometimes, I would get it from other Chicanos who were more brown than I was that, ‘Hey, you're not a Chicano. Look at you. You're a coyote.’ And they would automatically assume that I was half and half...So I would get that a lot. ‘You're a coyote, aren't you?’ And I'd say, ‘What's?’ It took me awhile to figure out what that meant. And they basically meant I was a mutt or some mixed breed.

There are many definitions associated to the term coyote. One meaning for the word coyote can be applied to non-Indians in which coyotes want the Indians to disappear, take over Indian land, to make Indians into coyotes, and leave no trace of the presence of Indians (León-Portilla, 1962). Another definition of coyote is the offspring of Spanish or Hispanic and Anglo parents. The term coyote can be traced back to the Spanish casta system during the 1700s (León, 1924).

It is intriguing each participants experiences with race and place in education. Each participant is Indian, not only from their Indigenous roots in Mexico but Rose and Ignacio also are of Navajo descent. As discussed in earlier sections, because of the casta system, not only implemented by Spain but also in New Mexico, it became more desirable to be identified as Spanish and Catholic, thus erasing Indigenous identity. Therefore, it makes sense that everyone, during Felecita’s time period would identify as Spanish or Spanish American and nothing else. Felecita’s older sister, Natalia, was
bussed every day to a Catholic high school. Natalia throughout her life remained a devout Catholic. As Spring (2018) says, schools are reproductions of knowledge by the dominant society. Schools as a reproduction of knowledge by the dominant society was not only used during American invasion but also during Spanish colonialism as well. During Spanish colonialism, education was used to ensure the supremacy of Catholicism, forcefully connecting natives to the Spanish body politic and the Catholic religion (Gonzales, 2012; Wagenheim and Jimenez-Wagenheim, 1971). This method of assimilation included components of vocational training, student labor, the teaching of appropriate behaviour, conformity to Spanish rule, and devoutness to Catholicism and Catholic priests, to name a few (Gonzales; Wagenheim and Jimenez-Wagenheim).

In regards to Rose’s experiences in school it makes sense that Rose’s Indigenous identity was not supported or integrated by her high school. As mentioned in a previous section, though Mexican Americans are classified as Indians, and share the same place as neighboring pueblo Indians, during American settler colonialism, they were not seen as the original American Indians of America (Spring, 2018, p.187; Donato, 1997). By internalizing the South and North border of the Americas, we are fulfilling the detachment of our own ancestral history, beliefs and knowledge. Furthermore, we are fulfilling the detachment of our people and kin (Gonzales, 2012).
Ignacio’s experience with race and place in education, sheds light on internalized racism within groups. Jones (2000) expresses internalized racism as:

acceptance by members of the stigmatized races of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth. It is characterized by their not believing in others who look like them, and not believing in themselves. It involves accepting limitations to one’s own full humanity, including one’s spectrum of dreams, one’s right to self-determination, and one’s range of allowable self-expression. (p.1213)

Jones’s definition of internalized racism can also be applied to group thinking as well. As seen through Ignacio's experience, Ignacio who is a lighter skin Chicano, experienced discrimination by his own people, of his own race. As McFarland (2000) explains, this an example of the enduring subjugation of border politics. Where border politics between two European invaders position Indigenous people of the Americas in contrast to one another through invader structures which then impact how Indigenous people live and identify (Gonzales, 2012). Through internalization of these “national identities, we--Chicanos and other native people of the Americas--are internalizing borders imposed by foreign colonial powers” (Gonzales, p. 309).

**D. What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?**

As mentioned above, the participants of this study are a people many times colonized. However this study focused on only two colonial invasions. First, the Spanish invasion and then the United States settlement. Both times education was used as a tool for assimilation. The Nahuatl schools, created by the Aztecs held to a strict code of ethics
and law (León-Portilla, 1963). Sahagún, a Spanish friar, noted these beliefs and practices taught to the students. Sahagún also wrote about the drastic shift of these ideals and ways of life among Nahuatl students after the Spanish Invasion. Sahagún states, “they [Aztecs] had organized education in conformity with the needs of the people. All of this ended with the arrival of the Spaniards, because they destroyed and abolished all of the customs and disciplined ways that the Indians had” (León-Portilla, 1963, p. 143-144). Sahagún continues to say that the Spanish invaders looked upon the Indians as uncivilized heathens with the end goal of indoctrination towards Spanish practices both religious and social, at the complete erasure and removal of Nahuatl ways of life (León-Portilla, 1963).

After the first wave of settler colonialism from the Spaniards came the second wave of settler colonialism from the United States of America. Education through the settler narrative has long been a tool for oppression. Furthermore, Spanish settler colonialism fused with United States settler colonialism has led to internal and external deficit viewpoints and labels including internalized racism (Jones, 2000), decrease in self-esteem, uncertainty with ethnic and racial background, injustices, racism and fascism (Estrada, 2009).

Estrada (2009) has termed the internalization of deficit viewpoints of self as historical trauma. Historical trauma when scrutinized over 500 years of oppression of Indigenous people in the southwest is still pertinent, especially when looking at education
historically and presently. The themes that emerge through the participant narratives include racism and racial segregation in the schools (race), language loss and lack of Indigenous narratives throughout education (cultural genocide). These themes will be examined as well as a third theme, contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies. The culmination of these themes will aid in presenting and analyzing the last sub question of this study.

**Race.** Created through the settler narrative, education throughout the generations, has re-established racism and racial segregation. As Lewis (2004) states, “schools are arguably one of the central institutions involved in the drawing and redrawing of racial lines” (p. 4). Tuck and Gaztanbide-Fernandez (2013) explain that “The violence of invasion is not contained to first contact or the unfortunate birthpangs of a new nation, but is reasserted each day of occupation” (p. 73). Race was created in order for settler colonialism to be successful. The separation of races throughout the years to present day can be seen through the participants’ lived experiences. For example, Ignacio age 55, explained his experiences with racism in the schools. When looking at racial segregation Ignacio was asked: How have your racial, ethnic, or cultural identities shown up in your education? He responded:

... at least I don't think it's that important when you’re a really little kid. I think you probably start more identifying with who you are as you get older...Middle
school, high school, and you're trying to fit into the...social norms...Just trying to figure out your place in the world. And trying to... cause sometimes, I guess you could look at high school like a little prison. Everybody goes into their own certain clicks...And they stick with it. I remember in high school, we had the white dudes that would all hang out. Or the cowboys. And then the rowdy Chicanos would hang out in a certain spot. All these little clicks, I don't know if you wanna call them gangs, little clicks that people would hang out with.

Racial lines in education are drawn as early as elementary school (Lewis, 2004). As Lewis illuminates in her 2004 study, “Something happens in schools, especially in elementary school, that forms and changes people in racial terms. Further, racial identities, both those assigned to children and those they choose, affect their schooling experiences” (p. 4).

Sam age 27 reflects on the racial segregation of his high school explaining, “The white girls all hung out with each other and then there were the Hispanics and then the Mexicans had their own little group and the blacks all had their own little group. Like they all hung out with each other in certain areas.”

Theresa age 57 reflects on the racial segregation of her high school:

When I went to high school,...there were the stomps, and there were the Chicanos, and there were the blacks. In high school, there was definitely a segregation at
Theresa also remembers a story her dad told her about one of his educational experience.

Theresa retells his story saying:

One of my dad's stories is, you know, he got into it with one of the Anglo teachers, and they were going to expel him from school. But, it was the Anglo teacher that started it. I guess, after everything was said and done, my dad ended up, that argument, or that fight that they had in school, that Anglo teacher had to quit, he had to resign.

In 2014, the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education issued a joint letter offering guidance to elementary and secondary schools on meeting their duties under federal law to administer student discipline without discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin. In its data collection, the Department of Education Office for Civil Rights found that students of color and students with disabilities are disciplined at higher rates than their white peers and students without disabilities….Rather, facially neutral discipline disparities in schools may have an adverse disparate impact on some groups; violating their civil rights and causing them to lose important instructional time (Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2016, p.i).
Theresa also reflects on how higher education has impacted her ethnic or racial identity. She states:

But just the fact that we're Hispanic cause I think part of the stereotype of our culture is that we're lazy and stupid...I think we're portrayed that way and I think that when we strive for that higher education in our lives, it just shows that we're not. You know what I mean?...We're the same as everybody else and it always bugs me when I talk to somebody on the phone back east or something and I say I'm from New Mexico and they're like, "You're from Mexico?" They don't even have a clue where New Mexico’s at and that bugs the crap out of me....I feel like reaching through the phone and slapping them because we're just like everybody else...I don't buy into that…There was a teacher from somewhere back east...she was teaching...and she was saying that...the White race...that minorities aren't as smart as white people are...that ethnic people aren't as smart as white people. That there's studies that prove that...and I don't know what studies you're looking at but...you know? But yeah, I just think it's - it just proves a point that...people stereotype all kinds of people and [they] shouldn't...

Each of these participants all went to different New Mexico high schools and then went on to some sort of higher education institution, and were all impacted by race in some way, whether it was through systematic racism or racial segregation, or both. As
Lewis (2004) reminds us, “...how race (in terms of meaning and identity) and racial inequality (in terms of access to resources) are reproduced in day-to-day life in schools” (p. 4). Tuck and Gaztanbide-Fernandez (2013) argue that “Intimately linked to schools, the field of curriculum studies has played a critical role in the maintenance of settler colonialism” (p. 76) which can also be tied to cultural genocide.

**Cultural Genocide.** Assimilation of Indigenous people through education can be seen in language and culture loss, as well as a lack of Indigenous narratives throughout education which accumulate to cultural genocide. Cultural genocide can be described as “the effective destruction of a people by systematically or systemically (intentionally or unintentionally in order to achieve other goals) destroying, eroding, or undermining, the integrity of the culture and system of values that defines a people and gives them life” (Tinker, 1993, p.6). For example, I explain how the lack of incorporating Indigenous identity and narratives into the curriculum and instruction led to being unaware of cultural after school clubs. When asked, “How have your racial/ethnic/cultural identities shown up in your education?” I replied:

I don't think my race or ethnic/cultural identity was incorporated into my classes. But I do remember they [other students] would always go to MECHA after school. And I always wondered, what is that, I don't even know what MECHA is?
It’s so fascinating that I was close to them [friends] but I never went with them into those spaces. I wonder why that is?

Maria age 55, when asked this same question responded:

The only thing I did was gymnastics. I’m sure in high school if I looked at my yearbook I would see all those groups, but I wasn't aware. Maybe I felt like they didn't apply to me, you know. Even in college, studying stuff, I never even thought my ancestors were a part of that. I wasn't enlightened to that…

Yosso (2002) explains that the limitations of Chicanos not receiving cultural knowledge in schools pushes past K-12 education. Margolis and Romero (1996) conducted a critical study of hidden curriculum in graduate school sociology departments and located numerous policies and practices implementing graduate curricula which perpetuates knowledge while equally perpetuating inequities. Inequities were found through the non-implementation of works by scholars of color and the making of race relations as invisible or nonexistent. Margolis and Romero assert that “...Ph.D. programs maintain an implicit hierarchy of knowledge . . . . The most common observation that arose in the interviews was a deafening silence—the absence of race and gender in the curriculum” (p. 19).

As Yosso (2002) explains:

Chicano communities historically experienced racism in many forms, including school segregation, cultural marginalization, and linguistic elimination
…traditional curricula presented knowledge to Chicano students with little regard to their language, culture, or potential to think critically. (p. 96-97)

When speaking about cultural genocide and language loss I reflect on my ancestral history saying:

Yeah. I would even say that our generation is a little more assimilated. I think, that's why, I guess, we're able to….I always think that Grandpa Diego, like he only finished sixth grade. So, when they [the school] called him and said that Auntie Catalina had to learn English [her native language was Spanish], and from then on, they taught everyone English. I feel like he thought education was very, very important. He kind of wanted us to go farther. But, I think that that came at a cost to our culture and our language….Right. I might be getting my PhD, but where's my cultural education? Where's my cultural knowledge? Do you know what I mean?

Gonzales (2006) describes this type of cultural genocide as pressure from socio political forces in the privatization of Indigenous knowledge in the homes. He explains that the Chicano people are a pan indigenous society of Indigenous people containing dually Mexico and North American Indigenous identities. Because of socio political forces, Indigeneity became concealed and disclosed within families. As a means of perseverance, Indigenous knowledge was deeply disguised, so much so, that younger generations could no longer identify it (Gonzales). Not only were Indigenous people pressured socio-
politically to silence their Indigenous knowledge but schools perpetuated this silence. As Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) attest, many times, the goals of education have been inimical in its marginalization, suppression, and criminalization of Indigenous life, knowledge, and language. Theresa age 57 explains how language loss has impacted her parents:

You know, their educational experiences, like my mom and dad's, were mostly like Anglo teachers coming to these small towns to teach them. Then like, not knowing the language, and not letting them speak the language...Like, who are you people to tell these people not to speak, you know, Spanish. That's what they grew up with. And, they knew they needed to learn English, and all that. But, it was like a really bad thing [experience] for them.

Buras (1999) acknowledges that students of color, regardless of class, and with multiple languages spoken offer the classroom rich lived knowledge, cultural practices, and languages which are often looked down upon from the settler perspective.

Maricella age 31 wishes they would teach history classes from an Indigenous perspective saying:

but I also feel like the way it's [education] regulated and the certain things they [educators] teach, are not exactly ... like they're in between these boundaries and I think there's so much more that needs to be taught also...It's even like with History
and even stuff with the Native Americans. We don't know exactly what happened. They tell you about pilgrims and Indians, they say. It's like this happy picture, like, oh, we're sharing, but [inaudible 00:05:55], kind of go over it, but they don't really teach that. So, it's like how much of history are they not teaching in schools, because it's not in the books.

Settler focused practices are evident in classroom settings, teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil interactions, textbooks, and throughout educational institutions (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). These settler focused discourses are perceived as the norm as they are centralized on Whites (McIntosh, 1988) or through the settler perspective.

In looking at cultural genocide it was important to gather the experiences of all the participants in order to more closely look at ways education perpetuates cultural silencing and killing of Indigenous knowledge and beliefs. Therefore the following interview questions was asked, “During your time in school, were there teachers or curriculum that were similar to how you identify?” The participants responded with:

Table 4. 7 Interview Questions Answered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and age</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tr>
<td>Felicita (83)</td>
<td>No. It was ... Well, yes, in high school there was. We had Spanish teachers in high school, but not in grade school….That was all we had [Anglo teachers] in grade school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Elena (80)</td>
<td>Did not answer question</td>
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<td>Rose (57)</td>
<td>No. No and not even back then did they offer Spanish classes, you know. Back when I was going to school, there, in Jemez Valley, maybe I would've done good in that class. The only class that I could really relate to was home ec [economics], because I loved to cook. I learned how to make the Indian enchiladas like the girls there at the reservation would make and exchange recipes. This teacher that I just told you passed away a few days ago, that was her class. Yeah she taught me how to decorate cakes and the Indian girls taught us how to make their Indian enchiladas that you see at the side of roads, right there in the Jemez pueblo, they are so delicious. I learned how to make those. That was the only class that I really enjoyed and I really related to. I liked math but I didn’t like math until later. Back then it was algebra and business math and it was kind of boring. But when I got into accounting and all that at work, I loved it. I should of done more when I was in high school, I should of looked for a better class, I just took the easy way out.</td>
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<td>Theresa (57)</td>
<td>Yeah. I took a Chicano studies class, which I really loved and I wished they would have had it in three or four different ... Like, Chicano studies part one, then part two, part three, part four, or something. They cramped a lot of stuff into one semester, and that was a little disappointing. I also took, in the time I was going to get my paralegal degree, I wanted a fun class, because I was getting burnt out.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Maria (55)</td>
<td>Not that I remember. I'm sure we did projects and stuff about the Spaniards and all of that but I don't remember anything in particular….I think I was paying attention more in college. I took a bunch of different like western civilization. I loved that class and I loved the storytelling about western civilization, which wasn't really my culture.</td>
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<td>Ignacio (55)</td>
<td>No, I don't think so. I can't think of really any solid examples on how I would identify myself. None that I really... I can't think of any on that one….To be honest, I don't have anything that was just... cause I never took any, even when I was in college, whenever I went to college, it was all geared toward... it wasn't like a liberal arts kind of education I was taking….I never really took anything specific like that. I did do one thing. I did join, now that you brought that up. I did join a Spanish club….And I only joined cause I thought I could meet more girls. So I didn't really get into the Spanish part of it.</td>
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<td>Ricardo (53)</td>
<td>Well, I'd say that because of that bilingual program we mentioned earlier, it had a huge impact in who I perceived myself to be. Because we're culturally ... what's the word, we have an identity here in this part of the country-</td>
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<td>Michelle (35)</td>
<td>Yeah. You know, one thing I was wondering about, like I remember in school, them having Black History Month. But, not Mexican History Month or Native American History Month or Asian-American History Month. I don't remember them having any of that….It was just mostly Black History Month that I remember that everyone would celebrate….So, I'm wondering if they incorporated more of that into the curriculum, if we would, I don't know, feel rooted in our culture.</td>
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Maricella (31)  No….nothing that really helps me define myself racially or ethnically.

Sam (27)  Yeah, that Hispanic writing class.

Anthony (24)  That's a really good question. Let me think about my teachers. Yeah, I can think of one. I can think of my physics teacher, she could fit right into our family, like she would just be another cousin….Yeah, totally the same. Very warm lady, but also very ambiguous I'm pretty sure she did not speak a lick of Spanish. So yeah, I could think ... She came up to mind right away, yeah.

The participant responses included six (Felecita, Rose, Maria, Ignacio, Michelle, and Maricella) out of the ten participants (Theresa, Ricardo, Sam and Anthony) responding that they did not have teachers or curriculum similar to how they identify. Anthony’s response in particular is intriguing as he states that there was a teacher that he would describe as having an ambiguous identity and refers to her not speaking Spanish but phenotypically looking Hispanic. Felecita’s response indicated that she did not have any teachers who were the same identity as her in grade school but did have Spanish teachers in high school. Felecita also mentioned in her interview that her principal was Spanish. Theresa remembers taking a Chicano class in college and really enjoying it. She expressed her wish for this class to be extended into three or four classes. Ricardo’s experience in bilingual education was perhaps the most rich in regards to implementing place-based education into the curriculum. Sam recollected taking a Hispanic writing
class in high school. Except for Ricardo’s experience, the other participant responses to identifying teachers or curriculums similar to how they identify, feel similar to the implementation of multicultural education. Multicultural education when scrutinized through the lens of critical pedagogy and race theories challenges education techniques which are peppered with “multiculturalism” (Yosso, 2002, p. 100) through “foods and holidays of people of color, or adding ethnic content to the curriculum in a sporadic and segmented way” (Banks, 1993, p. 202).

Because of participant narratives and the impact education has on student identity and the re-traumatization of Indigenous students through cultural genocide and racial oppression, it's vital that schools move away from the settler narrative and a settler colonial education and move towards including Indigenous beliefs and knowledge systems as well as place-based education in the schools. This will create space for Indigenous students in finding face. The next section will highlight how Indigenous knowledge and beliefs in education can be used as a form of empowerment.

**Contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies.** Education has long been a tool of assimilation and cultural genocide for Indigenous people. However, when education includes place-based education (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Shannon & Galle, 2017) as well as incorporating Indigenous knowledge and beliefs in education, it can be used as a form of empowerment and a way back to our Indigenous roots.
Theresa age 57 speaks about education as a tool of empowerment saying, “I remember, so in the ninth grade I was a Spanish club president and then our...That was like required reading in the ninth grade, but we read, "Bless Me, Ultima" by Rudolfo Anaya.” When Theresa attended Community College, Theresa remembers a Chicano writing class being very influential on her identity development:

I would say that my Professor [name of professor]....He was the one that taught me the Chicano studies and stuff...I really enjoyed that so much. He had a big influence. I hung on to every word that man said….I was so interested in that class. I don't think I ever missed a class with that guy….I could take the Chicano studies and that kind of stuff. I would go take more of those classes for sure.

Delgado-Bernal (2002) views the centering of Indigenous knowledge in education research through the lens of community and family ways of knowing and understanding. Viewing curriculum and education through this same lens, one sees that these ways of knowing and understanding are equally formed by mutual experiences and community consciousness. Education through community and family understanding is taught “to youth through legends, corridos, and storytelling. It is through culturally specific ways of teaching and learning that ancestors and elders share the knowledge of conquest, segregation, patriarchy, homophobia, assimilation, and resistance” (p. 113).
Ricardo age 53 speaks about his positive educational experiences stating:

Well, I'd say that because of that bilingual program we mentioned earlier, it had a huge impact in who I perceived myself to be. Because we're culturally...what's the word, we have an identity here in this part of the country...and the bilingual program in the school that I went to incorporated local custom in what they taught....Later on in life I realized how special that was. But at the time it was just what we were doing, but I think it, that made a big difference because it was all very familiar to me and it helped me, I think, embrace my identity.

As Ricardo reflected on other positive school experiences he said:

I had a teacher...[name of teacher] and she was very, sort of not a strict teacher, but a very good and fair teacher. But you didn't mess around in her class. She grew up in Santa Fe. And she would tell us a lot about the part of town where she grew up, and certainly knew the smaller area that we grew up in, and she just incorporated that into her lessons. She was a math teacher....And she would be like, “the speed way over there on St Francis, so that would be approximately blah, blah kilometers from here,” when we were talking about switching to metric system...And I think if you, if a teacher can find a way to engage the students, and for us at that time it was her referring to our world. Instead of some, something you have to imagine, derived from words on a piece of paper...It, for some reason
it keeps, I think it keeps you more present and you associate what you're learning with something that you already know…

Ricardo’s experience reminds us of the importance of place-based education. Place-based education has been defined through various lenses (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Shannon & Galle, 2017). Deloria & Wildcat define place-based education as “…knowing places enabled people to relate to the living entities inhabiting it” (p. 3). Power and place are principal ideas, defining power as the living vitality that is located or makes up the universe, and place defined as the connection of things to one another (Deloria & Wildcat). Shannon and Galle (2017) define place-based education as, “Where are we?” This notion of “where are we” locates us to place (p. 1). The authors further explain that without place there is no source in locating ourselves in life. Place then might be defined as socially built, operated and confined by time and space, linked closely to sensory occurrences (Shannon & Galle). Shannon and Galle further expand on the notion of place-based education by saying, “One of the primary purposes of the volume you are reading right now is to engage with, stretch, and play with that definition (in the context of philosophies of teaching), implanted and engaged in the body of ideas we call ‘place-based education’ (PBE)” (p. 2).

PBE was observed by a teacher during a map making lesson. The teacher, David Sobel, recalled “how place had a central role in identity development for children in his
work making maps with them, asking them to note, for example, their favorite places in their neighborhoods” (Shannon & Galle, p.3). This is one example of many that observes the importance of students engaged in their communities, tying them to place (Shannon & Galle, 2017). Scholars can represent a multitude of people in our lives, whether it is teachers in the classroom or community, our parents or siblings. The people in our lives can have great impacts on our identity development. Because of this, it was important to delve deeper in the lives of the participants in regards to school (formal or community) and its impacts on their identity development. Therefore the following question was raised: “Can you name scholars who have been most influential in your identity development?” The participants responded with:

Table 4. 8 Interview Questions Answered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and age</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felicita (83)</td>
<td>Did not directly answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose (57)</td>
<td>I guess just grandma and grandpa and my parents too, of course. Making sure I did good in school. She would always talk about how she loved school. But she didn't, she had fourteen kids. She was a really smart lady. She would tutor her [sister] after school with her math. She did really well after that.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*It should be noted that Felicita did mention that she really likes the New Mexican author Rudolfo Anaya and has read most, if not all, of his books.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theresa (57)</td>
<td>Yeah, I loved reading that - I would say that my Professor Flores, I can't remember his first name. He was the one that taught me the Chicano studies and stuff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria (55)</td>
<td>I’m going to have to say this is a positive and negative. Scholars to me would be religious figures. You know, like the one thing I didn't like about religious figure or Catholicism is that the judgement was always there. Whereas God is merciful and forgives everybody so why did they push that on you. I think they wanted to control people but then you look at other people like Mother Theresa and figures like that, I don't really have someone that I would name played a big role in how we developed. It was my own struggle and support with the people around me to help me get to where I was….Yeah, that helped you with your morals and right and wrong and how you treat human kind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignacio (55)</td>
<td>No. I'd have to go back to... my identity development, I'd have to go back to my parents. They're not scholars, but they were people that were probably most influential on my background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ricardo (53)</td>
<td>Mrs. Lujan….Oh Rudolfo Anaya….I got to say they're more of an inspiration in the way, in the way I would like to live my life. So like the Dalai Lama, I pretty like everything that comes out of his mouth.....I'm not sure he's a scholar, but he's certainly revered by scholars. See, I really like the Spanish author Gabriel Garcia Marquez, his writing is very dense and sort of flowery and sometimes it's hard to read. But man you get this visual that I don't know any other authors that do that to me….Okay. And let's see who else, I, Carlo Faggen I think, I really appreciated him because he presented information about the stars and the space in a way that made sense to me and wasn't too silly or abstract or whatever. He spoke to young people like people. So, and I always respected that...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelle (35)</td>
<td>Leon-Portilla's book it is &quot;Aztec Thought and Culture.&quot;....So it integrating Meso-American thought with spirituality.....And so it talks about the history of the Aztecs and their spirituality and...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
how they kind of tried to push against the Spaniards as their colonizers. I don't know, I really liked that book a lot.....That's why I really love Indigenous kind of thinking because it's very heavy on spirituality, but then it ties me back to what I thought our ancestor’s kind of engaged in.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maricella (31)</th>
<th>I don’t think any famous scholars come to mind.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam (27)</td>
<td>I read a lot of Don Quixote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony (24)</td>
<td>I don't think I have anybody off the top of my head that I could think was guiding me in any sort of revelation about my ethnicity, but definitely a lot of people like Dr. Wayne Dyer is one of the biggest guys I read for spirituality [inaudible 00:40:17]. So when I think my identity, I think more like the core of my being, and my creator and stuff. Wayne Dyer is one that I love to read. But when I think of all the things that I don't ... I think past ethnicity, which is pretty crazy. 'Cause I don't identify with one, so you know, I'm sure I would look one up if I identified with one.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The participants definition of scholars varied from authors (Felicita, Ricardo, Michelle, and Anthony), to family members (Rose and Ignacio), to books read (Sam), to teachers (Theresa and Ricardo), and spiritual or religious people (Maria, Ricardo, Michelle, and Anthony). Maricella mentioned that she couldn’t recall scholars who impacted her identity development. Felicita, Ricardo, myself and Anthony all mentioned authors that they felt aided in their identity development. These authors included Rudolfo Anaya (mentioned by two participants), Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Carlo Faggen, Miguel León-Portilla, and Wayne Dryer. Rose and Ignacio mentioned that their parents and/or grandparents were most influential in their identity development. The mention of family
as impacting the participants identity formation goes back to what Delgado-Bernal (2002) positions as the centering of understanding in education research through the lens of community and family ways of knowing and being. Sam recalled that the book Don Quixote had an influential impact on his identity formation. In regards to teachers, two participants mentioned teachers who had an impact on their identity development. Theresa’s influential teacher was during her time in college, while taking a Chicano studies class and Ricardo’s influential teacher was during his K-12 education. Lastly, four participants mentioned spirituality or religion as impacting their identity development. Maria mentioned Catholic religious figures such as Mother Theresa helped her develop a sense of identity and how to treat others, Ricardo mentioned the Dalai Lama, I mentioned that Aztec thought and culture gave me my spiritual identity, and Anthony also mentioned Dr. Wayne Dyer as aiding him in his spiritual identity. Maria and Anthony mention that they relate more to their spiritual identity rather than their ethnic or racial identity, while, my spiritual identity and racial/ethnic identity are one and the same.

In looking at the participant’s experiences in presenting and analyzing the last sub question, “What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?” one can see that Indigenizing education, and decolonizing academic spaces is more than merely incorporating Indigenous scholars into the curriculum and instruction, although that’s a great place to start. Furthermore, Indigenizing education is more than viewing
education through the lens of Multiculturalism, and Critical Race Theory (CRT). Indigenous scholars such as Grande (2004) critique multiculturalism saying it disregards the importance of Indigenous work towards self-determination and decolonization. Examining CRT, Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez (2013) explain that CRT or critical whiteness studies in curriculum studies has produced different results for white scholars than for scholars of color, resulting in the replacement of work by scholars of color by their white peers, which re-centers whiteness. For me, curriculum studies needs to be rooted within the work of Tribal Critical Race Theory (Brayboy, 2005) as TribalCrit reveals settler colonialism as systemic and race creation as part of that system. Furthermore, Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez (2013) suggest that rematriation and refusal through browning (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2006, Gaztambide-Fernández & Murad, 2011) need to be implemented. Browning can be described as a shift in curriculum studies that intentionally reveals and features the perplexing ways in which white supremacy and settler colonialism continually materializes in the area of curriculum. Rematriation is the task of community members and scholars in curriculum studies who confront and situate curriculum in the grounding of settler colonialism (Tuck, 2011; Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). Furthermore, rematriation at its core, weakens and erodes the allowance of settler colonialism in curriculum (Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez).
Chapter Summary

This study explored the experiences of family members impacted by settler colonialism through the generations, specifically looking at historical trauma and education as catalysts. Generational considerations, educational considerations, place-based considerations, sociopolitical and historical constructs as well as gender considerations were all examined through the telling of story in the participants’ lives in revealing the various constructions of identity formation. Each story told included 26 family members who were impacted by settler colonialism in some way, revealing the aftermaths of settler colonialism, and institutions or systems that further inflicted or further prevented harm as a result of colonialism. While my perspective from within the community as a family member gives me a certain lens in which to view settler colonialism, it was necessary to incorporate the lives of many other individuals to create a more full and expansive look at how identity formation is created. Ceremonial display (data presentation) of each of the Indigenous stories as well as future research are presented in Chapter Five.
CHAPTER FIVE: CEREMONIAL DISPLAY

Introduction

Ceremonial display, in this study, refers to the answering of the research questions communicated through the alphabetized written, oral and pictographic form. Normally, when decolonizing work through an Indigenous lens, alphabetized writing would not be associated with ceremonial display, only oral and pictographic forms of communication would be present. When decolonizing work through an Indigenous lens, alphabetized writing would be absent as alphabetized writing is a form of settler colonialism. However, as this dissertation is presented to and in the academy I am aware that some forms of settler colonialism will seep into my work. That being said, it was vital that I make space within this dissertation for Indigenous knowledge, beliefs, and practices, especially in the presenting of the results. For me, ceremonial display is an Arts-Based Practice (ABP) presented through the view of digital storytelling. Gubrium (2009) explains that digital storytelling influences Indigenous people positively through the delivery of their personal narration.

Oral storytelling and pictographic renderings are not something new but something my ancestors have been engaged in since the beginning of time. The Aztecs call this *xochitl* (flower) and *cuicatl* (song), meaning visual representation and poetry (León-Portilla, 1963). In positioning Aztecs notion of flower and song, ABP shifts to
Arts-Based Decolonial Practice in revealing that the alphabetized written language will not be present in the final digital storytelling form. In displaying song, Leavy (2015) articulates that this form of data depiction aids the investigator in gathering various interpretations from the data. Furthermore, she states that through poetry, traditional ways of knowing are disrupted and are particularly useful in the area of identity work. In displaying flower, Leavy explains that images express, communicate, uncover and awaken fresh perspectives. Iseke (2011) mentions that Indigenous digital storytelling creates space for Indigenous people to witness stories of their communities.

Therefore, the following ceremonial display will incorporate aspects of the alphabetized written language, oral and pictographic renderings in answering the research questions of the study. Following the alphabetized written language, oral and pictographic depictions, space will be made for the digital storytelling piece. In order to refresh the reader's mind, the research questions being answered are as follows:

A. How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?

B. How is knowledge constructed within a family context?

C. How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?

D. What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?
How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?

This study showed that the identities of this Indigenous family were greatly impacted as a result of being many times colonized. For the sake of this study, two colonial invasions will be the main focus, first the Spanish invasion and then the United States settlement. Throughout both waves of settler colonialism, education was used as a tool to ensure the invaders were successful. Estrada (2009) defines the impacts of settler colonialism and education, in the oppression of Indigenous people, as historical trauma. When looking at the identities of the participants, one can see that because New Mexico was considered an isolated frontier, it took longer for the United States to progressively enact its socio political dominance. As result, New Mexico’s identity markers, as a result of the casta, never really went away and can still be felt today (Bustamante, 1991). This was evident in how the participants identified as seven out of the eleven participants used the term Spanish and Hispanic (Felecita, Elena, Rose, Theresa, Maria, Ignacio, and Ricardo) in describing their ethnic or racial identity. In answering this research question three themes were revealed: (1) Family; (2) Place; and (3) Culture. These themes will be described in more detail throughout this section. But first, below is a poem (song) and picture (flower) to describe the participants’ identities as a result of settler colonialism.
Identity

What’s in a name?

Español, Indio Vecino, Mestizo, Torna a Español, Mulato, Albino, Tornatrás

The list goes on and on

on and on

over 20 plus categories

The *casta* system still exists.

The identity of my family, passed on from the colonizers, is now my own.

Vying for the top, a hierarchy

*limpieza de sangre*

full blood

Español

Mexican, Mexican American, Indigenous, Chicano, Hispanic, Genízaro, Spanish

Isn’t it all the same?

National identities
given to us by the government

Political Status

Never really our own

The *casta* re-emerges
Family

Human bonds are the center of communal spaces and identity (Cajete, 1994). This could be seen in the participants’ reference and mention of importance to family during their interview. Therefore, the first theme that emerged as a result of the participants’ lived experiences was family. Family as a theme emerged through the mention of the following sub-themes: (1) matriarchs; (2) familial relationships; and (3) *antepasados* (ancestors).
**Matriarchs.** Matriarchs proved to be very influential in the lives of the participants. As Nogar and Lamadrid (2016) explain, matriarchs, also known as *mujerota* in Chicano cultures, can be described as the ancestral, historical, and everyday women of what is now the southwest United States. Through these *mujerotas* family values, beliefs, culture, and community are passed on (Deutsch, 1987; Nogar and Lamadrid, 2016; Schulman and Smith, 1963). One participant in particular, Theresa, expressed that the most influential people in her life were her mom and aunt. Many of the other participants also mentioned the importance of the matriarchs in their family. For example, in Maria’s story told, the impact of her grandmother and mom instilling the importance of religious beliefs and family was evident. Elena, in her story told, describes how her mom passed on her entrepreneurial spirit and knowledge of the healing properties of the local New Mexico plants. Rose mentions her grandma as an influential matriarch in not only assisting her in Spanish revitalization but also in the teaching of her history, cultural traditions and the cooking of cultural foods. Ignacio mentions his mother creating a sense of belonging and a sense of mastery for him, during the preparation of food.

**Familial relationships.** It’s important to mention, Theresa’s view and practice of family relationships as it very strongly resembles that of her Nahua ancestors. Theresa mentioned that her cousins never really felt like cousins but more closely resembled the relationships of brothers and sisters. Although Theresa was the only one who directly
mentioned the close connection she had with her cousins, I feel the multiple mentions of the importance of family from the other participants reveal family relationships as a vital role in their lives. As Lockhart (1992) explains the Nahua sibling dynamic varied from European ones as the term encompassed dually cousins and siblings. Through the positioning of Theresa’s story of family relationships, one can see that this area was untouched by settler colonialism, revealing the ways Indigenous cultures survive and thrive (survivance) (Vizenor, 1998; Vizenor and Lee, 1999) despite colonial attempts and impositions on Indigenous families and ways of life.

**Antepasados.** *Antepasados,* in this study, represents grandparents or Elders and all those that have walked on. Grandparents, or Elders, are the keepers and holders of knowledge in Indigenous communities. They teach and guide the younger generations through the telling of stories. As Theresa mentions, through family stories you feel a connection to the past. Whether living or deceased, the stories of our *antepasados* reach across generations, creating a collective consciousness, connecting us through time immemorial. The role and relation to our *antepasados* is of great importance as they provide guidance to those that are living. Because of this, an altar should be placed in the home, honoring and praying to your *antepasados* daily. Felicita explains the importance of relationships with those that have walked on, explaining that “they've known you your
whole life and you've known them their whole life, and you can relate to each other.”
Therefore, it is through family stories and our ancestors that our culture is kept alive.

Family

The stories of my family

remind us of the past

connect us to our antepasados

“The old-time people always say, remember the stories, the stories will help you be strong” ~Marmon Silko

Relationships are the heart of community and identity

the past, it's where we came from

you feel connected to something that's bigger than just what's here now

The Matriarchs, Mujerotas,

pass on values and beliefs of family, culture, and community

Cousins aren’t cousins, but brothers and sisters

Nahua kinship

“If we lose these stories, we will do a disservice to our ancestors – those who gave us the responsibility to keep our culture alive”

~Hanna et al. (1995)
Place

Place is the second theme in answering the question, “How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?” As Deloria and Wildcat (2001) portray, being Indigenous means to connect people historically, culturally and spiritually to place. Furthermore, place for Indigenous people holds a very strong tie to the land, culture and language. As a result, the sub-themes that emerged are as follows: (1) place as anchor; (2) place as innate experiences; and (3) removal from place.
Place as anchor. The importance of place lies in the intuitive knowledge one experiences when connected to place physically, socially and spiritually (Cajete, 1994), thus creating an anchor or grounding of sorts. Brayboy (2005) explains that an Indigenous person is continuously connected to place and community and is grounded by that anchor. For the participants of this study, the intuitive knowledge one experiences when connected to place lies in New Mexico. For Natalia (deceased participant) and Felecita, this connection to place is tied to the place of their childhood (Cañon de Jemez, NM). For another participant, Rose, place (Cañon de Jemez, NM) connects her to her grandma, culture and language, thus revealing place as an innate experience, allowing her to draw on power located in those spaces (Deloria and Wildcat, 2001).

Place as innate experiences. Rose recalls fond memories of living with her grandma in Cañon. It was in this place that she was reacquainted with the Spanish language of her family through reading the Spanish bible and communicating with her grandma. Many people might question how replacing one settler colonial language with another settler colonial language can tie someone to place or family. Indigenous people are known for their resiliency, adaptability and effectiveness for survivance (Vizenor, 1998; Vizenor and Lee, 1999). The Spanish of our colonizers is not the Spanish spoken by our families. With influences from our Indigenous language of Nahua (Tlapoyawa, 2016), the Spanish spoken in New Mexico is vastly different from the castilian Spanish
spoken in Spain. As the tlamatinime, the Aztec word for wise man, say, place is the site where intrinsic experiences and human life impregnate place and moment producing unique and specific qualities (León-Portilla, 1963). It was in this place, that Rose was reacquainted with her antepasados through language, food, stories and cultural traditions and practices.

Removal from place. The oldest living participant of this study, Felicita (ag 83), grew up in Cañon de Jemez, a small town in New Mexico. Felicita's stories told of experiences where family and community are the core. Where the community would get together to feed one another, for dinners or potlucks. Where a reciprocal relationship with the land was never taken for granted. Rose (age 57), as a young adult, was also able to experience the essence of this same place when she went to live with her grandma (Valeria). Although Rose is only in her 50s, her and Felicita are seen as the knowledge holders and keepers of the family. These two participants’ experiences, when looked at through place, are drastically different than those of the other participants, particularly the younger generations of this study.

The other participants (Elena (80), Theresa (57), Maria (55), Ignacio (55), Ricardo (53), myself (35), Maricella (31), Sam (27) and Anthony(24)) grew up in the larger cities of New Mexico, removed from the place of their ancestors. Elena, Maria, and Ricardo’s place of their ancestors is in Wagon Mound, NM and Nambè, NM. Elena,
Maria, and Ricardo grew up in the second largest city of New Mexico, Santa Fe. Theresa, Ignacio, myself, Maricella, Sam and Anthony’s place of their ancestors is in Cañon de Jemez, NM. Theresa, Ignacio, myself, Maricella, Sam and Anthony grew up in Albuquerque, NM. The participants in their 80s and 50’s although removed from place still have lingering of traditional knowledge and customs. An example of this can be seen through Theresa as she says her relationship with her culture can be seen through food, language, catholic traditions, and music. Theresa has also created an altar at work where pictures of those that have walked on, help her start her day. Assimilation can more prominently be seen in the younger generations of this study in their 20s and 30s. I captured this process of assimilation saying, “So we're no longer tied to land because our parents moved away or our grandparents moved away. We no longer speak the language, we no longer listen to Spanish music, we don't participate in any of the fiestas. So it seems to be tied really around place, first and then language.” From the participants lived experiences with place, it seems that assimilation becomes fully integrated after one generation of removal from place. Theresa has observed this same type of assimilation in her own nieces and nephews. Theresa says, “Now, the nieces and nephews, though Michelle, are growing up in a different kind of world.”

Place

New Mexico

276
tied to place

environmentally, socially and spiritually

Indigenous people
tied to place and community

grounded by that anchor.

The tlamatinime
viewed place as the point

of

innate experiences and human life

Figure 5. 3 Place

*Adapted from a photograph of my grandparents’ home in Cañon
Culture

Culture is the third theme in answering the question, “How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?” As Brayboy (2005) explains in his fifth tenet, notions of culture, knowledge, and power are re-defined when viewed through an Indigenous perspective. As seen through the lived experiences of the participants, knowledge sources are everywhere especially within our rich cultures and backgrounds. As a result, the sub-themes that emerged are as follows: (1) cultural trauma; (2) spiritual practices; and (3) music, food and language.

Cultural trauma. Cultural trauma and physical violence in New Mexico has ensued as a result of the land and people being many times invaded. These forms of trauma and violence have the ability to be passed down through the generations. Estrada (2009) terms this historical trauma. What’s inflicted on communities as a result of settler colonialism can have major and long lasting impacts. There were many forms of cultural trauma and physical violence by the Spanish and by the United States. These forms of trauma included the taking and stealing of Indigenous lands, murder, rape, human trafficking of women and children, and the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico which resulted in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, to name a few. As mentioned above, Indigenous people are resilient and have the ability to engage in what is known as survivance.
Survivance in New Mexico, as a result of cultural trauma and physical violence resulted in the coming together of community to engage in spiritual practices.

**Spiritual practices.** Responses to cultural trauma and physical violence, in New Mexico resulted in spiritual practices such as the Matachines dance (García and Lamadrid, 2012) and the feast of the Virgin de Guadalupe (Avila and Parker, 1999; García, 2012; León-Portilla, 2014). The first spiritual practice is the New Mexico Matachines, celebrated by both Hispanos and Puebloans, commemorate the reconciliation of 1786 that concluded almost 100 years of bloodshed between the hispanos and the pueblos (Lamadrid, 2003). Also through the matachines, the history of the 1800s which included human trafficking of children and adults, honor the period of suffering during that time. The second spiritual practice includes the feast of the Virgin de Guadalupe which occurs on December 12th. The Aztecs also celebrate this day with Tonantzin Guadalupe (the beloved mother of the gods) (León-Portilla, 2014). The two participants who are considered the keepers and holders of knowledge in this family mentioned these two days in their interviews. Rose mentioned that her grandpa and other men from the village worked with the Jemez Pueblo Indians in the creation of the matachines dance. Rose mentioned that this is a Mexican dance that is still danced by the Jemez Pueblo to this day. Felecita, in her interview, mentioned the feast days of the Virgin de Guadalupe taking place on December 12th. The feast day of the Virgin de Guadalupe is a celebration
of Jesus’s mother. This day, also celebrated by the Aztecs, is a celebration of the mother of gods. Some in the Chicano community see these two entities as one in the same. Others, do not. Therefore, it isn't surprising that the Virgin de Guadalupe goes by many names.

**Music, food, and language.** Music, food and language emerged as an important component of the participants’ culture. For example, Theresa along with Felicita celebrate feast days and other Catholic holidays through these means. Some of the foods that are made around these days include *torta de juevo, tamales*, and *chile rellenos.* During these times, Theresa recalls listening to Spanish music while cooking. The participants who feel they aren’t as in touch with their culture, say they still identify with culture through food. Ricardo mentioned still eating and preparing Northern New Mexican dishes while Maricella said she still eats spicy food, but other than that she doesn’t know much about her culture. Anthony, in his arts-based project, added a picture of sweet rice (*arroz con leche*) to his visual.

**Culture**

Music, Food, Language, Religion

*Matachines, Fiestas, the Virgin de Guadalupe*

*Jeyena dances*

The Virgin of Guadalupe, Coatlicue, Snake lady, Mother Earth, Tonantzin Guadalupe
She has many names.

Settler colonialism has given her many faces.

the MANY faces of settler colonialism

Has me confused, perpetuated by education, the *casta* system.

Cultural genocide and missionary schools

systemically and systematically held in place

erasing Indigenous knowledge

Erasing Coatlicue, erasing my ancestors, erasing me.
Summary

In answering the overall research question, how do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of settler colonialism, it can be seen that the
The *casta* system greatly impacted each and every one of the participants’ identity formation. Through sociopolitical systems and by very oppressive means, the identity of Spanish and Hispanic were passed down through the generations. That being said, although settler colonialism worked very hard to subdue this family’s Indigenous identity, it wasn’t completely successful. This family is resilient, and their Indigenous knowledge was passed down through their family connections, through place, and through music, language and food. Although this family, as a whole, has the strongest ties to their Indigenous roots through family, lingerings of Indigenous knowledge can also be seen in place, and culture, especially in the older family members. Through the telling of our stories and the investigation and reclamation of our ancestral knowledge, it is my hope that all of the participants, especially the younger generations, can once again connect to their Indigenous identity. It should also be mentioned that decolonization is not an overnight process but a process that can, at times, be exciting and exhilarating but also daunting and scary. Each and every person is on their own journey and has a right towards their own self-determination.

**How is knowledge constructed within a family context?**

This study showed that the knowledge constructed within a family context greatly impacts one’s identity. What also emerged was what occurs when knowledge within a family context is disrupted and is instead replaced with settler colonialism. Knowledge
constructed within a family context is evident when the nine (Felecita, Elena, Maria, Ignacio, Ricardo, Maricella, Sam, and Anthony) out of the eleven (Rose and Michelle) participants agreed that family members have the same racial/ethnic identity as themselves. It’s important to note that although Anthony can fit into the category of Hispanic, he identifies as ambiguous. Rose, said her family comes from Spain, Mexico, and has Native American ancestry, so it was hard for her to pick only one racial/ethnic identity marker. Elena said she believes her family identifies racially/ethnically the same, but wasn’t sure as the topic was never brought up. She did mention later that her mother would identify as Spanish rather than Mexican and Elena herself racially/ethnically also identifies as Spanish. In answering the research question, how is knowledge constructed within a family context, four themes were revealed: (1) Belonging; (2) Mastery; (3) Independence; and (4) Generosity. These themes in relation to the participant experiences will be described in more detail throughout this section.

**Belonging**

Belonging is cultivated when family members feel a part of their environment in relation to place and community. The ideals of belonging and a shared community were built upon the progressive growth of knowing oneself (Cajete, 1994; León-Portilla, 1963, p.71). Therefore, the space within family and community creates an understanding of how the world works. This is important, especially in Indigenous communities, where
belonging is vital in a shared cultural environment (Cajete, 1994). Belonging is not only tied to a shared community but also to identity and culture. Brayboy (2005) makes clear that cultural knowledge supports a sense of belonging as cultural knowledge affirms a person’s identity. As a result, the following sub-themes surfaced: (1) identity; (2) place and community; and (3) cultural awareness and cultural schizophrenia.

**Identity.** The Aztec *tlamatiname* (wise men) thought it vital to teach people to find face (identity) (León-Portilla, 1963). The Nahuas believed that people enter this world “faceless,” born void of an identity, born anonymous (León-Portilla). Without face, the Nahua’s thought a person to be brimming with goals and desires that could never be fulfilled (León-Portilla). Anthony’s views are very similar to the Nahuas. When asked if he viewed identities as harmful or helpful he responded by saying:

> Oh, helpful. Totally helpful. Everyone is looking for it. You know what I mean? Everyone is looking for some type of identity. It's only harmful if you don't know what it is, or if you're confused about it. But in the perfect world, everybody would identify with something, and then feel part of something bigger, and then they would feel comfortable with themselves.

One’s identity and the identity of family is seen as a type of belonging. Theresa mentions that her identity is the same as her parents and her siblings. So much so, that her and her
siblings were in the same car club, speak Spanish, and the whole family listens to the same music.

Place and Community. As Deloria and Wildcat (2001) express, a person’s identity resides from a certain place. Place is the relationship of all things to one another (Deloria and Wildcat). The spiritual component of how the world operates is the relationality of people in knowing that relationships must remain unbroken (Deloria and Wildcat). Unbroken relationships requires people to be aware of his/her behavior, therefore, Indigenous people put forth care in their interactions, past, present and future (Deloria and Wildcat). Elena age 80, speaks about belonging in regards to place and community. When working at her mother's New Mexican restaurant, Elena mentions the whole family working together, serving tables, cooking, and washing the dishes. Each family member had their own role to play to ensure the success of the restaurant community. She said, “So it was fun….It really was fun….I mean we had a real sense of unity and a real sense of oneness, cause we were all together, [all in] this one endeavor, you know?” It was here in the restaurant (place) that Elena not only felt a sense of belonging but was given the knowledge and understanding of how things worked within her family and community. As Deloria and Wildcat state, “Kinship and clan were built upon the idea that individuals owed each other certain kinds of behaviors, and that if each individual performed his or her task properly, society as a whole would function” (p. 44).
Cultural awareness and cultural schizophrenia. For the Aztecs, it was the *tlamatinime’s* duty “to place a mirror before the people” in order for them to be wise, sensible in thought and action, and to be taught the ways of the people (León-Portilla, 1963). In being taught the ways of the people, the Aztecs were taught cultural awareness of their community. The Nahuatl philosophers produced the cultural standards that were passed down from generation to generation. These cultural standards were passed down through what we know as education, and through a well prescribed moral practice, and through history and art. It is here that we see that Nahua education and the education of families align.

As a result of settler colonialism, Indian education and American education greatly differ. Indigenous cultural knowledge allows Indigenous people to view place and responsibility within the community. American cultural knowledge, especially through the lens of settler colonialism, promotes separation from community, competition, and expansion (material gain). It is therefore crucial that American ideologies do not replace Indigenous ideologies and that we remember “the roles they play in our lives” (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001, p. 46). Three participants in particular touched upon the impacts of cultural schizophrenia or cultural discontinuity. Theresa and myself, reveal in our interviews, that the family members in their 20s and 30s have different identities then the family members in their 50’s - 80’s. In my 30s, I am receiving my PhD but wonder where
my cultural knowledge is. I feel like all I have left is my last name. Anthony in his 20s, mentions that he can fit into the category of Hispanic but he more so identifies with being racially/ethnically ambiguous. Maricella, in her 30s, explains that her relationship with her racial/ethnic identity resides in the fact that she eats spicy foods and nothing more. This may be because of the younger generation's relationship with education. Each participant in their 20s and 30s (except for one) has either a doctorate (Maricella) or master’s degree (Michelle and Anthony). These three participants feel like they don’t have a relationship with their culture or their racial/ethnic identity. If looked at through the lens of settler colonial education, education as a tool of assimilation, was successful in creating in these participants a high level of cultural schizophrenia or cultural discontinuity and a low level of cultural awareness. Cultural awareness or cultural schizophrenia can greatly impact one’s sense of belonging in a cultural group. However, this doesn’t need to be the case, as Deloria and Wildcat express, “There would be no use for formal education if worldviews [Indigenous and American] were more similar” (p. 110).

Belonging

Belonging

belonging to place and community

belonging to identity.
Indigenous belonging
education comes from the community
not from outside it.
No use for Western education
without my Indigenous knowledge
it created in me discontinuity.

Figure 5. 5 Cultural Discontinuity

Mastery

Mastery is the next step in which knowledge is constructed when engaged in tasks
with a caring mentor, thus, supporting the nourishment of the child or family member.
Mastery is an important step in knowledge construction in families, especially in Indigenous communities as each person is working towards independent roles while directly benefiting their community. But first, observation of that role and guidance in that role must be introduced. As a result, the following sub-themes materialized: (1) guidance of tasks; (2) family rituals; and (3) survivance.

**Guidance of tasks.** Guidance, nurturing and support from family and the community aid children in mastering their surroundings (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Guidance and mastery of tasks can occur in many ways and by many people within the community. Some of the ideal goals in participating in guidance and mastery include self-knowledge, and creative expression (Cajete, 1994). As a result, guidance of tasks results in “experiential learning (seeing and doing) and tutoring (learning through apprenticeship)” (Cajete, p. 33). When recalling the story of Ignacio sorting beans with his mom, Ignacio not only felt a sense of belonging while sorting beans but he also was guided towards preparation of a meal. Ignacio’s mom, in this role, served as Elder, nurturer, teacher, and listener. She was guiding him towards mastery, by inviting him to see and do.

**Family rituals.** Rituals become the act of implementing valuable fundamentals of human life (Cajete, 1994). Learning through doing includes looking for personal meaning through direct practice (Cajete). Rose recalls every day and week being engaged in tasks
at her grandma's house. Every night, Rose would read with her grandma from the Spanish bible. The nightly Spanish lessons provided a deep foundation for her to become acquainted with the Spanish language. These family rituals gave meaning to her not only by spending valuable time with her grandma but by re-claiming a piece of her past.

Another family ritual Rose remembered was the cleaning of feathers. Every year, Rose and her grandma would have to clean the feathers in the bedding. Before Rose could independently complete this task herself, her grandma would show her through seeing and doing. Together, they would remove the feathers from the bedding and pillows, wash them and lay them out to dry. When the feathers were dry, they would begin the task of placing the feathers back in the bedding. A person can acquire information only in a shared task in the natural, cultural and historical reality of their lives (Cajete, 1994; Freire, 1972). Mastery is therefore the process of building a relationship in the community in which they live. For the participants of this study, this was done through family rituals with family and community.

**Survivance.** The third sub-theme is mastery. For Indigenous people, Mastery is rooted in survivance (Vizenor, 1998; Vizenor and Lee, 1999). The definition of survivance can be seen in what Brayboy (2005) explains as a consciousness of what is required in order to change and persevere. Survivance is possible through sense of tradition, empowerment, outlook, and an inner knowing (Cajete, 2015). In regards to
sense of tradition, Deloria and Wildcat (2001) say that “Indian students should consider themselves to be standing in the shoes of their grandparents” (p. 6). Through this lens, our ancestors are always guiding us, aiding us in mastery of our lives. In carrying on traditions that were taught by our grandparents, Indigenous pupils are engaging in survivance, where despite settler colonialism, pupils not only survive colonial imposition of their culture and knowledge, but thrive in it. Therefore, within mastery, pupils learning from Elders should not feel obligated to find a conclusion upon every single teaching or story. The answer reveals itself with time at the right moment. Ricardo can relate to this idea of survivance through mastery when he visited grandpa’s ranch. The memory includes looking for honey ants to eat. Following his grandpa and cousin he was engaged in the task by seeing and doing. When he left the place of the honey ants, his grandpa reminded him to give thanks to the ants. Although he didn't understand it at the time, he suspended judgement and did as his Elder asked. Later on in life, he realized his Elder was imparting wisdom on him that he could carry with him throughout many aspects of his life. This was a very important lesson in relations. This example shows how mastery for Indigenous people is also a means of survivance, surviving and thriving the western dynamics and influences of the world, while maintaining our Indigenous knowledge.

Mastery

Survive and thrive
maintaining our Indigenous knowledge

seeing and doing

Elders, ancestors

guiding us.

Reclaiming a piece of the past.
Independence

Often times, independence is seen as separate from community and serving the needs of oneself. Independence, through an Indigenous lens means that children and families are given an independent foundation in direct respect and esteem towards Elders, as well as in direct respect and esteem towards character and actions (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Through these means, children engage in thoughtful actions, in doing so, they create a strength of mind at an early age (Brendtro & Brokenleg). The following three sub-themes are as follows: (1) Intrinsic motivation; (2) Independence in direct relation to the community; and (3) control of their own destiny.
**Intrinsic motivation.** Intrinsic motivation includes the setting of intrinsic goals rather than from the stipulations of others. Indigenous practices towards bringing up children include support instead of encroachment, humiliation or criticism (Brendtro & Brokenleg). Anthony, age 24, explains his sense of intrinsic motivation through earning grades in school. He never felt pressure to get good grades, rather, he knew that school was important and his parents always offered support when needed. Anthony, in his interview, continued to discuss his mother’s parenting style as loving and nurturing. Although Anthony’s mom identifies as Hispanic, her parenting style very closely aligns to Indigenous practices of creating independent children who have a strong level of intrinsic motivation.

**Independence in direct relation to community.** Felecita, age 83, experienced independence in regards to household chores. Felicita describes working independently in direct relation to her community. She says that everyone (siblings and parents) had a job that benefited the family. Felicita, being the youngest, was in charge of checking the mail every day. Her older sister helped her mom iron clothes and contribute to other household chores, while her two older brothers helped their dad with the outside chores. Thus, independence is accomplished through the strength to independently traverse all while established in community (Brendtro & Brokenleg, 2001). Indigenous child raising methods make certain that children have a basis for being in control of their own future.
**Control of their own destiny.** The Aztec *tlamatinime* (wise men) acknowledged a person’s capacity to decide and manage their life and fate (León-Portilla, 1963). Among the many responsibilities of the *tlamatinime* was the specific function of “humanizing the will of the people” (Códice Matritense de La Real Academia, VIII, fol.118, v.; León-Portilla, p.104). A glimpse of Nahua family life, in producing children who are in control of their destiny can be seen in a passage from the codices, the “…father places before them a large mirror…” so that they may learn to know themselves, to become masters of themselves (Código Matritense de La Real Palacio, VI, part 2, fol. 199; León-Portilla, p.136). As can be seen through Anthony’s and Felécita’s experience, independence in Indigenous child rearing practices all lead to the end goal of children independently being in control of their own destiny all while benefiting the community from which they come.

**Independence**

Children are given an independent foundation in direct relation to family and community.

Before them a mirror is placed in control of their own destiny
direct respect and esteem for Elders.
direct respect and esteem of community
direct respect and esteem for themselves.

Figure 5. 7 Before them, a mirror is placed

Generosity

Knowledge constructed through generosity occurs once the child or family member has successfully accomplished an act and is now ready to advise others. An example of generosity includes Elder guidance through storytelling, explaining the trajectory towards adulthood and what it means to live a good life (Brendtro &
Brokenleg, 2001). The following sub-themes emerged as a result of the participants’
encounter with generosity: (1) Family stories; (2) sense of humor; and (3) relations.

**Family stories.** Family stories can be seen as generosity because stories, told by
Elders, assist the younger generations. This ancestral knowledge, through stories, are also
known as the mythic mind and are used for a tool for teaching. Gonzales (2012) defines
the mythic mind as the place where innate cognitive truths are communicated. Anthony
explains the mythic mind in relation to his experiences, explaining that it creates our
worldview and that family stories are used to connect the generations together. Maricella
mentioned that a lot of her stories revolved around Catholicism. Not only was religion
passed down through family stories but spirituality as well. Ricardo remembered learning
about the spirits and his family's spiritual practices through stories. Rose learned about
the history of New Mexico from her family stories. Stories link generations as well as the
living to the dead. Through this means, family stories assist us presently and help guide
us to what the Aztecs call the center (León-Portilla, 1963). Generosity is about finding
your center, or what the Aztecs call, reaching Omeyocan, the place where Ometéotl lives
(León-Portilla).

**Sense of humor.** Indigenous stories include a spectrum of teachings and
meanings that range from spiritual “yet irreverent, serious yet humorous, logical yet
illogical. These teachings revealed the power to heal and bring resolution to conflicts
because at its core, stories illuminates, transforms, and mirrors the heart and soul of the people and the individual” (Cajete, 1994). Theresa says she gets her sense of humor from family stories:

Oh my god, I think that's part of what gives me like my sense of humor. You know what I mean? I mean, because our family is funny, you know….We have good memories and good family stories. I loved to hear how my dad was growing up, you know? It feels good, because I think you feel connected to something that's bigger than just what's here now. You know, the past. It's where we came from, so it's good to hear those stories.

Often times, there are multiple messages within one story. Theresa’s example not only shows us that humor is used through conveying messages in stories but stories also convey something bigger. Through Theresa’s experience with stories we see not only character traits being passed down but a connection to family members, also known as relations.

**Relations.** Many Indian people believe that “their stories, languages, customs, songs, dances, and ways of thinking and learning must be preserved because they sustain the life of that individual, family, and community” (Cajete, 1994, p. 41). It is particularly the stories that merge the life processes and mirror the core of one’s spiritual essence (Cajete). Furthermore, the mythic stories of a people create the map for cultural protocol
(Cajete). Rose can relate to relations through the telling of stories, especially through the telling of spirit stories. In Rose’s culture, spirits or what is also known as *antepasados* (ancestors) guide the living. Rose recalls playing cards with her grandma every night. One night, there was a knock on the door, but when Rose’s grandma went to answer it, nobody was there. Rose’s grandma responded by saying that somebody must’ve died. And as acknowledged, the next day she found out that her niece passed away.

Generosity

Antepasados, our ancestors

maintaining relations through stories,

and guidance

Their generosity.

Sense of humor,

the mythic mind

all used as a tool for teaching.

passed on to the younger generations,

so they can keep the traditions alive.
Summary

In answering the first sub question, how is knowledge constructed within a family context, it can be seen that knowledge is passed down through belonging, mastery, independence and generosity. It was also noticed that education greatly impacted the construction of knowledge when it replaced or did not align with the family’s knowledge. Unfortunately, how Western education was enacted, through the settler narrative, was to disrupt Indigenous knowledge and beliefs. This could be seen in the younger generations, especially those who had a high level of higher education. Their connection to their traditions, cultural identity and ancestral knowledge was almost non-existent. In telling
the stories of these family members, it is my hope that education starts aligning itself to
Indigenous knowledge. As in the eyes of our ancestors, before settler colonialism,
education and community beliefs were one in the same.

**How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?**

This study showed that education impacts Indigenous self-identity and the identity
of family through many means. Some of the ways it impacted the participants of this
study included language loss, discrimination, cultural discontinuity, and cultural
awareness, to name a few. It’s evident that education impacts Indigenous self-identity
when six (Felecita, Rose, Maria, Ignacio, Michelle and Sam) out of the ten (Theresa,
Ricardo, Maricella, and Anthony) participants replied that their racial, ethnic, or cultural
identities have not shown up in their education. Furthermore, it’s clear that education
impacts the identity of family, as four (Rose, Theresa, Michelle, and Maricella), out of
the eleven (Felecita, Elena, Maria, Ignacio, Ricardo, Sam, and Anthony) participants said
that their family's educational experiences impacted their ethnic or racial identity. Elena
and Felicita mentioned that their parents’ educational experiences did not impact them as
they were the first in their family to attend K-12 education. In answering the research
question, how does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family,
three themes were revealed: (1) Age differences; (2) Gender differences; and (3) Race
and Place differences.
Age differences

San Miguel Jr. and Donato (2010) affirm that the intent of schools (in the 1900s) was to acculturate Latino students. Subtractive practices towards Latino students was implemented through curriculum, instruction, and language policies with the end goal of acculturation (San Miguel Jr and Donato). This is clear through the participants’ lived experiences. No matter the participant age difference, education impacted the language of the participants in some way. Therefore, the language of the participants will be examined through three time periods: (1) the 1900s - 1950s; (2) the 1950s - 2000s; and (3) after the 2000s.

The 1900s - 1950s. In the early 1900s, schools in New Mexico supported the large Spanish speaking population. This can be viewed through New Mexican superintendent of Public Instruction, Amado Chaves, requesting more bilingual teachers (Spanish/English). In his request he explained that Spanish and English are to be equally taught, and only prejudice and unintelligence deems monolingualism a good fit towards citizenship (Chaves, 1896; Nieto-Phillips, 2004). By 1905, the push towards monolingualism in schools became the norm as Anglo Americans began replacing New Mexican superintendents who were in support of bilingual schools (Nieto-Phillips). Felecita (age 83) who started school in the 1940s was greatly impacted by the move from bilingualism to monolingualism. As a native Spanish speaker, she recalled being forced
to speak English only in the classroom. Programs or policy directed at the instruction and academic achievement of Latinos included “...reading reforms in the 1920s, project based teaching in the 1940s and pre-school English-language instruction in the 1950s” (San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010, p. 34).

The 1950s - 2000s. During the twentieth century, Westernized educational systems expanded globally as European colonies surrounded the world with colonial settlements (Spring, 2018). Through these means, European cultural imperialism implanted itself through educational indoctrination. Rose (age 56), a native Spanish speaker, remembers feeling alone and lost while the teacher only spoke English. Theresa (age 56), Felicita’s daughter, reflects on the bias her parents were confronted with when having Anglo English speaking teachers promote monolingualism in the school. As a result, Theresa says she feels good that she speaks Spanish, regardless of the schools authorizing English only policy.

After the 2000s. Schools are administrators of public knowledge (Spring, 2018). Termed culture wars in the United States, Spring calls this ideological management. As Spring explains, ideological management includes the development and control of understanding in a society. I (age 35) describes the negative impact English only policy has had on her elders and also on her own language experiences. My family and personal experiences of English only policy in schools has impacted not only the families
monolingualism but also the family dynamics. With the older generations only speaking Spanish, and the younger generations only speaking English, there was a disruption of family dynamics where language, knowledge, traditions and customs were not passed down to the younger generations because of a language barrier. As seen above, the initiative for English only education considerably affected the participants’ native Spanish language, traditions, culture, identities, and family dynamics.

**Education and Indigenous Identity**

The silencing of family languages brought on through manifest destiny, lady liberty, settler narratives and education.

**Disruption of family dynamics**

colonial settlements monolingualism.

**Subtractive practices.**
Gender differences

Gender differences greatly affected the participants’ lives when viewed through education. Settler colonialism in relation to gender roles created a male/female binary which Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) explain “as both heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism” which can be described as interpretations of “patriarchy and paternalism” (p. 13). In other words, gender roles defined by settler colonialism created a dominant bias through the view of the straight male perspective. For Indigenous people, gender does not exist in a male/female binary but rather exists on a spectrum where each person chooses what gender means or doesn’t mean to them. An Indigenous example of
this can be seen in the Aztec god Ometeotl where Ometeotl is described as god and
goddess and gives birth to four sons (León-Portilla, 1963). Ometeotl could also be
described as two-spirit. The documentary *Two-Spirits* (2010), follows the life and tragic
death of Fred, describing Fred as “a boy who was also a girl” (Nibley, 2010). Two-spirit
or what the Navajo culture calls “nádleehí, ‘one who constantly transforms’”, is revered
as a gift (Nibley). From the examples above, settler notions of gender and Indigenous
notions of gender vary greatly. It is therefore important to scrutinize how gender roles in
education influenced the lives of the participants. Therefore, the gender differences will
be examined through three different participants: (1) Felecita; (2) Anthony; and (3)
Michelle.

**Felecita.** Gender differences greatly impacted Felecita and her family's
experience with school. In Felecita’s family, the boys left school early to enter the
workforce while Felecita (age 83) and her sister were supported in acquiring their high
school diploma. Families living in rural areas needed children for farm work (Spring,
2018), or in Felicita's case, her brothers aided the family by taking up employment at the
nearby sawmill. Even though Felecita did not mention the working environment of the
sawmill, historically, mills are not distinguished as having the most desirable working
conditions. Because of the need for children to help support families, especially in rural
areas, a social class of child laborers was very high during this time period (Spring, 2018).

**Anthony.** Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) portray the absorption of settler colonialism within gender inquiry as revealing systemic implementation of settler colonialism and its weighty impacts on Indigenous people. Looking at settler colonialism inside of gender studies discloses what decolonization might create for all. Anthony, recalled one of his experiences with settler colonial gender norms in education. Anthony described a time when he was in the weight room for gym class and, in front of everyone, he was weighed, his height was taken and a strength test was given. As Anthony described, physically exhibiting settler colonialism values of masculinity in front of other students is a form of colonial performance and may harm a child’s gender identity.

**Michelle.** The male/female binary of gender norms is one that situates males as physically adept, intelligent, and unemotional as where females are portrayed as physically fragile, unintelligent, and emotional (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, 2013). I speak to this female/male binary making clear that I disliked school growing up and felt like I was there just for the social interactions. Growing up I always felt dumb but didn’t realize until I was completing my PhD that it wasn’t a deficit of my own capabilities but rather a deficit of the school system. My experiences are recognized as settler colonialism’s impact of gender roles placed on Indigenous people.
Gender

Patriarchy and Paternalism

gender viewed through

the straight male perspective

Not what gender means to me.

settler colonialism

Enforced through education

enforced through work roles

Maker of binaries

no room for anything else

males strong

mind and body

females weak

mind and body

What gender means to me.

Sometimes male, sometimes female,

sometimes both, or not.

Ometeotl

god and goddess,
Indigenous two spirit.

Strong in mind, body and spirit.

Figure 5. 10 Ometeotl

Race and Place differences

Each time settler colonialism took place, the participants were taken farther and farther from their Indigenous identity. During the Spanish invasion, education was a tool used to oppress Natives towards Spanish society, the Spanish tongue and Catholicism.
(Gonzales, 2012; Wagenheim and Jimenez-Wagenheim, 1971). The U.S. invasion also utilized education in assimilating Indigenous people. The participants’ experiences are unique in that they did not cross the border but the border crossed them. As a result of the border change, came border politics. Border politics can be described as European settlers placing Indigenous people of the Americas in opposition to one another which then affects how Indigenous people live and identify (Gonzales, 2012; McFarland, 2002). As a result, the following themes emerged: (1) Spanish and Catholic; and (2) Border politics.

**Spanish and Catholic.** Because of two *casta* systems implemented nationally by Spain and locally by the Mexican government (late 18th century to around 1848), it became more desirable to be identified as Spanish and Catholic (Bustamante, 1991), thus erasing Indigenous identity (Gonzales, 2012; Wagenheim and Jimenez-Wagenheim, 1971). Because New Mexico remained a territory until 1912 (Nieto-Phillips, 2014), and can be considered an isolated frontier (Spring, 2018), many of the Indigenous people in New Mexico clung to the identity of Spanish and Catholic. Therefore, it’s understandable that everyone, in Felecita’s community (Cañon de Jemez, NM), during her time period would identify as Spanish or Spanish American. In regards to Catholicism, Felecita’s older sister, Natalia, was bussed every day to a Catholic high school. As Spring (2018) mentions, schools are replications of the dominant society. As a result, Natalia throughout her life, remained a devout Catholic.
**Border Politics.** During American colonization, Mexican-Americans were not seen as belonging to the American Indians of America (Spring, 2018, p.187; Donato, 1997). That being said, each participant is Indian, not only from their Indigenous roots in Mexico but Rose and Ignacio are also of Navajo lineage. Rose’s (57) experiences in school show that Rose’s Indigenous identity was not supported or integrated by her high school, that may be because of how the government thinks of Mexican-Americans as non-Indigenous people. As mentioned above, schools are replications of the dominant society (Spring). Another form of body politics can be seen in another participants schooling experience. Ignacio (55), a couple of years younger than Rose, attended school in a larger Albuquerque, NM. Ignacio, whose phenotype is that of a lighter skinned Chicano and whose native language is English, experienced border politics through internalized racism (Jones, 2000) within groups. By internalizing the border politics of the South and North border of the Americas, the Indigenous people of the Americas start othering each other based on phenotype, language skills, etc. In so doing this, we have put on the masks of our settler colonists, pinning one against the other.

**Race and Place**

Spanish and Catholic,

that’s what we became.

Bloodshed.
Border changes,

Border politics

a new kind of warfare.

Battle fatigue,

internalized racism

amongst each other.

We do the work for the colonizers,

planted oppression in our heads.

Figure 5. 11 Race and Place
Summary

In answering the second sub question, how does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family, one can see that no matter the age differences of the participants, education was very successful at the eradication of family languages. As a result of the younger participants becoming monolingual English speakers, the younger generations were not able to communicate with the older generations, greatly limiting traditional practices and beliefs. Thus, schools are seen as catalysts in the disruption of Indigenous relations, traditional knowledge, and the identity of family. In regards to Indigenous self-identity, another area to examine closely is the role education plays on gender norms. Indigenous knowledge and beliefs do not hold gender as a male/female binary. For Indigenous people, there is no definition, unless it comes from the individual themselves. Gender norms enacted in schools, impacted the participants’ identity through child labor, masculine performance, and feminine stupidity. The last area to be scrutinized is race and place. Schools, during both European invasions, were utilized as a means to assimilate Indigenous people. With the first invasion, schools were used to convert Indigenous people to the Spanish identity and Catholicism. These identities can still be seen in the participants’ lives. With the second invasion, came border politics where Mexican-American Indigenous identity was erased, as we were positioned as not the original Indians of North America. In addition to the erasure of Indian identity north
of the border, south of the border, Chicanos are seen as too Americanized to be real Indians. Border politics is something that is played out fully in the educational arena.

**What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?**

This study showed the importance of the contributions of Indigenous scholars in curriculum studies. By making space for Indigenous scholars in curriculum studies, the impacts of settler colonialism on identity formation with historical trauma and education as catalysts are exhibited. Based on the participant responses it was disclosed that six (Felecita, Rose, Maria, Ignacio, Michelle, and Maricella) out of the ten participants (Theresa, Ricardo, Sam and Anthony) responded that they did not have teachers or curriculum similar to how they identify. With the exception of two of the participants (Theresa and Ricardo), Sam and Anthony’s experiences with teachers and curriculum similar to how they identify felt very comparable to multicultural education. In Anthony’s case, his teacher reflected multiculturalism through her phenotype rather than through her teaching. In Sam’s case, throughout his whole K-12 experiences only one class, Hispanic writing, was offered. This is problematic as multicultural education when considered through the lens of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1972), race theories (Yosso, 2002), and settler colonialism (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013) rejects multiculturalism education through “foods and holidays of people of color, or adding ethnic content to the curriculum in a sporadic and segmented way” (Banks, 1993, p. 202).
As a result, in answering the research question, what are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies, three themes were revealed: (1) Race; (2) Cultural Genocide; and (3) Contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies.

**Race**

Tuck and Gaztanbide-Fernandez (2013) note that the brutality of colonialism continues after first contact and after the new nation is formed, and is maintained each day of conquest. This reassertion of invasion is maintained throughout education. Lewis (2004) argues that schools are arguably primary institutions implicated in the creation and recreation of racial lines. As a result of the participants’ lived experiences, the following themes emerged in regards to race: (1) Racism; (2) Racial segregation; and (3) School discipline.

**Racism.** Herrnstein and Murray (1994) in *The Bell Curve*, argued that people of color are less profitable educationally and economically because they are more unintelligent (Pollack, 2008). Theresa, in her interview, touched on the topic of racism and this exact study. She mentions that a teacher is still using this study to prove superiority and intelligence among the races. Theresa (57) mentioned that there was a teacher, back east, who was explaining to her students, that the White race is superior to races of color because people of color are less smart. Additionally, she mentioned that this teacher was explaining that there are studies proving it. This is an example of what
Tuck and Gaztanbide-Fernandez (2013) refer to as colonialism reasserting itself each and every day of contact, especially through education. Instead, educators need to battle “racism and racial inequity from within schools and classrooms” (Pollack, 2008, introduction). One way to do this is to start integrating scholars of color (all scholars of color, not just one) into the curriculum in each and every subject taught. Through this means, students are given a plethora of examples countering the racist notions of the *The Bell Curve* study and those who still ascribe to its inaccurate findings.

**Racial segregation.** The settler narrative reestablishes race, racism and racial segregation historically through education. As race was created in order for settler colonialism to be successful. As the participants (Theresa, Ignacio, and Sam) mentioned, in their high schools, everyone was segregated based on race. As Lewis (2004) states, racial lines in education are drawn as early as elementary school (Lewis, 2004). In her 2004 study, she describes the way events occur in schools, most notably in elementary schools, in which events begin to shape and alter people racially. Additionally, Lewis mentions that racial identities (assigned and chosen) impact educational experiences.

**School discipline.** The U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education (2014) issued a collective letter urging K-12 schools to perform their responsibilities under federal law to manage student discipline void of discriminatory practices on the grounding of race, color, or national status. Theresa (57) describes an
incident that occurred regarding her dad and an Anglo teacher. With the threat of expulsion, Theresa’s dad was eventually able to prove he was blameless. The teacher ended up being forced to resign. These types of incidences are common in education, with discriminatory practices and blame occurring because of a child’s race. In another study by Kitchen, Garcia-Olp, and Van Ooyik (2017) students of color missed instructional time because of how the school enacted discipline:

It pains me that two of them are black and one is Hispanic...those three...math is the second to last period of the day, by the time we get to math, they’re in the Dean’s office, the Vice Principal’s office, doing their worksheets. And so they’re never in there for math… (p. 3)

Theresa’s dad began attending school in the early 1900s, the fact that these discriminatory practices of discipline are still occurring today is evident that settler colonialism persists and utilizes education as one of its main instruments.

The Making of Racial Lines

The making of racial lines begins in school.

The Bell Curve

Intelligence tests.
Invalid results.

discriminatory practices

and

318
blame.

Transferred to school discipline

settler colonialism persists using education as one of its main instruments.

Figure 5. 12 Racial lines drawn

Cultural Genocide

Acculturation of Indigenous people through education is indisputable as seen in language and culture loss. Furthermore, acculturation also occurs through the scarcity of Indigenous narratives throughout education which amass to cultural genocide. Tinker
(1993) describes cultural genocide as the direct ruin of a people by methodically through policy or other means damage, deteriorate, or weaken, the stability of the culture and beliefs that represents them and gives them vitality. As a result of the participants’ experiences with cultural genocide, the following themes emerged: (1) The perpetuation of inequities; and (2) Settler focused practices.

The perpetuation of inequities. Yosso (2002) makes clear that the drawbacks of Chicanos not receiving cultural knowledge in K-12 schools can also be seen in higher education as well. Margolis and Romero (1996) conducted a critical study of hidden curriculum in graduate school sociology programs and situated multiple policies and practices put into action regarding graduate curriculum. This study showed that these practices and policies preserves the knowledge of White scholars while maintaining inequities. Inequities were revealed through the disregard of works by scholars of color and the forging of race relations as hidden or imaginary. As Maria (age 55) says, her experiences in K-12 and higher education did not relate to her cultural knowledge, her ancestral knowledge, nor her identity.

Settler focused practices. Settler focused actions show up in the classroom through teacher to student and peer to peer interactions, through books, and throughout education (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). These settler narratives are portrayed as normal as they are focused on Whites (McIntosh, 1988) or through the settler perspective.
Buras (1999) agrees that students of color, regardless of economic status, and who are multilingual offer the classroom abundant ways of knowing, cultural traditions, and languages which are often seen as less than from the settler perspective. As I (35) recalled, my families switch from bilingualism (Spanish/English) to monolingualism (English) was the direct result of schools seeing Spanish as a deficit rather than an asset.

**Cultural Genocide**

Language and culture loss

through policy

the perpetuation of inequities

settler focused practices

K-12 and Higher Ed.

hidden curriculums

A deficit rather than an asset.

Used by both European invaders.
Contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies

When education incorporates place-based education (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Shannon & Galle, 2017) and Indigenous knowledge and beliefs, it can be used as a form of empowerment and a way back to our ancestral knowledge. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez (2013) argue that rematriation and refusal through browning (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2006, Gaztambide-Fernández & Murad, 2011) can assist in the work of
decolonization. The “browning” of curriculum studies is a move that intentionally reveals the intricate ways in which white supremacy and settler colonialism re-create themselves in curriculum studies. Rematriation is the work of community and academics in curriculum studies who precisely call out how curriculum is rooted in settler colonialism (Tuck, 2011; Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). As a result of the participants’ experiences, the following themes emerged: (1) Place-based education; (2) Rematriation; and (3) Refusal through browning.

**Place-based education.** Ricardo’s experience in bilingual education was perhaps the most abundant example in implementing place-based education in the classroom. Deloria & Wildcat (2001) describe place-based education as the knowing of places, allows for a connection to form between the people and the other life forms located there. Shannon and Galle (2017) define place-based education as the place we reside in, situates us to place. The authors further explain that void of place, we are unable to locate ourselves to a particular source. Place then, is described as a social construction, bound and constructed within time and space, closely tied to sensory experiences (Shannon & Galle).

**Rematriation.** Rematriation entails the reconfiguration of research goals in curriculum studies so that Indigenous people can dismiss stories and theories that have been told in a deficit view, and recreate these narratives as a means of sovereignty and
well-being (Tuck, 2009; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). Rematriation in curriculum studies can be seen in many ethnic studies classes taught by teachers who come from those same communities and backgrounds. An example of this can be seen in Theresa’s experiences with her Chicano studies class. Theresa mentioned that she wished more classes such as these had been offered in higher education. It’s vital that rematriation doesn’t stay siloed within ethnic studies courses but is integrated in all classes offered. Tuck (2011) has suggested the subsequent rematriated goals of curriculum studies:

- uncovering the quiet thoughts and beliefs of a community
- mapping the variety of ideas in a community
- making generational knowledge of elders, youth, parents, warriors, hunters, leaders, gardeners, fishers, teachers, and others available to other generations
- using home languages to express ideas, and to bring new language to new and recovered ideas
- honoring all of our relations by engaging in the flow of knowledge in community in ways that reflect epistemology/cosmology and relationships to land. (p. 36)

I’d like to add to Tuck’s list by saying that the integration of the above goals need to come from the community. For example, if you are from another pueblo, nation or race and wish to introduce Indigenous ways of knowing and being into the curriculum, it’s important to invite Elders of that community to teach, in order for appropriation of knowledge to be avoided.
Refusal through browning. Browning is explained as a change in curriculum studies that directly uncovers and highlights the ways in which white supremacy and settler colonialism show up in the area of curriculum (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). Browning moves past multiculturalism as multiculturalism disregards the meaning of Indigenous sovereignty and moves Indigenous people away from decolonization (Grande, 2004). Browning also moves past Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT or critical whiteness studies in curriculum studies re-centers whiteness because works by scholars of color are overlooked, replaced and dismissed by the works of white scholars (Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013).

Place-Based Education

The knowing of places
the place we reside in
situates us.
Recreate narratives
communities and backgrounds
honoring all of our relations
in education.
Bound and constructed through time and space.
Figure 5. 14 Place-Based Education

Adapted from http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Nahuatl

Summary

In answering the last sub question, what are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies, it can be seen that incorporating Indigenous scholars into the curriculum has had a very positive impact on two of the participants (Theresa and Ricardo). Theresa took a Chicano studies class in college and Ricardo, although he didn’t
mention specifically any scholars, he did mention the focus of place-based education. Although the other participants did mention classes such as a Hispanic writing class (Sam) and a New Mexico History class (Anthony), these classes were told from the perspective of the settler rather than from an Indigenous perspective. Therefore, incorporating Indigenous scholars into the curriculum is not only vital for Indigenous students but is important for all students. But it should not stop there. Place-based education, rematriation and refusal through browning should all be incorporated in curriculum studies. Through these means the dismantling of the settler narrative in education is made possible.

**Ceremonial Display (Decolonized)**

For Chicano communities engaged in ceremony, we practice ceremonial display literally in flower and song as derived from our Aztec ancestors. Because ceremony is sacred, I have chosen not to go into detail about what flower and song in ceremony entails. But rather, have tried to create a new space for flower and song, figuratively, through digital storytelling in keeping to the theme of oral storytelling (song) and pictographs (flower). The link below is what I envision data presentation could look like as a result of my own findings.

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m-nA4Ir_5Rk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m-nA4Ir_5Rk)
Conclusion: Finding Face

In a means to find my face, my identity, I found that I could not have done so without my community or without my family. It is hard to know where I am going or find foundation without looking at historical impacts that may have influenced my identity formation. Through this process, I have found that although the outside world needs a label in how I identify, and that there are many labels that I can attach myself to, I am an Indian. Whether I identify as an Indian through calling myself a Chicana, a Genizara, or Indigenous, all those terms, when situated in place lead to *Indio* (Indian). As has been pointed out to me before, *Indio*, can also mean in god, or with god. For me, I prefer to use the word creator rather than god. From this lens, it is less in how I label myself but more to do with my practices, or my relationship with my identity where finding my face emerges. Although I feel I will never be done finding my face, as identity is not stagnate but is fluid, this process has given me a foundation from which to continue.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A
The University of New Mexico diploma cover
Appendix B
Interview Questions in Relation to Research Questions Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Questions</th>
<th>Relation to Research Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interview I: Background &amp; Identity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Can you tell me about your background? How do you identify yourself?</td>
<td>● How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization through the generations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How long has your family lived in New Mexico?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● What is your relationship with your racial/ethnic/cultural background?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● What is your earliest memory of when you came to know your racial/ethnic/cultural identity?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How important is your racial/ethnic/cultural identity to you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How do you see yourself?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How do you think others see you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How does race or ethnicity factor into your life, if at all?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How did you come to this identity?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Did you feel you had a say in your identity formation?</td>
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<tr>
<td>● Do you see identities as harmful or helpful?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Do family members have the same racial/ethnic identity as you?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How have family stories shaped who you are?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How does education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
● What language were your family stories told in?
● Can you identify family members who have been most influential in your ethnic/racial identity development?
● Have your family's educational experiences impacted your ethnic/racial identity?

impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?
● How is knowledge constructed within a family context?

Interview II: K-12 Educational Experiences

○ What are your educational and professional goals?
○ Can you describe your relationship with education?
○ What are your thoughts about education in general?
○ What are your family’s thoughts about education? How did it influence your decisions about college?
○ What role did your family play in your educational journey?
○ What is your earliest memory about going to school?
○ What were your experiences like in K-12 education?
○ How have your racial/ethnic/cultural identities shown up in your education?
○ Keeping your racial/ethnic/cultural identity in mind, tell me about your interactions with your teachers.
○ Keeping your racial/ethnic/cultural identity in

● How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?
● What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>○ How did/do you perceive yourself in school?</td>
<td>○ What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>○ How were you perceived in school?</td>
<td>○ How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>○ What experiences come to mind when you consider how your identity formation may have played a role in your K-12 educational experience?</td>
<td>○ During your time in school, were there teachers or curriculum that were similar to how you identify?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>○ During your time in school, were there teachers or curriculum that were similar to how you identify?</td>
<td>● How has college impacted your ethnic/racial identity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How has college impacted your ethnic/racial identity?</td>
<td>● Can you name scholars who have been most influential in your identity development?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How has college impacted your ethnic/racial identity?</td>
<td>● Do these scholars hold the same identity as you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Can you name scholars who have been most influential in your identity development?</td>
<td>● When were you first introduced to these scholars?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Do these scholars hold the same identity as you?</td>
<td>● How did you learn about or come across these scholars?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● When were you first introduced to these scholars?</td>
<td>● What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● How did you learn about or come across these scholars?</td>
<td>● How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interview III: *Reflection, Participation and Arts-Based Decolonial Practices*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>● Can you tell me a little more about this experience….?</td>
<td>● How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization through the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● What else happened when…?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>● Has anything changed in your reflections about our discussion on your racial/ethnic identity and its</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 355 |
connection to your community and educational experience?

- Given our previous discussions about your experience as a [participants identity here] student, what thoughts do you have about how we can improve education for all students?
- What does it mean to be a [participants identity here] student?
- What should educators know about [participants identity here] students in general?
- Do you have any other thoughts about anything else we’ve discussed during our time together?

- What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum studies?
- What role does the presence or lack of presence of Indigenous scholars have on knowledge systems?
- How is local knowledge constructed within a family context?
Appendix C
Methodology Matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Content/Essence/Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Storywork Protocol</td>
<td>Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous Storywork seven theoretical principles guide the protocol for adhering to research as ceremony, including adhering to respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. These seven principles as the overlay to the components used in research and also change the way traditional practices are conducted and include an Indigenous lens and practice to research.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Research Questions                   | This Indigenous storywork inquiry looked at how settler colonialism impacts identity through the generations, specifically through the lenses of education and historical trauma. The overarching research question guiding this inquiry asked: How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization? The following sub questions asked:  
  ● How is knowledge generated within a family context?  
  ● How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?  
  ● What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on                                                                                                                                      |
These research questions were designed to elicit emergent themes as they are open ended and exploratory (Uhrmacher, Moroye, & Flinders, 2017).

**Conversation as Method**

Kovach (2009) views the gathering of stories as conversation as method, different from formal structured or semi-structured interviews that enforce outside parameters on the participant’s narrative. An open-structured conversational method utilizes respect for the participant’s story, creating a space where participants control what they prefer to share within answering the interview questions. Utilizing open-structured methods, the researcher then improvisationally replies to the stories, actively listening and gaining understandings. This process of sharing stories provokes memory and possibly emotions, requiring the researcher to be prepared. Indigenous research frameworks are positioned with a decolonizing initiative aimed towards healing and transformation. This may involve decolonization on a micro or macro level encouraging the researcher to be aware of such responsibilities associated when using conversation as method (Kovach, 2009).

**Meaning Making**

Tribal Critical Race Theory was the means in which the meaning of the data was made and analyzed. As Brayboy (2005) explains in TribalCrit, academic discord, displeasure, and multiple means of separation remain
prevalent by numerous Indigenous people as a result of their experiences with westernized/settler colonial practices of education. Through this first tenet, the perpetuation of settler colonialism is revealed and the system is seen for what it is allowing the deconstruction of colonizing practices to be possible (Brayboy). By using TribalCrit to analyze the data, established practices of academic knowledge are challenged. Therefore, in decolonizing research, the Indigenous investigator must be reminded that the Western academic world of research has long silenced the actuality of knowledge held by Indigenous people as seen in Indigenous-settler colonial relations.

| Ceremonial Display (Arts-Based Practices) | Data analysis when presented in the written form disrupts an Indigenous paradigm. Indigenous thought and practice requires experiential ways of knowing that don’t often correlate to the written word. That being said, the investigator acknowledges that this is a dissertation and dissertations require data of some sort being written. There are options to present data that include the written word and to acknowledge and engage in oral storytelling. Presenting data through the written word will be used in this study through literary license or what is also known as narrative inquiry (Leavy, 2015). Oral storytelling can be accomplished through digital storytelling. According to Gubrium (2009), “Digital stories can influence indigenous healthiness and |
resilience by offering a means of owning and being able to tell one’s own story” (p.187). Digital storytelling offers a way to partake in conveying of the data using oral storytelling and pictures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research as Ceremony</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilson (2008) notes that this type of research requires relationship-building in which the researcher comprehends the responsibility that comes with bringing new concepts into fruition, or voicing (making visible) an existing one. Wilson (2008) states, “The new relationship has to respect all of the other relationships around it. Forming and strengthening connections gives power to and helps the knot between to grow larger and stronger. We must ensure both sides in the relationship are sharing the power going into these new connections” (p. 79). Archibald’s (2008) Indigenous Storywork theoretical principles guide the protocol for adhering to research as ceremony, including adhering to respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D
Overarching concepts

**Overarching Concept:** As Brayboy (2005) states in his first tenet of Tribal Critical Race Theory, “Colonization is endemic (ingrained) into society (p.430) and as a result, colonized institutions produce colonized people (Brayboy, 2008; Smith, 2012).

**Overarching Sub concept:** A colonized system impacts Indigenous identity and can be seen through the generations (Baca, 2008; Estrada, 2008; Smith, 2012).

**Problem of Study:** The problem this study examines is that through a colonized educational system, a disruption of identity occurs (Allen, 1999; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010; Yosso, 2002).

**Purpose of Study:** The purpose of this study is twofold: (1) To examine the implications of colonization on Indigenous knowledge systems; and (2) To examine colonization at the intersection of identity and education.

**Central Research Question:** How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?

**Sub question:** How does education impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of

**Sub question:** How is local knowledge generated within a family context?

**Sub question:** What are the contributions of Indigenous scholars on curriculum?
Need for the Study: Although there is a substantial amount of literature regarding the impacts of settler colonialism, especially pertaining to educational institutions (Allen, 1999; Baca, 2008; Brayboy, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Meriam & Work, 1928; San Miguel Jr & Donato, 2010; Smith, 2012; Spring, 2011; Spring, 2013; Yosso, 2002), there are only a handful of empirical studies that address the need to decolonize identity (finding face) using Indigenous Storywork and Arts-Based Decolonial Research, through flower and song. Moreover, even fewer resources exist using these methods to study historical trauma in Mexican-Americans in the southwest (Estrada, 2009).
Appendix E
Interview Protocol 1

Introduction, Purpose of Study, and Obtaining Consent

Background & Identity
- Can you tell me about your background? How do you identify yourself?
- What is your relationship with your racial/ethnic/cultural background?
- What is your earliest memory of when you came to know your racial/ethnic/cultural identity?
- How important is your racial/ethnic/cultural identity to you?
- How do you see yourself?
- How do you think others see you?
- How does race or ethnicity factor into your life, if at all?
- How did you come to this identity?
- Did you feel you had a say in your identity formation?
- Do you see identities as harmful or helpful?

Family Members Background & Identity
- Do family members have the same racial/ethnic identity as you?
- How have family stories shaped who you are?
- What language were your family stories told in?
- Can you identify family members who have been most influential in your ethnic/racial identity development?
- Have your family's educational experiences impacted your ethnic/racial identity?

Participation, Reflection and Arts-Based Practices
Please take some time to reflect in your journal regarding the topics from our interview or anything else that may emerge. You may write a passage, write poetry, draw, paint, or engage in digital narrative storytelling.
Appendix F
Interview Protocol 2

Review summary of previous interview check in with participant and answer any questions or concerns.
- Do you have any thoughts or reflections about our last conversation?
- Did anything else come to mind for you after our interview ended?
- Review the participants journal and engagement in ABR together

K-12 Educational Experiences
- What are your educational and professional goals?
- Can you describe your relationship with education?
- What are your thoughts about education in general?
- What are your family’s thoughts about education? How did it influence your decisions about college?
- What role did your family play in your educational journey?
- What is your earliest memory about going to school?
- What were your experiences like in K-12 education?
- How have your racial/ethnic/cultural identities shown up in your education?
- Keeping your racial/ethnic/cultural identity in mind, tell me about your interactions with your teachers.
- Keeping your racial/ethnic/cultural identity in mind, tell me about your interactions with other students.
- How did/do you perceive yourself in school?
- How were you perceived in school?
- What experiences come to mind when you consider how your identity formation may have played a role in your K-12 educational experience?
- During your time in school, were there teachers or curriculum that were similar to how you identify?

College Educational Experiences
- How has college impacted your ethnic/racial identity?
- Can you name scholars who have been most influential in your identity development?
- Do these scholars hold the same identity as you?
- When were you first introduced to these scholars?
- How did you learn about or come across these scholars?

Participation, Reflection and Arts-Based Practices
Please take some time to reflect in your journal regarding the topics from our interview or anything else that may emerge. You may write a passage, write poetry, draw, paint, or engage in digital narrative storytelling.
Appendix G
Interview Protocol 3

Review summary of previous interview, check in with participant, and answer any questions or concerns.

- Do you have any thoughts or reflections about our last conversation?
- Did anything else come to mind for you after our interview ended?
- Review the participants journal and engagement in ABR together

Clarification of stories and experiences [follow up questions]

- Can you tell me a little more about this experience?...
- What else happened when...?

Final Reflections and Thoughts

- Has anything changed in your reflections about our discussion on your racial/ethnic identity and its connection to your community and educational experience?
- Given our previous discussions about your experience, what thoughts do you have about how we can improve education for all students?
- What does it mean to be a [participant’s identity] student?
- What should educators know about [participant’s identity] students in general?
- Do you have any other thoughts about anything else we’ve discussed during our time together?

Participation, Reflection and Arts-Based Practices

Please take some time to reflect in your journal regarding the topics from our interview or anything else that may emerge. This time will also be used to create a digital narrative storytelling using the spoken word and pictures. The participant may request any other means of Arts-Based Decolonial Practices in presenting their story as well.
Appendix H
Systematic Literature Review Map

4/26/17

Systematic Literature Review Map:

Systematic Literature Review Search Date: 4/10/2017
Search String used:
(education AND (curriculum) AND identity AND indigenous AND (colonial OR colonize OR colonized))
Databases searched:
ERIC (5 results)
JSTOR (4, 420)
PsychInfo (5 results)
Project Muse (14, 552)
ProQuest Central (5,508)
Taylor & Francis (8,412)

Systematic Literature Review Search Date: 4/20/2017
Search String used:
(curriculum) AND identity AND indigenous AND (colonial OR colonize OR colonized)
Databases searched:
ERIC (6 results)
JSTOR (4, 737)
PsychInfo (12 results)
Project Muse (2,215)
ProQuest Central (5,882)
Taylor & Francis (8,697)

Systematic Literature Review Search Date: 4/24/2017
Search String used:
Abstract search only: (Curriculum AND identity AND indigenous AND colonial OR coloniz*)
Databases searched:
ERIC (376 results)
JSTOR (0)
PsychInfo (2,230 results)
Title search only/does not have an abstract only search: Project Muse (0) w/o abstract search only: (2,015)
ProQuest Central (30,660)

Systematic Literature Review Search Date: 4/26/2017
Search String used:
Abstract search only: (Curriculum AND identity AND Mestiza AND colonial OR coloniz* OR decoloniz*)
Databases searched:
ERIC (539 results)
JSTOR (0)
PsychInfo (2,230 results)
Title search only/does not have an abstract only search: Project Muse (0) w/o abstract search only: (2,015)
ProQuest Central (30,660)
Systematic Literature Review Search
Date: 4/26/2017
Search String used:
Mestiz@ AND identity formation AND curriculum AND coloniz*
Databases searched:
ERIC (0 results)
JSTOR (1)
PsychInfo (0 results)
Project Muse (1)
ProQuest Central (6)
Taylor & Francis (6)
Google Scholar (5,430)
Academic Search Complete (0 results)

Goal: Reduce

Systematic Literature Review Search
Date: 4/26/2017
Search String used:
Mestiz@ AND identity formation AND colonized curriculum
Databases searched:
ERIC (0 results)
JSTOR (1)
PsychInfo (0 results)
Project Muse (0)
ProQuest Central (2)
Taylor & Francis (4)
Google Scholar (5,650)
Academic Search Complete (0 results)

Systematic Literature Review Search
Date: 4/26/2017
Search String used:
Decolonization AND settler colonialism AND settler moves to innocence AND incommensurability AND Indigenous land AND decolonizing education
Databases searched:
ERIC (0 results)
JSTOR (0)
PsychInfo (0 results)
Project Muse (0)
ProQuest Central (1)
Taylor & Francis (0)
Google Scholar (188)

Because my systematic review search did not align with the experts provided by...
Appendix I
Pilot Study

Introduction

Before committing fully to the research questions and methodology, a pilot study was conducted. The purpose of this pilot research study was to look at how colonization impacts identity through the generations, specifically looking at how historical trauma and education may play a role. The methods for data collection were utilized through Indigenous storywork and interview questions. The methods for data collection consisted of co-coding in which the participant alongside the researcher codes the transcript for themes. This pilot study is titled: Decolonizing the Curriculum: Finding Face, Finding Foundation, Finding Heart. The research questions for this pilot study included one overarching question and three sub questions which included: (1) How do the identities of one Indigenous family inform our understanding of colonization?; (a) How does curriculum impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?; (b) What role does the presence or lack of presence of Indigenous scholars have on knowledge systems?; (c) How is knowledge constructed within a family context? A total of 14 interview questions were listed on the pilot consent form and the participant was able to view these questions beforehand. These questions included: (1) What is your racial and ethnic identity?; (2) During your time in school, were there teachers or curriculum that were similar to how
you identify?; (3) How did you come to this identity?; (4) Did you feel you had a say in your identity formation?; (5) Do family members have the same racial/ethnic identity as you?; (6) How has schooling impacted this identity?; (7) How have family stories shaped who you are?; (8) Can you name scholars who have been most influential in your identity development?; (9) Do these scholars hold the same identity as you?; (10) When were you first introduced to these scholars?; (11) Do you see identities as harmful or helpful?; (12) How did you learn about or come across these scholars?; (13) Can you identify family members who have been most influential in your identity development?; (14) How long has your family lived in New Mexico?

Participants

This pilot study consisted of 2 participants, Alejandro Valdez (pseudonym) and myself (it was advised by my RMS 4946 instructor to also ask myself these same interview questions to help reduce bias). The criteria for participant selection included a person who identifies as an Indigenous Nuevomexicano (New Mexican) and can possibly aid the researcher in better formulating the research questions and identify and remove biases in those research questions. Before conducting this pilot study, I provided Alejandro Valdez with a Pilot Study Consent Form (Appendix G). This pilot study was conducted as part of RMS 4946: Advanced Qualitative Research and was covered under the instructor’s IRB.
Findings

The findings from this pilot study informed the dissertation title and methodology in numerous ways. This included the changing of the dissertation title, a slight modification to research sub question one, and the addition of interview questions broken up over three periods.

Dissertation Title. First, the dissertation title changed from decolonizing curriculum to decolonizing identity. Through the pilot study, it was made evident that this was a project about identity with curriculum as a subset. It was also made clear that before one can engage in the act of decolonizing anything, one needs to first decolonize self. Furthermore, to enter into a space with the intent to decolonize without first decolonizing self can result in harm towards participants.

Research Sub questions. The second finding was a change to the first sub question. The first sub question asked: How does a hidden curriculum impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family? After the pilot study, it was concluded that the study was primarily focused on hidden curriculums rather than curriculums in general. Now, the first sub question asks: How does a curriculum impact Indigenous self-identity and the identity of family?

Interview Questions and Process. The third finding resulted in the addition of more interview questions broken up over three interviews. The first interview consisted
of the participant’s background and identity focusing on three areas: (1) Personal Background & Identity with 10 interview questions being asked; (2) Family Members Background & Identity with 5 questions being asked; and (3) Reflection & Participation in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices. Reflection & Participation in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices asks the participant to take some time to reflect in their journal regarding the topics from the interview or anything else that may emerge. This may include a written passage, poetry, drawing, painting, or engage in digital narrative storytelling. The second interview included the participants’ educational experiences focusing on four areas: (1) Educational Experiences with 3 questions being asked; (2) K-12 Educational Experiences with 14 questions being asked; (3) College Educational Experiences with 6 questions being asked; and (4) Reflection & Participation in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices. The third interview was devoted to reflection and participation in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices focusing on three areas: (1) Reflection and participation in Arts-Based Decolonial Practices reviewing the participants journal and engagement in ABR; (2) Clarification of stories and experiences [follow up questions]; and (3) Final Reflections and Thoughts.

**Conversation as Method.** Although I went into the pilot study with a set list of questions, it was quickly realized that throughout the interview, conversation as method was utilized and encouraged (Kovach, 2010). Although interview questions were used as
a starting point, conversation as method became the main focus and was utilized throughout the final study.

**Co-coding.** In order to identify themes of the pilot study, I employed a method called co-coding. Co-coding can be found in community-based participatory research (CBPR) creating a reciprocal relationship between researchers and participants (Pinto, McKay, & Escobar, 2008). Co-coding as defined in this study includes the participants sitting down with researchers to read through the transcripts and decide on emerging themes together. This is a multi-step process where: (1) the interview is transcribed and member checked for accuracy; (2) both participant and researcher read through the data once, without coding, to get general sense of materials; (3) both participant and researcher read through the transcription again. As the data is analyzed together, look for units of meaning (30-40 codes); (4) reduce codes through axial coding (less than 20): Group similar units of meanings and create a new theme; (5) both participant and researcher reduce overlapping and redundant codes together; (6) together, collapse codes into 5-7 themes (findings/answers to your research question), which can include themes in regards to what would you expect and what would you not expect (Dr. Lolita Tabron, PowerPoint presentation, July 15, 2017). However, it became apparent that this method might be too stringent and not follow an Indigenous methodology. After the pilot study, it was therefore concluded that each participant might want to engage in co-coding in
various ways to fit their comfortability and amount of time available. As a result, it is recommended that the investigator and participant decide on the parameters of the co-coding process together before identifying themes. It is also recommended that the term co-coding be changed to a more Indigenous centered term. Uhrmacher, Moroye, and Flinders (2017) recommend the term annotations rather than coding.

**Themes.** As a result of the co-coding process not following the exact parameters outlined above and due to time constraints, three themes were decided on together by both the participant and investigator: (1) ethnicity; (2) race; (3) and land. Later and on my own, I found 14 themes that included: (1) family; (2) race; (3) land; (4) ethnicity; (5) social class; (6) identity; (7) research; (8) primary education (K-5); (9) secondary education (6-12); (10) college education; (11) generationality; (12) graduate education; (13) politics; and (14) community.

**Limitations and Recommendations**

The co-coding, themes, and time constraints found in this pilot study can be seen as limitations. Indigenous methodology requires everything to be done alongside the participant. However, I found my participant and I were unable to co-code as set forth in the above parameters. As stated above, it is probably best to decide on the parameters of the co-coding before beginning. It is also best to discuss with your participant if co-coding is something that they would be interested in as to not force your participant to do
something they are uncomfortable with. It is therefore recommended to have an alternative to co-coding. If the participant is uncomfortable with co-coding, perhaps the investigator can code individually and member check (Rossman & Rallis, 2011) for accuracy so that the participant still has a say in the themes discovered.