Colonial and Indigenous Language Policies at McGill University:

Beliefs, Mechanisms, and Practices

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Abstract

Universities in Canada have generally perpetuated Eurocentric approaches to language that disproportionately value English and French, to the detriment of Indigenous languages. National calls to action about Indigenous languages in higher education seem to contradict institutional ones developed at McGill University. This study aims to amplify Indigenous voices and map institutional processes at McGill. My research explores two main questions: (1) What do Indigenous people at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization (ILR)? (2) How do accreditation processes at McGill recognise and value students' Indigenous language abilities, and/or their experience with language immersion programs and community based ILR? I have approached these questions from my own insider/outsider standpoint as a Métis graduate student in the Second Language Education program (M.A.) at McGill. Following a preparation stage, data collection began with an initial phase of consultations with other Indigenous people at McGill (conversational method, n=6). After the issue of accreditation was raised by these consultants, I began talking with McGill staff and faculty (most of whom were non-Indigenous) and engaged in textual analysis to map out McGill's course equivalency process. I also recorded field notes of my observations and experiences on campus with a focus on language policy. My analysis explains how work is coordinated throughout the institution to discount learning experience with non-accredited community-based institutions. Despite the lack of formal recognition (e.g., course credits), Indigenous staff, students, and faculty continue to bring their languages with them, gradually increasing their presence and visibility on the University campus. As stakeholders throughout the institution continue to respond to sometimes contradictory calls to action, this study maps some of the terrain and identifies some of the mechanisms that bridge the gap between ideology/belief and practice.

Résumé

Le but de ma recherche est d'explorer deux questions principales: (1) Qu'est-ce que les Autochtones de McGill ont à dire sur le rôle de l'université dans la revitalisation des langues autochtones (RLA)? (2) Que peut révéler l'ethnographie institutionnelle en tant que méthode d'enquête - utilisée en combinaison avec des méthodologies de décolonisation - sur la façon dont les processus d'agrément à McGill ne reconnaissent pas et ne valorisent pas les compétences avancées des étudiants en langues autochtones et/ou leur expérience des programmes d'immersion linguistique basé en communauté? J'ai abordé ces questions de mon propre point de vue *insider/outsider* en tant qu'étudiant Métis dans la programme d'éducation en langue seconde (maitrise) du Département d'études intégrées en éducation (DISE) à McGill. Après une première phase de consultations avec d'autres peuples autochtones (méthode conversationnelle, n = 6), j'ai cherché des explications pour ce que j'entendais et observais en synthétisant la théorie de plusieurs domaines/disciplines, y compris la politique et la planification linguistiques, les méthodologies Métisses et Autochtones, et la sociologie féministe. Après avoir parlé avec le personnel et le corps professoral (principalement non autochtones) de McGill (Phase 2), j'ai développe une analyse du site Web des équivalences de cours de McGill. Cette analyse explique comment le travail est coordonné dans l'ensemble de l'institution afin de minimiser l'expérience d'apprentissage avec les institutions communautaires non accréditées. Malgré le manque de reconnaissance officielle (par exemple, les crédits de cours), le personnel, les étudiants et les professeurs autochtones continuent d'apporter leur langue et leur culture avec eux, augmentant progressivement leur présence et leur visibilité sur le campus. Alors que les parties prenantes continuent de faire face à des appels à l'action parfois contradictoires, cette étude identifie certains des mécanismes qui comblent le fossé entre idéologie/croyance et pratique.

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To my ancestors, and to the generations to come,

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Chapter 1: Introduction

We know what we know from where we stand. We need to be honest about that.

(Kovach, 2009a, p. 7)

Tānsi. Charlie nitisihkāson. Toronto ohcinīyah. I have heard Elders say that it is important for us to use our Indigenous languages, even if all we know how to say is our name and where we are from. And so I begin by greeting you in a gentle way that also asks, "how are you?" My name is Charlie, and I'm from Toronto. Thank you for taking an interest in this thesis. I sincerely hope that it is useful to you in some way. I am Métis, a descendent of the Bourassa and St. Germain families that migrated from Red River to Peace River, Alberta. My Grandma spent the last part of her life near Midland, Ontario, and then my Mom moved to Toronto. I also honour my Euro-Canadian ancestry (Irish, English, French, Swiss). As an urban Indigenous person raised without much connection to Métis culture, my studies at university have led to important developments in my identity (Fiola, 2019; Richardson, 2016). These manifest in my work as a researcher. Following in the footsteps of other Indigenous academics and Métis storytellers, parts of my story are woven throughout this thesis (Adese, 2014, Boldo, 2013).

I was motivated to explore issues related to Indigenous languages in postsecondary education because of the history of language loss within my own family, and because of the calls for strengths-based research that I heard during my undergraduate studies (Phillips, 2016). This topic is significant for a number of reasons. For one thing, the use of Indigenous language and culture has positive effects on Indigenous health and wellbeing (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2012, 2018; McIvor, Napoleon, & Dickie, 2009). Unfortunately, however, postsecondary education has traditionally functioned so as to hierarchize languages (May, 2015) and as a killer of Indigenous languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). In terms of where to go from here, national and local calls to action about the role that McGill should play in Indigenous language revitalization (ILR) are seemingly contradictory. While the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015a) called for degree programs in Indigenous languages, McGill's Provost's Task Force on Indigenous Studies and Indigenous Education, (2017) put the emphasis on supporting what is happening in local Indigenous communities. My research began with conversations with Indigenous people at McGill about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization, which led to more specific questions about accreditation.

1.1 My Research Questions and Main Findings

Over the past three years, I have been exploring two main questions:

(1) What do Indigenous people at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization (ILR)?

(2) How do accreditation processes at McGill recognise and value students' Indigenous language abilities, and/or their experience with language immersion programs and community based ILR?

The first question led to the second one, which is why the findings are mostly in response to the second one. Although I have not come up with definitive answers to these questions, most of what I learned— as well as the process I went through to learn it—is documented in the following pages.

I have come to two main findings: One is that bureaucratic mechanisms at McGill (e.g., the course equivalencies website and database) make it almost impossible for people with advanced knowledge of Indigenous languages and/or experience with community-based Indigenous language revitalization programs to get course credits that would count towards McGill certificates and degrees. The second is that, despite substantial barriers, Indigenous people at McGill are increasing their physical presence on campus, and they are bringing their languages, cultures, politics, and worldviews with them; Indigenous practices are gradually reshaping informal language policies through practice. In the next section, I will situate myself as an Indigenous researcher and elaborate on my personal motivations for engaging in this project.

1.2 Situating Myself: Indigenous Language Loss and Revitalization in my Family

I believe that my great-grandparents, Marie St. Germain and Louis Bourassa, were the last generation in our family to speak Cree. I have read that Marie's mother, Angelique, "spoke very little English, but could communicate fluently in French and Cree" (Szufunlarski, 1984). Louis would have had a good working knowledge of Cree—and other Indigenous languages—as his work with the postal service in Peace River, AB, would have brought him into regular contact with other Indigenous communities. I have heard that my grandmother, Florence Pym, spoke French, although I never heard that myself. My mother has spoken out about how my grandmother lost her Native language, and that schools and universities should be doing something to help bring it back. With her encouragement, this Master's research has proceeded in parallel with my personal efforts to learn Plains Cree and Michif,

and to teach them—alongside French and English—to my daughter "a word a day, a sentence a week," as Tove Skutnabb-Kagnas suggested (CBC News, 2017).

1.3 Summary of the Thesis, Chapter by Chapter

This document is structured by the guidelines for Master's thesis writing produced by my department (Department of Integrated Studies in Education, 2017). This introductory chapter began with a very brief personal introduction, followed by the research questions and main findings, and then a bit more about my personal motivations. In this section, I present a concise overview of the rest of the project, chapter by chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review is a broad scan of literature related to Indigenous language revitalization, language policy, and postsecondary education. The aim here is to familiarize the reader with existing scholarly research, as well as community-based studies and knowledge I gained through my own lived experience. Much of the theoretical writing presented here was done after engaging with people and their experiences. I sought out big ideas such as "cognitive imperialism" (Battiste, 1986, 2019) and "colonial language policy" (Phillipson, 2012) so as to better make sense of what I heard and observed. Chapter 2 also lays some of the groundwork for the ideas that shape the approach to research—the focus of Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Methodological Framework and Methods is divided into two parts. The first part presents the more philosophical or abstract thinking that structures the research methods and analysis that follow. This is where I introduce the concepts of mentorship, preparation, askîwipimâcihowascikêwina (setting into place arrangements for livelihood),[1] and the traditional Métis values that manifest through the multidisciplinary approaches to research that I used. I also explain how central aspects of decolonizing methodologies (L. T. Smith, 2012) and institutional ethnography (D. E. Smith, 2005, 2006) are complementary, and how they are viable approaches by which I can explore questions about McGill's role in Indigenous language revitalization. Chapter 3 also includes references to other aspects of Indigenous and Métis methodologies and anti-oppressive approaches to research. It ends by situating the study within the field of language planning—which is itself interdisciplinary— and leads into more detailed descriptions of what I actually did.

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1 This translation is from Cardinal and Hildebrant (2000, p. 78). askîwipimâcihowascikêwina can be understood and explained in other ways that will be elaborated in section 3.3.

The second part of Chapter 3 recounts the actual research process—what I did, with who, where, and when. This includes detailed descriptions of two phases of data collection. To explore the first more general research question, I engaged in a round of consultations and conversations with Indigenous people at McGill (August–December 2018). This led me to focus on more specific questions related to accreditation and transfer credits. The second phase of data collection focused on "talking to people" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006) at McGill about institutional processes related to accreditation and transfer credits. This chapter also includes some of the *why* and *how* of my research and analysis process, and necessarily blurs some of the lines between the broader philosophies and abstractions of Chapter 3 with the data-driven findings that are the focus of Chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Findings begins with a number of quotations from consultants during Phase 1. These quotations set the context for the findings from Phase 2 and the main analysis: What I found is that the way that bureaucracy currently functions at McGill consistently discounts people with knowledge of Indigenous languages and experience with community-based Indigenous language revitalization. By mapping out specific barriers and pathways to accreditation, I have identified particular mechanisms that can affect both the beliefs people hold about what language/knowledge counts, and the day-to-day language practices of people at McGill. On a more hopeful note, it seems that whether or not their language skills or their experiences with ILR count towards degrees, Indigenous people at McGill are finding new ways to bring their languages, cultural protocols, and politics into the institution.

Chapter 5: Discussion includes practical information for Indigenous people at McGill, recommendations for structural and procedural changes to be made by faculty, staff and administrators at the University. To support the recommendations, I present explanations and illustrations of how policy mechanisms at the University are linked to beliefs/ideologies about language and language practices. This chapter ends with reflections on the significance of the study for the Métis community in Montreal, my family and myself.

Chapter 6: Conclusion provides a summary of the thesis. It also includes descriptions of multimedia productions related to this research project, including the *Restorying Strathcona* zine, and the Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices radio project. Above and beyond standard academic research outputs (e.g., presentations, papers), I have found other ways to raise consciousness about Indigenous knowledge in academia.

Before getting into the literature review (Chapter 2), I will present a positive example that partly inspired this project.

1.4 Indigenous languages in Post-Secondary Education: A Positive Example

Sterzuk and Fayant (2016) presented a positive example of how a postsecondary institution can support Indigenous language revitalization. As a Métis scholar who is deeply implicated in his community, Fayant described how the University of Regina was able to support Indigenous educators associated with the Gabriel Dumont Institute in the development of a Michif language course for an Indigenous teacher education program. In this example, academics—in their relatively privileged position—were able to successfully engage in mutually beneficial relationships that provided practical service to Indigenous language educators:

> Most importantly, and this cannot be stressed enough, the Faculty of Education
> colleagues have trusted in the abilities of [Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education
> Program] SUNTEP instructors to recognize and articulate the expertise of our
> communities and knowledge keepers and to translate that knowledge into accredited
> courses for pre-service teachers. (Sterzuk & Fayant, 2016, p. 346)

While it remains to be seen what role Indigenous people at McGill want the University to take, the University of Regina provides an inspiring example of how to value the contributions of Indigenous knowledge keepers. This example shows how external pressure combined with the will of insiders with power (Faculty of Education colleagues) to make change. There is hope that postsecondary institutions such as McGill will be able to contribute something positive to Indigenous language revitalization in local communities, but also reason to proceed with caution.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I situate my research questions about what Indigenous Peoples have to say about McGill's role in Indigenous language revitalization (ILR), and about pathways and barriers to accreditation, within a context of peer-reviewed academic literature, as well as governmental, institutional, and community-based articles, reports, and calls to action. The central questions explored in this literature review are: (1) What do scholarly literatures, institutional and community-based texts, and Indigenous Peoples say about the role of higher education institutions in Indigenous language revitalization? (2) What does the literature say about barriers and pathways to accreditation for individuals with advanced knowledge of Indigenous languages—or experience with community-based ILR programs?

The first question necessitates a broad scan of distinct but interconnected studies. I begin by describing Indigenous languages in terms of their connections to Creation and health (section 2.1) and situating them in a global context (section 2.2). Next, I outline racist and assimilative language policies in Canada and the effects of linguicide (section 2.3).

The second question emerged in the course of the study and requires a more focused review of literature on language policy in Canada, racism and neoliberalism in higher education, and Indigenous perspectives on Indigenous language revitalization. Exploring this question, I also begin to point out gaps in the literature and re-introduce the main aims of this study in the context of existing knowledge and prior research.

To produce this literature review, I located sources by various means. This included searches for specific authors (e.g., Mela Sarkar, Andrea Sterzuk, and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas) and subjects (Indigenous language revitalization, prior learning, and transfer credits) in online databases (ERIC, JSTOR, scholar.google.ca). I also drew from references listed in recent theses and dissertations on community-based Indigenous language issues (Metallic, 2017; Stacey, 2016). I referred to notes and assignments from my undergraduate studies at Concordia University and followed up on leads and recommendations made by faculty members in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE) at McGill and from some of my colleagues in the Indigenous Directions Leadership Group (IDLG) at Concordia. (Note: following its initial three-year mandate, the IDLG became the Indigenous Directions Leadership Council (IDLC) in 2019). To identify related policies and other information

about McGill University, I did google searches limited to mcgill.ca websites (e.g., site:mcgill.ca).

In addition to peer-reviewed texts, websites, and other sources described above, I also drew on my personal experiences listening to and talking with Indigenous Peoples, including my own recollections and interpretations of what they have said. In most cases, these examples drew on scholarly presentations, but sometimes there was a more personal connection (e.g., someone I met recommended a particular book or article). This approach is consistent with the ways that other Indigenous Peoples approach scholarship (Moses, 2016a; Sinclair, 2016; Arcand, 2018), and with how many institutional ethnographers and "reflexive settler folks" do research, as well (N. Nichols, personal communication, March 5, 2020).

Substantial parts of this literature review were written through an iterative process. As my study proceeded from the first question about McGill's role in Indigenous language revitalization to more specific questions about accreditation and transfer credits, it became necessary to seek out studies related to language policy in Canada (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015), language-in-education policies (Liddicoat, 2013), and racism in higher education (Gilmour, Bhandar, Heer & Ma, 2012). This process is characteristic of institutional ethnography, which resists the practice of starting a study with theories or abstractions, instead emphasizing the importance of starting with people's experiences. The more I learned about people's experiences and concerns, the more I knew which literature I needed to draw on to develop my analysis, support my arguments, and accurately describe the connections between the beliefs about language and policy mechanisms that affect people's experiences.

Given the multidisciplinary nature of this study, it is impossible to provide a complete review of all the literature in related fields (e.g., Indigenous language revitalization, language policy). Although my reading and research included sources that are not listed here, priority is given to literature that directly impacts the methodologies, methods, findings, and discussion that follow. This literature review presents a broad scan of the academic, governmental, and institutional texts—as well as knowledge gained through my own personal experiences—all of which set the context for this study. This begins with the conception that Indigenous languages connect people to Creation.

2.1 Indigenous Languages: Connections to Creation, Connections to Health

Indigenous languages offer not just a communication tool for unlocking knowledge; they
also offer a theory for understanding that knowledge and an unfolding paradigmatic

process for restoration and healing. Indigenous languages reflect a reality of

transformation in their holistic representations of processes that stress interaction,

reciprocity, respect, and noninterference. (Battiste, 2008, p. 504)

This study begins with an introduction to Indigenous perspectives on what Indigenous

languages are and what they mean. Mi'kmaq scholar Marie Battiste (Mi'kmaq-Potlotek First Nation,

Micmac Band of Aroostook) emphasized that Indigenous languages are not merely a way for people to

communicate with each other. Indigenous languages encode knowledge, enable healing, and reflect

holistic values. This is not to say that colonial languages such as English and French do not perform

similar (but different) functions. It is, rather, to say that Indigenous languages cannot be replaced by

colonial languages without interfering with specific community based knowledge and values.

A related perspective is that Indigenous languages involve sacred and spiritual connections with

all of Creation. This is stated explicitly in the cultural framework section of the First Nations Regional

Health Survey: "Each race is connected to Creation through their language, which is in turn connected

to their spirituality" (First Nations Information Governance Centre, 2012, p. 6). While this should not

be understood as *the* single Indigenous worldview, it does represent a perspective that is common to

many First Nations communities as they are represented by the authors of the Regional Health Survey.

This perspective is significant because it situates Indigenous language and culture as important factors

in the health of Indigenous Peoples. Connections between language and health are established in

numerous scholarly studies (Auger, Howell, & Gomes, 2016; First Nations Information Governance

Centre, 2018; Kay-Raining Bird, 2011; Mashford-Pringle, 2017; McIvor et al., 2009; National

Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2010; Oster, Grier, Lightning, Mayan, & Toth, 2014).

Another example of Indigenous language as being a connection with Creation comes from

Métis artist and activist Christi Belcourt (2007). Echoing the references to healing at the beginning of

this section, Belcourt demonstrated a linguistic connection that is present in different Indigenous words

for medicine:

In Michif [the Métis language], some of the words for medicine include "*Mhaskigi*,"

"*Maskihkiya*," and "*Askipasan*"; in Cree (Nehiyawewin), it is "*Maskihkiy*," and in

Ojibway (Anishinaabemowin) it is "*Mashkike.*" Within each is an innate awareness that

the power plants have to heal is a life force generated from the strength of Mother Earth.

(p. 2)

In each of these languages, the words for medicine contain within them a connection to the earth—with Creation. The same root word—aski—is a main component of the Cree word askîwipimâcihowascikêwina. Aski (or askiy) can be used to "distinguish those things that have to do with life here on earth or on the land and those that have to do with matters affecting the soul or spirit" (Cardinal & Hildebrant, 2000, p. 60). In the next chapter, I elaborate on the concept of askîwipimâcihowascikêwina and how I draw energy from it as the grounding concept at the root of the methodological framework for this study (sections 3.3 & 3.4). Sting (1981) sang, "we are spirits/in a material world." Spiritual beliefs—and the right words to describe them—can be a source of strength as we strive to live in accordance with our values and also to make ends meet.

Having introduced a few perspectives on how Indigenous languages connect people and Creation, I shift now to theories about how colonialism and imperialism have negatively affected Indigenous languages all over the earth.

2.2 Linguistic Imperialism, Reversing Language Shift, Linguistic Human Rights, and Linguicide

A number of non-Indigenous scholars have made substantial contributions to understanding how colonization and imperialism have impacted Indigenous languages globally. In this section, I introduce the work of three non-Indigenous sociolinguists: Robert Phillipson (1992, 2012), Joshua Fishman (1965, 1991, 1996, 2000), and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 2008, 2010, 2012). Read together, and in tandem with Indigenous scholars (sections 2.3, 2.6), the concepts of linguistic imperialism, reversing language shift, and linguistic human rights can help us situate language policies at McGill within a global context. The University's Eurocentric approaches to language—its disproportionate valuing of English and French—are not only detrimental to Indigenous languages. Colonial language policy at McGill contributes to the on-going genocide of Indigenous Peoples by "killing of languages without killing the speakers" (Bear Nicholas, 2011, p. 4). Before elaborating on how colonial language practices are genocidal, I introduce three other sociolinguistic concepts, beginning with linguistic imperialism.

The concept of linguistic imperialism was introduced by Robert Phillipson in 1992. Linguistic imperialism "refers to a particular theory for analysing relations between dominant and dominated cultures, and specifically the way English language learning has been promoted" (Phillipson, 1992, p.

15). This landmark book introduced theory that explored the "possibly unquestioned ideological tenets" inherent in contemporary English Language Teaching (ELT) and related activities (research, training, international aid) (p. 15). Drawing on historical examples of colonial language policy in Canada, Wales, and Ireland (among many others), Phillipson traced the roots of ELT so as to describe the "structure and ideology of the ELT profession in its formative days" (p. 15). Beyond the detailed analysis of a thoroughly international profession (ELT), Phillipson's theory is relevant to this study because it zooms out from what happens in individual language classrooms to take in the broader context of colonialism and imperialism.

Presenting the Latin etymologies of colonialism and imperialism, Phillipson (2012) stated that "European settlements in the Americas were initially referred to as colonies. The term derives from the Latin *colonia*, meaning a farm or settlement" (p. 203). This is related to, but different from, imperialism:

> The term *imperialism* derives from the Latin *imperium*, covering military and political control by a dominant power over subordinated peoples and territories. From the 15th century, this meant European polities controlling non-European ones. Empires inevitably involve cultural values and language use as well as control of the state and economy. (Phillipson, 2012, p. 203)

Colonialism often goes hand in hand with the military power associated with imperialism. Phillipson's analysis and theorizing is useful for my study because he focuses on how language affects, and is affected by, colonialism and imperialism. His explanation of the global spread of English (and to a lesser extent, French) through linguistic imperialism includes analysis of colonial language policy in India and Africa, as well as North America.

The main characteristics of linguistic imperialism and colonial language policies can be observed all over the globe and can be traced through texts and practices at McGill. Linguistic imperialism involves linguicism: "a favouring of one language over others in ways that parallel societal structuring through racism, sexism, and class" (Phillipson, 2012, p. 214). Linguistic imperialism also involves structural/financial resourcing of the dominant language (to the detriment of others) and language ideologies: "beliefs, attitudes, and imagery glorify the dominant language, stigmatize others, and rationalize the linguistic hierarchy" (Phillipson, 2012, p. 214). Linguistic imperialism is also

hegemonic, which is to say that the language hierarchy seems normal and natural. Most importantly, "linguistic imperialism is invariably *contested and resisted*" (Phillipson, 2012, p. 214, original emphasis). This point—that people contest and resist linguistic imperialism—will be echoed in the findings about what Indigenous resistance to colonial language policy looks like and sounds like at McGill (section 4.5). Theories about linguistic imperialism can contribute to our understanding of how more specific colonial language policies manifest in specific locations.

Of particular relevance to language policy in Québec, Phillipson (2012) provided a list of practices that both French and English colonizers engaged in: (1) relegating nondominant languages to a lower status; (2) providing formal education for a quite small percentage of the colonial population; and (3) ignoring the traditions and forms of education of the colonized people (pp. 214–215). Finally, both French and English colonizers enacted "an explicit policy of 'civilizing the natives,'" with "the master language being attributed civilizing properties" (Phillipson, 2012, p. 215). In section 2.4, I describe how explicitly stated goals of civilizing shifted to more implicit goals of assimilation and integration—"multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" (Haque, 2012). Whether or not it is stated explicitly, colonial language policy is not ancient history.

While there are important parallels between French and English colonial language policies, English has undoubtedly become the global language power. Phillipson identified particular historical factors that led—in part—to the current state of English domination. One is the fact of massive emigration—what Phillipson (2012) called demographic imperialism:

> Between 1815 and 1914 over 21 million British and Irish people emigrated. . . . This demographic imperialism . . . assumed the right to occupy territory as though it was unoccupied: the myth of *terra nullius* which assumed that aboriginals had no right of ownership of the land. (pp. 206–207)

Whether or not they left by choice, and whether or not they believed individually in the "right to occupy," the fact of so many English-speaking people spreading to North America in particular, but also to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, was a major factor in the global spread of the English language.

A second historical factor in the global spread of English is the role of British entrepreneurs as the "pioneers of the industrial revolution" (Phillipson, 2012, p. 207). This was characterized by major

shifts in manufacturing and transportation technologies in the 18th and 19th centuries, and subsequent investments in railways and other infrastructure all over the world. London became a central hub for accumulating capital, bankrolling investments internationally and providing insurance for the merchant navy that transported all kinds of goods and resources. Investments and profits spiraled to larger scales, but Phillipson (2012) pointed out that:

> The British empire was never a grand scheme worked out by policy-makers in London, but rather was an improvised set of initiatives by commercial opportunists, missionaries (as many as 10,000 by 1900), and the pressures of rival powers in Europe and increasingly the United States. (p. 208)

D. E. Smith (1999) argued that while there may not have been a small, secret meeting in which such imperial decisions were made, there was undoubtedly a sophisticated form of coordination through texts that facilitated the spread of capitalism and imperial rule.

As the focal point for so much of the industrial revolution, Britain and its colonies—still united as a commonwealth—accumulated more and more disproportionate levels of wealth. Phillipson (2012) suggested that this has led to a kind of false sense of superiority—as though there might be an "intrinsic connection" between English and "scientific excellence, notions of democracy, a well-informed public sphere and the like" (p. 208). Being in the dominant position, however, English speakers have felt empowered to judge and evaluate others:

> US and UK interests and services are thus in symbiosis with education worldwide and with the evaluation of proficiency in English, the assessment of linguistic capital. Those wishing for credentials in this linguistic market must invest in the form of "global" English that examination boards profitably dispense. (Phillipson, 2012, p. 219)

Like other postsecondary institutions, McGill is deeply invested in the English education and evaluation business. International students and English language learners are routinely required to achieve satisfactory levels on proficiency tests.

Drawing on Fishman (1976), Phillipson (1992) described how English monolingualism within the "Anglo-American establishment blinds its representatives to the realities of multilingualism in the contemporary world" (p. 23). He goes on to point out the irony that "these are the people whose language is spreading worldwide and whose universities produce an increasing number of 'experts' on

language teaching" (p. 23). Read in tandem, Phillipson's and Fishman's theories and concepts are relevant to this study because they concern interactions and power between different groups in terms of language. I now move on from linguistic imperialism to the concept of reversing language shift.

To introduce the concept of reversing language shift—developed by the late sociolinguist Joshua Fishman (1926–2015)—I draw primarily from two chapters he wrote on the subject (Fishman, 2000) and an obituary written by Ofelia Garcia (2015). In the latter text, Garcia explained that "Fishman's therapeutic action was not towards any language, but towards those of language minority communities. . . . it adopted a minority lens" (p. 396). Employing quotations from his work, she went on to describe how he was "self-interest biased, but at least it is admittedly so" (as cited in Fishman, 1996, p. 119). His activist stance stood in contrast to supposedly objective scientific researchers that fail to acknowledge their own biases. As is represented directly through the name of the concept, reversing language shift is about supporting threatened languages in response to the encroachment of other languages. Reversing language shift builds on the central question Fishman posed in 1965: "Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?" (Garcia, 2015, p. 392). Patrick (2007) echoed Fishman's general question when she asked "What kinds of language will be revitalized, and for whom?" (p. 51).

Fishman (2000) used a potent metaphor to describe the way that thousands of threatened languages around the world are infected: "the illnesses that have infected so many of the world's languages constitute a very recognizable syndrome that yet varies in kind and in degree from one infected language to another" (p. 1). Because the situation is so different in each context, different "diagnoses and cures are required" in each case (Fishman, 2000, p. 1). Reversing language shift is about analysing situations and determining the best course of action. One way to assess the situation is to use Fishman's graded intergenerational disruption scale—a concept I return to in section 2.5. Fishman does not shy away from approaching language use as a moral issue—a characteristic shared by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, the last sociolinguist I will introduce in this section.

Tove Skutnabb-Kangas has written extensively about linguistic human rights in the context of genocide (2008, 2010, 2012). She argued that linguistic human rights are "so basic for a dignified life that everybody has them because of being human" (2012, p. 237). Because they are so important, they should not be violated—whether by states or individuals. Beyond abstract ideals about language, Skutnabb-Kangas (2012) is concerned with the practical means by which language is passed on from

one generation to the next. She emphasized the need for children to have opportunities to learn "their parents or ancestors' language at a high level" and argued that this requires that the ancestral language be used "as the main medium of education for the first many years" of children's lives (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2012, p. 238). Within the context of linguistic human rights, failure to provide such opportunities is considered to be genocidal:

> The submersion approach violates the right to education. It can also sociologically and educationally be seen as genocidal, within the meaning of Articles II(b) and II(e) of the United Nations' 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Likewise, forms of this education may legally come within the definitions of a crime against humanity of the Convention (see Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar 2010). (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2012, p. 245)

Education in Canada has included both of the genocidal practices[2] referred to above (Chrisjohn, Wasacase, Nussey, Smith, Legault, Loiselle, & Bourgeois, 2002). What seem to be normal everyday practices become much less socially acceptable when they are described in terms of genocide. The violence of colonial language policy does not garner the same response as physical violence, but the effect on oppressed peoples is similar.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) developed the term "linguicide" to refer to languages that have been "'helped' on their way" to being exterminated (p. 222). This is analogous to physical genocide (McCarty, Romero, & Zepeda, 2006, p. 44). Stated another way, Andrea Bear Nicholas (Maliseet, Tobique First Nation) defined linguicide as "the killing of languages without killing the speakers" (Bear Nicholas, 2011, p. 4). Skutnabb-Kangas and other scholars have brought to light how seemingly passive language policies—for example, not providing mother tongue education for children—can contribute the gradual destruction of language groups.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 2008, 2010, 2012), Fishman (1965, 1991, 1996, 2000), and Phillipson (1992, 2012) provided context for understanding how language fits into colonial, imperial, and genocidal processes. In the next section, the focus shifts to one Indigenous scholar's work to uncover

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2 Article II begins with a general definition: "genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group" (Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948, p. 1). Article II(b) includes "causing serious physical or mental harm to members of the group"; Article II(e) refers to "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group" (p. 1).

the effects of Indian Day Schools in Kahnawà:ke.

2.3 Child-targeted Assimilation in Kahnawà:ke

Groundbreaking work by Wahéhshon Shiann Whitebean (Kanien'kehá:ka, Kahnawà:ke) is bringing to light the damaging effects of Indian day schools in her community (Amador, 2019). Child-targeted assimilation (CTA) is the new term she introduced to "describe the historic and ongoing pattern of targeting Indigenous children primarily through education and apprehension, with the intention or result of colonizing, assimilating, or integrating Indigenous Peoples into the larger Euro-Western dominant society" (Whitebean, 2019, p. 4). CTA connects the assimilative effects of voluntary and compulsory education (Indian day schools and Indian residential schools) with other genocidal practices aimed at children: child apprehension and adoption. It is precisely the genocidal nature of education that distinguishes the experiences of Indigenous groups in Canada from those of non-Indigenous ones. Drawing on Coleman (1999), Lomawaima and McCarty (2006), and Miller (1996), Whitebean noted that although both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups experienced similar education policies, the Indigenous experience occurred in parallel with "invasion of Indigenous homelands, dispossession of land and resources, erasure of language and cultural identity, and extreme poverty" (p. 33). In Kahnawà:ke, as in other Indigenous communities, erasure of language is just one of many effects of colonization.

Through the words of her Grandma Millie (Mildred Iakotehraiénthon Ida Cross, Kanien'kehá:ka, Kahnawà:ke), Whitebean's study described the lack of Indigenous language instruction in the Indian day schools: "They should have had a teacher that spoke Mohawk to help us if we were goin' to learn another language . . ." (2019, p. 106). At the Kateri Tekakwitha School (the Roman Catholic Indian Day School that Grandma Millie attended), English was the medium of instruction and Latin was taught as a second language. Kanien'kéha—the Mohawk language—was included only occasionally in concerts and plays (p. 106). The lack of Indigenous language instruction at the school contributed to Grandma Millie's inability to speak that language. In her analysis of her Grandma's experiences, language is one issue among others "from which there was no escape: education, religion, racism, identity, Indian Act, language, land, and colonialism" (p. 109). Grandma Millie represents one local example of a much broader colonial history.

Whitebean (2019) situated child-targeted assimilation in her community within the national

context. Echoing the class action lawsuit that led to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, there is
an ongoing movement for reparations by Indigenous Peoples that once attended Indian day schools:

> Beyond Kahnawà:ke, Indigenous Peoples that were once Indian Day School students are
> fighting for recognition and reparations through Canada's court system (Galloway,
> 2018). Uncovering and sharing knowledge of what occurred will provide us with a sense
> of truth and justice and help us all to heal while continuing to cope with ongoing
> colonization. (Whitebean, 2019, p. 1)

Whitebean's study contributed directly to healing in her community by sharing knowledge and stories
of her Grandma and three other elders. By connecting local language issues with the broader context of
colonization, the study uncovered the multifaceted and interconnected nature of colonialism.
Whitebean helped determine the focus of this study by participating as one of six Indigenous
consultants during the first phase of the project (see section 3.14).

2.4 Linguicide, Truth, and Reconciliation in Canada

Other Indigenous scholars have made the connection between colonial language policies and
the genocidal assimilation project in Canada. Jesse Thistle (Métis) (2017) included a reference to
linguicide in his Indigenous definition of homelessness. He explained how the willful suppression of
language diversity in Canada has profoundly and negatively affected Indigenous Peoples:

> Linguicide . . . the calculated extermination of Indigenous languages, was the key tool
> employed by the Canadian state in the intentional undermining and, in some cases,
> destruction of essential Indigenous social systems, cultures and worldviews. This deep
> cultural destabilization has produced—and continues to produce—individual and
> community traumas, responsible for the disproportionate levels of mental, cognitive,
> behavioral, social and physical challenges faced by Indigenous individuals, families,
> communities and Nations. (p. 7)

Thistle connected the suppression of language and culture with the diverse and significant challenges
faced by Indigenous Peoples. Furthermore, the effects are not simply historical, but ongoing. This is
one reason to explore contemporary language policies at McGill.

Both historically and in the present moment, colonial languages dominate Indigenous ones in
many ways. The First Nations Information Governance Centre (FNIGC) (2018) has documented very

clearly that English is now the most commonly used language among First Nations children (p. 44) and youth (p. 48). Other researchers make the same connection between assimilative language policies and negative effects on Indigenous Peoples. For example, McCarty and Nicolas (2014) stated, "restrictive language education policies have had cascading negative consequences for Indigenous children and youth, who experience some of the lowest rates of educational attainment and the highest rates of poverty, depression, and teen suicide" (p. 107). Language policies are part of a broader system of colonial oppression that has real effects on peoples' lives. The numbers paint a stark picture: "Less than 1 per cent of Canadians (about 250,000 people, or 29 per cent of the Aboriginal population) speak an Indigenous language, about half of whom report using it on a daily basis" (McCarty, 2012, p. 563).

  The challenge here is to acknowledge the real effects—the ongoing violence of colonization—without getting stuck in a deficit approach to research. I don't want to characterize Indigenous Peoples as victims or as compromised/vulnerable. In contrast, a strengths-based approach means looking at the resiliency and perseverance that characterize many Indigenous individuals and communities (Phillips, 2016). Indigenous Peoples resist colonial violence as a way to maintain dignity (Richardson & Wade, 2008). As difficult as it may be sometimes, it is critical to acknowledge the genocidal history in this country. The rest of this section focuses on possibly the most notorious—and definitely the costliest—assimilation project in Canada: residential schools (TRC, 2015b, v).

  In a keynote lecture at McGill, Ryan McMahon (Anishnaabe, Treaty #1 Territory/Winnipeg, MB) (2018) reminded the audience that it was residential school survivors who decided that there would be a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Not only did the survivors decide that it was a priority, but it was they who paid for it; funds for the entire TRC process came out of the 2008 Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (TRC, 2015b). This settlement resulted from thousands of court cases brought forward by survivors, which eventually became the largest class action lawsuit in Canadian history (TRC, 2015b, v).

  While many Indigenous Peoples are justifiably critical of reconciliation (Alfred, 2016; Tuck, 2016)—both as a theoretical concept and in terms of how it is being used to whitewash historical and ongoing colonial violence in Canada—there are many important reasons to acknowledge how the TRC came to be and to respond to the calls to action within it.

  For the final credits of my undergraduate degree in First Peoples Studies, I completed a small

original research project. This study had two main objectives. One was "to find out what Concordia students are currently learning about residential schools, the TRC, colonization, and racism aimed at Indigenous Peoples" (O'Connor, 2016, p. 6). The second was to "explore how educators at Concordia are already addressing the same issues, and how these activities might be expanded into new, anti-racist educational opportunities for all Concordia students and faculty" (O'Connor, 2016, p. 6). I described how the stories shared by residential school survivors eventually led to the TRC, and I drew on Miller (1996) and Milloy (1999) to provide a concise outline of the history of Indian residential schools (IRS).

Some of the calls to action published by the TRC (2015a) pertain specifically to planning for Indigenous language education. Call to Action 10 asks the federal government to implement new legislation that protects "the right to Aboriginal languages, including the teaching of Aboriginal languages as credit courses" (TRC, 2015a, p. 2). Call to Action 16 asks postsecondary educational institutions to create "degree programs in Aboriginal languages" (TRC, 2015a, p. 2). Because language is so directly linked with culture, we can read both of these examples as concrete ways to implement the TRC's eighth principle of reconciliation, which is about supporting Indigenous Peoples' "cultural revitalization" (TRC, 2015b, p. 4). I am curious about how these calls to action are being taken up at McGill.

2.5 Official Languages in Canada: A Policy of Exclusion

In most parts of Canada, only English and French are recognized as official languages. Ball and McIvor (maskiko-nehiyaw (Swampy Cree) and Scottish-Canadian) (2013) argued that "failure to recognize Indigenous languages as official created, in effect, a policy of exclusion" (p. 24). These authors make a direct connection between this policy of exclusion and the "risk of extinction" (p. 19) that most Indigenous languages currently face. Later on, I revisit this, drawing on Ball and McIvor's proposals for language-in-education policies that are urgently needed (section 2.9).

Other authors have also addressed power and hierarchies between official languages (English and French) and Indigenous languages in Canada. Haque and Patrick's (2015) analysis of language policy in Canada demonstrated how the marginalization of Indigenous languages and voices during the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1965, 1967) was a precursor to the privileging of English and French languages in the *Constitution Act* of 1982 (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015). "Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" became Canada's official policy on languages

and ethnicities in 1971 (Sarkar, 2015). This was part of the gradual shift from the more explicitly assimilative policies that rationalized the residential schools to the more passive—but equally insidious—lack of recognition that has characterized the last fifty or so years.

Haque and Patrick (2015) also cited and analyzed the Task Force Report on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures (2005). They argued that despite numerous sound recommendations in the report, as of 2012 there had still not been significant developments in terms of clearly articulated Indigenous language rights in Canada. Haque and Patrick suggested that the 2005 Task Force relied overly on the courts to provide a path to increased rights and funding—this despite the fact that rights-based arguments depend on a "fuzzy-at-best" connection between Indigenous language rights and aboriginal and treaty rights, as framed in the Canadian Constitution. Through "historical and discourse analysis," they showed how "racial hierarchies and language ideologies favoured French and English dominance and reinforced the marginalisation of indigenous groups" (p. 27). Their analysis of the national context provides critical insights into how English and French have come to dominate at McGill. Through the lens of institutional ethnography—in combination with decolonizing methodologies—I explore how particular language policies at McGill are linked to and coordinated with broader national biases. Critical analysis of colonial language policies at the national and local level can support strategic decision making about how postsecondary institutions such as McGill can make urgently needed changes so as to better support Indigenous language revitalization.

2.6 Indigenous Language Revitalization

A number of scholars describe an urgent need for Indigenous language reclamation (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014), revitalization, and retention (Norris, 2007, 2011; Sarkar & Lavoie, 2014; Sarkar & Metallic, 2009). Drawing on national statistics from 2001, Norris (2011) found that the majority of Indigenous languages are not being passed on to younger generations at rates that will keep the languages alive indefinitely. Following centuries of violent colonization in Canada, only three Indigenous languages—Inuktitut, nêhiyawêwin (Cree), and Anishnaabemowin (Ojibway)—are thought to be strong enough to continue into the next century (Norris, 2007). Although most of the more than fifty Indigenous languages that are still being spoken are at great risk of disappearing, many "are now the focus for vigorous language retention and revitalization efforts" (Sarkar & Lavoie, 2014, p. 86). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) (2015a) calls to action called for universities to

take a role. However, questions about the way that research relationships are developed and maintained—as well as who benefits—cannot be ignored (Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Sarkar, 2017).

      Janine Metallic (Mi'kmaq, Listuguj) (2017) recently completed a thorough study of Indigenous language revitalization in her home community. She asserted that understanding language shift, language loss, and language death are prerequisites to discussing Indigenous language revitalization. Language shift is when one language replaces another as the main way that people communicate and socialize (Metallic, 2017; Potowski, 2013). When a language ceases to be used, it is sometimes called language death (Metallic, 2017, p. 40). Indigenous language revitalization is about responding to the encroachment of dominant languages. It is related to but different from reversing language shift in that the focus is not always on intergenerational first-language transmission (King, 2001). It is, rather, a way to "promote new uses of the language and to increase the number of users of the language, often expanding it to new domains" (King, 2001, p. 24). The main point is that there would be no need for Indigenous language revitalization in Listuguj or elsewhere if not for the imposing force of colonial languages.

      Katehrón:ni Iris Stacey (Kanien'kehá:ka, Kahnawà:ke) (2016) provided a thorough analysis of Indigenous language revitalization in her home community. Stacey is most concerned with the contemporary practices of second-language speakers in the community. Discussing the motivations of community members to develop their language skills, she emphasized the importance of the cultural context—the role and responsibility of language speakers in ceremony: "Through ceremony, the importance of speaking the language is emphasized as being everyone's responsibility to the next seven generations" (Stacey, 2016, p. 15). Her study concluded with a summary of participants' voices expressing the need to strengthen and expand Indigenous language use:

> After four decades of commitment the language is slowly beginning to be used across generations. The voice of the participants is clear, saying we need to strengthen all our efforts, and we will see our grandchildren speaking in the future if we continue building upon what is already here. The solutions to our present challenges lie in addressing the needs of advanced learners by supporting them to bring rich language into the home, the community and the future. (p. 98)

Stacey's commitment to language planning in her home community is ongoing, as demonstrated by her

lead role in Skatne Enionkwaió'ten: Community Language Plan (Stacey, Whitebean, Jacobs, & Martin, 2018). In the preamble, she stated: "we are at a critical point as our first-language speakers become less available" (p. 4). This points to the urgent need to increase the number of second-language speakers and to quickly increase intergenerational language use within families.

In Skatne Enionkwaió'ten, Fishman's (1991) graded intergenerational disruption scale is presented as a way to assess where the community is at in terms of ongoing efforts to revitalize Kanien'kéha (Stacey et al., 2018, p. 12). Of the eight stages—the first stage being the most stable— Kahnawà:ke is situated at stage seven; on the threshold of "the most crucial" stage six—which features the "reappearance of the intergenerational family" (Stacey et al., 2018, p. 12). This stage is crucial because it is when threatened languages stabilize because "young adult learners commit to raise their children in the language" (Stacey et al., 2018, p. 12). This was the motivation for bringing together sixteen different community organizations and institutions—all of whom are involved in and committed to language revitalization in Kahnawà:ke—to develop the Skatne Enionkwaió'ten strategic plan.

2.7 Eurocentrism, Anti-racism, and Anti-oppression in Education

Eurocentrism is the dominant theory with many connecting ideas, the imaginative and institutional context that informs contemporary scholarship, opinion, and law. It holds assumptions and beliefs in the superiority of Europeans (and its settlers) and the diffusion of their superior ideas, creativity, imagination, invention, innovation, rationality to others less so in order to progress. (Battiste, 2019)

Contrary to former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's assertion that Canada has "no history of colonialism" (Ljunggren, 2009), numerous scholars have made this history the focus of their work. Any study of Indigenous language, or related issues, must include some analysis of this history. In a presentation at the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education (WIPCE) in 2017, Sheila Cote-Meek (Anishnabai, Teme-Augama) referred to the definition of colonization that she developed in her doctoral dissertation. To summarize, very briefly, she "theorizes colonization as violent, ongoing and traumatic" (Cote-Meek, 2010, p. ii). To support this theorization, Cote-Meek drew on the unpublished work of her late mother, as well as Patricia Monture-Angus' account of her experiences as a Mohawk woman attending law school and later as a professor. With examples from these Indigenous

women, Cote-Meek established a connection between the overarching colonial context and the instances of racism in academia that Indigenous Peoples experience as pain.

While the focus of my study is quite different, I would like to note here that Cote-Meek's (2010) documentation and analysis of anti-Indigenous racism in postsecondary education has been very influential in my work. This awareness of how difficult postsecondary education can be for Indigenous students has directly affected my own work for institutional change as a student–activist and organizer at Concordia. I hope that amplifying Indigenous voices on issues of language revitalization will create new spaces in which we can openly challenge racism, on and off campus. I will also note that there are important parallels between the methodology that I am using and the ways that Cote-Meek approached her doctoral research; I will elaborate on this point in section 3.13.

As different faculties and departments at McGill begin working together on plans for supporting Indigenous language revitalization, it will be necessary for each institutional actor to take a critical look at both the underlying beliefs about knowledge (Minnich, 1990) and the internal policies that consistently privilege colonial languages over Indigenous ones.

2.8 Indigenous Languages and Postsecondary Educational Institutions

Ignorance about language(s) is not the main reason for the killing of languages . . .
power relations, including structural forces are. Formal education is, together with
mass media, a main killer of languages. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 29)

The colonial nature of higher education in Canada—both historically and in the present day—is undeniable and is represented in current government and university language policies. Sterzuk and Fayant (2016) explained how "public education in Canada mirrors national language policy, which recognizes two settler-colonial languages—English and French" (p. 335). May (2015) described "the prevailing hegemony of English," and "a related ongoing hierarchization of languages" that consistently marginalizes minority languages (p. 358). Battiste (2013) addressed the need to respect Aboriginal languages in education in ways that go beyond tokenism.

The steady and constant subjugation of Indigenous languages within the academy is not always direct. Indigenous languages are, for the most part, marginalized by the prevalence of the colonial languages. McGill students will recall a statement about French and English from their course syllabi. Here is an example from a course I took on research methods, in the fall semester of 2017: "In accord

with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded" (Nichols, 2017a, p. 6). There is a similar stipulation in the Master's Thesis Supervision Guidelines for Students and Supervisors (Department of Integrated Studies in Education, 2017a): "A thesis must be written in English or French" (p. 11). Eurocentric bias is implicit in both of these examples. In Chapter 5, I will revisit these examples, and explain how this text fits into a chain of action that coordinates peoples' work (D. E. Smith, 2006b). A central aim of my thesis is to demonstrate how seemingly benign statements on syllabi are in fact tied in with broader, "translocal social relations" (D. E. Smith, 2006b, p. 65) that consistently privilege colonial languages over Indigenous ones (e.g., Canada's *Constitution Act*, 1982; Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963–1970)) (Haque, 2012; Haque & Patrick, 2015).

   In a newspaper article about a panel discussion on the University of Alberta campus (Narine, 2015), Charlene Bearhead suggested that the TRC calls to action should be interpreted differently by different postsecondary institutions because they are located in different traditional territories:

    Universities across the country are located in different traditional territories. From my

    perspective if people are doing things well and doing things right, which is doing things

    respectfully based on protocol, those discussions and those actions will reflect the

    traditional people whose territories those universities are on. (p. 15)

Bearhead, who was the education coordinator for the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, suggested a need for universities to become familiar with and engage in local protocols in a respectful way. In doing so, McGill administrators may find that local Indigenous communities do not necessarily envision the same solutions as those in other territories.

   When I traveled to Winnipeg, Manitoba (Treaty One Territory) in November 2017 for the 3rd Annual Building Reconciliation Forum, I heard the TRC call to action about Indigenous languages echoed in the voices of Indigenous youth. Addressing the large room full of hundreds of scholars, academic administrators, and Indigenous community members, these students stated clearly and confidently that they desired to earn university degrees in their Indigenous languages and specifically requested that the University of Manitoba develop such programs. While this approach may or may not be appropriate for McGill, it is important to note that there is a demand for it in other contexts.

   While Indigenous students at the University of Manitoba are calling on their institution to

develop degree programs in Indigenous languages, other universities have already made this into a reality. In an interview that I produced for CKUT Community Radio, Rebecca Jamieson (Tuscarora, Six Nations) (2017) described the Bachelor of Arts degree offered at Six Nations Polytechnic, in Ohsweken. She said that their program is "the only standalone degree in Ogwehoweh languages in the country . . . in the universe" where students can earn a B.A. in Mohawk and Cayuga languages. The first cohort of eleven students graduated from the Bachelor of Arts in Ogwehoweh Languages program in June 2017 (Six Nations Polytechnic, 2017). Again, while on-campus degree programs may not be a priority for McGill, we must be aware of what is happening elsewhere.

Narrowing in on ideas about what McGill could do to support Indigenous languages, the vision paper that came out of the McGill Symposium on Indigenous Languages includes accreditation as a top priority. The authors called on McGill to "support existing in-community language programming through program accreditation and through resource sharing, co-funding, and assistance in securing external funding" (Working Group on the Role of the University in Supporting Indigenous Languages, 2018, p. 4). While this seems to be a positive way to contribute to what is already happening in local communities, it also seems to contradict calls for new degree programs on campus (TRC, 2015a). Analysis of current language policies in Canada and at McGill could help determine future courses of action.

2.9 Language Planning and Policy and Language-in-education Policies

> *Canada's Indigenous languages are at risk of extinction because of government*
> *policies that have actively opposed or neglected them. . . . Government and public*
> *schools have yet to demonstrate serious support for Indigenous language revitalization.*
> (Ball & McIvor, 2013, p. 19)

Jessica Ball and Onowa McIvor (2013) presented a challenging critique of language-in-education policies in Canada. Their chapter begins by connecting the current state of "language devastation" with the centuries-long history of government policies that have brought many languages to the brink of extinction. Without dwelling on the negative, they make clear recommendations about how language-in-education policies could help Indigenous communities increase the number of speakers, stating: "One meaningful reparation the government could make is to create policies, backed by secure and sufficient resources to implement them, to support a multipronged, locally controlled

strategy for ensuring that Indigenous children have opportunities to acquire their heritage languages" (pp. 31–32).

The prongs of the language development programs they proposed include: (1) "culturally and linguistically appropriate" content; (2) the participation of Indigenous parents; (3) minimal reliance on accredited teachers who do not have language proficiency or sensitivity to Indigenous learners; and (4) postsecondary education for Indigenous teachers that boosts their language proficiency (Ball & McIvor, 2013, p. 32). They acknowledged the federal funding programs Aboriginal Head Start and the Aboriginal Languages Initiative, but argued that "much more must be done" (p. 33). They stated that because "allowing Indigenous languages to die can only be seen as a form of cultural genocide," government action must quickly move towards "providing equitable resources and supports for Indigenous children to exercise their right to learn their mother tongue and to maximize their potential for bilingual learning throughout their school years" (p. 33).

Within the broad criticisms and recommendations, Ball and McIvor (2013) presented a few examples of partnerships between postsecondary institutions and Indigenous communities. One is the partnership between the First Nations Education Steering Committee (FNESC) and the British Columbia College of Teachers. They worked together to create a teaching certificate program that "enables First Nation communities to partner with postsecondary institutions to offer community-based teacher training focused on Indigenous language revitalization" (Ball & McIvor, 2013, p. 27). Another example is the Certificate in Aboriginal Language Revitalization—co-created through a partnership between the University of Victoria and an Indigenous education centre. Both of these examples offer the possibility of credits for community-based learning that count towards postsecondary certificates and degrees. Postsecondary institutions cannot be relied upon to restore Indigenous languages, but they can start to reduce some of the damage they are doing by offering course credits for community-based ILR work and learning.

2.10 Summary of Chapter Two

To conclude this chapter, I will now summarize some of the main points presented in the broad scan of prior research and relevant theory. I began with Indigenous perspectives on the nature of Indigenous languages, demonstrating that Indigenous languages serve as a connection to Creation and are important factors in Indigenous health and healing. Next, I shifted to concepts of linguistic

imperialism, reversing language shift, linguistic human rights, and linguicide. This introduced three major non-Indigenous sociolinguistic scholars, whose work reveals how language policies fit into broader contexts of colonialism and imperialism. Then I presented child-targeted assimilation in Kahnawà:ke, and the genocidal effects of the residential schools in Canada. So as to not fall into a deficit approach to research, this section included a few hints of positivity. References to strengths-based research and Indigenous resistance preceded an introduction to the national calls to action about Indigenous language revitalization presented in the TRC. Shifting from the more explicitly assimilative policies of the early 20th century, section 2.5 demonstrated how Canada's contemporary approach to official languages—in place since the 1970s—is effectively a policy of exclusion for Indigenous languages. This was followed by a focus on Indigenous language revitalization—as distinguished from reversing language shift or focusing only on intergenerational transmission and increasing the number of mother-tongue speakers.

Taken together, the concepts and perspectives presented in this chapter lead to three main arguments: (1) Although it is impossible to ignore the disastrous effects that the genocidal history and ongoing colonization and imperialism in Canada have had on Indigenous languages, research on Indigenous language revitalization should build on anti-oppressive and strengths-based approaches. With an understanding of the explicitly assimilationist practices of the residential schools (similar to internment camps or prisons), as well as the perhaps more insidious neglect and hegemonic hierarchization that characterizes contemporary language policy in Canada, we can strategize and resist more effectively. (2) Although postsecondary institutions cannot be relied upon to restore Indigenous languages, they have in some instances contributed positively to Indigenous language revitalization. Perhaps more importantly, understanding how universities have played a negative role can help us challenge the status quo and hopefully reduce the damage done by colonial language policies in higher education. Alongside funding and other material needs, accreditation has already been identified as something that universities can contribute. (3) Finally, the seemingly contradictory calls to action that emerged from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015a) and McGill's own Provost's Task Force Report (2017) require further exploration. Should people at McGill work on developing new courses and degree programs on campus or prioritize building on what is already happening in local Indigenous communities? Zooming out from here brings me back to the first main research question:

What do Indigenous Peoples at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization (ILR)? What methodologies and methods are best suited to explore this question?

Chapter 3: Methodological Framework and Methods

The first part of this chapter begins with a summary of Indigenous scholars that inform the *how* and *why* questions. I have drawn on aspects of relational Indigenous methodologies (Wilson, 2001, 2008; Kovach, 2009a). From the outset, decolonizing methodologies were used to center Indigenous voices and concerns and situate McGill University as a colonial institution (L. T. Smith, 2012). More specifically, a number of Métis scholars have been especially influential in shaping my methodological approach (Campbell, 2007; Carrière & Richardson, 2017; Fast, 2014; Fiola, 2015; Graveline, 1998). With respect to the custodians of the traditional territories upon which I live and work, I also acknowledge the inspiration of specific Kanien'kehá:ka researchers who give back to their community (White, 2016) and who advise taking a strengths-based approach to research (Phillips, 2016). These Indigenous and Métis methodologies complement the feminist, sociological, and language policy methodologies outlined below.

In addition to the Indigenous and Métis sources above, a variety of non-Indigenous concepts also inform this work. To situate this study within the discipline of language planning and policy (LPP), I introduce two related frameworks within the field (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006). This is followed by an introduction to ethnography (Kwame Harrison, 2018) and ethnographic methods (Atkinson, 1990; Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Gorman, 2017), so as to situate institutional ethnography (IE) (D. E. Smith, 1987, 2005, 2006a) within the broader tradition of ethnographic research.

A substantial portion of this chapter is dedicated to my own relationship with, and personal understanding of, institutional ethnography—the method of inquiry that was first articulated by feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith (2005, 2006). In addition to my experience with community radio production and work within academic bureaucracies, I also reference what might be considered Indigenous IE studies—that is to say, IE studies by Indigenous Peoples (Restoule et al., 2013; Whitinui, 2017; Wilson & Pence, 2006). This section ends with a short summary of studies by Indigenous scholars who have taken an ethnographic approach to language planning and policy research (McCarty, 2011).

In summary/conclusion, I draw together the various conceptual strands so as to weave together a cohesive theoretical/methodological stance from which I—in collaboration with my mentors, my co-

supervisors, and Indigenous consultants, as well as allies within the university bureaucracy—can contribute something useful to Indigenous Peoples' understanding of how accreditation processes work at McGill—an interest raised by consultants who queried the role McGill might play in accrediting community-based language initiatives. Before getting into the details of what I actually did (the research methods and procedures, Chapter 4), I will now elaborate further on the methodological orientations outlined above, beginning with some of the broad tenets and principles of Indigenous research.

3.1 Mentorship

At the third annual Métis Celebration at Dawson College, I was gifted a poster representing traditional Métis values within the image of a Red River cart wheel (Dorion & Fleury, 2009). The friend who gave it to me said it was from *The Giving Tree*, a book and story that inspired the approach to fundraising at the event. She thought the poster would be nice to hang on the wall in our daughter's room. This was the third or fourth reminder that I should take a closer look at Leah Dorion's (2010) Master's thesis about Métis and Cree approaches to childraising. This is where I found a few references to Métis and Cree approaches to mentored learning (Farrell-Racette, 2007) and to *kiskinaumagehin* (Goulet, 2007) (explained below). My personal approach to mentorship and learning from other people—not just from reading—is the concept that brings together threads from different research traditions. By combining aspects of Indigenous research, ethnography, and language planning and policy, my study uncovers the colonial/Eurocentric ideologies that are behind the mechanisms that coordinate the discounting of Indigenous knowledges/languages at McGill.

Cree and Métis scholars have written and spoken about the importance of mentorship—learning through observation and imitation. In her landmark study of Cree and Métis parenting practices, Dorion described "mentored learning" (Farrell-Racette, 2007, p. 1). This is a process whereby "older experienced women or men performed an action with the younger learner observing, copying the action and doing it independently under careful scrutiny" (Dorion, 2010, p. 91). Dorion also referred to Goulet's concept of *kiskinaumagehin*. This is a Swampy Cree word "used when describing a situation where someone is learning something from someone. It is similar to an apprenticeship model" (Goulet, 2007, p. 10, as cited in Dorion, 2010, p. 91). With the aim of contributing to the ongoing development of Métis methodologies, I employ mentorship as a concept that weaves together the diverse influences

and approaches that inform this project.

I was able to learn by observing Dr. Sarkar's and Dr. Nichols' practices, talking with them, and then doing it myself. Dr. Nichols encouraged me to participate in organizing, hosting, and presenting at the Institutional Ethnography Colloquium (Department of Integrated Studies in Education, 2018). This provided an opportunity to meet and talk with Dr. Dorothy Smith, Dr. Marjorie Vault, and Dr. Lauren Eastwood—all of whom are experts in the field of institutional ethnography—among others. I gave lectures in graduate-level courses on research methods (O'Connor, 2018) and worked as a volunteer apprentice instructor—co-designing and leading lessons and discussions in Dr. Sarkar's "Acquiring Indigenous languages as second languages" course (Sarkar, 2019). I am grateful for these experiences because I routinely employ the lessons I learned about thinking, teaching, writing—lessons that cannot be learned through independent study, but through observation and learning-by-doing.

3.2 Preparation

Being prepared, the time required to develop "readiness," is critical for knowing how to recognize when it is time to begin. (Restoule et al., 2010, p. 3)

In their editorial introduction, Restoule et al. (2010), referenced above, emphasized that Indigenous researchers identify themselves not only in terms of gender, race, class, etc., but also in relation to *spirit* (p. 2). As I share my own story, you will understand how I came to this research topic and how *spirit* is involved in my personal life as well as my professional work as an academic.

There's a story that my mom used to tell sometimes—it's not very long. She was driving late at night and was feeling tired. She knew it was dangerous, but she had decided to go for it. She didn't notice she drifted off to sleep at the wheel, but she clearly remembers hearing the voice of her mother saying "Dipsy, wake up!" And she did! Still rolling—and still in the middle of the lane—that's when she finally decided it was time to pull over for a rest. She slept in the car on the shoulder of the highway. This short story represents an aspect of our Métis worldview in which our ancestors continue to love us and look out for us. We can communicate with our ancestors through prayer and ceremony and ask for their help and advice. Through this research project, I hope to honour my ancestors— especially my Mom's mom, my Grandmother Florence Pym (née Bourassa).

My Grandma Florence was my first introduction to DIY (do-it-yourself) culture. I have a clear memory of Grandma working for hours at the sewing machine at our log cabin cottage, making

beautiful seat cushions for the chairs in the dining room. I can also remember her cutting out a square of plywood, painting it white, and then masking a checkerboard pattern and painting it black so as to make a chessboard—just the right size for her large wooden chess pieces. And when I thought that my stuffed racoon, Raider, could use some clothes, she made him a pair of custom overalls. I have heard Leanne Simpson (2015) talk about how her ancestors had to get up every day and *make their culture*. My Grandma Florence embodied this through her DIY crafts and inspires me to do the same (knitting, weaving, carpentry, cooking). In this research project, I carry forward a DIY approach by including original drawings and photography in my presentations, and by producing a zine (O'Connor, 2019) and radio broadcasts to share the process and findings (O'Connor, 2020).

      Sometimes I ask myself: Mapping institutional processes? Is that really the skill I want to develop as a researcher? Is that my unique and worthwhile contribution to the field? When I gave a presentation about my research at the Language Planning and Policy conference near my childhood home in Toronto (O'Connor, 2019b), more than fifteen friends and family woke up early on a Saturday morning and came out to support me. On our way to brunch afterwards, my Aunt affirmed that helping people to navigate bureaucracies and institutions is incredibly important. As a social worker in British Colombia, she sees firsthand how difficult this can be for some people. She talked about how for someone struggling with severe addiction, it is very hard—impossible, sometimes—to jump through all the hoops and fulfill all the paperwork required to access publicly funded detox centres and counselling. That short conversation made me think that I'm developing skills through this project that will be useful in other contexts.

      Although I didn't know it at the time, I began preparing for this research project in the winter of 2015. That was when I decided to stop working as a cook and enrolled in the First Peoples Studies (FPST) Bachelor of Arts program at Concordia University. I remember thinking: I don't know where exactly this is going to lead, but I need to follow my own interests and passions. In the FPST program I began learning about the importance of Indigenous language revitalization. Through courses focused on the Indian Act (Hele, 2015), residential schools (White, 2015b), and politics (Morrisette, 2016), I learned about how linguicide was a key component of the colonial assimilation project all across Canada. Through Inuktitut (Weetaluktuk, 2016) and James Bay Cree (Moses, 2016) language classes, I learned about how language is intricately connected to culture. Gradually, I was beginning to gather

ideas and questions about the role of universities in Indigenous language revitalization. I honour the professors and knowledge keepers who contributed to my success in the First Peoples Studies program, especially Jobie Weetaluktuk (Inuit, Inukjuak), Dr. Elma Moses (James Bay Cree, Eastmain), Dr. Karl Hele (Anishnaabe, Garden River First Nation), and Dr. Louellyn White (Kanien'kéha:ka, Akwesasne).

Within the First Peoples Studies program, Dr. White was especially influential in helping me to develop an understanding of Indigenous research. In a course focused on Indigenous research strategies (White, 2016), I had opportunities to develop a decolonizing theoretical approach to research. Māori scholar (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou) Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012) was the central course text and provided a starting point for discussions about ethics, methods, and other issues. In a special guest lecture about research in a Kanien'kéha:ka community, Dr. Morgan Kahentonni Phillips (Kanien'kéha:ka, Kahnawà:ke) (2016) talked about language revitalization as an example of a way to take a strengths-based approach to research—as opposed to focusing on a deficit or problem within the community. Dr. White (2016) also spoke about her own experience researching the connection between Indigenous language revitalization and culture at the Akwesasne Freedom School (White, 2015a). My studies with Dr. White led to my current interest in the role that McGill plays in Indigenous language revitalization.

Shortly after graduating from Concordia in early 2017, I was offered an administrative position as project coordinator with the Indigenous Directions Leadership Group (IDLG). The main objective of the group at the time was to prepare recommendations for Concordia University. These recommendations were ultimately published as the Indigenous Directions Action Plan (Indigenous Directions Leadership Group, 2019). As a bureaucrat situated just below the highest levels of the university administration, I played an active role in determining how recommendations from the TRC were influencing changes in hiring, staff training, curriculum, and pedagogy development. (By "bureaucrat," I mean: someone who works in an office within an institution and has limited power to effect change at an institutional level, without approval from supervisors.) My experience working with the other members of the IDLG heightened my interest in processes of institutional change. My desire to better understand processes of institutional change—and how to effectively advocate for the changes that I want to see—is one of the main reasons that I was attracted to institutional ethnography (IE) as a method of inquiry.

Another way that I prepared for this research was by attending Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) language courses at the *Maison de l'Amitié* and by participating in a nêhiyawêwin (Plains Cree) language self-directed learning group at Native Montreal. Although I am nowhere near fluent in any of the Indigenous languages I have studied, I have developed basic understanding of pronunciation and orthographic conventions. As Marie Battiste (2008) wrote:

> Linguistic competence is a requisite for research in Indigenous issues. Researchers cannot rely on colonial languages to define Indigenous reality. . . . Indigenous languages offer not just a communication tool for unlocking knowledge; they also offer a theory for understanding that knowledge and an unfolding paradigmatic process for restoration and healing. (p. 504)

Learning some basic Kanien'kéha has been a way for me to honour the custodians of the lands and waters upon which I live. Learning Cree is a way for me to connect with ancestors through ceremony, and with the Métis community in Montreal. The concept of linguistic competence—and the idea that Indigenous language is much more than a communication tool—leads into the next section, which focuses on askîwipimâcihowascikêwina.

3.3 askîwipimâcihowascikêwina

Through my work as an apprentice teaching assistant with Dr. Fast, I had the opportunity to attend a guest lecture by âpihtawikosisâniskwêw (Métis woman), 2Spirit, multidisciplinary artist moe clark in October 2018. This was my first introduction to a Cree word that is packed with multiple layers of meaning: askîwipimâcihowascikêwina. During her presentation, moe joked about how it should be easy for the class to learn a single word. I didn't catch it all the first time around, but I made a point of asking her to help me understand it better. Months later, we met over coffee and curry in the Mile End, a neighbourhood in Montreal. In that conversation, I learned that—following the teachings of her elder, Joseph Naytowhow (Plains/Woodland Cree, Sturgeon Lake First Nation)—she breaks the word down like this: askî (land) / wi (connector) / pimâciho (making a living) / wascikêwina (while honouring the gifts of Creation). askîwipimâcihowascikêwina is about making a living, living a good life, while honouring the land and all the gifts of Creation.

During the guest lecture and again during our coffee conversation, moe talked about how when she decided she wanted to deepen her connection to her Indigenous/Métis culture by learning

nêhiyawêwin (the Cree language), her Aunty Cheryl L'Hirondelle (Métis/Cree, French, German, and Polish) told her to create by making music in the language. Aunty Cheryl also taught her that we do not capitalize names and titles in nêhiyawêwin because "everything is equal/given the same consideration/no hierarchy" (m. clark, personal communication, April 10, 2020). The melody and structure of the song "askîwipimâcihowascikêwina" (clark, 2019) came to her during a meditative walk in the woods. When I think of the word, it is permanently attached to the melody that came from the land and that she gave voice to. moe clark has continued and deepened her unique approach to language learning and transmission—"integrating land-based processes, intergenerational collaboration, ceremony and the vibratory signatures of indigenous languages and song"—through speaking and musical performance (clark, 2020).

In *The Treaty Elders of Saskatchewan*, askîwipimâcihowascikêwina is translated differently as "setting into place arrangements for livelihood" (Cardinal & Hildebrant, 2000, p. 78). The authors use askîwipimâcihowascikêwina to explain the focus on material needs of First Nations people within the broader context of treaty-making. askiy means earth or land and "is used to distinguish those things that have to do with life here on earth or on the land and those that have to do with matters affecting the soul or spirit" (Cardinal & Hildebrant, 2000, p. 60). The point is that while treaty-making has sacred meaning, there are also practical concerns regarding education, infrastructure, and other basic requirements for making a living day-to-day (pimâcihowin).

This research project is rooted in the concept of askîwipimâcihowascikêwina. This concept brings together practical concerns about earning a living with broader spiritual aspects of learning to honour the land and all the gifts of Creation. These have both been motivating factors for me throughout this project. On the one hand, I have a personal need and desire to obtain credentials that will allow me to teach in postsecondary education and engage in future research projects. On the other hand, I want to contribute positively to land reclamation/repatriation projects. Learning Indigenous language and bringing it forward in my work is a way to do both.

There is a similar a synergy between gaining academic credentials and reclaiming Indigenous land and culture in the afterword of Maria Campbell's (2019) landmark autobiography *Halfbreed*. Here, she described the instructions that elders were giving her in the 60s and 70s:

Our elders didn't just encourage us; they demanded that we reclaim our language and

traditions and make them the foundation of our work as artists, writers, intellectuals, and

scholars. They reminded us that "getting an education was not an option, it was a

given—a university degree had to be part of our work for change." They made us

believe we could change the course of our history and make a new world for our

children. (pp. 191–192)

These demands are just as relevant today—and now, Maria Campbell is the elder, passing the teachings

on to the next generations. I want to earn my livelihood as an instructor or professor at colleges and

CÉGEPS in Montreal and a Master's degree is a minimum requirement for these positions. I chose to

write a thesis because I knew it would provide more opportunities for self-directed and mentored

learning, and I hoped it would allow for more connections with Métis and Indigenous language and

culture. While pursuing these aims, I have continually sought ways to connect with spirit and honour

gifts and teachings I have received along the way. I am grateful to my family, my supervisors, and a

number of mentors and teachers who have encouraged me to pursue this study, and the countless

Indigenous knowledge-holders who have chosen to pass on their knowledge.

3.4 Métis Methodologies and Approaches to Indigenous Research

Most Métis scholars work in institutes that are not "Métis." Doing research in a

university meant that, as a Métis, I cannot ignore that world and its institutional

realities. I learned, however, that I could find allies and supportive people to help me do

something solid, on Métis terms. (Carrière & Richardson, 2017, p. 37)

In the quotation above, Carrière and Richardson addressed a reality that I can definitely relate

to. Throughout the development of this thesis over the past few years, I have struggled to balance the

tensions between fulfilling criteria determined by McGill so that I can earn a Master's degree while

maintaining a critical stance towards the University. I talked with many people about what my topic

should be and how I should approach it. With the help of mentors, supervisors and supportive allies, I

have gradually come to something solid. In this section, I provide a concise response to the question:

Who are the Métis? Then, I introduce Métis methodologies and my own methodological framework.

Although full exploration of the politics and psychology of Métis identity is beyond the scope

of this study, it is necessary to provide some ideas about who the Métis are. The Métis are commonly

understood to be descendants of relationships between First Nations women and European men

(Sprague & Frye, 1983; Steckley, & Cummins, 2008). The Métis Nation's definition includes four aspects: "a person who self-identifies as Métis, is distinct from other Aboriginal peoples, is of historic Métis Nation ancestry and who is accepted by the Métis Nation" (Teillet, 2019, p. 478). Although Métis peoples are listed alongside Indians and Inuit in the Canadian constitution (Government of Canada, 1982), there "is no *Métis Act* equivalent to the *Indian Act*… If you know someone with a Métis card, this is typically a membership card for a provincial Métis organization, not a status card" (Vowel, 2016, p. 37). In contrast to the national definition, Richardson (2016) defined Métis as "someone who has both European and First Nations ancestry, who defines themselves as Métis, and who experiences some connection to a Métis community" (p. 11). Having briefly responded to the question of who the Métis are, I now move on to introduce a few examples of Métis methodologies.

The methodological framework that organizes this study is rooted and centred in Indigenous and Métis values. This is building on the idea that Indigenous methodologies are rooted in particular Indigenous worldviews (Kovach, 2010). Metis[3] legal scholar Kerry Sloan stated that although there is "no widely available or accepted literature on Metis research ethics or methods" (2016, p. 174), there are examples of Metis researchers who have articulated their own research philosophies. One example is Elmer Ghostkeeper (Métis; Paddle Praire Métis Settlement). He explained that he "had to become quite creative" so as to incorporate the "Metis way of doing things" in his anthropology research (1995, p. 3). Ghostkeeper is one among a number of Métis scholars who incorporate personal stories and narratives in their academic work (Adese, 2014; Boldo, 2013; Richardson, 2016). In addition to these and other individuals, Métis organizations have also developed Métis methodologies. In their work with the Manitoba Metis Federation (MMF), Barlett et al. (2012) employed a "Metis-specific methodology… perspective or lens" (p. 9). They explained that their approach was holistic, "including: Narrative (our story, spiritual); Experience (our experience, emotional); Data (our research, physical); and Information (our synthesis of the first three, intellectual)" (p. 9). While there are traces of these existing Métis methodologies in my framework, there is no single influence upon which this study is based.

Jeannine Carrière and Catherine Richardson are Métis scholars who are among the few to explicitly describe the concept of Métis methodologies. In the second chapter of *Calling our Families*

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[3] Sloan writes Métis without the accented é to emphasise that Métis are not all from French ancestry.

Home (2017), they outlined their own approaches to research, accountability, culture, and self-location. Their chapter emphasised "the idea that there should be a culturally-grounded relationship between topic and process or method" (p. 32). In her role as a personal mentor, Dr. Richardson suggested developing an image that would help me understand for myself and present how a number of the methodological concepts in this study are interrelated and depend on each other (personal communication, January 19, 2020). I have taken up her suggestion, and the result is a new and unique methodological framework built upon an excerpt of the painting "Medicines to help us" by Métis artist Christi Belcourt (2014).

The image of the strawberry plant represents the methodological framework for this project (Figure 1, p. 39). It is rooted in the concept of askîwipimâcihowascikêwina; two leaves represent the sources of energy driving the project: one leaf represents preparation and mentorship and the other represents the federal and provincial funding (SSHRC and FRQSC) I received to do this work. The centre circle represents kayash ka ishi pimatishiyaak (Métis values) (Dorion & Fleury, 2009). These components of the framework have already been addressed above.

The five petals of the flower represent separate but interrelated methodological approaches combined holistically: Indigenous/Métis methodologies; decolonizing methodologies; institutional ethnography; research as resistance; and language planning and policy. Used in concert, these approaches to research enable contact with knowledge and knowledge-holders (cross-pollination), which in turn enables growth towards new knowledge and change (fruits). Having already introduced askîwipimâcihowascikêwina and core Métis values, the rest of this chapter is dedicated to the five petals—the five approaches that inform this interdisciplinary study—beginning with decolonizing methodologies.

3.5 Decolonizing Methodologies and Insider/Outsider Research

Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) decolonizing methodologies are about bringing Indigenous concerns and worldviews to the centre of scholarly work. This is my justification for focusing on Indigenous language revitalization, which has been identified as a priority by Indigenous scholars at McGill (Metallic, 2017; Phillips, 2016; Stacey, 2016) and by another Kanien'kéha:ka scholar (White, 2015). Employing aspects of decolonizing methodologies also justifies the focus on what Indigenous Peoples at McGill have to say about the issue of Indigenous language revitalization

Figure 1

A Métis Methodological Framework

KNOWLEDGE ↔ GROWTH ↔ CHANGE

PREPARATION & MENTORSHIP

FUNDING SSHRC & FRQSC

MÉTIS VALUES

askîwipimâcihowascikêwina
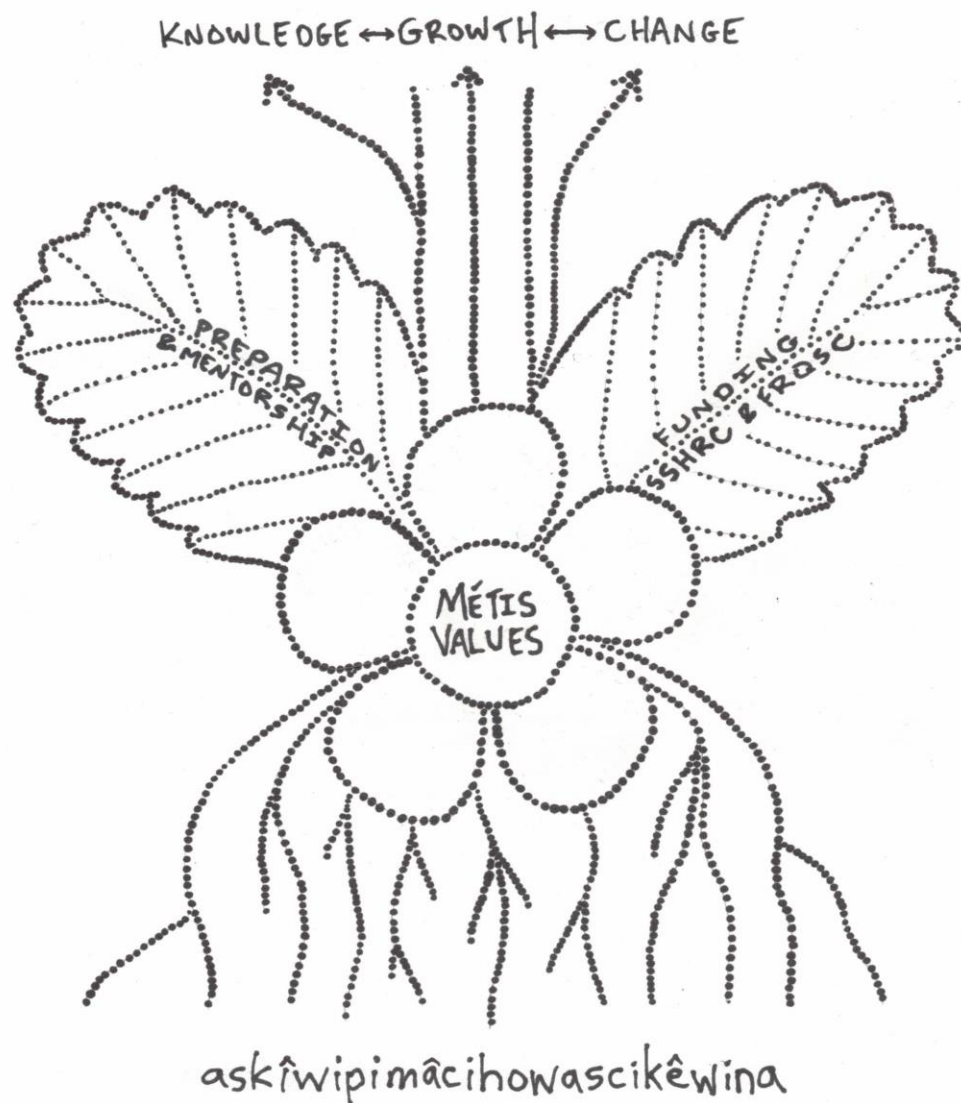
and the university's role.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) concept of insider/outsider research provided a context for me to position myself as both an insider and outsider relative to the topic of this study, the institutional context, and the other people involved. Insider/outsider research is also related to the concept of relational accountability (Wilson & Wilson, 1998; Wilson, 2008). The research location is named, as are half of the people I consulted with in Phase 1. This is not helicopter research, wherein researchers show up out of nowhere, gather data based on their own interests and agendas, and then disappear (Phillips, 2016). I have to be careful about what I write and say, and how it will affect the people whose words and voices are represented in this public document. The main way that I made myself accountable to research consultants and other stakeholders was by engaging in a rigorous process of member-checking with consultants, supervisors, mentors, family, and other knowledge-holders (see section 4.6).

3.6 Institutional Ethnography as a Method of Inquiry

Institutional ethnography (IE) is an alternative, feminist sociology—a method of inquiry that was first developed by Dorothy Smith (1987, 2005, 2006a) and subsequently refined and repurposed by other scholars (Griffith & Smith, 2014; Nichols, 2014, 2019; Nichols & Griffith, 2009; Smith & Turner, 2014). I was first introduced to IE in a research methods course taught by one of my co-supervisors, Dr. Naomi Nichols (2017a). She explained how IE can "open up relations" that "are not observable":

> By coupling descriptive ethnographic accounts of people's everyday lives with a critical analysis of the social and institutional relations that give shape to personal embodied experiences, an institutional ethnographer looks out from "the everyday to discover how it came to happen as it does." Research begins "where actual people are in their own lives, activities and experiences to open up relations and organization that are, in a sense, actually present in them but are not observable" (Smith, 2006: 3). (Nichols, 2017b, p. 606)

Like other ethnographic approaches, many IE studies combine observation (ethnographic accounts) with other forms of analysis. Within a certain range of study topics, IE has proven to be quite versatile. It has proven to be especially well adapted to exploring a wide range of questions related to different

types of Western institutions.

D. E. Smith (2005) described IE as a method of inquiry "because the emphasis is always on research as *discovery* rather than say, the testing of hypotheses or the explication of theory as analysis of the empirical" (p. 2). She did not consider IE to be a methodology. IE approaches emphasise a distinctive turn away from starting with theory. Nonetheless, it is a method of inquiry that is rigorous— and given the ubiquity of Western institutions—specific and local studies often lead to analysis, findings, and recommendations that are applicable beyond the local settings of individual studies. IE is not merely subjective.

Through conversation with Dr. Nichols and by attending her lectures, I have come to understand the particular role of theory within IE. It is sometimes supposed that because of the emphasis on embodied experience as a starting place for research, there is no place for theory within IE, but this is not the case. Dorothy Smith's (2005) criticism of sociology as it was taught to her is that it started with theory and subsequently went out into the field to test the theory—to prove or disprove an abstract idea. This does not mean that theory has no utility in an IE study; rather as Nichols (2019) has argued in a recent book, IE has clear and strong theoretical roots and institutional ethnographers often draw on theoretical insights in their efforts to understand how particular social relations are put together in the ways that they are (p. 12). One can thus use theory as a resource throughout the course of a study and after the observation/conversation/analysis has taken place, as long as one does not see the production of a theoretical account as the ultimate aim of their research. This has certainly been the case with this project, where much of the scholarly reading and writing that constitutes this thesis was done long after the initial conversations (Phase 1) and right up to the final weeks before submission. Approaching research as a process of discovery means the researcher is free to respond to what is happening in the real world throughout the course of the project and to adjust directions of inquiry accordingly.

As a method of inquiry, IE is compatible with some of the main ideas in decolonizing methodologies (L. T. Smith, 2012). Consider this excerpt from the section on insider/outsider research:

> Most research methodologies assume that the researcher is an outsider able to observe
> without being implicated in the scene. This is related to positivism and notions of
> objectivity and neutrality. Feminist research and other more critical approaches have

made the insider methodology much more acceptable in qualitative research. (p. 230)

At this broad level, decolonizing methodologies and institutional ethnography share an openness—perhaps even an obligation—to meaningful engagement and advocacy. Taken together, decolonizing methodologies and institutional ethnography comprise interdependent parts of my methodological framework. These approaches enabled me to talk with other Indigenous Peoples at McGill and plan the second phase of the study in response to their experiences.

Indigenous Peoples at McGill are among the best suited to speak about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization because of their direct experience of the institution and how it intersects with their own Indigenous reality. My aim is not to produce generalizations about people's experiences, but to map out the institutional processes that produce the varied effects people have described. As such, I am not concerned with individual bias so much as people's embodied experience of the institutions we examined together in our conversations. It is their experience and knowledge that will help me understand how the institution currently works, and this is a prerequisite to planning how it could change.

Institutional ethnography is compatible with decolonizing methodologies because the knowledge produced through both approaches is meant to be useful. In the landmark study "Political Activist as Ethnographer," George Smith (1990) stated that knowledge about institutions—or ruling regimes—has transformative potential, specifying: "Starting from local, particular settings in the everyday world, the work of the activist ethnographer is to extend his or her member's knowledge to grasp how a ruling regime works with a view to transforming it" (p. 629). George Smith (a student and colleague of Dorothy Smith) began with the embodied experience of how the gay community was being policed. His inquiries ultimately pointed towards laws that needed to be changed. Where the more immediate problem was police brutality, IE made the connections between local practices and unjust legislation. The parallel in this study is that I make the links between the hierarchisation of languages at McGill and the national policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework (Haque, 2012).

In the foreword of *Decolonizing Methodologies*, L. T. Smith (2012) described her original aim of "disrupting relationships . . . between a colonizing institution of knowledge and colonized peoples whose own knowledge was subjugated" (p. x). IE provides a framework for seeking out and amplifying

the knowledge of Indigenous Peoples at McGill with the aim of transforming the colonial/colonizing institution (the ruling regime). Dorothy Smith clearly articulated that providing maps that help people navigate institutions is one of the primary aims of institutional ethnography:

> Like the map of the underground mall, with its arrow pointing to a particular spot
> accompanied by the words YOU ARE HERE! institutional ethnographies are designed
> to enable people to relate across the locus of their experience to where they want to go.
> (D. E. Smith, 2005, p. 51)

This most practical aspect of IE is central to its compatibility with decolonizing methodologies. Knowledge of how Western institutions function is different from Indigenous knowledge; it requires a systematic analysis of texts and how work is coordinated through hierarchy and bureaucracy. Bringing together Indigenous Peoples' experiences of McGill with the mapping process of IE leads to new and useful information about how bureaucratic processes value Indigenous knowledge. As institutional ethnography first provided women—long excluded from academia—with an alternative sociology, it is now employed as a method of inquiry for amplifying Indigenous knowledge.

This study draws primarily on conversations I had with Indigenous Peoples with connections to McGill. Beginning from my own unique standpoint, IE allowed me to relate to these people as expert consultants. They are people with lived experience who have unique and important things to say about the institutional policies and organizational structures that are affecting their lives. I want to hear about how they in turn are affecting the policies and structures around them. These methods are compatible with the stories I want to tell because they allow me to relate to people not merely as "human subjects." They are individuals with unique perspectives on the institution and its processes—the same processes and social relations that I wish to better understand and help reveal to others. With the benefit of seeing from multiple perspectives, this study provides critical analysis of McGill's policies and practices regarding Indigenous languages. Accreditation is an important mechanism—a particular junction between ideology and practice—where shifts in language policy could have significant effects on both beliefs and practices. By situating my inquiry at the intersection of institutional ethnography and decolonizing methodologies, this study makes the connections between Indigenous Peoples' experiences and McGill, the texts that coordinate their experiences of accreditation, and the broader laws and policies that coordinate the work of staff and faculty at the University. The ultimate aim of

both approaches and of this study is institutional transformation.

What is perhaps most characteristic of IE is the focused attention on the role of text and text-based knowledge in Western institutions. Beginning with embodied standpoint/experience, institutional ethnographers are concerned by how texts shape—and how they are shaped by—the people who use them. Devault and McCoy (2006) explained the importance of texts using the metaphor of the central nervous system: "institutional relations are like a central nervous system running through and coordinating different sites" (p. 33). After speaking with consultants and identifying the need to explore the concept of accreditation, I found a text—in the form of a website—that greatly shapes how things work at McGill. For the many stakeholders involved in granting transfer credits, the McGill course equivalencies website is central. With three interfaces for three different users—students, faculty and staff, and administration—it coordinates peoples' work across countless locations. In the findings and discussion, I elaborate how the website functions as a mechanism affecting both beliefs and practices related to language at McGill.

3.7 Institutional Ethnography and Indigenous Methodologies

What I find powerful, and ironic, is that ethnography is about white people with power, associated with an institution, studying Indigenous and ethnic groups. Your study turns that on its head, with an Indigenous researcher studying the white institution and the behavior/thoughts of the people who hold it up. Did you acknowledge that somewhere?

(C. Richardson, personal communication, January 18, 2020)

Historically, ethnography has been about (mostly) White men with power, often associated with an institution, studying Indigenous or some other disadvantaged collectivity. As Richardson observes, this study turns that on its head, with an Indigenous researcher "looking up" (Strega & Brown, 2015, p. 6) at the (mostly) White institution—narrowing in on the beliefs, mechanisms, and practices that define language policy. I draw tremendous inspiration from other Indigenous scholars who have dared to think critically and tell their truths about the Western institutions around themselves.

I have been inspired by examples of Indigenous scholars using IE methods (Restoule et al., 2013; Salmon, 2007; Whitinui, 2017; Wilson & Pence, 2006). The following examples suggest that IE—as an approach to research or method of inquiry—is generally compatible with aspects of Indigenous methodologies. Dorothy Smith's (2006a) foundational book on IE contained one example;

Wilson (Neyonawak Inniwak, Opaskwayak Cree Nation) and Pence (2006) employed IE is a sociological method that "coordinates with and complements Indigenous methodology" (p. 202). Other studies integrate aspects of IE to address Indigenous issues including culturally appropriate pedagogy in fetal alcohol syndrome prevention (Salmon, 2007) and how Indigenous students can be supported for successful transitions into postsecondary education (Restoule et al., 2013). Taken together, these studies demonstrate different ways that IE has been employed to complement various Indigenous methodologies.

3.8 Situating the Study Within the Field of Language Planning and Policy

Of the many concepts and approaches to research that inform and inspire my work, the academic discipline that comes closest to containing it all is probably that of language policy and planning (LPP). LPP is itself a multidisciplinary field; the nature of language and human attempts to coordinate how language is used necessitate multiple approaches to understand different aspects of LPP. In a foundational introduction to the field, Spolsky (2004) articulated a theory that begins with the "division of language policy into language practices, language beliefs and ideology, and the explicit policies and plans resulting from language-management or planning activities that attempt to modify the practices and ideologies of a community" (p. 39). Stated more succinctly, the three components of language policy are: (1) practices; (2) ideology; and (3) explicit policies. Spolsky (2004) was explicit about how he is not as much an advocate (e.g., in support of preserving language diversity) as are other scholars (p. ix). This is one of my reasons for bringing the more activist approaches of both institutional ethnography and decolonizing methodologies into LPP, as well as drawing on Phillipson, Fishman, and Skutnabb-Kangas.

In articulating the importance of mechanisms in language policy, Shohamy (2006) drew extensively from Spolsky (2004). Shohamy described an approach to language policy research that (similarly) emphasized going beyond what is written in official texts. Similar to Dorothy Smith's (2005, 2006) concern with how texts coordinate people's work, Shohamy was concerned with the different mechanisms that people enact as they negotiate how languages are used:

> The study of LP [Language Policy] should not be limited to formal, declared and official policies but rather to the study of the powerful mechanisms that are used in most societies nowadays to perpetuate "de facto" language policies and practices. . . . It is

only through the observation of the effects of these very devices that the real language

policy of an entity can be understood and interpreted. (Shohamy, 2006, p. xvi)

Shohamy made a distinction between de jure—formal, written language policies—and de

facto—the actual ways that people enact language policies and practices. This is why I describe

interconnections between beliefs, mechanisms, and practices in my discussion of language policies at

McGill (Chapter 5).

3.9 Shifting from Methodology to Methods

In this chapter, I have provided a concise overview of concepts and methodological approaches

that inform this study. The multidisciplinary nature of this study requires a multidisciplinary

methodological framework. I have presented mentorship as a unifying thread that weaves together

teachings from family, supervisors, mentors, and knowledge keepers. Personal relationships and

scholarly reading have complemented each other in the development of my theoretical, conceptual, and

methodological framework. I wish to emphasize that this study did not *begin* with any particular

theory, methodology, or concept. Rather, it began with my own embodied experience—my

observations that the role of universities in Indigenous language revitalization is problematic and

significant.

3.10 Consultations, Conversations, Observations, and Text Analysis

The main questions explored in this study are:

(1) What do Indigenous Peoples at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous

language revitalization?

(2) How do accreditation processes at McGill recognise and value students' Indigenous

language abilities, and/or their experience with language immersion programs and

community based ILR?

During the first phase of inquiry (August to December 2018), there were two main ways that I gathered

data: (1) I recorded and transcribed conversations with six Indigenous Peoples at McGill, and (2) I

engaged in direct observation of public events at McGill and recorded field notes. These two processes

occurred in parallel. My analysis of the data from Phase 1 informed the second phase of inquiry (June

to February 2020). During the second phase I collected and analysed policy documents related to

accreditation and transfer credits, and spoke with eleven McGill employees who were involved in the

institutional processes with which I am most concerned.

3.11 The Relational Factor: Establishing Credibility and Trustworthiness

> *The relational factor—that I knew participants and they knew me—was significant. . . .*
> *With this method the researcher must have a certain amount of credibility and*
> *trustworthiness for people to participate in the research.* (Kovach, 2010, p. 46)

Choosing to research the institution within which I am currently enrolled as a graduate student is compatible with the idea of "relational accountability" (Kovach, 2010, p. 46). Like the two studies that Kovach (2010) described as examples for the conversational method, talking with colleagues with whom there is at least the possibility of a sustained relationship and with whom there are common experiences of the institution in question increases the possibility that I will be held to account for my words and actions if they are deemed contrary to the interests and agendas of Indigenous Peoples at McGill and others affected by the publication and discussion of the findings.

In preparation for the first phase of research, Elizabeth Fast—one of my mentors—helped me to develop a list of Indigenous Peoples at McGill whom she thought might be interested in consulting with me. This served as a kind of vouching process—that is to say, some of the consultants I spoke with put trust in me because of my association with Concordia and with Dr. Fast. Although we had met only recently, another participant mentioned that she was reassured about my credibility because she had seen me at a large number of Indigenous-related events at McGill (personal communication, August 1, 2020). This might be similar to the Māori concept of *Kanohi kitea*, as it is described in *Decolonizing Methodologies* (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 51). My physical presence on campus—being seen at events, and how I acted there—helped me to build trust with this consultant. I have also made an effort to give public presentations about my work at McGill (O'Connor, 2018, 2020).

3.12 The Conversational Method

I was first introduced to the conversational method (Kovach, 2010) during a three-day training called Building Respectful Relationships, which I helped organize at Concordia University in 2017 (Nadeau & Young Leon, 2017). The conversational method aligns with the methodological framework (outlined in Chapter 3) in which the research process and outputs are meant to serve a decolonizing and anti-oppressive purpose (Kovach, 2010, p. 42). Margaret Kovach (Plains Cree/Saulteaux, Pasqua First Nation) (2010) situated the conversational method within broader traditions of relational storytelling:

The conversational method is of significance to Indigenous methodologies because it is a method of gathering knowledge based on oral storytelling tradition congruent with an Indigenous paradigm. It involves a dialogical participation that holds a deep purpose of sharing story as a means to assist others. It is relational at its core. (p. 40)

As a long-time community radio producer, I can see how the conversations I had with the six Indigenous consultants resonated as much with the genre of community radio interview as with the conversations described by Kovach (2010). I mostly followed a script of questions and prompts (Appendix A) and was careful to record high-quality audio. My approach to community radio production and the conversational method share a dual commitment to amplifying Indigenous voices and producing something useful.

An important element of the conversational method I used was that of bringing the knowledge generated from one conversation into subsequent conversations. This kind of incremental identification of key themes and issues is also an aspect of institutional ethnography (IE). "While there were semi-structured questions developed to guide and prompt questions, there was a flexibility for both the participant and researcher to participate in the form of dialogue" (Kovach, 2010, p. 45). This flexibility is similar to the oral history methods described by Innes (1999, 2016). Because it is compatible with the methodological framework and with my experience in radio production, the conversational method was the primary reference for how I engaged in conversations about language revitalization with Indigenous Peoples at McGill.

3.13 Sample Size and Generalizability

There are some important parallels between my methods and those of Cote-Meek (2014). In *Colonized Classrooms*, she asserted that her methodology is "consistent with qualitative designs where smaller sample sizes allow for the exploration of experiences in more profound and personal ways, rather than research designed to generalize to other populations (Tutty, Rothery and Grinnell, 1996)" (Cote-Meek, 2014, p. 11). I am also engaging with a relatively small number of people, and not supposing that my findings will explain the behavior of broad populations. As noted in Chapter 3, institutional ethnography aims to explicate broad social relations, through the lens of individual experiences. As such, my aim was not to generalize across the informant group, so I did not attempt to select for any particular subset of Indigenous Peoples at McGill—for example, undergraduate students

or staff only. Like Cote-Meek, and consistent with the methodological framework, the first phase of this project focused on amplifying Indigenous voices. Furthermore, the relatively small sample size is consistent with the two projects that Kovach (2010) described, increases the possibility of "relational accountability" (Wilson, 2008).

 As with the two projects described by Kovach (2010), I used criterion sampling to identify and select potential consultants. Because the first phase of the study was focused on Indigenous Peoples at McGill, this was the group with which I spoke. This is compatible with a critical social research approach, which allows for excluding countless people because their perspectives are not relevant to the study or due to the limited scope of the project (Reid, Greaves, & Kirby, 2017, p. 57).

In the first phase of data collection, I conducted seven formal interviews with Indigenous Peoples at McGill. One consultant chose to withdraw from the study, so six are included in the findings and discussion. The one person who withdrew did not provide any reason for doing so, and I do not offer any speculation as to why they changed their mind.

Overall, this research was focused on McGill University. With a few exceptions, the majority of the data collection took place at various locations on and around the downtown campus, in Tio'tiake/Montreal, Quebec. Interview locations depended on the preferences of the consultants. To maintain confidentiality, specific locations are not listed here. When deciding on locations with the consultants, I was sensitive to their preferences and priorities, whether they were convenience, privacy, accessibility, or other concerns.

3.14 Phase 1: Talking with Indigenous Consultants

All six of the consultations included in this study were either with known colleagues, personal acquaintances that I had met more recently, or people with whom I had been put in contact by a mutual acquaintance. I began by reaching out to people via email (Appendix B), as well as talking about my research project in person. When people responded positively to initial invitations, I would send them a list of the main questions I hoped to address and the three-page McGill Research Ethics Board (REB) informed consent forms (Appendix C).

For each conversation, I posed the same main questions and follow-up prompts (Appendix A). I referred to a print copy of these questions during the conversations, and sometimes consultants read along if that was helpful to them. Also, there were always one or two questions that were more specific

to each person's experience. There were also instances in which I picked up on a particular phrase or idea and improvised a question to elicit elaboration. These conversations rarely lasted more than about an hour. The first five to fifteen minutes consisted of greetings, small talk, and questions or concerns about the REB documents. The recordings began after all questions about consent forms and greetings were completed. The recordings were usually thirty to forty minutes long and were followed by short (unrecorded) conversations about sharing transcripts and farewells.

3.15 Transcription Conventions and Member-checking

I transcribed each conversation myself using open source software (Audacity and LibreOffice) within two to four weeks of the recording, and then shared the transcripts with each participant. This was the beginning of an iterative process of member-checking (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994), which "serves to strengthen the trustworthiness of the study and the persuasiveness of the findings" (Metallic, 2017, p. 120). The transcription process was also the beginning of data analysis (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Tilley, 2016). For the initial transcripts, I used simple conventions to produce verbatim text versions of our conversations. I used ellipses for pauses and italicized my own speech (mostly questions and prompts). The quotations included in the findings and discussion are all drawn from these transcripts, but have been edited for clarity. Quotations are cited using a simple alphanumeric code: C1, C2, etc. For those who chose to be named (that is, to waive confidentiality), I was especially careful about verifying that my interpretation of conversation transcripts aligned with their own understanding and what they wanted to express.

3.16 Respect, Relevancy, Reciprocity, Responsibility, and Other Ethical Considerations

> *The conversational method, congruent with an Indigenous paradigm, honoured core*
> *Indigenous research values of respect, relevancy, reciprocity, and responsibility.*
> (Kovach, 2010, p. 45)

Throughout this project, I have striven to conduct myself ethically, above and beyond what is required by McGill's Research Ethics Board. This section describes how my methods expressed aspects of "the core Indigenous research values" listed above in the section subheading, with a focus on reciprocity.

I expressed gratitude to the Indigenous consultants I spoke with by giving them thank you cards, cash payments, and small gifts. The dollar amounts (approximately $25 per hour, $50 per

interview) were intended to compensate people—not just during the hour or so that we spent together, but also for the time they put into reading and writing emails before and after the meeting. Monetary compensation is common in this type of work with Indigenous Peoples (Restoule et al., 2013). Along with other gifts, cash payment can be counted as an aspect of reciprocity (Fast, 2015). In her research, Kovach (2010) provided small gifts and tobacco such that her methods would be congruent with a Plains Cree tribal epistemology and to express that the research would be used purposefully (p. 44).

To avoid the potential awkwardness of counting out cash amounts, each consultant was given their payment in a sealed envelope, which also contained a thank you card. While it is a small gesture, it was done with the intention of conducting research in a respectful way—with hopes of building respectful relationships.

To show appreciation for the knowledge and stories shared with me, most consultants were also given a small bundle of wild sage, which was harvested from Lakota territory, not far from the Standing Rock protest camp. Along with the sage bundles, I shared a short story about how the sage was shared at a speaking event at Concordia University. One consultant was given a bundle of tobacco instead. Another was given a print copy of a scholarly article (Sterzuk & Fayant, 2016) that was particularly influential during my project planning phase.

For the most part, I did not anticipate any potential harms for consultants. The greatest potential harm I could foresee was primarily social and economic; this was related to consultants speaking out critically—and publicly—about the institution (McGill) that employs them. I evaluated this risk to be low. Nonetheless, I took steps to mitigate the risk: I described this risk in the informed consent forms (Appendix C), and provided each consultant the option of maintaining confidentiality. This study was approved by McGill's Research Ethics Board in May, 2018 (certificate number 469-0418) and renewed a year later (ending May 2, 2020).

3.17 Observations

In parallel with the consultations and subsequent analysis of transcripts, I observed a range of public and semipublic events (Appendix D). The findings and discussion draw primarily on the public events that occurred during the same timeframe as the consultations—August to December 2018. A notable exception to this was my participation in the public parts of the Indigenous Languages Symposium in May, 2018 (Office of First Nations and Inuit Education, 2018). In my research journal, I

noted that observations are for "bringing in what interviews can't." They are also used to describe "institutional processes in action" (N. Nichols, personal communication, March 8, 2018). With these aims in mind, I maintained a research journal (documenting the process and development in my analysis and interpretation) and recorded field notes in course notebooks and on my laptop throughout the course of my Master's research. As a consequence of learning by doing my first substantial research project, most of the more detailed academic reading on the subject of observations and field notes happened when I was already well into my study (Kwame Harrison, 2018; Atkinson, 1990; Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Gorman, 2017). Through a process of critical self-reflection, I revisit what I did in reference to what I have learned since, with an aim to refining my practices for future projects. I now understand that a correlation between interview/conversation and observation is central to ethnography generally and institutional ethnography in particular.

It is important to note that in my approach to field work and observations, I have not sought to immerse myself deeply into any particular community—I have not attempted "*immersion,*" as it is framed by some ethnographers (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p.3). It was, rather, in my day-to-day, week-to-week experience as a graduate student—albeit one with a particular interest in Language Policy—that I limited my observations to public events, physical aspects of the McGill campus, and my own embodied experience of these.

In general, I wrote scratchnotes while meeting with supervisors and colleagues. During public events and informal conversations, I made a conscious effort to remember important points and make field notes soon after the event or conversation. I made a conscious effort to think about what was happening in terms of my research interests, and made "head notes" (Gorman, 2017, p. 225) whenever Indigenous languages were used or when people spoke about Indigenous languages. This mode of observation is in line with Indigenous researchers who problematize the presence of notetakers (Arcand, 2017; Moses, 2016). During the Building Reconciliation Forum in Winnipeg in 2017, Eugene Arcand (Cree, Muskeg Lake First Nation), a member of the Survivors Committee, spoke about the "Indigenous way" of doing research—talking with people and observing the world around you without depending on a pen and paper to remember things (Arcand, 2017). My overall approach has been a compromise; I recorded notes shortly after events and conversations. For example, my field notes for the Opening Ceremonies for Indigenous Awareness Week were written in my research journal the day

after the event.

By developing and maintaining ways to systematically recall detailed information about ideas or comments that were specifically relevant to my research interests, I was able to gain greater insight into an event or comment, by asking a consultant to comment on a shared experience or to elaborate on something I had heard them say in another context. There were often aspects of public speeches that were relevant to my research questions. Being able to refer back to specific dates and locations, and to the specific people that made the comments, placed me within the institutional processes that we were aiming to understand and describe. My participation—simply attending public events—and the notes that I recorded about them are related to what Kovach (2010) described as "interpersonal, relational preparation" (p. 46). By attending certain events, I was able to be visible among people who could be considered stakeholders in my work. This was important because it allowed me to demonstrate an interest in Indigenous issues as they were being discussed at McGill. It also allowed for participants to attach a familiar face to the emails they received.

3.18 Phase 2: Talking with McGill Staff and Faculty about Accreditation and Transfer Credits

Through a gradual process of reviewing transcripts and fieldnotes, having informal conversations about my work, specifically seeking advice from supervisors and mentors, and checking in with some of the original consultants from Phase 1, I started to focus in on questions about accreditation and transfer credits (Phase 2).

In June 2019, as a result of coding my interview transcripts and fieldnotes, I began a new phase of inquiry focused on the recently emerged questions about accreditation and transfer credits. This began with a thorough exploration of McGill University's website and extensive notetaking about publicly available documents related to transfer credit processes. In addition to what was contained in the text, I needed to hear from people at McGill about how the policies (rules, guidelines, etc.) were put into action.

In July 2019, I wrote a one-page proposal about focusing on accreditation and shared it with consultants via email. At that time, I suggested I would soon engage in a second phase of research focused on a number of more specific questions: (1) What do people mean when they talk about accreditation? (2) In terms of course credits, certificates, and degrees, what are the actual processes by which Indigenous Peoples might gain institutional recognition for their knowledge of, or fluency in, an

Indigenous language? Or for their past experience in a community-based Indigenous language program? (3) What are the bureaucratic barriers to such recognition? I argued that the answers to these questions would get at some of the core issues related to valuing different kinds of knowledge within the academy, and that they would also address some very practical issues related to motivating Indigenous youth to pursue both knowledge of their ancestral language as well as success in postsecondary education.

Between May and August 2019, I also affirmed the focus on accreditation during meetings with one of my mentors (Dr. Fast) and my thesis supervisors (Dr. Nichols and Dr. Sarkar). I received more feedback that I was on the right track following presentations to members of the Indigenous Inquiry Circle at the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry (O'Connor, 2019a), as well as to a large number of family and friends (and a handful of colleagues and conference attendees) at the Language Planning and Policy Conference (O'Connor, 2019b). This is part of how I have attempted and aspired to actualize relational accountability in my research process.

Towards the end of July, I began to communicate in earnest with various staff (eleven individuals in total) at McGill who were involved in accreditation and transfer credit processes. I first confirmed that, because my questions were about processes related to their work as McGill employees—and not their opinions of the processes or observations of their actual work—these staff were not considered to be research participants and there was no need for approval from the Research Ethics Board or informed consent forms (See Chapter 2 of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement,* Panel on Research Ethics, 2018). This kind of focus on institutional processes is central to studies that employ institutional ethnography as a method of inquiry.

The questions that guided this phase of inquiry were: (1) Can you explain how this policy or process works (e.g., deciding whether to award transfer credits to individual students)? (2) Is there a process through which a community-based Indigenous language education program could offer transfer credits (or credit equivalencies) that would count towards a McGill certificate or degree? How is that done? Or, how might that be done? To explore these questions, I identified potential staff informants through conversations with my supervisors and through the contact information listed on McGill websites. Between July 1, 2019, and February 28, 2020, I talked and emailed with people in a variety of positions and roles at McGill.

DeVault and McCoy (2006) explained a process whereby researchers attempt to map out a particular part of institutional relations by relating people's actions to texts:

> A common aspect of institutional ethnographic research at this second stage involves the researchers investigating institutional work processes by following a chain of action, typically organized around and through a set of documents, because it is texts that coordinate people's activities across time and place within institutional relations. (p. 21)

It was the second phase of research that revealed the role of the course equivalencies website and database (McGill University, 2020). Consulting this website is among the very first steps that staff undertake in advising students about whether or not their previous educational experience would count towards their certificate or degree at McGill. In terms of institutional ethnography, the website functions as a text because it coordinates work among students, faculty, department advisors, and administrators throughout the University. In the findings and discussion, I explain how this text/website functions to preclude the possibility of transfer credits for students with previous experience in community-based ILR in non-accredited institutions.

3.19 Summary of Chapter 3

Leading into the findings and discussion that follow, this chapter presented the methodological framework and methods I used in this study. The chapter began with mentorship—an approach to teaching and learning I use to weave together lessons from different people and disciplines. Next, I described preparations: teachings and affirmations from family, my undergraduate studies and professional work at Concordia, and participation in Indigenous language classes. Then I explained why the methodological framework for this study is rooted in the concept of askîwipimâcihowascikêwina—making a living, living a good life, while honouring the land and all the gifts of Creation. Then a Métis Methodological Framework was presented to represent the holism and cohesion among multiple disciplines and approaches to research. Next I outlined aspects of Métis and decolonizing methodologies, institutional ethnography, and Indigenous methodologies, and situated this study within the field of language planning and policy. Then I shifted from methodology to methods.

Beginning in section 3.10, I started to explain the more practical details of how I gathered and analysed the data for this study. I introduced the conversational method and explained how it is

compatible with my experience with community radio production and the methodological framework. Next, I wrote about the relatively small sample size, how I found people to talk to, and how the conversations unfolded. This led into a description of how I transcribed recordings from the conversations and shared copies of the transcripts with consultants (member-checking). Then I presented core aspects of ethical research: respect, relevancy, reciprocity, and responsibility. I focused on how I enacted reciprocity through cash payments, thank you cards, and small but meaningful gifts. Next, I explained how Phase 1 also included observations of public and semipublic events at McGill, and how these observations complemented what I was learning through conversations. All of this led to a second phase of research that was focused on accreditation and transfer credit processes at McGill.

A substantial portion of this thesis is dedicated to process. This is intentional. It demonstrates the depth and breadth of my own thinking about methodology and methods, and the overall cohesion of multiple influences and approaches. Métis methodologies are still emerging. There was no purpose-ready guidebook for this study. With guidance from mentors, supervisors, family, and numerous scholars, I have developed a new and unique way of honouring Indigenous knowledge and experience, engaging directly with institutional actors and processes, mapping some of the terrain of language policy at McGill University. Next, I present the findings (Chapter 4), before tying it all together and pointing towards possible paths forward (Chapters 5 and 6).

Chapter 4: Findings

This chapter presents the main findings of this study. The first section (4.1) draws primarily from the first phase of this research. Indigenous consultants' responses to my question about developing Indigenous language programs at McGill provide an overview of the institutional context at the University. In the next section (4.2) I present how I arrived at the focus of the study: whether/how the university's accreditation and transfer credit processes could address the concerns raised by consultants. In addition to funding and expertise, consultants identified accreditation of community-based language programs as a way for McGill to contribute to Indigenous language revitalization. Section 4.3 presents a map of McGill's transfer credit decision-making process and analysis of the course equivalency website. Section 4.4 explores the potential of Indigenous partnerships with McGill's Office of First Nations and Inuit Education (OFNIE) as a pathway to accreditation. Analysis of data from Phase 1 and Phase 2 informs an explanation of why staff and faculty at McGill (with a few notable exceptions) are generally not able to award academic credits for community-based ILR. Tracing text-based actions through the course equivalency system links individual experiences to a number of coordinating texts and policies within McGill and at the provincial and national levels.

Making connections between beliefs and ideologies about language contributes to understanding local language practices. This study began with questions about the differences between calls to action about Indigenous Language Revitalization in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report (2015a) and the Provost's Task Force Report (2017). The first section of the findings begins with the broader context, presenting Indigenous consultants' responses to questions about the TRC call to action (TRC, 2015a, 2).

4.1 Should McGill Develop New Courses and Degree Programs in Indigenous Languages? What Indigenous Peoples at McGill Had to Say

At the outset of this project, I was preoccupied with what seemed to be a contradiction between calls to action about ILR in the reports from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and McGill's Provost's Task Force (PTF). In preparation for conversations with Indigenous Peoples at McGill, I reviewed national and local calls to action about Indigenous language revitalization. In the TRC Final Report, Call to Action 16 asked postsecondary educational institutions to create "degree programs in Aboriginal languages" (TRC, 2015a, p. 2). But McGill's own Provost's Task Force call to

action 34 put the emphasis on supporting existing in-community language programs. Should McGill focus on one call to action? The other? Both? I brought these questions into each conversation.

A general theme that came up repeatedly in conversations with consultants was about how Indigenous language activists and scholars have long been wary of the drain on limited resources that campus-based academic Indigenous language courses and programs can cause. This theme is also present in the literature and was addressed in Chapter 2 (see Battiste, 2008; Hinton, 2013). This tension is complex and is not simply about draining human resources away from Indigenous communities. It is at the heart of the contradiction between the TRC and PTF calls to action. The following quotation demonstrates that this tension exists between McGill and nearby Indigenous communities:

> We're in a position right now where language is endangered, and we have very limited
> first-language speakers—superior-level speakers. They're drawn away because of the
> employment opportunity and the demand . . . often their focus is pulled away from the
> community, so then all of a sudden, particularly our speakers who have teaching
> experience, are putting their energy and focus outside of the community, when that
> shouldn't really be happening, because that's detrimental to our effort to keep our
> language alive. (C7)

Another consultant I spoke with echoed this sentiment, suggesting that not everyone in the local Indigenous community was happy with how the on-campus Kanien'kéha course at McGill was initiated. They suggested that there might not have been enough community consultation:

> McGill's now teaching Kanien'kéha but I know that not everyone in Kahnawà:ke is
> happy, necessarily, that McGill's teaching Kanien'kéha because they feel that—some
> people, not necessarily to speak on their behalves, but some people feel as though
> McGill shouldn't have access to that resource and that maybe it wasn't done with
> enough community consultation. (C1)

This consultant went on to describe how if McGill was doing more for the local community, there might be less animosity about the language courses happening on campus. There seems to be a desire for increased reciprocity between the two groups.

Despite the tension, most of the Indigenous Peoples I spoke with expressed support for the idea of new Indigenous language courses and degree programs at McGill. Three out of six responses to

questions about the TRC call to action were explicitly affirmative. The remaining three expressed at least an openness to new programs, but their responses included important nuances that are not addressed in the TRC recommendation. Echoing comments by Bearhead (in Narine, 2015; see section 2.8), Hariata Tai Rakena (Māori, Waikato Tainui) emphasized the importance of prioritizing the languages of local Indigenous communities: "I think it is important, to continue to develop a degree program that supports the language. . . . Priority should be given to the major First Nations that are from this area" (C4). Her comments also suggested an openness to programs that build support for the language—not necessarily limited teaching the language itself. She emphasized that "languages live in their cultural practices and what's associated with them" and that courses focused solely on language "without a cultural context or historical background" (C4) would be missing a substantial part of what Indigenous languages are about. These comments also relate to Stacey's (2016) findings about ceremony being a motivating factor for youth in Kahnawà:ke (see section 2.6).

Kakwiranó:ron Cook (Akwesasne Mohawk and Oglala Lakota) talked about how it has taken almost 200 years—that is to say, in all the time since McGill College was founded in 1821—for McGill students to be able to enroll in a Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) language course on campus (McGill University, 2020b). He would like to see similar course offerings expanded to other Indigenous languages:

> I think yes, McGill has a role to offer, not only Mohawk language, but Algonquin language, Inuktitut, Innu, Abenaki—as many Indigenous languages as can be physically taught here. I think any student coming through this university will be that much richer for getting to know different worldviews through different nations' languages that are from this province. (C5)

The opportunity to learn Indigenous languages offers and would offer McGill students chances to become more familiar with Indigenous worldviews. Although Kakwiranó:ron Cook's comments seem to reflect a priority of enriching the experiences of McGill students, he makes it clear that he is fully aware of and sensitive to the issue of pulling resources out of Indigenous communities. He acknowledged the common perspective that community-based programming needs to be supported. Indirectly, Kakwiranó:ron Cook's comments also hint at the fact that within the colonial governments of Canada, postsecondary education is a provincial responsibility. As a publicly funded educational

institution, McGill University has responsibilities and accountabilities that are defined relative to the provincial territory of Québec more than in terms of Indigenous territories in the same area. In addition to the five languages mentioned (Mohawk, Algonquin, Inuktitut, Innu, Abenaki), so-called Quebec is also home to Naskapi, Atikamewk, Malecite, Mi'gmaq, and Huron-Wendat (Quebec, 2020). The diversity of Indigenous languages is one of the challenges to determining which languages to support.

While she expressed support for the idea of new degree options, Britney (pseudonym) drew attention to the fact that McGill is not able to recognize language and teaching expertise in Indigenous communities:

> As far as having degree options, I think absolutely—McGill should really take a lead or make more efforts to partner with communities. Communities already have fluent speakers—they already have the knowledge holders who are capable of teaching, but McGill maybe has a difference in recognizing scholarship and who's worthy of certain titles, when it comes to academia or scholarship, but I think that paradigm has to change, if there is ever going to be an advancement. (C2)

Britney spoke directly to some of the most significant barriers that are currently preventing McGill from awarding credits for community-based ILR. This consultant is pointing out the requirements that limit who has the option of teaching accredited courses—whether on campus or in-community. The push to Indigenize and decolonize postsecondary education has in some ways revealed the extent to which Indigenous Peoples have been excluded from and underrepresented in higher education for a long time (Battiste, 2019; Cote-Meek, 2010, 2014; see section 2.7). Making space in universities for Indigenous knowledge and knowledge keepers means re-evaluating what counts as knowledge and experience. "The paradigm has to change" (C2).

Because I went into this project with an awareness of the tension about draining community resources, I was surprised that so many people I spoke with considered the development of new Indigenous language courses and programs at McGill to be important and necessary. Three out of six consultants gave explicitly positive responses to my question about the TRC call to action. The other three were more ambivalent, but open to the possibility under certain conditions. This openness is paralleled by ongoing developments at the University. New programs that could feature Indigenous language courses include a Master of Arts in Indigenous Language Revitalization and the expansion of

the Minor in Indigenous Studies to a major (McGill University, 2019a, 2019b). Furthermore, the in-community certificates and Bachelor of Education programs that the Office of First Nations and Inuit Education (OFNIE) offers in partnership with Inuit, Cree, Mi'gmaq, Kanien'kehá:ka, and Naskapi communities have the possibility of expanding into other Indigenous communities.

The generally positive responses from consultants led me to investigate the program development process at McGill during the second phase of my research (June 2019–February 2020). In that time, I developed a basic understanding of timelines and the many offices and units involved in developing new certificate and degree programs (McGill University—Analysis, Planning and Budget, 2019c). With more time and resources for this project, it might have been possible to speak with more staff and faculty at McGill outside my own department. Beyond McGill University, a full understanding of these processes would also involve people and policies at the *Comité des programmes universitaires* (CPU) and the *Comité d'agrément des programmes de formation à l'enseignement* (CAPFE)—committees within Quebec's *Ministère de l'éducation et de l'enseignement supérieur* (MÉES) (Quebéc, 2005, 2020a). Instead, my findings focus more on transfer credit evaluation processes at McGill.

How might transfer credits (course credits that count towards certificates and degrees) be awarded for community-based studies and work in ILR? Drawing largely on my own experiences as a McGill student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education, I have mapped out the textual organization of transfer credit acquisition from the standpoint of a student. My aim is to identify the specific texts that coordinate all of the institutional work related to transfer credit acquisition in order to explore whether this process might be a viable opportunity for Indigenous Peoples to gain university credits for language courses taken outside the university.. In the next section, I explain how concerns expressed by Indigenous Peoples in response to questions about the Provost's Task Force report led me to explore these questions about transfer credit decision-making processes at the University.

4.2 What is the Best Way to Marshal McGill's Resources in Support of Language Revitalization in Indigenous Communities? What Indigenous Peoples at McGill Had to Say

The Provost's Task Force (PTF) call to action 34 seems to contradict the TRC Call to Action 16. For this reason, I was curious to see what Indigenous Peoples at McGill thought were the best ways "by which McGill's resources and expertise . . . can be marshaled to support language revitalization in

local Indigenous communities, particularly in the traditional territory on which McGill's campuses are located" (Provost Task Force, 2017, p. 14). This section focuses on responses to this question and explains how Phase 2 of this project came to focus on accreditation and transfer credits. Informed by my own experience as a student at McGill, the investigation and subsequent mapping of the transfer credit process is done from the standpoint of any student in the University seeking McGill University credits for learning occurring elsewhere.

In response to questions about the PTF call to action, one consultant spoke to the knowledge and expertise that currently exists at McGill in terms of researchers doing work on language revitalization:

> McGill does have the resources—McGill does have a lot of researchers who have expertise in language revitalization. I don't know how many more people they're drawing in, and where the priorities are exactly, but I think that there needs to be a shift in thinking, a shift in power, and being able to be open to partnerships with the communities, and invite their community people, to be the professors, to lead the efforts, because McGill has had a history of taking leadership and that just means, driving things, and not necessarily doing things from a grassroots or community level—so, it's more taking the ownership, or pushing their agenda forward, at least from what I've seen, from different units, especially when it comes to Indigenous programs, and ideas and things. (C2)

This consultant is concerned to do more than marshal McGill's existing resources—they make important observations about the need for shared leadership and meaningful partnership between the university and Indigenous communities. As I gradually narrow in on McGill-specific bureaucratic processes, it is important to keep this broader perspective in mind. McGill's history of taking ownership and unilaterally setting the terms for collaboration will impede the development of respectful partnerships moving forward. This consultant's observation that McGill does not have a proven track record of engaging with grassroots or community-led initiatives in a balanced and respectful way (particularly with Indigenous communities), should motivate staff students and faculty at McGill to seek out more respectful ways of doing things.

One of the other consultants spoke about this concrete example of how resources and expertise

at the University have supported ILR: "The project that McGill did with linguists for creating the Mi'gmaq living dictionary . . . that has very much benefitted myself, in being able to learn away from other speakers" (C6). This is one McGill research project that has benefitted this person in their efforts to learn their language. In response to the same question about the PTF call to action, this consultant emphasized the importance of listening to the preferences of individual communities: "I think it would be interesting to see specifically what communities want, and I think that's going to be different for every community" (C6). This statement might seem obvious to people familiar with the tremendous diversity among Indigenous nations and communities, but it is worth repeating. It is a sentiment I heard echoed in informal conversations as well as subsequent consultations.

As I completed the first phase of this research project, it became increasingly clear that in addition to increased funding and resources, the Indigenous Peoples I was speaking with were concerned about a general lack of recognition. More specifically, they were concerned with the failure to value community-based language programs through institutional course credits. Through my field notes, I can trace my own awareness that accreditation was a concept I needed to better understand back to October 2018. At that point, I was about halfway through the first phase of research and had consulted with four out of the six Indigenous Peoples at McGill that I talked to. Echoing the idea that McGill needs to ask individual communities what they need, this consultant also spoke to the need for funding and recognition through credits:

> I think the best way is to ask the communities what they need—I know that a lot of the [community-based Indigenous language] programs desperately need funding and resources. Sometimes it's just about coming in and saying "this is what we can offer"— it's the credits for the existing adult language immersion programs, all of those kinds of things, helping get them in place, getting recognition. (C7)

The main point here is that consultants identified an intensive and viable adult immersion program that already exists in Kahnawà:ke, so McGill's resources do not need to go into developing one on campus. Instead, McGill should work to recognize the value of the community-based programs.

One of the main reasons for choosing to focus on accreditation has to do with something that Kakwiranó:ron Cook (Akwesasne Mohawk and Oglala Lakota) shared with me. As Special Advisor to the Provost on Indigenous Affairs, he helped organize a welcome ceremony for incoming Indigenous

staff and faculty in October 2018. When I asked him about the possibility of granting McGill credits for the two-year full-time immersion program in Kahnawà:ke (Ratiwennahni:rats), he recounted how the topic of accreditation had come up at the welcome ceremony the previous day:

> The message is being delivered loud and clear to the key leaders here. Even yesterday during our welcoming, Mama Bear told the Provost, who was there the whole time, that "we need to be accredited, we need to be recognized, we need to be valued." My mother who was also in attendance, both of them have received honorary doctorates from universities for their knowledge and for their contributions, past and present and future. They're on a mission, and it's—I know that it needs a champion, especially from a position of authority in the communities, such as a Clan Mother who is condoled, meaning she's been installed in the traditional protocols and is recognized across the Confederacy, especially within the Nation. She is willing to engage with universities and she is willing to be bold, and willing to say these things directly to the people who are charting the direction of the university's mission. I think it needs somebody bold like that, with that authority, who has a relationship with the university, and it needs to be a sustained message, repeatedly coming back. . . . and like I said I feel confident that it's going to happen at McGill. How soon? It's hard for me to say if it's going to be a couple of years' time, or ten years' time, but we're getting there, I mean, slowly, we're sinking into the hearts and minds of people here. (C5)

Cook's recounting of this event really stuck with me. There is something powerful for me, hearing about how this Kanien'kehá:ka matriarch—a condoled[4] Clan Mother who is recognized by her Nation and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy—addressed the Provost and demanded that Indigenous knowledge and knowledge-holders be valued, recognized, and accredited. Christopher Manfredi, Provost and Vice-Principal (Academic), is one of the absolute highest in the academic hierarchy at McGill. I hope that my work can help repeat and sustain Mama Bear's message.

    After talking with Kakwiranó:ron Cook, I knew that I wanted to hear Wahéhshon's perspective on accreditation because I was familiar with her experience in the two-year language immersion

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[4] The dictionary definition of condoled is not applicable here. In this context, the adjective describes having gone through particular local ceremonies, descriptions of which are beyond the scope of this study.

program in Kahnawà:ke. In the following excerpt from our conversation, she makes a clear statement about prioritizing the accreditation of the Ratiwennahni:rats program:

> If there has to be a ranking of which one gets developed first, I mean I think we have to
> consider seriously the Ratiwennahni:rats program, the adult immersion program, by
> accrediting it. . . . It would reflect then the goodwill that accrediting their efforts,
> through McGill University, would be really encouraging, not only for them, as operating
> it, but for anybody who wants to pursue that program. (C7)

In this passage, Wahéhshon is suggesting that the people running the Ratiwennahni:rats program—instructors, administrators, as well as their students—would perceive accreditation as an act of goodwill on the part of the University. Read in combination with other interview passages (below), it is clear that Wahéhshon is talking about accreditation in terms of course credits that could count towards a B.A. or B.Ed. undergraduate degree. Staff and faculty at McGill might consider this to be an opportunity to improve the University's image among the traditional custodians of the land the University occupies. Recognition of community-based language programs would demonstrate respect for Indigenous knowledge and knowledge-holders outside of McGill.

In this section, I have presented findings from Phase 1 that led me to focus on accreditation. My objective for the next section will thus be to explore, from the standpoint of an Indigenous student who has experience with community-based Indigenous language programs, how does McGill's transfer credit evaluation process work? Following this, I explore the transfer credit evaluation process at McGill and the course equivalency system.

4.3 Mapping Pathways to Transfer Credits

Alongside an increased understanding of how Western institutions coordinate people's work, producing maps that are useful to research stakeholders is one of the central objectives of institutional ethnography (D. E. Smith, 2005, pp. 51–52). This section provides a map designed to support Indigenous students at McGill as they navigate the process of requesting transfer credits for their previous Indigenous language studies. I adopt a student standpoint here because it aligns with my own vantage point of the institution, and because some of the Indigenous Peoples I consulted were also students. Figure 2 represents my understanding of the process for requesting transfer credits as an undergraduate or graduate student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE).

Drawing on conversations with DISE Department Advisors, it is intended to provide students with information that will complement what is available on the mcgill.ca websites. The hand-drawn format is intended to invoke a sense of student-to-student solidarity and stand distinctly apart from more official instructions and information provided by McGill.

  Mapping this process from the standpoint of a student led me to follow text-based threads that start from a student's experience and lead to the course equivalency website. I explain how the website coordinates the work of students, staff, and faculty and determines what institutions and what knowledge counts towards McGill certificates and degrees. First, I recount how I was introduced to the course equivalency system. Then I describe relations between staff, students, and faculty at McGill, and broader provincial laws related to accreditation, as they are coordinated through the course equivalency

Figure 2

How To Request Transfer Credits
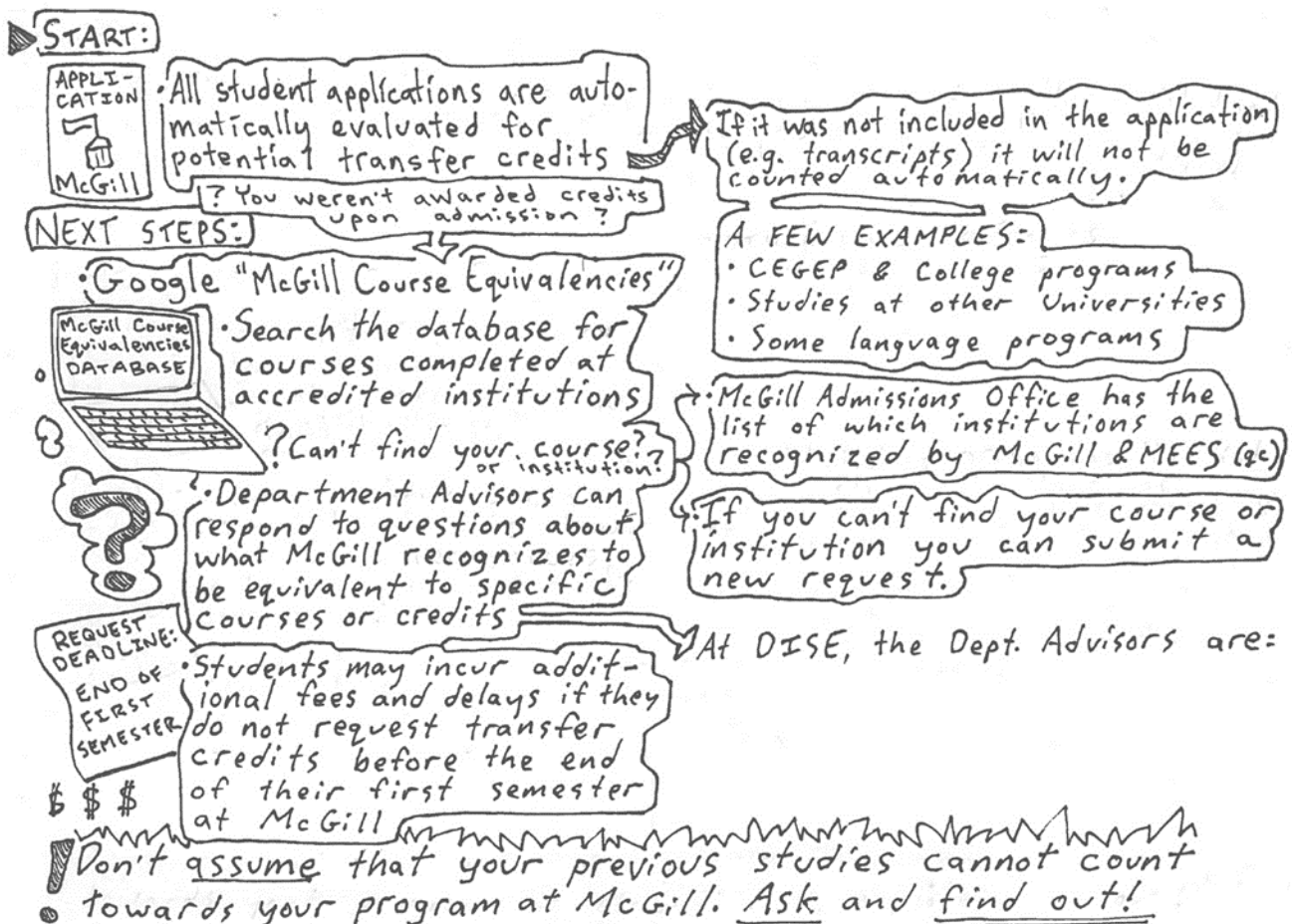
system. I will address the problematic premise that transfer credits are awarded on the condition that a student's previous educational experience is deemed equivalent to existing McGill courses. Next, I will explain how the course equivalency website links into specific laws that determine which educational institutions (accredited universities and colleges only) are listed on the website. Finally, I will summarize data collected through talking with people to explain how this website functions as a significant barrier on the pathway to accreditation—specifically in the form of transfer credits—for students with Indigenous language knowledge and/or experience with community-based ILR. Even so, my commitment to using IE to create pragmatic tools for stakeholders means I have produced a map which I hope students can use to help them navigate the processes I have described and circumvent some of the constraints I point to in this chapter.

I was first introduced to the course equivalencies website during Phase 2 of this study, in conversation with one of the advisors in my department (DISE). In response to questions about how they determine whether or not a student's previous studies count towards their McGill program, the advisor said that the first step was to go to the course equivalencies website and search the database. They then demonstrated that the easiest way to find the course equivalency site is to do a Google search for "McGill course equivalency." Next, they explained how the website works. At the time, I noted that searching this website was the first step in determining whether or not previous studies might count. While exploring the site on my own months later, I realized a large amount of work and experience is coordinated through this website. The website has three different interfaces for students, faculty and administrators. Students are able to search through existing decisions and submit new requests. Faculty are often invited to be reviewers which situates them in the decision-making position—they can review course outlines submitted by students and decide whether or not they are equivalent. Administrators facilitate communications between students and faculty, as mediated through the website. The course equivalency system functions as a text-based policy mechanism that precludes the possibility of awarding transfer credits to students for their experience in community-based ILR.

Through the repeated use of the words "equivalent" and "equivalency," it is clear that the course equivalency website is built on the premise that transfer credit decisions are primarily about whether or not a student's previous learning experience can be considered equivalent to existing courses at McGill. I confirmed this interpretation in conversations with department advisors at DISE. The course

equivalency system is set up to evaluate university to university equivalents or pre-requisite equivalents from CEGEPs and high schools. It was not designed for, and thus doesn't recognize, community-based language programs for adults or youth. This premise poses a major problem for students with experience in programs like Ratiwennahní:rats because there is no comparable Indigenous language program at McGill or elsewhere. That means there is no university equivalent, so it does not count towards certificates and degrees. Beginning with this premise, I move on to explain how the website is linked into provincial legislation related to institutional accreditation.

The course equivalency website is the means by which users can access a database of decisions about courses at "partner institutions" that have been deemed equivalent or non-equivalent to courses at McGill (McGill University, 2020). "Only universities and colleges that have course equivalency decision records are listed in the database" (McGill University, 2020). Limiting the possibility to universities and colleges links this website and the transfer credit decision-making process to provincial legislation that governs postsecondary education. Two examples of such laws are (1) E-14.1: Loi sur les établissements d'enseignement de niveau universitaire (Éditeur officiel du Québec, 2019a) and (2) C-29: Loi sur les collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (Éditeur officiel du Québec, 2019b). I will present a few excerpts from these laws to demonstrate how they pose problems within the equivalency process, which results in a lack of recognition for Indigenous language acquisition through community-based programs.

The Quebec law that governs universities (E-14.1) begins with a list of the nine universities in Quebec (Éditeur officiel du Québec, 2019a, p. 1). There is no real definition of what a university is. University is effectively defined by what it is not. That is to say, if it is not on Quebec's list of universities, then it's not a university (p. 3). Exceptions include the Institut de tourisme et d'hôtellerie du Québec and the École nationale de police du Québec. The Quebec Legislature can also pass a law to establish a new university: "une personne morale ou un organisme à qui le pouvoir de décerner des grades, diplômes, certificats ou autres attestations d'études universitaires est conféré par une loi du Parlement" (p. 3). Quebec also recognizes institutions of higher learning that are themselves recognized through similar laws in other provinces (p. 2). In addition to universities, there are forty-eight collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEPs) in Quebec. The law that governs CEGEPs (C-29) includes much more information about what CEGEPs can and cannot do (Éditeur officiel du Québec,

2019b). Similar to universities, however, the question of whether or not an institution is recognized as a college (collège or CEGEP) also comes down to government decree: "Le gouvernement peut, sur la recommandation du ministre, instituer, par lettres patentes sous le grand sceau, des collèges ayant pour fin de dispenser l'enseignement général et professionnel de niveau collégial" (p. 2). There are a few problems that arise. For one thing, anyone who does not read or speak French will face serious language barriers trying to navigate Quebec laws. Another problem is that there is no clear definition of what a college or university is. Unless they are a college or university, community-based institutions cannot even be considered eligible for a decision as to whether or not the content of their courses is equivalent or non-equivalent to existing McGill courses.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the course equivalency system is a key tool for making decisions about transfer credits. The website functions as a policy mechanism that effectively precludes the possibility of granting transfer credits to students with knowledge and skills in Indigenous languages and/or experience in community-based ILR programs. It is like a wall—a substantial barrier to accreditation—in the face of which individual staff are powerless to make an exception or to evaluate the student's experience on a case-by-case basis. My aim in describing this process is not to suggest changes that would make this system work for accrediting the community-based experience of Indigenous students, but to understand how and why it is not working for that purpose. Rather than adapting the course equivalency website and decision-making process to include community-based institutions, the more viable solution—as has been pointed out by other staff—will probably be more of a case-by-case analysis of individual situations. There are precedents for this kind of tailored analysis; for example, students applying to OFNIE Bachelor of Education programs can be exempted from standard computerized application processing. Students with experience in non-accredited Indigenous language programs are at an advantage for acceptance into OFNIE certificate and degree programs, but this experience rarely counts towards course credits within the programs.

In the next section, I explore some of the ways that McGill is already involved in processes of accreditation through the Office of First Nations and Inuit Education (OFNIE).

4.4 The Office of First Nations and Inuit Education: Indigenous Language Courses and Partnerships with Indigenous Education Authorities

In many ways, McGill is already involved in issues related to Indigenous language

revitalization. There are already a few ways that students can gain course credits related to Indigenous language knowledge. Kakwiranó:ron Cook talked about courses offered through partnerships with the Office of First Nations and Inuit Education (OFNIE) as a way for Indigenous students to earn credit for coursework in Indigenous languages:

> I've been aware through the Faculty of Education's Office of First Nations and Inuit Education—they list [Indigenous] languages that you can take at McGill. When I talked to them they said, "oh, you know, it's really—It's a deal with a partner, where somebody from a community is teaching in the community and they [students] get McGill credit"—I don't really know how the details are, of the connection between those arrangements, and the accrediting for, I think it's a 30-credit certificate that used to exist, maybe it still exists, but I feel like there was a partner component open, as long as they were hearing it from partners. I feel like there's somewhat of a precedent, but I don't know exactly how that works—or how it worked, if it's no longer available. (C5)

Confusion about how these courses and certificate programs work is quite understandable. Looking at the 2020-2021 eCalendar on McGill's website, Indigenous language courses (Naskapi 1 & 2, Mi'gmaq 1 & 2, Cree Language 1 & 2, Algonquin Language 1 & 2, Mohawk Language 1 & 2, Inuktitut Orthography and Grammar) are all listed as not available, and no faculty members are associated with them (McGill University, 2020c). As is the case for all OFNIE programs and courses, these language courses are only available to Indigenous students in Indigenous communities. The courses are scheduled on a needs basis as part of OFNIE's Certificate Education First Nations and Inuit (60 credits) and Bachelor of Education First Nations and Inuit Studies programs that McGill/OFNIE offers in partnership with Indigenous Education Authorities (J. Howden, personal communication, May 5, 2020).

The quotation above raises other questions about partnerships between McGill and Indigenous communities. What does it mean for an Indigenous community to partner with McGill/OFNIE in the delivery of these programs? Who gets to partner and what does partnership entail? Do OFNIE certificates and degree programs already provide what the consultants I spoke with want (i.e., accredited community-based language courses taught by language experts)? Are program deliveries through OFNIE partnerships—especially the Indigenous Language and Literacy Certificate—already

existing and viable pathways to accreditation for community-based Indigenous language revitalization? What information could help other Indigenous communities decide whether or not to partner with OFNIE/McGill? To begin exploring these questions, I will first present a very brief history of OFNIE and an outline of its current programming, followed by technical information about how partnerships with Indigenous education authorities (IEAs) function. This lays the groundwork for analysis of potential for accredited community-based ILR within OFNIE programs. To extend my understanding beyond what is available on websites and promotional materials, this section also draws on informal conversations and personal communications with OFNIE staff, which I have drawn on in my efforts to understand how partnerships with Indigenous communities are organized at McGill.

OFNIE—originally called the McGill Native and Northern Education Program—"was created through a partnership between McGill Faculty of Education Professor Jack Cram, and Ms. Hélène Beauchemin of the Kativik School Board in 1975" (Office of First Nations and Inuit Education, 2019) The first OFNIE courses were held in Kuujjuaq—an Inuit community in Nunavik (Northern Quebec). The first graduates earned their teaching certificates in 1978. Today, a promotional brochure describes current programming in the following way:

> In a typical year, the OFNIE offers over 40 courses taught by McGill Faculty and contracted instructors. Many of our instructors are Indigenous people from the communities in which courses are delivered. We are proud to note that courses delivered with Kativik Ilisarniliriniq and many with the Cree School Board are delivered in Inuktitut and Cree [languages]. (Office of First Nations and Inuit Education, 2019)

In addition to the language courses listed above (in which Indigenous languages are the subject of study), OFNIE also offers courses in which Inuktitut and Cree are the medium of instruction for other subject matter.

OFNIE is currently in partnership with four Indigenous Education Authorities (IEAs): the Cree School Board; Kativik Ilisarniliriniq; Kahnawà:ke Education Centre; and the Listuguj Mi'gmaq Development Centre. OFNIE also works with the Central Quebec School Board (on behalf of the Naskapis of Kawawachikamach) (Office of First Nations and Inuit Education, 2020b). With one exception, all OFNIE courses and programs take place within Indigenous communities and the vast majority are taught by members of those communities. The single exception is an on-campus course

that brings together OFNIE partners every two years. OFNIE courses and programs at not available to the general student population in Montreal.

OFNIE is a unique unit within the administrative structures at McGill. As an office that delivers professional development and academic programs, it is affiliated with the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE)—the largest of three departments in the Faculty of Education. OFNIE's administrative offices are located in the Education Building at 3700 and integrated with DISE. OFNIE operations differ from DISE's in substantial ways. DISE undergraduate students enroll through McGill's centralized Admissions Office, and DISE graduate students enroll through Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies. Depending on their program, OFNIE students enroll through either McGill's centralized Admissions Office (Bachelor of Education programs) or through the School of Continuing Studies (most other programs). Enrolling through the School of Continuing Studies (SCS) entails an extra layer of bureaucracy for OFNIE staff, but allows for more flexibility for students. The main advantage of this arrangement is that SCS allows for paper registrations. Another example of this flexibility is that through SCS, students can register and complete individual courses before enrolling in a specific certificate or degree program. The most significant difference from DISE is that OFNIE programs are all delivered to Indigenous students, in Indigenous communities, in partnership with Indigenous Education Authorities (IEAs).

OFNIE situates itself among the four IEAs listed above as a "partner in the circle of learning" (Office of First Nations and Inuit Education, 2020). The same website includes a Partnership Form for Indigenous communities that are interested in developing McGill certificate and degree programs through OFNIE. When I reached out to him by email, OFNIE Assistant Director Dr. Stephen Peters shared more technical details about partnerships: "Being a partner means you're an Indigenous education authority (an authority recognized by either the community's Chief and Council or under the JBNQA [James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement] agreement) which has signed an MOU [Memorandum of Understanding] with the Faculty of Education to deliver one of OFNIE's programs" (S. Peters, personal communication, March 23, 2020). Peters also listed some of the roles and responsibilities of partners, which include student recruitment and coordinating facilities in community. Partners are also involved in academic decisions—for example, curriculum mapping, course preparation, course outline vetting, program scheduling, and instructor selection (S. Peters, personal

communication, March 23, 2020). There are also annual Steering Committee meetings that bring together multiple partners (Office of First Nations and Inuit Education, 2019). Over the past two years, there has also been a spring conference hosted by OFNIE that brings together all OFNIE partners for direction-setting and collaborative knowledge-generation activities (S. Peters, personal communication, May 3, 2020). The many responsibilities that IEAs carry require substantial human and material resources from the community and put some amount of control over programs in the hands of community leaders.

OFNIE Director Mr. Jim Howden emphasized that program and course developments are initiated by Indigenous partners and not by his Office or other staff, faculty or administrators at McGill. Examples of following the lead of Indigenous partners include the development of a Language and Culture Specialization (an optional concentration within the 60-credit Certificate in Education First Nations and Inuit Education program), and the Traditional Life Skills (developed at the request of Cree community partners). Howden suggested that McGill's approval of the Life Skills course represents an openness within the University to include land-based knowledge and community-based Indigenous knowledge-holders in the academy (J. Howden, personal communication, July 29, 2019). Howden also explained that it is easier to adjust course content (including the development of new courses) within existing programs than it is to develop new certificate and degree programs. It is also easier to expand an existing certificate or degree program to an additional community than to develop entirely new programs.

During the same conversation, Mr. Howden described how one partner IEA exercises local control over OFNIE programs. The Council of Mi'gmaq Educators is an Indigenous group that oversees various aspects of the Bachelor of Education First Nations and Inuit Studies program in Listuguj. The Council includes an Elder, the Chief, and other community knowledge-holders. The Council takes on some of the academic decisions and IEA responsibilities described above. When course instructors apply to teach OFNIE courses in Listuguj, they are required to submit a course plan a month ahead of time. The Council of Mi'gmaq Educators then reviews the outline. They have the power to approve the outline, to ask for changes, and, to suggest guest speakers. Within certain constraints (i.e., the same course code, name, and description must be used), OFNIE partners can adapt courses to suit community needs. This Council is one example of how Indigenous Peoples exercise

local control over the content and pedagogy of McGill courses through partnership with OFNIE.

For Indigenous education authorities, partnering with McGill/OFNIE involves paying for the delivery of programs that they determine to be valuable to their communities. Until recently, OFNIE programs were "self-funded," meaning they were financed entirely through "tuition and other fees" paid by partners. This is different from "regulated" programs that are subsidized by the provincial government through "enrollment-based government grants" (McGill University—Analysis, Planning and Budget, 2019c). During the 2017–2018 academic year OFNIE partners paid a total $700,000 for "course instructors, registrations and travel" (Department of Integrated Studies in Education, 2017b, p. 7). Partner IEAs also cover the "additional costs for delivering a program in community" (S. Peters, personal communication, March 23, 2020).

As a consequence of different colonial histories, partner IEAs fall under different education policy frameworks that affect both accreditation and funding. The Bachelor of Education programs in Kahnawà:ke and Listuguj fall under the Indian Act (1985). For these First Nations partners, programs are funded primarily through "special non-permanent post-secondary funding made available to FN communities through a competitive federal grant program" (S. Peters, personal communication, March 23, 2020). The B.Ed. program in Kahnawà:ke is also funded in part by McGill. Because of the federal responsibility for Indians, First Nations communities have less to do with the province of Quebec than the Cree School Board and Kativik Ilisarniliriniq. For Cree communities in Eeyou Istchee (James Bay) and Inuit communities in Nunavik (Northern Quebec), provisions for federal funding for teacher education are included in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (Québec (Province), 1976). The recent shift from self-funded to regulated will cause a shift in the proportions of federal to provincial funding for OFNIE programs, and the routing of funds within the McGill bureaucracy (McGill University—Analysis, Planning and Budget, 2019c).

Although partner IEAs are integral to the delivery of OFNIE programs, it is McGill's accreditation as a university that enables the OFNIE partnership programs to lead to certificates and degrees. The IEAs do not have the same power to award equally recognized certificates and degrees on their own. Furthermore, teacher education programs are subject to a second layer of accreditation. Graduates of the 60-credit Certificate in Education FNIS programs receive certification from the *Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur* (MEES) to teach at the elementary or

secondary levels in Indigenous schools (Office of First Nations and Inuit Education, 2020c). In the preceding sentence, the term, "Indigenous schools" refers to elementary and secondary schools in Indigenous communities that are managed by the IEAs. The 120-credit Bachelor of Education FNIS programs lead to the same province-wide teacher certification as McGill's on-campus B.Ed. programs. All B.Ed. graduates are certified to teach in elementary and secondary schools throughout all of Quebéc .

Having provided a brief history of OFNIE and technical information about partnerships and accreditation, I now return to one of the questions at the beginning of this section: Are OFNIE partnerships an already existing and viable pathway to accreditation for community-based Indigenous language revitalization? Yes. And maybe. On one hand, OFNIE programs and courses are employing Indigenous instructors to teach accredited courses in their own Indigenous communities. Sometimes Indigenous languages are the medium of instruction, and sometimes they are the subject of study. In response to requests from Indigenous communities, OFNIE has helped develop certificate programs and specializations that center Indigenous language and culture. Processes for these developments were initiated by Indigenous partners. On the other hand, there are reasons to be cautious about applying the OFNIE mold so as to accredit existing community-based language programs. Partners should not rush to expand existing certificate and degree programs. Institutional relations imply power imbalances related to funding, accreditation, and local control over course content.

In this section, I presented a number of the advantages and disadvantages of partnering with OFNIE. On one hand, Indigenous education authorities have some control over their programs, and Indigenous community members can earn university certificates and degrees while studying in their community. OFNIE staff have demonstrated commitment to following the lead of Indigenous partners with regards to course and program developments. On the other hand, partnering with OFNIE implies a coordination with national and provincial legislation, and with bureaucracy at McGill (payment, admissions processes, scheduling). Each Indigenous community will need to make their own decision about whether or not OFNIE partnerships are a viable pathway to accreditation for their learning programs. This study provides some practical information about what these partnerships entail.

Moving away from the focus on OFNIE partnerships as a potential pathway to accreditation for community-based Indigenous language programs, I now turn to McGill's processes for awarding

transfer credits.

4.5 Indigenous Language Policy in Practice at McGill through Observations and Conversations

Despite the lack of institutional recognition and valuing of community-based programs such as Ratiwennahní:rats through course credits, Indigenous Peoples are increasing in number at McGill (as students, faculty, and staff) and bringing their languages with them. Through this study, I found that Indigenous languages are being used on-campus in many ways outside of official policies that favour English and French. Examples of this include protocol and ceremony conducted in Kanien'kéha by Indigenous elders and knowledge-holders, self-introductions by Indigenous Peoples at public events, and the use of individual Indigenous words or concepts during presentations. Through these practices, Indigenous Peoples are living Indigenous language policy, representing beliefs and ideologies that challenge the status quo. In this section I describe language practices represent Indigenous beliefs, beginning with the practice of inviting Elders and knowledge-holders to lead ceremony. As an example of Indigenous language use on campus, I present a vignette that begins by situating the McGill campus in the context of ongoing colonization in Montreal and concludes with my recollection of a ceremonial introduction by Kanien'kehá:ka Elder Charlie Otsi'tsakenra Patton (Kahnawà:ke).

Throughout my graduate studies, my regular commute to McGill involved getting off at the Peel Street Metro station and walking up McTavish Street on my way either to the McLennan-Redpath library or the Education Building. Just north of Sherbrooke, there were often people snapping selfies or posing for pictures with their friends. This section of McTavish Street—named after one of the founders of the North West Company—was recently renovated as part of Montreal's 375th anniversary. This street is part of a pathway intended to help tourists re-enact the footsteps of French colonist-explorer Samuel de Champlain as he walked from the shore of the St. Lawrence River, up Mount Royal. This project was estimated to have cost the city of Montreal somewhere in the neighborhood of fifty million dollars (Hanes, 2017). For me, it was a daily reminder that European colonization in this territory is often celebrated, while Indigenous presence is minimized, and the history of Indigenous resistance is ignored.

On Monday, September 17th, 2018, I walked up this picturesque pedestrian street on my way to the Faculty Club. As I entered, I remembered reading about how parts of this club were officially off-limits to women, reserved for the exclusive use of male members, as recently the late 1960s (Gillett,

1981, p. 402). The first woman was admitted in 1936, but restrictive divisions would remain in place for decades. I've heard that McGill had similar policies about Jews. I wonder, who was the first Indigenous faculty member at McGill? How did they feel in this space?

On that day in September, 2018, the main hall of the Faculty Club was buzzing vibrantly—full of anticipation for the opening ceremonies for Indigenous Awareness Weeks. In many places, the usual artwork and portraits have been replaced with original works by Indigenous artists, including the original painting by Tekaronhiahkwa Margaret Standup that was featured on the promotional flyers for Indigenous Awareness Weeks 2018 (McDevitt, 2018). Gradually, the crowd moved into seats, waiting to hear from speakers.

In keeping with the protocol in Kanien'kehá:ka territory, Elder Charlie Patton was the first to speak. He gave voice to the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen—also known as the Kanien'kehá:ka Thanksgiving Address—first in Kanien'kéha, and then in English. This takes time. Almost an hour, altogether. He patiently and eloquently explains that honouring all of Creation—from the earth below to the stars above, and all life in between—helps the people gathered to bring their minds together. He also says that "who we are is in the language" and encourages Indigenous Peoples to rediscover, reconnect with, and learn their Native languages. I was struck by the presence of a few young children, quietly amusing themselves to the right of the stage, and thought about my partner who was three months pregnant with our first child at the time. Eurocentric education has done so much damage to Indigenous languages and Indigenous Peoples, but this event gave me hope that McGill might be able to help turn the tide.

One of the consultants I spoke with talked about opening ceremonies in general and the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen in particular. She said that "some programs, they'll say Opening Prayer by Elder, but we've learned from the Mohawk Elders that we work with that 'prayer' isn't really the right word" (C2). She emphasized the need to give Elders the time that they need as a way to show respect for "the sacred way of opening and gathering our minds. . . . We need to understand the different protocols . . . [and] be more respectful in that manner" (C2). When given the time, Elders such as Charlie Patton can speak the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen for over an hour. Event organizers need to be cognizant and respectful of this. When the time and space is provided, ceremonial introductions in the local Indigenous language can provide a basis of connection that carries through more than a week of

related events and represents living Indigenous language policy at McGill.

Other observations from Indigenous Awareness Weeks 2018 that struck me as important to include in this study include the ways that Indigenous Peoples often introduce themselves and their nation or community affiliations in their Indigenous language. At the Dismantling Racism in Healthcare and Education event, most of the panelists did so (Indigenous Health Professionals Program, 2018). Indigenous panelists also used Indigenous words and concepts in their presentations so as to contrast their perspectives with Western notions of individualism and competition. After presenting a personal story about how negative stereotypes among healthcare workers lead to unnecessary and preventable deaths, Tania Dick (Dzawada'enuxw First Nation) presented the word *'Namwayut* as a way to explain that Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples need to work together. In the Kwakiutl language, 'Namwayut means "we are all one." Dick suggested that because there will never be a situation where it is only Indigenous healthcare workers providing all of the services for an Indigenous community, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people need to work to understand each other and care for each other. By introducing herself in her Indigenous language and using a concept in the language to explain her point, Tania Dick represented Indigenous language policy in practice at McGill. Indigenous language practices represent Indigenous worldviews and connect people with specific lands and communities. Indigenous staff and faculty with awareness of protocols are making space for Indigenous languages on campus by building relationships, planning ahead and giving gifts (reciprocity).

4.6 Summary of Chapter 4

Before moving into a discussion of the significance of the findings for various stakeholders, this section presents a summary of the main points of Chapter 4. First, I demonstrated that although there is some support for continuing to develop on-campus Indigenous language courses and programs among the Indigenous Peoples that I consulted with, the urgent needs of local Indigenous communities need to take priority (section 4.1). Next, I showed that in addition to supplying academic expertise in Indigenous language revitalization and material resources and funding to local Indigenous language programs, different forms of accreditation are ways that McGill could support ILR (section 4.2). For individual students with previous experience in community-based ILR and non-accredited language programs, McGill's process for awarding transfer credits is not a viable path to recognition at this time.

The faulty premise of equivalency extends through the course equivalency system to staff, students, and faculty who use the course equivalency website/database. Within limitations, partnerships between McGill's Office of First Nations and Inuit Education (OFNIE) and Indigenous Education Authorities represent existing paths to accreditation, which consultants may be interested in exploring. Outside of the box—outside of bureaucratic processes related to transfer credits and accreditation—there are valuable lessons to be learned through observing and reflecting on the ways that Indigenous Peoples at McGill are bringing their languages, cultural practices and protocols into university spaces, using language to transform the colonial practices of the university.

This summary of the main findings lays the groundwork for specific recommendations about how things could change—at McGill and elsewhere—so as to break down some of the barriers on the pathways to accreditation for Indigenous students, teachers, and community members engaged in community-based ILR.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this chapter, I revisit what I learned about the tension between on-campus and community-based Indigenous language programs, accreditation, and OFNIE partnerships, so as to present possible paths forward for various stakeholders. I illuminate structural and procedural changes that might enable different—that is, more reciprocal and respectful—relations between Indigenous Peoples and McGill University. I begin this section by acknowledging different individual and collective stakeholders who will, I hope, derive value from different parts of this study.

I hope Indigenous Peoples at McGill will benefit from analysis of the transfer credit process and course equivalency system, and from information about partnerships with the Office of First Nations and Inuit Education (OFNIE). By describing how these systemic processes work, my intention is to provide people with the information they need to determine how/whether the University's existing structures can be adapted or used to address the interests of Indigenous stakeholders. This section is not about trying to tell other Indigenous Peoples what to do, but offering what I can to help them make informed decisions for themselves and their communities.

The second group of stakeholders I acknowledge consists of the staff, faculty, and administrators in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE) and throughout McGill University. I hope that these (mostly non-Indigenous) people will benefit from learning more about local Indigenous protocols and about Indigenous language use on campus. In this section, I present recommendations about structural and procedural changes that should be implemented: (1) expanding community-based course offerings; and (2) developing an alternative process for evaluating transfer credit requests for Indigenous students with experience in community-based Indigenous language programs. The suggestions for change are directed at the people within the institution who have the power to shift how things are done at multiple levels.

Following these specific recommendations, I also write for a more general audience at national and international levels. This is where I present and explain Figure 3 and Figure 4. Both figures show connections between local practices, policy mechanisms, and language beliefs. Both represent patterns that may be present in other universities and Western institutions, especially in Canada.

Finally, I reflect on the significance of this study for my own community of Métis people in Montreal, my family, and myself. In addition to presenting an original methodological framework that

centres Métis values, I reflect on the value of balance, and the challenges of living in balance in higher education.

5.1 Practical Information for Indigenous Peoples at McGill

Because there have been more than four decades of partnership between OFNIE and Indigenous education authorities, it was critical for me to explore the possibilities of OFNIE programs as pathways to accreditation for community-based Indigenous language programs. Current OFNIE programs feature accredited courses that are taught in Indigenous communities, often by members of the same community, and sometimes in Indigenous languages (especially Cree and Inuktitut). These features fulfill a number of the main concerns expressed by Indigenous consultants. There is thus some potential to build on/adapt OFNIE's partnership processes to meet the expressed needs around partnerships for language revitalization offered by the consultants for this study.

Indigenous Peoples at McGill may benefit from the map of McGill's transfer credit evaluation process (Figure 2, p. 64) and analysis of the course equivalency system. Although Indigenous students already know they are not being granted transfer credits for participating in most community-based language programs, it will help to understand why. Mapping the transfer credit request process at McGill does solve the problem. It actually points towards bigger problems. The mapping illuminates that this process alone is not a viable mechanism for solving the problem of the lack of recognition. That said, other systems of prior learning assessment developed and operating provincially (e.g., Ontario's Prior Learning and Assessment Recognition or PLAR program and Quebec's Recognition of Acquired Competencies (RAC) program) might be studied to determine whether aspects of these other processes could be used to revise McGill's equivalency assessment process (see section 6.4). As it stands today, however, the transfer credit request process and the course equivalency system both sustain language practices in which English and French are valued more than Indigenous languages at the University.

There are particular findings that are most significant for Indigenous communities considering partnership with OFNIE: First, it is McGill's accreditation as a university that 'counts'; Indigenous education authorities cannot award the same certificates and degrees because they are not accredited as colleges or universities. This study has also demonstrated that there are precedents for local Indigenous control over many aspects of the OFNIE programs. The Council of Mi'gmaq Educators is one example

of how Indigenous community leaders are helping to determine who teaches OFNIE courses, and how they do it. After more than forty years in operation, and with two new community-based B.Ed. programs in First Nations communities, it will become more and more important to hear the voices and perspectives of current OFNIE's Indigenous partners.

Detailed and documented understanding of why these systems are not working can inform demands for change. In the medium-long term, Indigenous Peoples stand to benefit greatly from every step away from the Eurocentric ideology that continues to privilege English and French over Indigenous languages. Rather than telling Indigenous Peoples what to do, the next section is directed at staff, faculty, and administrators—some of whom have the power to make changes at the highest levels at the University.

5.2 Recommendations for Faculty, Staff and Administrators at McGill

Responses to calls to action in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's final report (2015a, 2015b) will vary from territory to territory because of different Indigenous protocols (Narine, 2015). McGill staff and faculty will benefit from an increased understanding of Indigenous protocols, including the Ohén:ton Karihwaté́hkwen (Thanksgiving Address, a local Kanien'kehá:ka and Haudenosaunee protocol) and personal introductions in Indigenous languages. Taking action on call to action 34 in McGill's Provost Task Force Report should be informed by a nuanced understanding of the urgent situation in Kahnawà:ke. This will lead stakeholders to prioritize support for in-community language programs—particularly language programs that already exist. McGill faculty, staff, and administrators will also benefit from a deeper understanding of how OFNIE partnerships work, and of some of the unique and tailored practices that enable local control over course content and admissions processes that recognize and value Indigenous language knowledge.

During Phase 2 of this study, a non-Indigenous administrator talked about how there are many non-Indigenous Peoples at McGill who are eager to work on decolonizing the University, but that the weight of their enthusiasm ultimately falls on the small number of Indigenous staff, students, and faculty at McGill. One problem with this widespread eagerness is that many non-Indigenous Peoples are not prepared to engage with Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous knowledge in respectful, reciprocal ways. An increased understanding of and appreciation for local Indigenous protocols may help with this problem.

In Chapter 4 of this study, Elder Charlie Patton's recitation of the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen was presented as an example of Indigenous language policy in practice at McGill. Here, I expand on the meaning of this practice, and point readers towards a few resources on the subject. Haudenosaunee Elder Tom Porter presented this literal translation of the words Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen: It is "what we say before we do anything important" (Porter, 2008, p. 8). Drawing on other Haudenosaunee knowledge-keepers (Mohawk, 2005; Rice, 2013), Louellyn White (2015) wrote that "giving thanks in this way brings all our minds together as one" (p. 30). The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen is among the language practices "that comprise the foundation for a Haudenosaunee worldview" (White, 2015, p. 27). Given the cultural significance of this practice, it is recommended that McGill should find new ways to welcome and encourage this practice in particular, an increase understanding about its importance. One way to do say may be to fulfill call to action 33 in the Provost's Task Force report, which calls upon the university to "support and enlarge Indigenous field course activities" (Provost's Task Force on Indigenous Studies and Indigenous Education, 2017, p. 14) and land-based education courses (Indigenous Studies Program, 2019). Indigenous field study courses bring students from multiple disciplines and departments onto Indigenous territory to learn directly from knowledge-holders in the community. Land-based education courses include the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen. Both could help to broaden knowledge of local protocols among the non-Indigenous community at McGill. They build upon and expand the existing community-based courses that centre the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen and other local Indigenous knowledge and knowledge-holders.

Accreditation is a way that McGill can contribute to Indigenous language revitalization in Kahnawà:ke. It does not make sense for McGill to develop on-campus language programs that detract from the needs of local Indigenous communities. "Languages live in their cultural practices and what's associated with them" (C4). Courses focused solely on language "without a cultural context or historical background" (C4) would be missing a substantial part of what Indigenous languages are about. The exploration of the transfer credit evaluation process at McGill and the course equivalency system point towards major changes that need to happen at multiple levels. In the short term, McGill administrators should develop an alternative process for evaluating transfer credits from Indigenous language programs.

Indigenous knowledge is fundamentally non-equivalent to Western knowledge. There is an

unresolved problem with the faulty premises underlying the course equivalency system: the complete impossibility of recognizing community-based non-accredited institutions as producing knowledge and experience that counts as course credits for the knowledge holders. Part of the solution might be something like the Council of Elders proposed by John Sylliboy at the Building Capacity in Indigenous Research Symposium (Research and Indigenous Scholarship in Education, 2019). Sylliboy discussed the possibility of employing a group of Indigenous leaders that would make decisions about Indigenous issues that the University. A group like this could respond to requests from individual Indigenous language knowledge-holders. This would be more appropriate than the inherently flawed website and database system that is currently in use at the University (McGill University, 2019b).

In addition to learning more about protocols, many staff and faculty at McGill would be well advised to learn more about how OFNIE partnerships work. As this is one of the most substantial ways that McGill partners with Indigenous communities, administrators may uncover practices that enable local control over course content and admissions processes that might be applicable in other departments and units. The goal would be to replicate and expand processes that recognize and value Indigenous languages in particular, as well as Indigenous knowledge in general. The Council of Mi'gmaq Educators represents one way that local community leaders maintain control over McGill courses. By reviewing proposed course outlines during the hiring process, they are able to influence what is taught, how it is taught, and who teaches it. As a structure that places decision-making power and authority in the hands of community-based Indigenous leaders, it is a possible model for other programs at McGill. Certain practices within the Office of First Nations and Inuit Education may provide models for how partnerships with McGill can contribute to Indigenous communities.

For meaningful and lasting changes to take root, there are also ideological and structural shifts that need to happen. As one consultant stated, "there needs to be a shift in thinking, a shift in power" (C2). Marie Battiste has rightly criticized the student support model of Aboriginal education, wherein it is assumed that increasing amounts of Indigenous culture and support on campus will fill in the deficits that Indigenous students are imagined to bring with them (Battiste, 2011). But it's not just a question of add and stir. It is entirely insufficient to simply increase the quantity of Indigenous language and culture on campus without addressing the faulty premise inherent in the course equivalency system, as well as material inequities related to accreditation. Discussion of language policy at McGill requires

analysis of the contrast between colonial and Indigenous beliefs, policies, and practices. Understanding the differences between colonial and Indigenous language policies at McGill may contribute to the broad changes that need to happen.
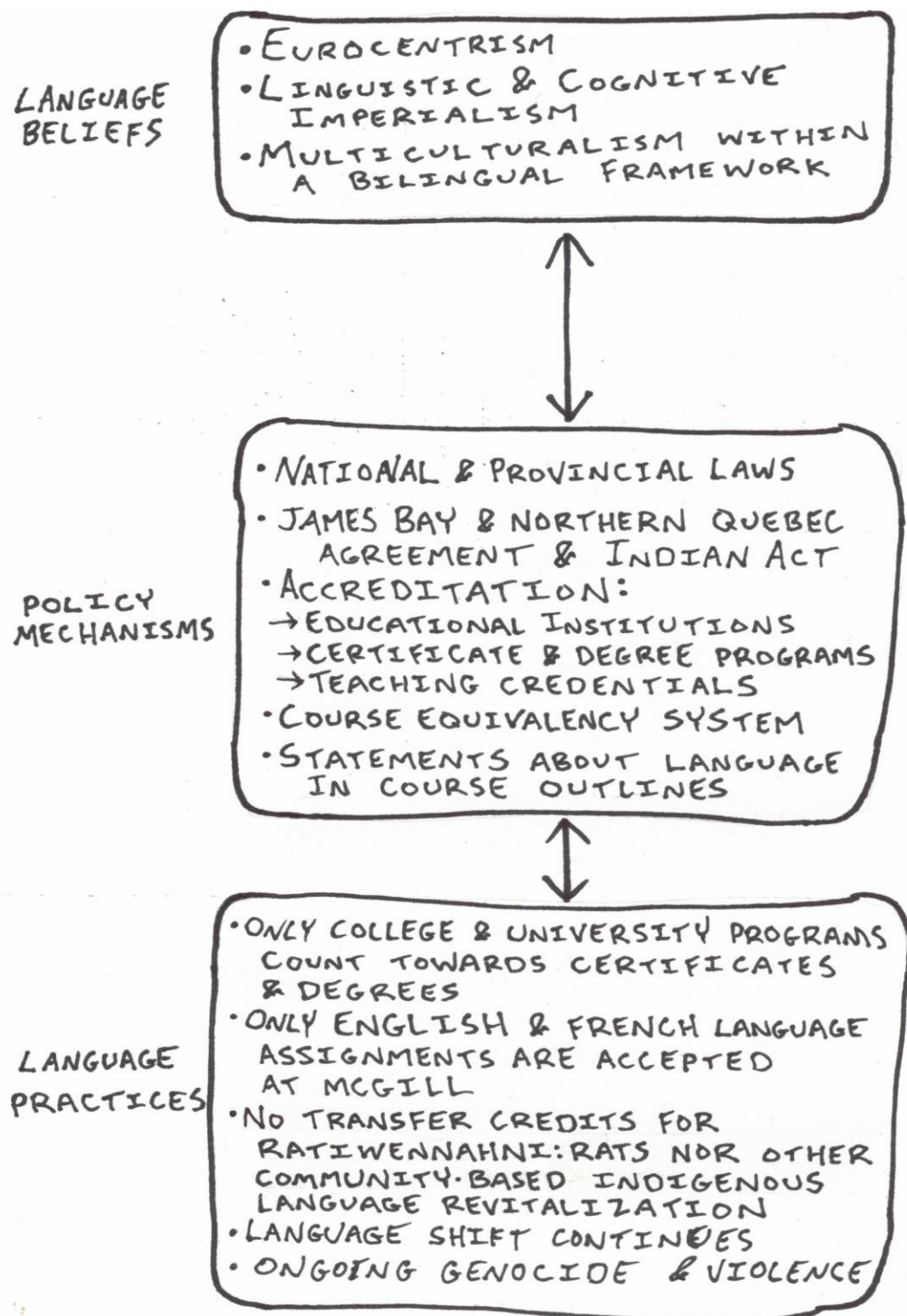
5.3 Colonial and Indigenous Language Policies at McGill

This section presents and contrasts colonial and Indigenous language policies at McGill. Following the models for language policy developed by Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006), I have developed two figures that illustrate connections between local practices, policy mechanisms, and language beliefs. First, I present Figure 3, below (p. 84) and explain how policy mechanisms at McGill are linked to Eurocentrism (beliefs) and ongoing genocide (practices). Next, I present Figure 4, below and explain the connections between Indigenous beliefs about language and local language practices— again by describing the mechanisms that link the two. Finally, by contrasting colonial and Indigenous language policies at McGill, I reinforce arguments for substantial structural and procedural changes at the University. This discussion of language policy at McGill will be relevant for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples throughout the institution, as well as for other universities and Western institutions.

Institutional change must be informed and inspired by a holistic understanding of how colonial language policies at McGill represent local examples of national and international trends. The national trend mirrored at McGill is Canada's "official policy on languages and ethnicities since 1971": multiculturalism within a bilingual framework (Sarkar, 2015, p. 98). The international trend is the hierarchization of colonial languages (English and French, but especially English) (May, 2015) and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2014). This is to the detriment of Indigenous languages (Ball & McIvor, 2013). Given the cultural importance of Indigenous languages, this can be considered genocidal (Skuttnabb-Kangas, 2000; TRC, 2015a).

Illustrating the connections between bureaucratic processes (policy mechanisms) and the colonial ideologies they enact supports arguments for substantial changes at McGill. In Figure 3, I have drawn lines connecting genocidal colonial ideologies, national policies about multiculturalism that privilege English and French, and legislation that elevates non-Indigenous institutions (colleges and universities) above community-based ones. Understanding how colonial language policy at multiple levels affects local language practices will contribute to the movement to recognize, value, and accredit language learning that occurs off-campus in local Indigenous community settings.

Figure 3

Colonial Language Policy at McGill University

LANGUAGE BELIEFS
- Eurocentrism
- Linguistic & Cognitive Imperialism
- Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework

POLICY MECHANISMS
- National & Provincial Laws
- James Bay & Northern Quebec Agreement & Indian Act
- Accreditation:
  → Educational Institutions
  → Certificate & Degree Programs
  → Teaching Credentials
- Course Equivalency System
- Statements about Language in course outlines

LANGUAGE PRACTICES
- Only college & university programs count towards certificates & degrees
- Only English & French language assignments are accepted at McGill
- No transfer credits for Ratiwennahni:rats nor other community-based indigenous language revitalization
- Language shift continues
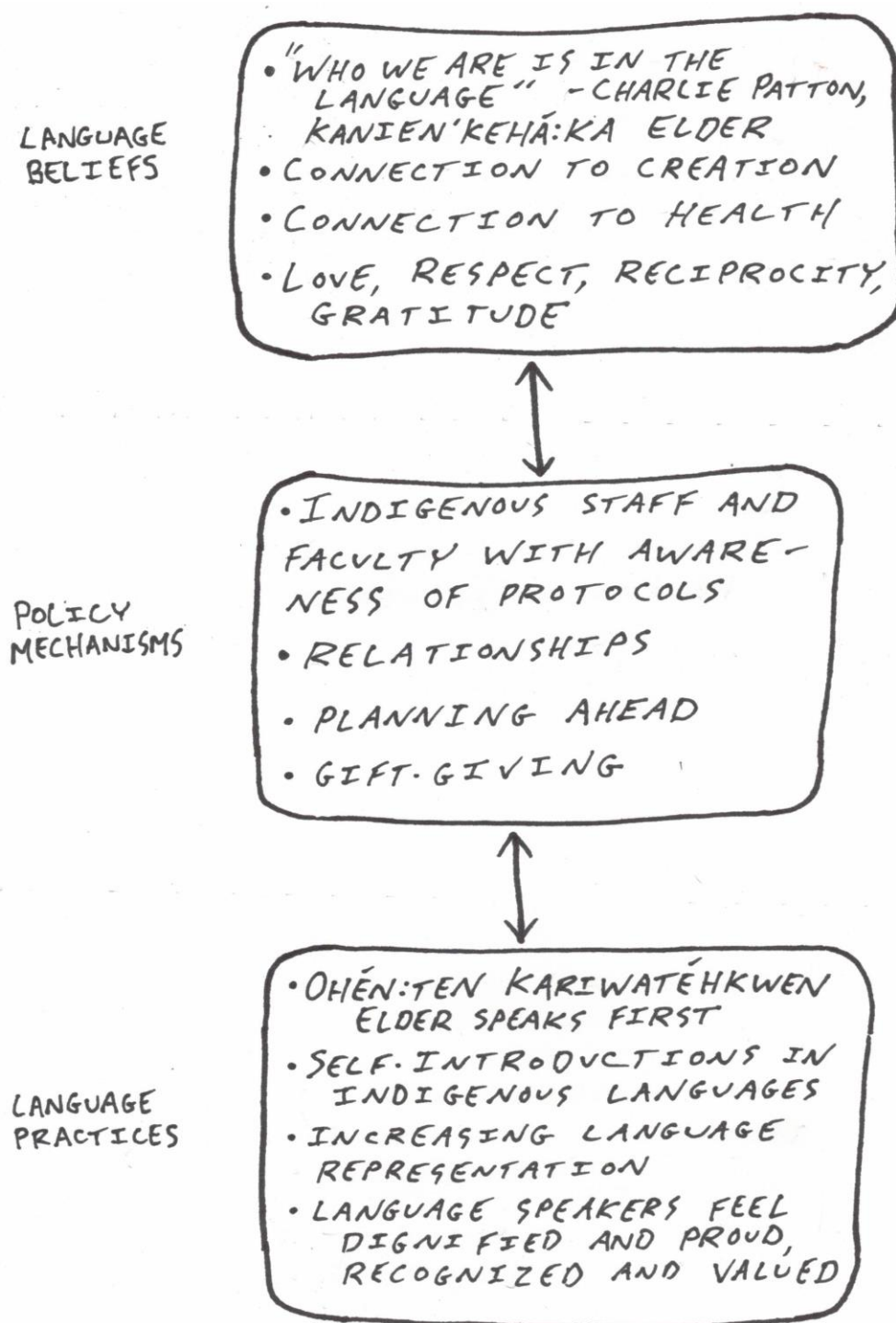- Ongoing genocide & violence

Indigenous knowledge and knowledge-keepers—especially Indigenous students.

An example of a language practice at McGill that enacts the Eurocentric beliefs depicted in Figure 3 is the acceptance of written assignments in English and French languages only. This practice is communicated to all students through mandatory statements about language in course outlines. The statements in course outlines are derived from the University's Charter of Students' Rights (McGill University—Senate, 2017). Although point 19 is framed as a right for students to "complete their graded work in either French or English, except in courses where language proficiency is an objective" (p. 3), the written policy effectively excludes Indigenous languages from consideration as academic languages. Like the course equivalency system, University-wide policies such as the Charter of Students' Rights coordinate language practices that reinforce the national policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.

While mapping institutional constraints and opportunities, I have made it a priority to ensure that Indigenous Peoples at McGill are presented as active subjects. While this should be obvious, academic research—and particularly ethnographic research—has too often objectified Indigenous Peoples (L.T. Smith, 2012) and focused on deficits. Comparing colonial and Indigenous language policy at McGill reveals contrasts in beliefs and practices. Bringing into focus the actual practices of Indigenous language use on campus—the "real language policy"—invites exploration of the policies and beliefs that create the space for such use (Spolsky, 2004, p. 222). In Figure 4, I illustrate the connections between beliefs, policy mechanisms and practices.

Elder Charlie Patton's statement that "who we are is in the language" echoed scholarly literature that has emphasized connections between language and Indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2011). McGill has a relatively small number of Indigenous staff who are familiar with Indigenous protocols. Their work to build and maintain relationships functions as a policy mechanism that enables Indigenous language practices on campus. At special occasions such as the Opening Ceremony for Indigenous Awareness Weeks, the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen is spoken in Kanien'kéha, and the elder is given all the time necessary to do so. This representation of Indigenous language makes the McGill campus a place where language speakers can feel dignified and proud of their knowledge and skills. The challenge facing staff and faculty at the University is to increase and expand the spaces and occasions when Indigenous knowledge-holders are recognized and valued.

Figure 4

Indigenous Language Policy at McGill University

LANGUAGE BELIEFS

- "WHO WE ARE IS IN THE LANGUAGE" - CHARLIE PATTON, KANIEN'KEHÁ:KA ELDER
- CONNECTION TO CREATION
- CONNECTION TO HEALTH
- LOVE, RESPECT, RECIPROCITY, GRATITUDE

POLICY MECHANISMS

- INDIGENOUS STAFF AND FACULTY WITH AWARENESS OF PROTOCOLS
- RELATIONSHIPS
- PLANNING AHEAD
- GIFT-GIVING

LANGUAGE PRACTICES

- OHÉN:TEN KARIWATÉHKWEN ELDER SPEAKS FIRST
- SELF-INTRODUCTIONS IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES
- INCREASING LANGUAGE REPRESENTATION
- LANGUAGE SPEAKERS FEEL DIGNIFIED AND PROUD, RECOGNIZED AND VALUED

Certain University-wide texts coordinate what language is used by whom, and when. The bilingual policy expressed in every course outline effectively excludes Indigenous languages from the status of academic language. Specific changes to this policy would need to be accompanied by parallel shifts in beliefs about what languages mean, as well as changes in practice that would facilitate the use of Indigenous languages in higher education.

In terms of the role of universities in Indigenous language revitalization, accreditation is a key policy mechanism situated between language ideologies (or beliefs) and language practices. Shifts in how McGill accredits existing Indigenous language programs and language experts would have significant effects on both beliefs and practices. Actions taken in the present have the potential to change how people think and speak in the future. To everyone at McGill concerned with valuing, respecting, and accrediting Indigenous knowledge: "You have choices and a responsibility, as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission instructed us to act now so each of us can add to what the future and our legacy can bring" (Battiste, Bell, Findlay, Findlay, & Henderson, 2016, p. 338).

5.4 Significance for my Community, my Family and Myself

We need to consciously talk to our children about our values so that they will remain at the core of who we are as Métis people. (Dorion & Fleury, 2009, Métis values)

About the significance of this study for the Métis community in Montreal, my family, and myself, there are two main points to address. The first is about how I have tried to embody Métis values through the study. The second is that the methodological framework for this project might represent a model for future studies by Métis scholars. Both points have everything to do with the next generation and thinking further ahead to those not yet born.

Throughout the preparation, consultation, data collection, analysis, and finally the presentation of this study, I have sought to embody Métis values of balance, honesty, sharing, caring, kindness, courage, and strength. Balance has meant being careful about the proportion of the weight that I carry compared with the weight I ask others to carry. It is also about "living in balance mentally, emotionally, physically, and spiritually" (Dorion & Fleury, 2009, Métis values) — or trying to, at least! Honesty means following the examples set by my parents and other role models, respecting peoples' boundaries. Sharing means thinking about my abilities to read, write, talk with people, produce radio, and navigate bureaucracies as gifts I can share with others. These are gifts that many mentors, family,

and friends have nurtured. Going outside of and beyond academic expectations so that reciprocity is central to knowledge sharing, giving back to the people that share with me. Caring: Lately, it's mostly been for the family. Over the course of this project, my long-time partner Heather and I got married and welcomed our first child into the world. It's the first time I've shared responsibility for another person who is sometimes entirely dependent on me. Courage is about taking risks and taking a stand. Strength is about adapting and responding to challenges. This research project has challenged me to embody all of these values. I name them here as a way of passing them on.

        With guidance from Métis mentors and non-Indigenous supervisors, I made a concerted effort to design a project that would amplify Indigenous voices without overburdening people with the never-ending work of institutional change. Building on Indigenous and feminist methodologies, I developed a new Métis methodological framework that could be adapted for future studies. I have been honest about where I stand, what I have to gain from this, and what it might contribute to others. Before moving on to the conclusion, I return now to the words of Métis Elder Maria Campbell (2019) echoing what her Elders told her about the power of reclaiming Indigenous language and culture: "They made us believe we could change the course of our history and make a new world for our children" (p. 192). For my community, my family and myself, I hope this discussion of colonial and Indigenous language policies at McGill University will contribute to a better world for the generations yet to come.

Chapter 6: Summary, Knowledge Mobilization, and Conclusion

The two main questions explored in this study were:

(1) What do Indigenous Peoples at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization (ILR)?

(2) How do accreditation processes at McGill recognise and value students' Indigenous language abilities, and/or their experience with language immersion programs and community based ILR?

In this final chapter, I will summarize the research process and knowledge mobilization activities before presenting final comments.

6.1 Summary of the Research Process

The greatest ally of Indigenous methodologies will be those non-Indigenous methodologies from the margins that do not hide from but rather embrace the political nature of research. (Kovach, 2015, p. 60).

Having already elaborated on the significance of this study, in this section I will remind the reader about the process by which I explored the main questions. A preparation stage included my undergraduate degree in First People Studies and working for institutional change at Concordia University. This study began with my embodied standpoint as a Métis graduate student at McGill. There are both unique insights and limitations inherent in this insider/outsider position. I depended on guidance from Métis mentors and non-Indigenous supervisors throughout the research process. Combining decolonizing methodologies, institutional ethnography and other approaches to research, I developed a unique methodological framework. The complexity of a multidisciplinary study is represented in a simple and holistic diagram (Figure 1, p. 38).

Data collection began with consultations with other Indigenous Peoples at McGill that emphasized protocol, respect, and reciprocity. Phase 1 focused on the first main question: What do Indigenous Peoples at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization (ILR)? Conversations with six Indigenous consultants led me to the second main question: How do accreditation processes at McGill recognise and value students' Indigenous language abilities, and/or their experience with language immersion programs and community based ILR? During Phase 2, I engaged with (mostly) non-Indigenous staff and faculty as an institutional

ethnographer. In the course of trying to understand how to request transfer credits (Figure 2, p. 65), I was introduced to the course equivalency system—a website and database that precludes the possibility of granting course credits to individual students with experience in most community-based language programs.

In response to the first main question, the findings included the voices of Indigenous consultants on the topic of McGill's role in Indigenous language revitalization. In addition to funding and expertise, they identified accreditation as a resource that McGill could contribute. The findings from Phase 2 included a map of how to request transfer credits, and analysis of the course equivalency system, and technical information about OFNIE partnerships. In the discussion, I linked specific findings to particular stakeholders that might benefit from them. To better inform Indigenous Peoples to make their own decisions, I provided practical information about systematic/bureaucratic processes at McGill, and about partnerships with OFNIE. Recommendations for structural and procedural changes were aimed at (mostly non-Indigenous) staff, faculty and administrators at McGill. Descriptions and illustrations of the connections between language practices, policy mechanisms, and beliefs about language at McGill help to tie it all together by clearly depicting the contrasts between Eurocentric ideologies and Indigenous values of love, respect, reciprocity and gratitude.

Reciprocity and respectful relationship building were practiced throughout the process and have helped me find ways of "giving back" (Kovach, 2006). This final chapter presents some of the ways I shared the results of the study and contributed to a broader campaign for respect, recognition, and valuing of Indigenous languages and ways of knowing.

6.2 Knowledge Mobilization: Sharing the Findings

This study makes a unique contribution to the scholarly literature in language planning, Indigenous language revitalization, and institutional ethnography. At different stages throughout the research process, I presented at the following academic conferences: McGill's Education Graduate Student Society (EGSS) 2018; the International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry (ICQI) 2019; and Language Policy and Planning (LPP) 2019. A digital version of the thesis is publicly available to download on McGill's eScholarship website. I have shared links to this document with everyone involved in the research project (consultants and other people I talked with). I will also share my thesis on my Facebook page as well as a personal website. I hope to publish at least two peer-reviewed

articles based on this research; one focused on the role of postsecondary institutions in Indigenous language revitalization, and another more focused on the research process.

In addition to standard academic outputs (this document, conference presentations, future publications), I have produced a zine called Restorying Strathcona and a monthly radio program called Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices. I also hosted a virtual Métis kitchen table talk. I also propose to publish a short news article in the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) newsletter and other similar publications. The next section presents the radio show—Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices—in greater detail.

6.3 Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices Radio and Podcast Production

Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices is a thirty-minute radio show and podcast that is broadcast on CKUT 90.3 fm on the last Monday of each month. Echoing the title of the project, the main objective of Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices is to amplify the voices of Indigenous Peoples on issues related to Indigenous languages. This project is a way for me to share the findings from this study, and take part in a broader conversation about Indigenous language revitalization. The broadcast radio and podcast audio formats are more accessible to some people who might never read the final academic papers or attend conference presentations. Contributing to a broader campaign partially fulfills the social justice aims of the research project.

The first episode of Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices featured Hariata Tai Rakena (Waikatu, Tainui)—one of the consultants from Phase 1 of the study—and aired on Monday, January 27, 2020 (O'Connor, 2020). The archived show is available for streaming or download at this link: https://soundcloud.com/user-185808054/indigenous-languages-indigenous-voices-jan-27-2020.

The second episode features Kanahsohon (Kevin Deer), a Kanien'kehá:ka elder from Kahnawà:ke. Kanahsohon spent many years teaching Kanien'kéha to children in his community, and is currently the acting Vice-President - Academics at the First Nations Technical Insititute (FNTI) in Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory. It is available at this link: https://soundcloud.com/user-185808054/indigenous-languages-indigenous-voices-feb-24-2020.

The third episode features Métis professor, researcher, and counsellor, Catherine Richardson/Kinewesquao. Cathy is the Director of the First Peoples Studies program at Concordia University, a counsellor and founder of the Centre for Response-based Practice, and a co-founder of the

Metis Kickass Women Educators of Montreal. She is an author and editor of a number of articles, chapters, and books—her most recent is called Speaking the wisdom of our time. I'm honoured that she has been working with me as a mentor through the last year or so, helping to guide me through the latter stages of my Master's research. The interview is available at this link: https://soundcloud.com/user-185808054/indigenous-languages-indigenous-voices-mar-30-2020.

The fourth episode was a re-broadcast of a keynote lecture for Massey College by âpihtawikosisâniskwêw 2Spirit multidisciplinary artist moe clark. The original video (April 24, 2020) is available at this link: https://youtu.be/4XeP58Mx2Zc.

The Indigenous Languages, Indigenous Voices project demonstrates how language is connected with just about everything. It was a practical way for me to engage in conversation with Indigenous language speakers and knowledge holders in a format I could easily share with family, friends, and the general public.

6.4 Sharing with my Métis Circle: A Virtual Métis Kitchen Table Talk

I was first introduced to the idea of a kitchen table talk through my apprenticeship with Dr. Fast when we attended an event at Concordia (Mattes et al., 2018). Since then, I have read a few studies that reference this form of knowledge sharing (Jull et al., 2018; Kroeker & Leclair, 2010; Pete, 2015). Kitchen table talks stand in contrast to formal academic settings. Through the sharing of food, stories, and informal chat, knowledge is shared and relationships are strengthened. At the event in 2018, Métis author, artist and scholar Sherry Farrell Racette talked about how there is power at the kitchen table. She explained that before the Red River and North-West Resistance, Louis Riel had to visit Métis women at their tables to request approval for his plans. She also said that Métis flags were sown at kitchen tables.

Just a few days before submitting a polished draft of this thesis for external review, I invited about fifteen Métis people to participate in a virtual kitchen table talk. In reaching out to individuals involved in the Métis community in Montreal as well as scholars and relatives across the country, I had two intentions in mind. One was to give something back – to share some of what I learned through the research process, to honour the elders, mentors and knowledge-holders that helped me along the way. The second was to ask for support. As I was preparing to make my work publicly available, I wanted to feel like there are at least a few people who have a sense of what this thesis is about, and that they

might stand by me. Within the limitations of an unprecedented global pandemic, both intentions were fulfilled.

6.5 Limitations of this Study and Possible Paths of Future Inquiry

With more time, energy, funding, and space within these pages, there are a number of topics I would have liked to address more thoroughly. It would have been beneficial to further explore institutional and ministerial processes whereby universities accredit learning done outside of typical educational institutions. Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) and related concepts—Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition (PLAR), Prior Learning Assessment (PLA), and Recognition of Acquired Competencies (RAC—Quebéc's approach to RPL)—represent pathways to accreditation for experiential learning with a documented history in Quebéc (Moss, 2007, 2011). It would be interesting to explore how RAC could recognize competencies gained through community-based Indigenous language programs.

Another topic that deserves more scholarly attention concerns McGill's processes for developing new certificate and degree programs. Although I have developed a basic understanding of the timelines and the various units involved in these processes, I was unable to dedicate enough time and energy to develop a detailed analysis and findings. I also found it difficult to talk about this topic with individual staff and faculty outside of my own department. The increasing resemblance between universities and for-profit corporations is especially concerning (Kovach, 2015, p. 50).

I also would have liked to deepen the exploration of OFNIE partnerships. There does not currently exist a thorough history of OFNIE, OFNIE partnerships, and OFNIE programs. The voices of OFNIE partners need to be heard and amplified. A future study could focus on the perspectives of administrative staff among the Indigenous education authorities, and the Indigenous students and instructors that participate in OFNIE programs. These people can respond to questions about what partnership with OFNIE entails, what their community's needs are in terms of accredited Indigenous language programs, and how McGill responded to their needs. This could involve a closer look at land-based education (expanding current offerings and developing new programs) as well as the provincial legislation that coordinates higher education and Indigenous education in Québec.

Finally, there is a need for new research about McGill University that explicitly links the institution to the historical and ongoing genocide of Indigenous Peoples in Canada could help pressure

the University to change. This study reminded readers that "allowing Indigenous languages to die can only be seen as a form of cultural genocide" (Ball & McIvor, 2013, p. 33), and other scholarship on linguicide (Bear Nicholas, 2011; McCarty, Romero & Zepeda, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). McGill's colonial language policy in times of more explicit assimilation—before the contemporary era of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework—should be brought to light through archival research.

6.6 Final Comments

> *Researchers who are dominantly located are comfortable gazing down at the*
> *marginalized and may consider it their entitlement to do so, without any consideration*
> *of the possibilities of looking up at the elite, or even across at those who are like them.*
> (Strega & Brown, 2015, p. 6)

This study is very much about "looking up" at the administrators at McGill and asking what they can do about the urgent concerns raised by Indigenous Peoples at the University. Echoing and amplifying concerns about recognition and accreditation, I return to the words of a Kanien'kehá:ka Clan Mother. Speaking to Provost Manfredi, she said: "we need to be accredited, we need to be recognized, we need to be valued" (C5). Provost and Vice-Principal (Academic) Christopher Manfredi cannot claim to be ignorant of this issue. I hope that this study helps non-Indigenous Peoples at McGill to better understand what they need to do to be strong allies with Indigenous communities in general and particularly regarding language issues. Change needs to happen, and fast.

The consequences of language shift towards colonial languages is about more than tools of communication. Battiste (2016) connected the urgency of taking action on Indigenous language revitalization across the globe with Indigenous knowledge and living ecologies:

> Only three of seventy Aboriginal languages in Canada have been predicted to survive
> this century, along with only 100 of the world's languages. Such destruction of
> indigenous languages and literacies impinge equally on indigenous knowledges, with
> their consequence to sustainable resource development and biodiversity, resources that
> are threatened as well. (p. 130)

Conversely, working to recognize and value Indigenous languages also contributes to sustaining Indigenous knowledges, resources, and biodiversity on earth.

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Appendices

Appendix A—Consultation Protocol
Protocol for in-depth interviews with Indigenous consultants

(1) Self-introduction—*Quick reminder of who I am, goals of my research, etc.* (2–5 minutes)
(2) Informed Consent—*Explanation and signing of Informed consent form.* (2–5 minutes)
(3) Semi-structured interview—*Explain the specific purpose of this interview, and how it will inform other aspects of the study (text analysis and observations). Briefly explain premise of institutional ethnography. *begin audio recording** (~30 minutes)

> (3.1) Could you start by telling me a bit about yourself, and why you are interested in talking about Indigenous language revitalization?
> PROMPT: What does McGill's role in Indigenous language revitalization have to do
>   with the University's response to settler colonialism more generally?
>
> (3.2) Can you tell me about your experiences working with McGill University with regard to language revitalization in your community? (If none, can you reflect with me on why not?)
>   PROMPT: Positive and negative experiences; positive and negative effects
>   PROMPT: What can you tell me about the paperwork that comes along with
>   McGill: funding, policies, hiring processes, reports, research, etc.?
>
> (3.4) One of the calls to action in the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission calls on universities to develop degree programs in Indigenous languages. Is the development of new courses and degree programs the most important call to action for McGill to address? (If yes, why?) Or are there other issues universities need to address? (If yes, what are they?)
>
> (3.5) McGill's Task Force on Indigenous Studies and Indigenous Education suggested that the University should "develop a plan and strategy . . . by which McGill's resources and expertise . . . can be marshaled to support language revitalization in local Indigenous communities, particularly in the traditional territory on which McGill's campuses are located" (2017, p. 14).
> What do you think of this suggestion? What do you see as the strengths and limitations of this approach?
>
> (3.6) What do you think are the best ways to use McGill's resources and expertise to address language revitalization in local Indigenous communities?
>
> (3.7) Are there another questions I should have asked, or anything else you would like to say about McGill's role in Indigenous language revitalization? Anything you would like to add in conclusion? *end audio recording*

(4) Explanation of next steps—*I will explain that once the audio is transcribed, I will share the transcription with them via their personal email address, and that they will have four weeks to let me*

know if there is anything they would like to see changed, or omitted from publications and presentations. Thanks, and farewell :)

Appendix B—Initial Email to Consultants (Example)
Template of Recruitment Letter/Email for semi-structured interviews

Hello, [*First name*],

I hope this finds you well.

My name is Charles Joseph O'Connor, and I am a graduate student at McGill University, in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education. [*variable, personalized introduction, referring to our existing relationship, mutual acquaintances, etc.*]

I am writing today to invite you to consult with me about my research on McGill's role in Indigenous language revitalization. This study is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Naomi Nichols and Dr. Mela Sarkar, who are both professors in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE). As a graduate student in Second Language Education, my Master's thesis will explore Indigenous perspectives on language policies, and collaborative language planning at the University. The main question I am asking is: *What do Indigenous people at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization?*

Between May and November, 2018, I will be meeting with a small number of Indigenous people who have some connection with McGill, and a specific interest in the role that McGill plays in Indigenous language revitalization. We will engage in thirty-minute interviews using Margaret Kovach's (2010) conversational method. These interviews will directly inform my analysis of various policy documents, as well as observations I will be doing.

The overall aim of this study is to describe and analyze institutional processes at McGill. My hope is that the research process itself will build relationships and help non-Indigenous people at McGill to understand what they need to do to be strong, effective allies with Indigenous communities.

If you would agree to consult with me, I will be happy to provide you with a copy of the other questions I hope to address, as well as the required informed consent forms. [*variable text explaining why this, specific person is well-suited to contribute to the research*] I will be happy to offer you a small gift, as well as monetary compensation for your time, if that is okay with you. Please let me know if you are interested, or if you have any questions or concerns.

Thank you for considering this request,

Charlie

Appendix C—McGill REB Informed Consent Forms
Informed Consent Form for Indigenous Consultants (Interviews)

  Consultant Consent Form
Researcher:
     Charles Joseph O'Connor, DISE, (514) 717 5453, charles.oconnor@mail.mcgill.ca
     MA candidate, McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education (DISE)
Co-Supervisors:
     Dr. Naomi Nichols, DISE, (514) 398-4527 ext. 09669, naomi.nichols@mcgill.ca
     Dr. Mela Sarkar, DISE, (514) 294-5819, mela.sarkar@mcgill.ca
Title of Project: A call to action: Collaborative planning for Indigenous language revitalization
     Sponsors: Canada Graduate Scholarship—Master's Program: Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council

Purpose of the Study: As a paid consultant, you are invited to participate in an interview with me, as part of the research I am doing for my Master's thesis. The purpose of this study is to respond to the following questions: What do Indigenous people at McGill have to say about the University's role in Indigenous language revitalization? How can people from different departments at McGill work with each other, and with members of Indigenous communities that have links with McGill, to plan institutional support for Indigenous language revitalization in Indigenous communities?

Study Procedures: My research procedures will include between five and ten interviews (approximately thirty minutes each) with Indigenous people who have some involvement with McGill and an interest in Indigenous language revitalization. I would like to produce an audio recording of each interview, so that I can transcribe the conversation and use quotations in future publications and presentations. Depending on your comfort level with the use of the actual recordings, you can choose whether the audio itself can be used in presentations, or shared through media (radio, internet, etc.).

Voluntary Participation: It is important to understand that your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and that you may refuse to participate in parts of the study, may decline to answer any particular questions, and may withdraw from the study at any time, for any reason. Whether or not you choose to withdraw, you will still be receive the agreed upon monetary compensation. If at any point you do choose to withdraw from the study, all audio recordings, transcriptions, and other information provided by you will be destroyed, unless you give permission to use it. Once I have transcribed our interview, I will share the text with you in the form of a password-protected .pdf document, via your personal email address. Once you receive this document, you will have four weeks to inform me whether or not there is anything you would like to see modified, or omitted entirely from future publications and presentations. After the four week time limit, you will no longer have the option of retracting or modifying the transcript.
Potential Risks: The greatest potential harm I can foresee is primarily social and economic. I think there is some risk related to speaking out critically about your employer. If you are employed by McGill University—the focus of this research—you might want to be careful about what you say. I believe that the risk of this harm is low. To reduce this risk, I will not record information that could

make individuals easy to identify. I will not record, for example, detailed descriptions of clothing, spoken accents, affiliations with small groups, etc. When direct quotations are used in publications and presentations, they will be attributed only to the following broad category: Indigenous people with a connection to McGill University.

Potential Benefits: One of my main goals for this project is that the research process will build relationships and help non-Indigenous people at McGill to understand what they need to do to be strong allies with Indigenous communities. On a broader scale, I hope that this work will serve as a model to other universities for how they might address questions of interdisciplinary planning and center Indigenous perspectives on the role of postsecondary institutions in community-based language revitalization. I sincerely hope that you enjoy the process and perhaps gain some new insights, or motivations, as a result of your participation.

Compensation: All consultants in this study are being offered monetary compensation of approximately $50–100 per interview. The exact amount is based on how much time you are dedicating to the project, at a rate of $25 CAD per hour. The amount for this interview will be $50 CAD.

Confidentiality: As I will be personally meeting with you, there will be no assurance of anonymity. However, all consultants will be guaranteed confidentiality, unless they choose to waive it. During this interview, I will be recording the audio for transcription and analysis, and taking handwritten notes about the conversation. All information that could link you to the information you are providing will be removed before the information is shared. The information I record will be used in my Master's thesis, as well as a variety of other publications and presentations. The information will be stored on my laptop computer and a back-up hard-drive, both of which are password protected. I am the only person who will have access to the information.

Publications, Presentations, and Other Media: The final version of my thesis will be available on McGill's eScholarship website. I also hope to publish at least two peer-reviewed articles based on this research; one will focus on the role of postsecondary institutions in Indigenous language revitalization (*Canadian Journal of Native Education*, *McGill Journal of Education*, *Language Policy*) and the other will focus on the research methods. I will apply to present at the following academic conferences, among others: NAISA 2019, QI 2019 (IIC), and LPP 2019; and I will propose to write a short news article in the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) newsletter. I will participate in radio interviews on CKUT 90.3 fm, and possibly other campus/community stations. Finally, I will also share my thesis on my Facebook page, as well as a personal website.

Direct Questions about confidentiality and disclosure of identity:

Do you consent to being named in publications and presentations, and other media? Circle: Yes / No

Do you consent to being audio recorded during this interview? Circle: Yes / No

Do you consent to the original audio recordings being used in publications, presentations, and other media? Circle: Yes / No

Questions: If you have questions, or wish to clarify anything about this study, please feel free to contact the co-supervisors. Their names and contact information are available above. If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study, and want to speak with someone not on the research team, please contact the McGill Ethics Manager at 514-398-6831 or

linda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Please sign below if you have read the above information and consent to participate in this study. Agreeing to participate in this study does not waive any of your rights or release the researchers from their responsibilities. A copy of this consent form will be given to you and the researcher will keep a copy.

Consultant's Name: (please print) _____

Consultant's Signature: _____

Date _____ (YYYY/MM/DD)

Appendix D—List of Public and Semipublic Events Attended
(McGill events are in bold face)

Title/Description	Location	Date
Andrea Sterzuk (BILD lecture)	Montreal, QC	October 27, 2017
Building Reconciliation Forum	Winnipeg, MB	November, 8, 9, 2017
Cliff Atleo (Start-up Nations)	Montreal, QC	November 17, 2017
Fête Metisse / Métis Celebration (Dawson College)	Montreal, QC	November 22, 2017
Janine Metallic Job Talk	Montreal, QC	January 23, 2018
Melanie Brice Job Talk	Montreal, QC	January 25, 2018
Jeannine Marie St. Jacques (First Voices Week, Concordia University)	Montreal, QC	February 1, 2018
Taiaiake Alfred (Concordia University)	Kahnawà:ke, QC	April 12, 2018
Eun-ji Amy Kim—PhD Defense	Montreal, QC	May 9, 2018
McGill Language Symposium	Montreal and Kahnawà:ke, QC	May 10–11, 2018
DISE Town Hall	Montreal, QC	June 11, 2018
Language Planning and Policy Conference	Toronto, ON	August 23–25, 2018
Teionkwaienawa:ken (Working Together, Kahnawà:ke Gathering)	Kahnawà:ke, QC	August 27–29, 2018
Indigenous Awareness Weeks, Opening Ceremonies	Montreal, QC	September 17, 2018
Dismantling Racism in Healthcare and Education (IHPP Panel discussion), Turtle Island Reads	Montreal, QC	September 19, 2018
Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (musical performance)	Montreal, QC	September 29, 2018
Métis Kitchen Table Talk (Concordia University)	Montreal, QC	October 3, 2018
MMIWG March	Montreal, QC	October 4, 2018
Darryl Laroux (Maisonneuve article on Quebec Métis)	Montreal, QC	October 9, 2018
Understanding Cultural Appropriation: Consequences and Strategies of Reclamation and Defiance (Panel discussion)	Montreal, QC	November 1, 2018

Whose Food sovereignty? (Panel discussion at Concordia University)	Montreal, QC	November 3, 2018
Wahéhshon's lecture at Dr. Fast's AHSC course	Montreal, QC	November 7, 2018
Decolonizing Conference	Toronto, ON	November, 8–10, 2018
Maamwizing (Indigenous research conference at Laurentian)	Sudbury, ON	November, 16–17, 2018
Fête Metisse / Métis Celebration (Dawson College)	Montreal, QC	November 21, 2018
NETWORK Gathering (Indigenous Research)	Montreal, QC	November 23, 2018
Winona Laduke (Cinema Politica)	Montreal, QC	November 26, 2018
Morgan Phillips—PhD Defence	Montreal, QC	November 27, 2018
Institutional Ethnography Colloquium	Montreal, QC	December 4, 5, 2018
Nursing and Indigenous Ways of Knowing Panel	Montreal, QC	January 17, 2019
Symposium on Building Capacity in Indigenous Research (Research and Indigenous Scholarship in Education (RISE)	Montreal, QC	January 18–19, 2019
Indigenous Movements Panel (Concordia University)	Montreal, QC	February 4, 2019
Moosehide Campaign Day (Concordia University)	Montreal, QC	February 8, 2019