What Queen's Students Know About Indigenous Realities in Canada

By

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Acknowledgements

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Content Warning: Please note that student responses are included in this report. Some of their responses may be upsetting to some readers.

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Terminology

This report uses the following terms: Aboriginal, assimilation, First Nations, "Indian," Indigenous, Inuit, Métis. In the context of Canada, these terms are defined as follows:

Aboriginal is a legal term, most often used by the government of Canada as an umbrella term for the Indigenous peoples of Canada. This includes First Nations and Métis people (status and non-status) and Inuit. Many Indigenous people prefer that the most precise term for a people is used: so Anishinaabe, for example.

Assimilation involves absorption into the dominant society. It can be either voluntary or forced. In voluntary assimilation, individuals or groups of differing heritage willingly become socially similar to other members of the society. In forced assimilation, the dominant society forces individuals and groups to conform to particular roles. Assimilative strategies include religious conversion, removal of children from their families, land appropriation, the disruption of gender relations, and the prohibition of some cultural practices.

Colonialism is the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another territory or people, occupying the land with settlers, and exploiting both the land and the people economically. It usually involves domination, assimilation, marginalization of Indigenous peoples and rejection of Indigenous sovereignty.

The term **First Nations** refers to the Indigenous people(s) of Canada who are not Inuit or Métis. The term indicates the richness, complexity and independence of Indigenous societies as well as presence in Canada prior to Europeans. The traditional territories of First Nations encompass all land from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans.

"**Indian**" is a legal term used by the government of Canada to define some Aboriginal rights. We use it only in that context.

The term **'Indigenous'** refers to the diverse peoples whose ancestral territories and traditional systems of law and governance predate colonial nations. In Canada, 'Indigenous' encompasses First Nations, Métis and Inuit territories, communities, and forms of identification and governance that exist beyond those defined under the Indian Act.

The descendants of non-Indigenous fur traders and Indigenous women are amongst those called the **Métis**.

Inuit are many culturally distinct Indigenous peoples whose traditional territories span the Arctic.

Executive Summary

In winter 2018 the Awareness Project, using a questionnaire co-designed with Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators, surveyed 23 exiting-year undergraduate and Education classes at Queen's University. The aim was to understand what students know about Indigenous topics after an undergraduate degree at Queen's. 844 students across 5 faculties and 20 disciplines completed the questionnaire. The picture presented by the data is clear and compelling. These are our principal findings:

1) Students who take Indigenous-focused courses (IF) learn a great deal.
2) Students who take courses with some Indigenous content (SC) know more than most but are not well equipped to understand the damaging legacy of Canada's colonialism and the country's continued colonial strategies.
3) Most students are not taking courses with any Indigenous content and leave university with the knowledge and social attitudes they probably entered with. Knowledge of Inuit topics is particularly low.
4) Ignorance is concentrated in three of the faculties we surveyed: Engineering, Commerce and Health Sciences (Nursing). It was difficult to gain access to Science courses, reflecting perhaps faculty and student conviction that knowledge of Indigenous topics is irrelevant to science.
5) The Faculty of Education has the most informed students, but some Education students are also amongst the least informed and display truly troubling social attitudes.
6) Negative social attitudes can be a major obstacle to learning but the greatest obstacle is no exposure at all to the topic at home, school or university.
7) Many students are deeply uninformed about Indigenous presence, what and where reserves are, and what traditional territory means.
8) Consignment of Indigenous peoples and cultures to the past is common in student thinking.
9) A desire to see Canada, Canadian society and Canadian multiculturalism in a positive light makes it difficult for some students to see colonialism as an important continuity in Canada.
10) While positive as "a recognition of truth or existence" sometimes "implying gratitude or appreciation", land acknowledgements have pedagogical and reconciliatory limitations that should be considered in when and how they are made.
11) Thanks to the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), educational institutions and society at large, more students know more about residential schools than most other topics. Yet understanding of the colonial aims and the long-term impacts of the schools is still too weak.
12) Deep thinking about Canada's colonial and racist nature is relatively limited.
13) The Indian Act, its erosional impact on Indigenous communities and Indigenous identity is beyond the understanding of most students.
14) Most students do not understand Indigenous collective identities or sovereignty.

15) As instruction about Indigenous people in Canada focuses on harm and loss with little corresponding attention to strength and resurgence, about 50% of these students seem substantially unaware of the power of Indigenous ways of being and the potential of learning from Indigenous knowledge.
16) While ignorance is prevalent in the community, there are students, Canadian, International, Indigenous and from across the disciplines who are deeply informed.
17) The majority of students responding to our survey call for more Indigenous-focused courses and a minority (~16%) call for one or more mandatory courses.
18) Completing the questionnaire was an educational experience for many students.
19) Courses with Indigenous content and Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre are most important for making Queen's a welcoming environment for Indigenous people.
20) 91% of students considered the questionnaire a good assessment of their knowledge and 3% considered the questionnaire a poor assessment of their knowledge.

Introduction

It is our pleasure to present this report to the Aboriginal Council of Queen's University and to the Queen's community. It is our fond hope that it will be of use to the University and the Indigenous communities associated with Queen's as they grapple with the problems of deep social ignorance about Indigenous topics and the colonial nature of Canadian society. There are two parts to the report. The first is a quantitative analysis that allows comparison of student performance on multiple-choice questions with other factors including the kind of education they have received, what they think of what they know, their social attitudes, demographic factors and their reaction to the questionnaire. The second part of the survey is based on a qualitative analysis of student responses to 11 open-ended questions. The analysis is focused on major themes from these approximately 9,000 responses. The results of these analyses are presented here. We also surveyed first-year students at Queen's in 2014 but do not consider the data strictly comparable because, as a growing and dynamic field, the questions have evolved, the first questionnaire was almost entirely multiple-choice, and we have undertaken a slightly different analysis of the results of the exiting student questionnaire. It is nevertheless clear that many students have learned a great deal about Indigenous topics while at Queen's. Others, as you will see, have not.

A note on the data: The information we have provided about the students who responded to our questions in parentheses at the end of each quotation will not allow identification of any individual. We decided to omit gender, as frequently substantially irrelevant, but have reported on its relevance elsewhere in the report. For each respondent we have provided their unique ID number in our data set, their self-identification if Indigenous, racialized or International student, their discipline, and the number and type of courses they have taken at university or college. We will soon make the anonymous data available for analysis by others through the Queen's University Scholar's Portal Dataverse.

Queen's on 'Extending the Rafters'

In April 2016, Queen's struck a task force to address the university's role in the process of (re)conciliation. This effort was in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's release of its final report (2015) on the history and legacy of the residential school system in Canada, and its calls to action for post-secondary institutions. Under the theme "extending the rafters," informed by Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe understandings of inclusivity and community, the task force engaged with Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (Indigenous communities, faculty, staff, students, governance bodies, and alumni) to develop recommendations for sustained institutional change to advance (re)conciliation. The 25 recommendations outlined in the task force's final report emphasize "strengthening relationships with Indigenous communities; promoting a deeper understanding of Indigenous histories, knowledge systems, and experiences; and creating a campus that values and reflects Indigenous histories and perspectives" (Queen's University TRC Task Force, 2018). Since the report's release in 2017, faculties, schools, and shared service units have shown engagement in this process. Especially central to the work being done is the Office of Indigenous Initiatives in the Faculty of Arts & Science. Initiated in 2017 and directed by Kanonhsyonne (Janice Hill), the Office of Indigenous Initiatives coordinates and cultivates Indigenous initiatives and learning opportunities for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students, and offers support for the academic and personal endeavours of Indigenous faculty, students, staff, and alumni.

In writing the *What Queen's Students Know* report, the Awareness team acknowledges the work being done across the university, and the long-term vision of the task force. The report is designed to be an independent assessment of the state of students' knowledge of colonialism and Indigenous topics across the disciplines at Queen's. We hope that this report helps inform commitments to fostering powerful educational experiences that reflect the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's calls for deep social change.

Methodology

Co-Designing the Questionnaire

The Awareness team developed the Awareness questionnaire over a period of ten years through 100+ meetings with over 300 First Nations, Métis and Inuit educators, community members, faculty, staff, and students, affiliated with 15 universities and colleges across Newfoundland & Labrador, Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia.[1] The aim of the co-design process in each province has been to develop a questionnaire that allows fine-grained analysis of the relationship between knowledge considered by Indigenous educators to be vital to responsible citizenship, and post-secondary students' formal education, attitudes, and experience. We deliver the co-designed questionnaire to entering and exiting students at partner universities and colleges (see Godlewska et al. 2013, 2017a, 2017b, Schaefli et al. 2018). We also share raw data, results, and a final report with all partner institutions for use in internal programming.

Co-designing the questionnaire is a living and iterative process. To each co-design meeting, we brought a draft of the questionnaire and went through it, word for word, for importance, accuracy, and resonance with co-designers' experiences, understanding, and visions for transforming education. As a result, the questionnaire differs between educational jurisdictions (usually provinces) and each questionnaire is tailored to fit the educational institution. As a research tool that is fundamentally about decolonizing knowledge, it is vital that the questionnaires reflect many minds and many different experiences.

The Queen's Questionnaire

The questionnaire developed for exiting students at Queen's University includes 6 sections designed to determine:

1. Where students learned what they know (12 items);
2. What they think of what they know (seven items);
3. Knowledge (21 items);
4. Social attitude (14 items);
5. Demographics (e.g., age, gender, major) (10 items); and
6. Reactions to the questionnaire (two items).

[1] These universities and colleges are: Memorial University (NFLD & LB); University of Windsor, University of Guelph, Wilfrid Laurier University, McMaster University, University of Toronto, Trent University, Queen's University, University of Ottawa, Laurentian University, Lakehead University, St. Lawrence College (ON), University of Manitoba (MB), Douglas College and Vancouver Island University (BC).

As senior university students are both better able to express themselves and more likely to have deeper understanding than first-year students, the knowledge portion of the 4th year questionnaire has 7 open-ended questions and 14 multiple-choice questions (in contrast, the first-year knowledge test is composed solely of multiple-choice questions). The Queen's exit survey questions are designed to appraise awareness of:

1. Indigenous presence (geography) (1 open-ended, 2 MC questions);
2. Land awareness (1 open-ended, 2 MC questions);
3. Laws or circumstances structuring First Nations, Métis and Inuit lives (governance) (1 open-ended, 2 MC questions);
4. Residential schools (1 open-ended, 2 MC questions);
5. What is happening for First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples in Canada today (current events) (1 open-ended, 2 MC questions);
6. Past realities that have shaped today's circumstances (history) (1 open-ended, 2 MC questions); and
7. First Nations, Métis and Inuit cultural continuity (culture) (1 open-ended, 2 MC questions).

Each open-ended question was structured around a prompt such as a map, quote, or piece of artwork. The open-ended question was followed by two multiple-choice questions on the same theme.

Delivery and Participants

The Awareness team delivered the survey in 23 exiting-year undergraduate and Education classes between December 2017 and April 2018. We contacted deans, department heads, and instructors across faculties and disciplines to gain access to courses. We were successful in accessing 4th-year courses in: Civil Engineering, Commerce, Concurrent Education, Consecutive Education, Global Development Studies, Drama, Engineering Physics, English, Environmental Studies, French Language and Literature, Gender Studies, Geography, History, Kinesiology, Mechanical Engineering, Mining Engineering, Nursing, Physics, Political studies, Psychology, and Sociology. We were unable to gain access to Biology, Economics, Religious Studies and Chemistry. In total, 1,179 students were asked to take part. 1,000 students did so and 844 completed the questionnaire, giving us a response rate of 85% and a completion rate of 72%. The responses of the 844 students who completed the questionnaire are the focus of this report. Table 1 summarizes the number of students who completed the questionnaire in each faculty as a percentage of the total completions at Queen's.

Faculty	# completed	% of total
Arts & Science - Arts	255	30.2
Arts & Science - Science	35	4.0
Business	107	12.7
Education - Concurrent	145	17.2
Education - Consecutive	113	12.9
Engineering	103	12.2
Health Sciences	70	8.3
Declined to answer	16	2.4

Table 1. Completed questionnaires by Faculty as percentage of total completions at Queen's.

The Awareness questionnaire and its delivery were designed to be both diagnostic and educational. Students were shown the correct answers to multiple-choice questions as they completed the questions and, upon completing the survey, were directed to a webpage with resources by Indigenous and decolonial scholars, authors, and activists to learn more. Elder Deb St. Amant (Bezhig Waabshke Ma'iingan Gewetigaabo), Elder-in-Residence at the Queen's Faculty of Education, also accompanied the team to classrooms and guided a post-survey debrief. Students could ask questions, or, if silent, Deb would speak on topics she considered important for those students. Many students told us that they greatly appreciated the opportunity to learn from an Elder.

Data Analysis

We analyzed open-ended survey questions using NVivo, a software package for qualitative inquiry. We coded each question thematically by examining the data for patterns in student responses. We then reviewed coded themes as a group at regular intervals to ensure consistency and agreement in interpretation. We examined statistical differences in participants' performance through independent samples t-tests or analysis of variance (ANOVA). The null hypothesis for these analyses was that demographic groupings would not influence awareness. For demographic variables with two groupings, we employed an independent samples t-test. For demographic variables with three or more groupings, ANOVA was used. Welch's ANOVA (α=0.05), specifically, with a Games-Howell post-hoc test was used to account for unequal variance. Where there were significant differences, Cohen's *d* or partial $\eta 2$ were calculated as a measure of effect size (Cohen, 1988). Statistical differences in participants' responses within check-all-that-apply items were examined using contingency tables (cross tables) and Pearson's chi-square tests of independence (chi-square test). A chi-square test using z-test of column proportions with Bonferonni adjustments to significance level (α= 0.05) was employed to identify significant differences. For 2 by 2 cross tables with smaller sample sizes, specifically expected counts less than 5, Pearson's chi-square test was

substituted for Fisher's Exact Test. The null hypothesis for these analyses was that demographic groupings would not influence awareness. All data analysis was completed using Statistical Program for the Social Sciences version 25 (SPSS v. 25).

Quantitative Results

Performance on Multiple-Choice Questions

The knowledge test included 14 multiple-choice questions. 11 of these questions had one correct answer. The remaining three had multiple correct answers and were constructed as check-all-that-apply. We calculated student performance by assigning a point to each correct answer. A question with one correct answer would have a maximum score of one, whereas a check-all-that-apply question with, for example, four correct answers would have a maximum score of four. Students could score a maximum of 28 points on the multiple-choice questions. Based on this metric, students' overall test performance was 71.1% (*SD* = 19.21 percent, range = 0 to 100 percent). Students who self-identified as Indigenous (*n* = 35) performed 6.5% better on the test on average than students who did not identify as Indigenous. Students who self-identified as international students (*n* = 24) performed, on average, 23.7% less well than students who did not identify as such.

While students' overall test performance was fairly high, there was considerable variation in performance across test question themes (Figure 1).

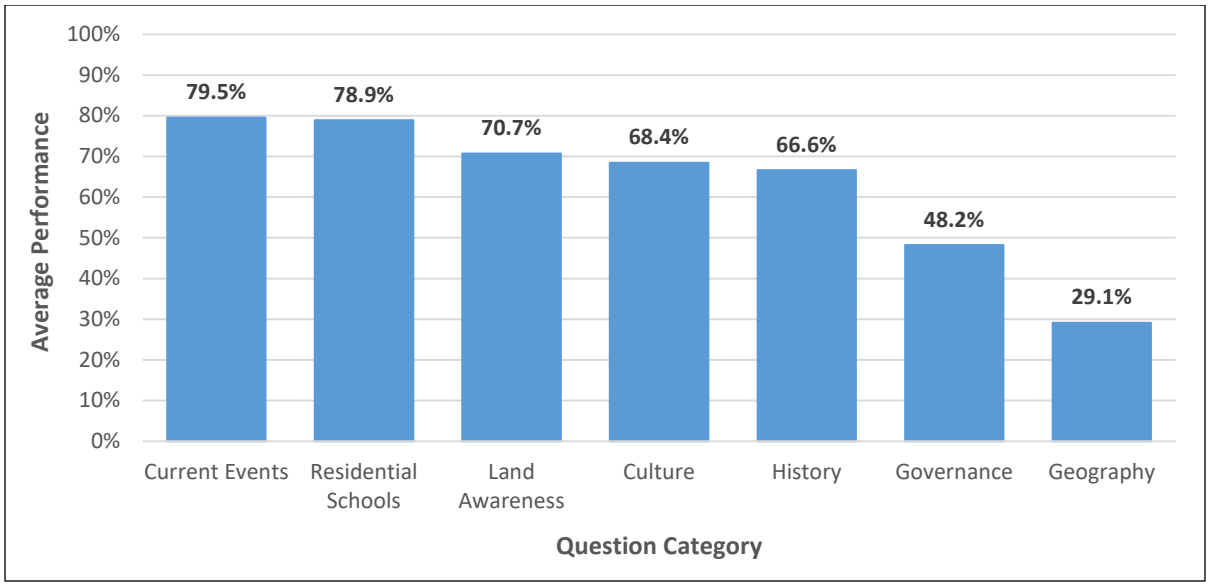


Figure 1. Average test performance by question category (weighted).

Students did best on current events (*M* = 79.5, *SD* = 25.8) and residential schools questions (*M*= 78.9, *SD* = 23.8). Students did much less well on questions related to Canadian governance (*M* = 48.2, *SD* = 33.2) and particularly poorly on questions on the continuity of Indigenous presence (geography) (*M* = 29.1, *SD* = 36.0). It is interesting to note the difference in performance between land awareness and geography. The former has been the attention of the institution through land acknowledgements, but local land awareness does not imply knowledge of larger

geographic trends in the Indigenous population in Canada (on reserve/off reserve; increasing or decreasing population).

Student performance also differed by question topic. Table 2 summarizes the percent correct score achieved on each question, organized by theme.

Theme	Question topic	% Correct
Current Events	Systemic racism**	64.0
	Post-secondary funding	49.1
Residential Schools	Aims of residential schools**	31.0
	Consequences of residential schools**	72.8
Land awareness	Traditional territories, Queen's campus	64.0
	All my relations	77.7
Culture	Indigenous languages	61.3
	Indigenous conceptions of health & well-being	76.5
History	Indian Act gender discrimination	72.8
	Louis Riel	61.0
Governance	2008 Apology	61.6
	Government approach to land claims	34.9
Geography	FN, M, I population	17.3
	Off reserve	41.0

Table 2. Test question performance by question topic and theme. **are check-all-that-apply questions. For these questions, % Correct refers to students who selected all of the correct answers and none of the incorrect answers.

Students did best on questions related to Indigenous philosophies of place and being, including the meaning of the phrase "all my relations" (77.7%) and Indigenous conceptions of health and well-being (76.5%). Students did least well on a question on whether the First Nations, Métis and Inuit population is increasing, decreasing, or staying the same (17.3%). Important too is that although at least 70 percent of First Nations people in Canadian provinces live off reserve (Statistics Canada, 2013), the majority of students think that most First Nations people live on reserve (45.9 percent incorrect vs. 41.0 percent correct). It is likewise significant that a little over a third of students have difficulty understanding the breadth and depth of systemic racism.

Student performance also differed across faculties and subject areas (Figure 2).

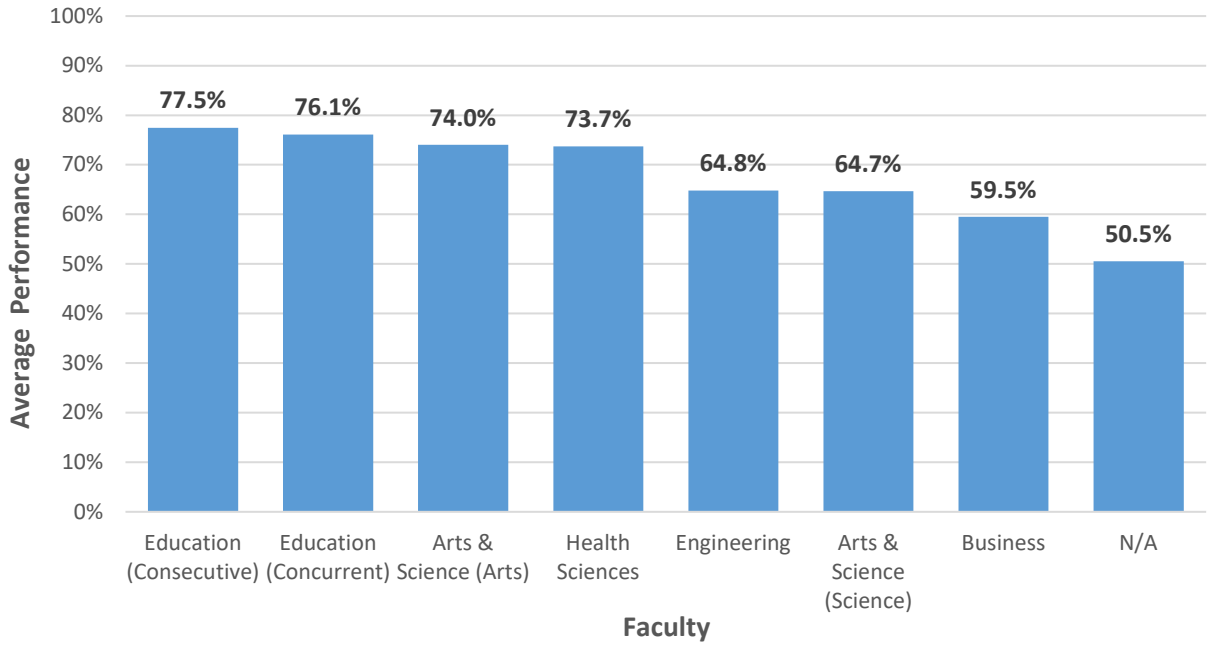


Figure 2. Average test performance by Faculty

Encouragingly, given their role as future teachers, students in the Consecutive and Concurrent Education programs performed best on the multiple-choice questions (Consecutive: *M*= 77.5, *SD* = 15.0; Concurrent: *M* = 76.1, *SD* = 18.4). Note that high student performance in Education may reflect the courses they have taken in their undergraduate degrees. Students in the Commerce program (Faculty of Business) and those who declined to declare their major did least well (Commerce: *M* = 59.5, *SD* = 23.0; Did not declare: *M* = 50.5, *SD* = 30.7).

Impact of Education at Queen's

Overall, taking courses at Queen's has a significant positive effect on students' test performance. We asked students whether they had taken courses at Queen's that enhanced their knowledge about First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples and topics. A little over half of the 704 students who answered the question reported that they had not taken courses on Indigenous topics (n = 375). 329 students reported that they had taken courses. These students perform, on average, 11% better on the test than those students who have not taken courses ($t_{536.010}$ = -7.439, p < 0.001). We also asked students to name courses they learned from. Students identified 68 courses across the humanities, social sciences, sciences, Engineering, Education, and Commerce programs. We classified these courses into two groups: Indigenous-

focused (IF) and courses with some Indigenous content (SC). Table 3 summarizes the number of Indigenous-Focused and Some-Content courses identified by students, by faculty.

Faculty	# of IF courses	# of SC courses
Arts & Science - Arts	22	29
Arts & Science - Science	0	4
Business	0	1
Education	1	1
Engineering	0	5
Health Sciences	0	5

Table 3. Number of Indigenous-Focused and Some-Content courses identified by students, by Faculty.

The vast majority of courses with Indigenous content are clustered in social science and humanities programs in the Faculty of Arts & Science. Far fewer are available to students in the sciences or to students in the Faculties of Business, Education, Engineering, and Health Sciences. We found a statistically significant difference in test performance based on the types of courses students had taken at Queen's (Welch's $F(2,354.145) = 52.461$, $p < 0.001$, partial $\eta 2 = 0.102$). Students who reported taking Indigenous-focused courses performed significantly better on the test ($80.60 \pm 12.20\%$, $p < 0.001$) compared to those who reported taking courses with some Indigenous content ($73.43 \pm 15.38\%$, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.52$) and those who reported not taking these types of courses ($64.01 \pm 21.92\%$, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.94$). Essentially, the more Indigenous content the students have been exposed to, the better they perform on the test. This suggests two things: that students retain what they learn and that when courses are offered, they have a significant impact on the understanding of students who take them.

Students are good judges of what they know and of the quality of education they have received. Immediately after the test portion of the questionnaire, we asked students how informed they feel about Indigenous peoples and topics (Figure 3).

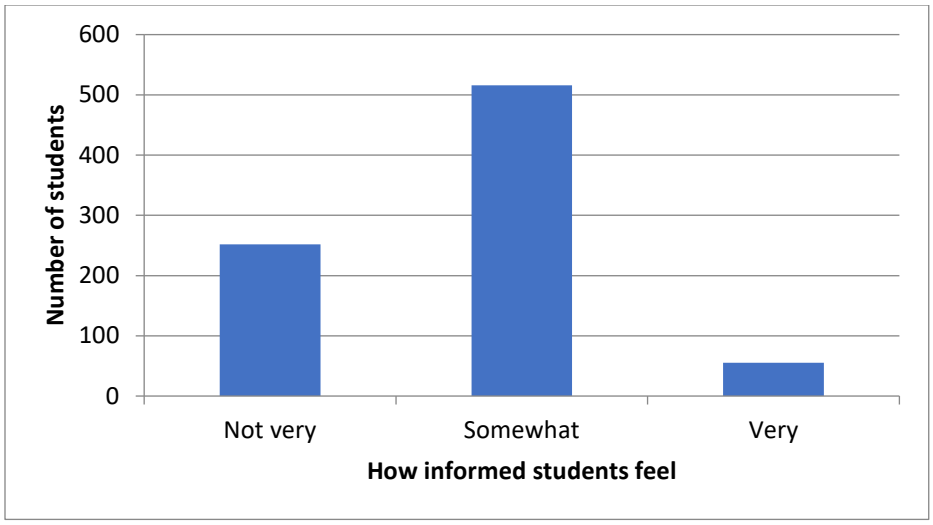


Figure 3. How informed students feel about First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples and topics.

Analysis of variance found that there was a significant difference in test performance based on how informed respondents felt about First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples and topics (Welch's $F(2,138.782) = 19.085$, $p < 0.001$, partial $\eta 2 = 0.05$). Overall performance on the multiple-choice test was significantly lower for students who reported that they felt not very informed (65.86 $\pm$19.23%) compared to those who reported that they felt somewhat informed (74.20 $\pm$ 16.51%, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.47$) and those that felt very informed (77.34 $\pm$ 20.77%, $p = 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.57$). We also asked students how well they consider they were taught about First Nations, Métis, and Inuit topics, respectively, at Queen's (Figure 4).

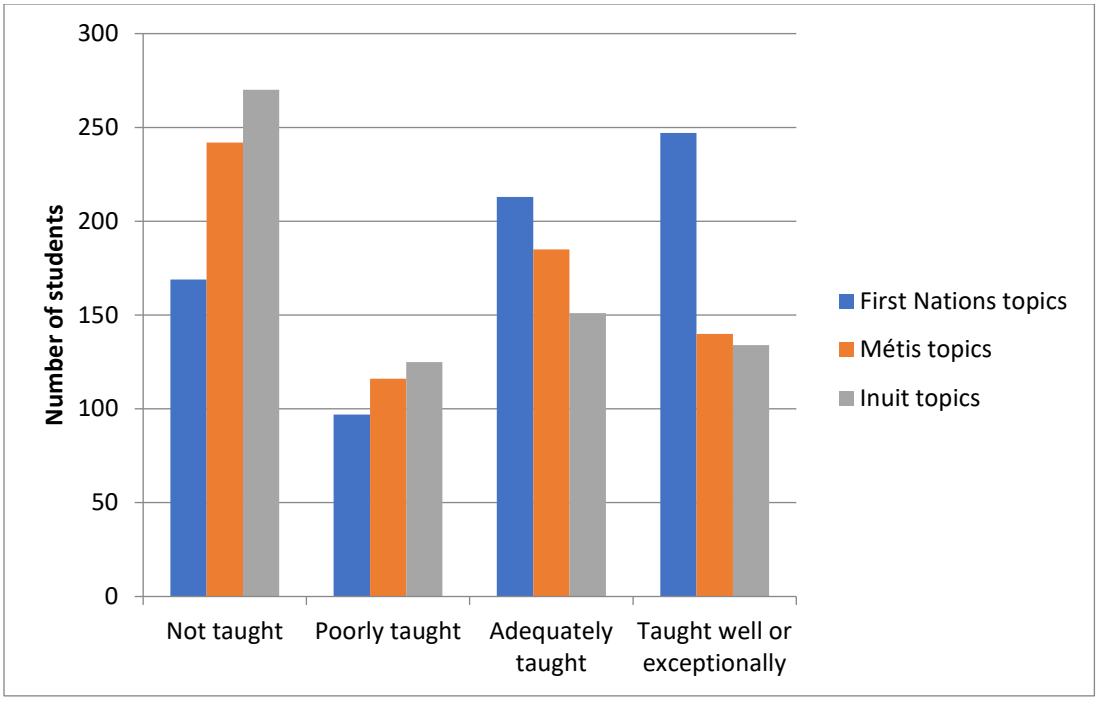


Figure 4. Student perceptions of teaching quality about First Nations, Métis and Inuit topics at Queen's.

Student perceptions of teaching quality about First Nations and Métis topics are positively linked to their performance on the test: the better students consider they were taught, the better they perform on the test. Students who considered that they were taught well or exceptionally about First Nations topics performed significantly higher on the test (76.14 ± 15.70%, $p < 0.001$) than those who considered they were not taught (65.79 ± 20.92%, $p < 0.001$, Cohen's $d = 0.56$). A similar pattern is true of teaching about Métis topics: students who consider that they were taught well or exceptionally perform significantly better (74.36 ± 15.72%) than students who consider they were not taught (68.65 ± 20.12%, $p = 0.012$, Cohen's $d = 0.32$). However, this relationship was not significant for Inuit topics. The high number of students who say that they have not been taught about Inuit suggests a dearth of strong Inuit-focused courses and content at Queen's.

Social Attitude and Test Performance

While knowledge is critical to social change, so is social attitude. We asked students a series of questions about their views, attitudes, and values. As we are interested in the relationship between knowledge and social attitude, we asked students what might be the cause of any limitation to their knowledge about Indigenous peoples and topics in Canada. Students could choose one or more of nine set phrases developed by co-designers to represent common student responses (Figure 5).

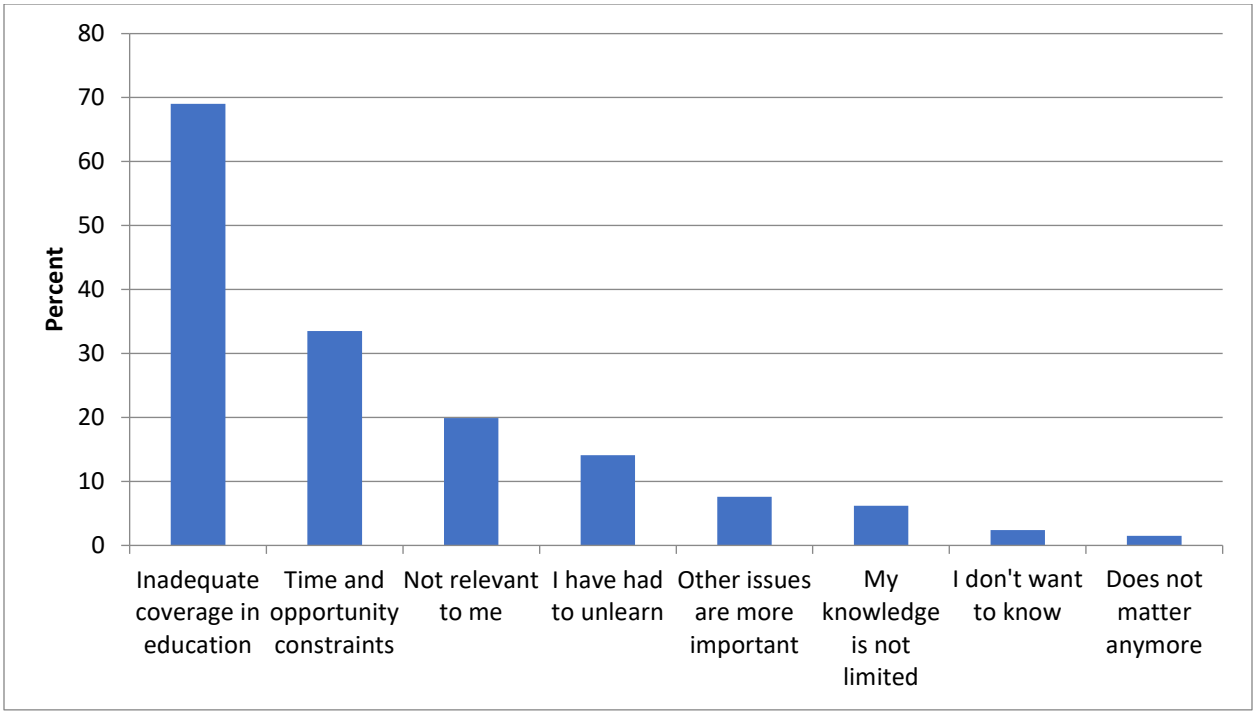


Figure 5. Student reporting on the limitations to their knowledge about First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples and topics.

The vast majority of students consider that the principal barrier to their knowledge is inadequate coverage in school, college and university, reinforcing the need for better education. A little over a third of respondents consider that there were time and opportunity constraints to learning. Troublingly, a fifth of students consider that the topics are not relevant to them. About 15 percent of students consider that they have learned things that they have had to unlearn. A little over 5 percent do not consider their knowledge to be limited. A smaller number of students (~30) consider that they do not want to know.

We found that there was a statistically significant relationship between how students answered this question, their performance on the test, and whether or not they had taken courses on Indigenous topics at Queen's. Students who considered that they have learned things they have had to unlearn performed, on average, 11.5% better on the test than students who did not select this response ($t_{198.251} = 7.673$, $p < 0.001$). These students were significantly more likely to have taken courses on Indigenous topics at Queen's (X^2 (1, $N = 844$) = 6.832, $p = 0.009$). Students who recognize gaps in their education ("There was inadequate coverage in school, college, and university") and those who consider that they already know a lot ("My knowledge is not limited") also perform better on the test compared to students who do not select these answers: by 9.4% ($t_{357.732} = 5.717$, $p < 0.001$) and 7.2% ($t_{842} = 2.620$, $p = 0.009$), respectively. However, those students who indicate that "Other issues are more important in Canada today", "I do not want to know" or "It is all in the past and does not matter anymore" perform significantly less well on the test: respectively, by -6% ($t_{842} = -2.417$, $p = 0.016$), -14.3%

(t_{842} = -3.302, p = 0.001), and -16.1% (t_{842} = -3.013, p = 0.003). Troublingly, these students are all significantly less likely to have taken courses about Indigenous topics at Queen's ("Other issues are more important": (X^2 (1, N = 844) = 5.100, p = 0.024); "I do not want to know": (X^2 (1, N = 844) = 12.664, p < 0.001); "It is all in the past and does not matter anymore": (X^2 (1, N = 844) = 5.134, p = 0.023). They are also less likely to be interested in learning more ("Other issues are more important": p < 0.001; "I do not want to know": p < 0.001; "It is all in the past and does not matter anymore": p < 0.001). That lack of exposure to Indigenous topics and perspectives negatively affects students' willingness to engage with them, demonstrates the need for better and more distributed learning opportunities across programs and faculties.

We investigated whether students who select "Other issues are more important", "I do not want to know" or "It is all in the past and does not matter anymore" are more likely to be enrolled in a particular program. Students who selected "Other issues are more important in Canada today" were significantly more likely to be Business or Engineering students (Business: X^2 (1, N = 844) = 21.577, p < 0.001; Engineering: X^2 (1, N = 844) = 4.250, p = 0.047). They were significantly less likely to be Arts students (X^2 (1, N = 844) = 5.573, p = 0.018). Students who selected "I do not want to know" or "It is all in the past and does not matter anymore" were also significantly more likely to be Business students ("I do not want to know": p = 0.008; "It is all in the past and does not matter anymore": (X^2 (6, N = 830) = 15.973, p = 0.014). The prevalence of resistant social attitudes in the Faculties of Business and Engineering suggests a particular need for better learning opportunities in these programs.

Students' attitudes towards social inequity also appear to be linked to exposure to Indigenous perspectives and topics. We asked students how they feel when First Nations, Métis and Inuit people have fewer advantages and opportunities than they do. Students could choose one or more of nine set phrases (Figure 6). These phrases were chosen to represent a wide array of attitudes that co-designers considered common in the student population across Canada.

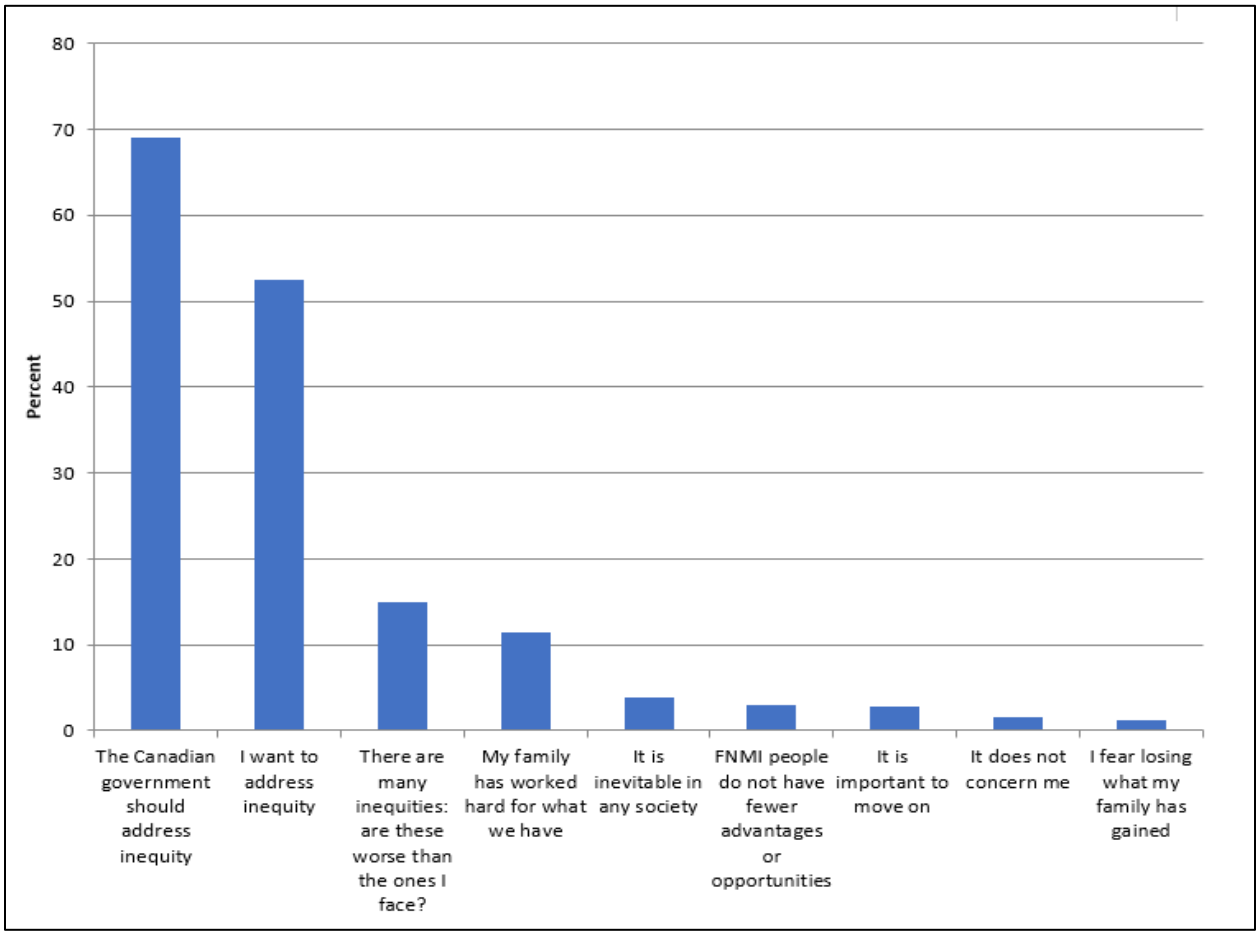


Figure 6. Student reporting on how they feel when First Nations, Métis and Inuit people have fewer advantages and opportunities than they do.

The responses fall into five categories: delegation of responsibility; taking personal responsibility; ambivalence; fear; and apathy. Nearly 70 percent of students delegate responsibility for inequity to the Canadian government. Fewer consider that they want to address inequity, though at over 50 percent this is the second-most popular answer amongst these students. That nearly 15 percent of students wonder if the inequities faced by Indigenous people are worse than the ones they face, suggests that many of the students in this sample experience social marginalization of one sort or another, or perhaps it expresses a lack of identification with Indigenous people. A little over 10 percent express fear that addressing inequity would entail loss of the advantages they have ("I fear losing" and "my family has worked hard"). Approximately 5 percent are apathetic about inequity (It is inevitable, must move on, does not concern me). The prevalence of fear and apathy is particularly indicative of the barriers at play in challenging systemic racism (Schick & St. Denis, 2003; Tupper, 2013).

In this question, too, students' attitudes are linked to test performance and whether they have taken courses at Queen's about Indigenous peoples and topics. Students who

consider that they want to address disadvantage perform, on average, 11.6% better on the test than students who do not select this response ($t_{649.440}$ = -8.994, p < 0.001). These students are also significantly more likely to have taken courses that enhanced their knowledge about Indigenous topics (X^2 (1, N = 844) = 16.382, p < 0.001). Students who selected "I feel the Canadian government should address disadvantage" also perform better on the test, though by a smaller margin: 9.8% ($t_{357.694}$ = -5.973, p < 0.001). Conversely, students who consider that "First Nations, Métis and Inuit people do not have fewer advantages or opportunities" perform 18.5% less well on the test than students who do not select this answer ($t_{24.623}$ = 3.207, p = 0.004). Similarly, students who consider that inequity is inevitable in any society perform 9% less well than students who do not feel this way (t_{842} = 2.617, p = 0.009). That taking courses at Queen's may have a positive effect not only on students' knowledge but also on social attitudes speaks to the importance of integrating content across courses and programs.

We investigated the relationship between student responses to social attitude questions and self-reported gender. We found that students who self-identify as female (n = 572) or male (n = 236) answer social attitude questions differently. When asked what might be the cause of any limitation to their knowledge about Indigenous peoples and topics in Canada, students who considered that they have learned things that they have had to unlearn were significantly more likely to self-identify as female (X^2 (1, N = 808) = 8.451, p = 0.004). The same is true of respondents who considered that there was inadequate coverage of Indigenous topics in their education (X^2 (1, N = 808) = 47.159, p < 0.001). However, students who considered that other topics are more important in Canada today were significantly more likely to identify as male (X^2 (1, N = 808) = 20.259, p < 0.001). When asked how they feel when Indigenous people have fewer advantages or opportunities than they do, students who considered that it makes them want to address disadvantage were more likely to identify as female (X^2 (1, N = 808) = 19.002, p < 0.001), as were students who considered that the Canadian government should address disadvantage (X^2 (1, N = 808) = 6.967, p = 0.008). Students who considered that their families have worked hard for what they have were more likely to identify as male (X^2 (1, N = 808) = 4.257, p = 0.039), as were students who considered that First Nations, Métis and Inuit people do not have fewer advantages or opportunities (X^2 (1, N = 808) = 5.172, p = 0.023). Although we investigated whether male and female students answer differently within faculties, these results were not significant.

Impact of Family

While what is taught in school has considerable influence on students' knowledge and social attitudes, so does family. As we were interested in the relationship between family and students' social attitudes, we asked students to describe the views of their immediate family members of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples. Students could choose one or more of seven set phrases (Figure 7).

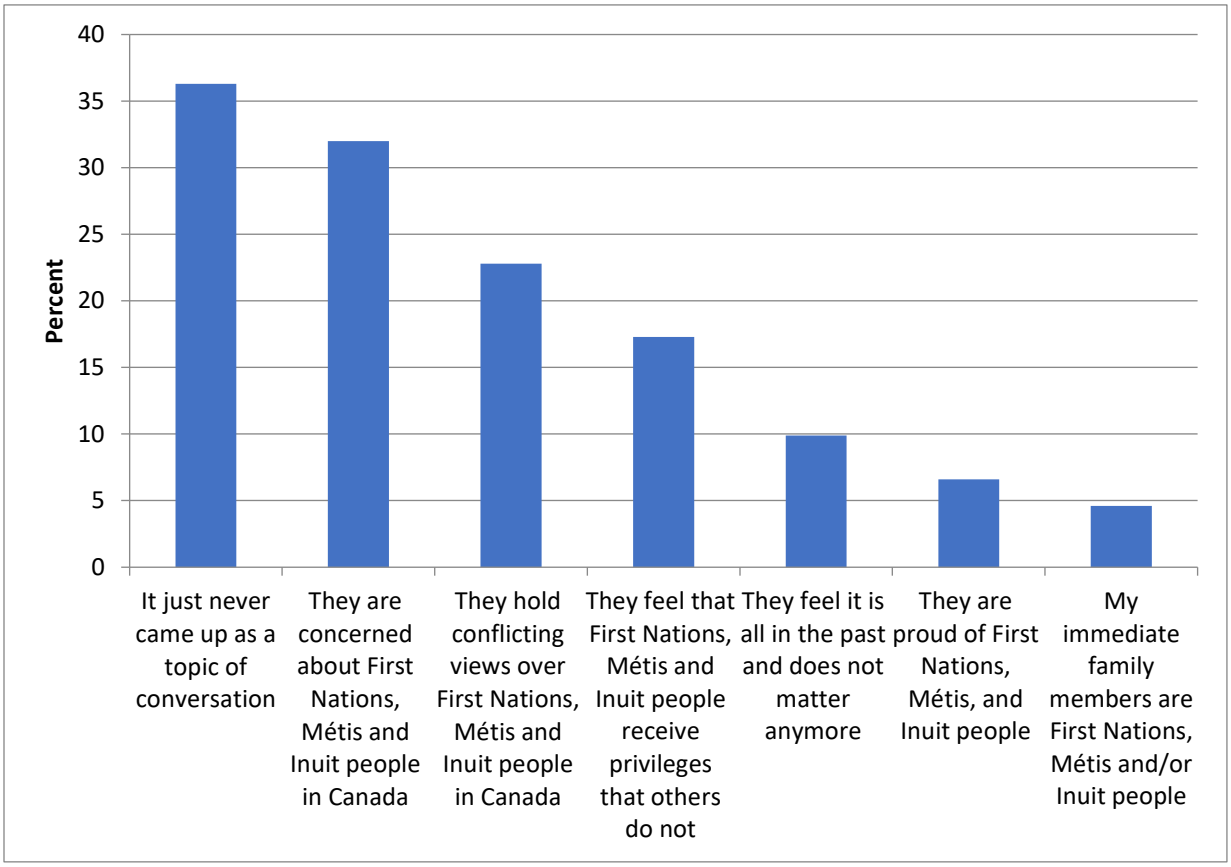


Figure 7. Student reporting on the views of immediate family members of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples.

The majority of students encounter silence in the home. About a third consider that their immediate family members are concerned about Indigenous people(s) in Canada today. Nearly a quarter consider that their immediate family members hold conflicting views. Troublingly, over a fifth of students report that their immediate family members feel that Indigenous people receive privileges that others do not and nearly 10 percent consider that family members feel that Indigenous topics do not matter anymore. A little over 5 percent consider that their family members are proud of Indigenous people. Nearly 5 percent of students have Indigenous family members.

We found a statistically significant relationship between how students answered this question and their performance on the test. Students who have Indigenous family members perform, on average, 6.3% better on the test than students who do not ($t_{46.824}$ = -2.777, p = 0.008). Interestingly, students who consider that their families hold prejudicial or conflicting views are also more likely to do better on the test ($t_{263.099}$ = -3.692, p < 0.001; $t_{390.219}$ = -5.002, p < 0.001). However, students who consider that Indigenous topics never came up as a topic of conversation at home perform less well on the test (-5.9%) (t_{842} = 4.315, p < 0.001). These students are also significantly less likely to have taken courses on Indigenous topics in high

school or university (high school: X^2 (1, N = 844) = 9.370, p = 0.002; at Queen's: X^2 (1, N = 844) = 8.005, p = 0.005). This pattern suggests that any engagement on the part of students' families with Indigenous topics is better than none at all. Silence in the home may have long-term consequences for learning: students may be less likely to seek out opportunities to learn if they are not aware of Indigenous topics in the first place. This would indicate the importance of integrating Indigenous topics and perspectives throughout the K-12 curriculum and particularly in college and university programs.

Conclusion

While exiting Queen's students do fairly well on the multiple-choice portion of the Awareness questionnaire, there is considerable difference in student performance across faculties. While taking courses at Queen's has a significant positive effect on students' knowledge, the majority of courses with Indigenous content are clustered in social sciences and humanities programs, with very few available to science students or to students in the Faculties of Engineering, Commerce, and Health. The unevenness of this distribution may explain why students in these programs do much less well on the knowledge test compared to students in social science and humanities. Indeed, over half of the students we surveyed had not taken any courses with Indigenous content. We found, too, that there is considerable unevenness in quality of teaching about First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples: on the whole, students consider that they were taught less well about Inuit and about Métis than about First Nations peoples. There is a particular dearth of Inuit-focused courses and content at Queen's.

We were interested in the relationship between knowledge and social attitude and asked students two questions: what might be the cause of any limitation to their knowledge about Indigenous peoples and topics in Canada, and how they feel when Indigenous people have fewer advantages and opportunities than they do. We found that taking courses about Indigenous topics was linked to more positive social attitudes and to wanting to learn more; conversely, not taking courses was linked to resistance to learning. Gender and program of study were also significant. Female students were more likely to take a critical approach to their own knowledge and education than male students. They were also more likely to see themselves as playing a role in addressing inequity. Students who expressed resistance to learning were more likely to be enrolled in Commerce and Engineering programs.

While courses taken at Queen's affect students' test performance and social attitudes, family is also important. Students who have Indigenous family members do better on the test, as do students who consider that their families hold prejudicial or conflicting views. Yet students who report that Indigenous topics were never discussed at home do significantly less well, suggesting that any engagement on the part of students' families is better than none at all. That students who were not exposed to Indigenous topics at home are also less likely to take courses with Indigenous content in high school or university suggests that silence at home

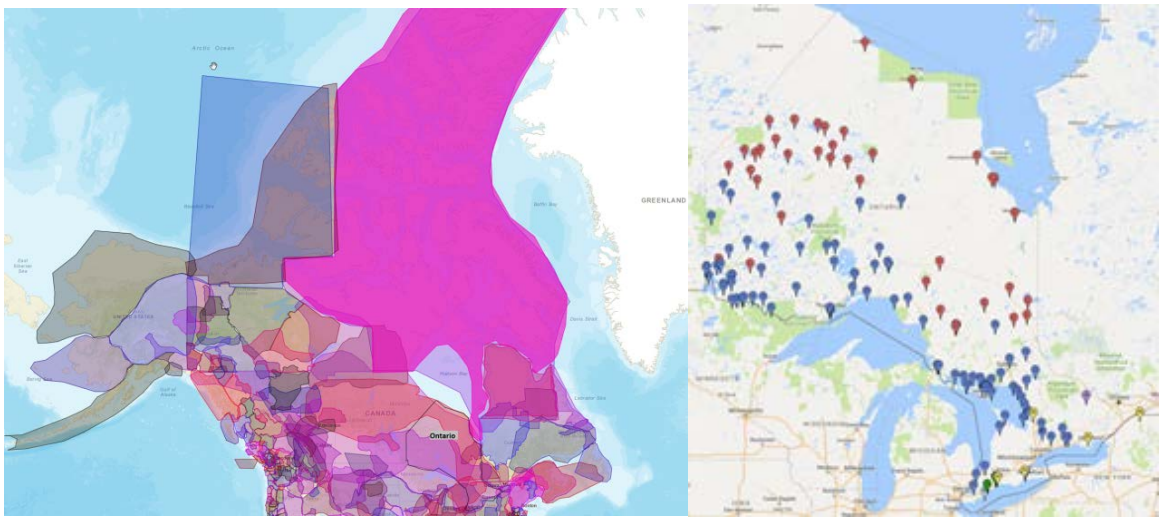
has long-term consequences for students' learning. Schools, colleges, and universities are responsible for providing these learning opportunities.

Qualitative Results

In addition to 14 multiple-choice questions, we asked students 11 open-ended questions designed to allow them to respond in greater depth to key topics. We felt that after ~four years of university education most students would be able to express themselves clearly and would find an exclusively multiple-choice series of questions too constraining. Their responses provide a significant opportunity to hear student voices and to plumb the depth of their understanding. The key topics were: awareness of Indigenous presence, land awareness, Canada's contradictory stance on colonialism, residential schools, racism and colonialism, Canada's manipulation of Indigenous identity, and the positive changes Indigenous people are driving. We also asked students what evidence they see that Queen's is a welcoming environment, their suggestions on changes that Queen's might implement, and what they have learned from participating in the survey. We ended with a question about the value of the questionnaire as an assessment of their knowledge. This question gives students room to comment on our work, provides us with valuable feedback on the survey and gives us an anecdotal sense of the survey's effectiveness.

Question 1. Reserves and Traditional Territories

The first question on the knowledge test asked:

> Below are two maps: one a living map of North America in which Indigenous peoples have described their traditional territories and one a map of Ontario by Google based on Government of Canada information of First Nations reserves.
>
> 
>
>
> What is the difference between reserves and traditional territories?

In asking this question, we were interested in students' thinking around the fundamental issue of land and its theft from Indigenous people. What do students know about colonial strategies to erode Indigenous land bases? Students' responses reveal a number of important trends. Encouragingly, 5.4% (43) of students showed deep understanding of the difference between reserves and traditional territories and its implications. Most common, however, is the perception that traditional territories no longer exist. While a little over a quarter of students could describe some of the colonial aims of the reserve system, the majority are silent about treaties and the Indian Act. Many students are also confused about the differences between First Nations, Métis and Inuit and assume that all Indigenous people live on reserves. Nearly a fifth of students, apparently unaware that all of Canada is Indigenous territory, believe that reserves themselves, as well as differences in taxation, are gifts from the government. A small but vocal minority insist that settlers today have no responsibilities. A further 15% (119) of students could not answer the question.

The most critical and well-informed responses came from students who had grown up in or near an Indigenous community and/or had been taught about topics related to colonialism and Indigenous peoples in university. As a Métis student in Consecutive Education stated, the creation of reserves is inseparable from colonial land dispossession, resource extraction, and attempts to destroy Indigenous communities:

> Reserves were designed to be made of the worst land, the Anishinaabemowin word for reserve means "leftovers". Canada took all of the best agricultural land for their settlers and wanted to kill off all Native people. Living with that legacy of attempted/on-going genocide is hurting our peoples and our youth (ID 828, many courses from Canadian Studies major with focus on Indigenous-settler relations and ATEP).

A Concurrent Education student likewise highlighted ongoing dispossession, focusing on settler failure to uphold treaties and exploitation of traditional territories through resource extraction:

> Traditional territories are the lands that were occupied by Indigenous groups before the period of settler colonization began (it is still ongoing). Reserves are lands designated by colonizers that were formed through treaties as areas where Indigenous peoples were expected to live. These treaties are frequently not upheld or have never been upheld by the government, and traditional lands are often disrespected and abused by large companies (especially for pipelines, tar sands, etc.) (ID 176, 3 SC courses).

Other students point to the role of settler self-interest in creating the reserve system:

> Reserves…reflect what is convenient for the government with regard to resource distribution and land ownership for settlers (ID 174, Concurrent Education, 1 IF course).
>
> The difference is that the settlers took what was the Indigenous peoples, and made it their own, all the while keeping the First Nations' population in small 'communities', where they could be monitored, and controlled by the state (ID 273, Global Development Studies, 1 IF course).

Though they constitute a small minority of the students surveyed, these students articulate powerfully the dynamics of colonialism in Canada.

Troublingly, students also express a number of important misconceptions. By far the most common consigns Indigenous peoples and territories to the past: traditional territories no longer exist (28%, 221). The following logical structure is typical:

> Traditional territories are the historical lands that indigenous communities resided within before colonial settlement. (ID 472, Commerce, no courses).

For students writing in this vein, traditional territories are of the distant past, succeeded and superseded by the settler present. There is little sense of the vitality of Indigenous connection with traditional territories or of ongoing treaty responsibilities (Asch, 2014; Simpson, 2017, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). The assumption that traditional territories are past also denies the fact that many traditional territories - such as that of the Algonquin Nation just north of the city of Kingston - have never been surrendered.

Nearly 13% (98) of respondents consider that, in the words of a Chemistry and Concurrent Education student, "Reserves are land given to indigenous people from the government" (ID 3, no courses). Many students frame reserves as the product of government benevolence:

> The reserves are areas that the government has "given" the Indigenous peoples to live on in the way that they feel is best for the development of society (ID 110, Concurrent Education, no courses).
>
> Reserves are locations and communities set-up by the government for First Nations people to live and practice cultural traditions (ID 512, Civil Engineering, 1 SC course).

For these students, reserves were created through government largesse and First Nations people(s) are passive beneficiaries of settler generosity and direction. This perception not only completely denies colonialism, it is easily mobilized to frame Indigenous struggles for restitution and self-determination as ungrateful or taking advantage.

The tendency to frame government as benevolent and generous is also apparent in the responses of 38 (5%) students who frame reserves as sites of privilege. Reserves are "tax-free land from the government" (ID 785, Consecutive Education, some SC courses) where "living and goods are heavily subsidized by our government" (ID 441, Commerce, no courses). People living on reserves "are not subject to many laws/regulations that people not living on reserves are" (ID 500, Civil Engineering, 2 SC courses). Disturbingly, some students consider taxation regimes a form of government compensation:

> Although reservations are significantly smaller than the traditional territories, living there entitles indigenous people to financial advantages, such as smaller taxes etc... (ID 344, Engineering Physics, no courses).
>
> I think the difference [between reserves and traditional territories] is that there are designated "benefits" to those who live on a reserve, such as reduced government taxes, but this is an act of reconciliation on part of the Government of Canada. (ID 154, Concurrent Education studying Biology and Psychology, 1 SC course).

That these students focus on perceived advantages accorded to First Nations people and exhibit significant confusion over the reasons for differences in taxation demonstrates the necessity of more and better teaching around the history of reserves in Canada. It also suggests the need for deeper conversations about what reconciliation is and is not.

Although a little over a quarter (220) of students demonstrate some understanding of the colonial aims of reserves, describing attacks on cultural continuity (74), strategies of forced displacement (71), and methods of social control (59) and assimilation (16), it is significant that out of 789 students, only 16 mention the Indian Act and only 56 mention treaties. The Indian Act is the most important, deliberate, cultivated, and sustained act of legislated racism in Canada. Although our question did not focus directly on the Indian Act, it is fundamental to reserve creation and governance and thus critical to any discussion of land in Canada, reserve or otherwise (Lawrence, 2004). Likewise, treaties are central to understanding the relationship between reserves and traditional territories in Ontario. In much of Ontario, reserves were created as part of nation-to-nation agreements negotiated between First Nations leaders and representatives of the Crown (Long, 2010; Hill, 2017; Anishinabek Nation, 2018). That both

treaties and the Indian Act occupy a peripheral place in the imagination of the majority of these students suggests the need for deeper understanding about treaty history and responsibilities and colonial modes of governance.

In keeping with the overwhelming silence around the Indian Act, many students (24%, 189) are confused about identity terminology, often conflating Indigenous, Aboriginal, and First Nations or lumping together First Nations, Métis, and Inuit.

> From my understanding, reserves are land the government has set aside for Indigenous people. (ID 68, English Language & Literature, no courses).
>
> Traditional territories are the areas that Indigenous people inhabited before contact with Europeans. Reserves are pieces of land that the Canadian federal government has assigned to specific FNMI groups for living. (ID 746, Consecutive Education, some courses).

Many students conflate First Nations, Métis and Inuit experience while also assuming that all First Nations, Métis and Inuit people(s) live on reserves. Reserves are "the current areas where Indigenous peoples live" (ID 297, Mathematics and Engineering, no courses); they are "lands within which people who identify as members of First Nations, Indigenous, or Métis groups reside today" (ID 52, International student, Political Studies, no courses). Other students are deeply confused about the relationship between identity, reserves, and government: "To maintain their recognition as Aboriginal people in the eyes of the government, they must live on the reserves" (ID 501, Civil Engineering, 3 SC courses). "A certain status is lost when the first nations people move off of reserves (ID 482, Commerce, no courses).

Overall, the geographic imagination of these students appears to be of distant and isolated pockets of Indigeneity, without relationship to lands beyond reserve boundaries:

> Reserves are concentrated areas away from major urban centres that First Nations people live in. They are mostly located in Northern Ontario, and are isolated from major resources. (ID 137, Concurrent Education and Music, no courses).
>
> -more situated in the north
> -little/no access to health care/food options/government/cities
> -remote
> -no contact with "world" outside of reserves (ID 194, Health Studies, no courses).
>
> More people move down to the southern part of Ontario, their lands/territories have been squeezed and they have to start to connect with modern society more and more often in order to involve and survive in this world. (ID 364, International student, Mining Engineering, no courses).

The separation of reserves from the urban and modern in these students' imaginations is in keeping with a long legacy of Canadian policies aimed at evacuating Indigenous people(s) from urban lands (Peters, 2011; Peters & Anderson, 2013). It is also deeply misinformed: Métis and Inuit do not usually live on reserves and the majority of First Nations people in Canadian

provinces live off reserve (Statistics Canada, 2016). The endurance of such thinking suggests the necessity of combatting settler colonial tropes of Indigenous absence.

Some students work to distance themselves from colonial violence and dismiss settler responsibility. For a Civil Engineering student from British Columbia,

> the difference between [traditional land and reserves] is a few hundred years of political and social change that have repurposed and reallocated the land. (ID 63, no courses).

Dispossession is, for this student, inevitable, a natural outcome of the course of history. A History student similarly absolves settlers of responsibility, stating that land dispossession was "perhaps necessary to accommodate European settlement" (ID 229, 3 SC courses). Another student considers that as land theft occurred in the past, Canadians today cannot be held responsible:

> …an appropriate approach and quote can be described as this "The sins of the father are not the sins of the son." However it is our responsibility to humanity to try to break the cycle of poverty that was caused by some of our ancestors. (ID 341, Engineering Physics, no courses).

Only poverty, which this student frames as disconnected from Canadian policies of land usurpation and persistent and continuing attacks on Indigenous economies and identities, should be the focus of change. By rationalizing the status quo, these students can avoid engaging with the central issue of land dispossession and the consequences of that dispossession for all people living in Canada today.

In short, the majority of the 789 students who answered this question are deeply confused about the relationship between reserves and traditional territories. Very few understand the importance of treaties and the Indian Act to the reserve system. Many conflate First Nations, Métis and Inuit experience and assume, incorrectly, that all Indigenous people(s) live on reserves. For nearly a third of students, traditional territories no longer exist. Many students also assume that reserves were created out of government benevolence, a misconception that is particularly troubling for its ignorance of colonialism. It is telling that many of the most problematic conceptions are expressed by students who have not taken courses on Indigenous topics in university. Yet even when students do take courses, misconception can endure, suggesting that the content of what is being taught is just as important as increasing the availability of courses on topics related to colonialism and Indigenous people(s) across all disciplines.

Question 2. Land Acknowledgements

The second open-ended question we asked students was about land acknowledgements:

> "Making a land acknowledgement should be the most important thing Canadians do before starting any event… It is a fundamental analysis of who we are, where we're standing, and how we should proceed."
>
> - Niigan Sinclair, assistant professor and head of University of Manitoba's Native Studies department, quoted in CBC news Jan 14 2017.
>
> Sports teams, arts organisations and educational institutions across Canada are making land acknowledgements. What does this mean to you?

Within the last decade, land acknowledgements have become more frequent at universities across the country (Wilkes, Duong, Kesler, & Ramos, 2017). Largely, this practice emerges from the ongoing work of Indigenous activists within and beyond the academic realm, including in movements such as Idle No More and Standing Rock, dialogues from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and academic efforts largely driven by Indigenous studies departments and centres (Asher, Cunrow, & Davis, 2018; Erasmus & Dussault, 1996; Truth and Reconcilliation Commision, 2015; Wilkes et al., 2017). Due to this rapid growth in popularity, advocates and researchers are beginning to question the impact of this institutional practice of acknowledgement and to consider how it is being interpreted by listeners and speakers (Asher et al., 2018; Bundale, 2019; CBC Radio, 2019; Khelsilem, 2014; Vowel, 2016; Wilkes et al., 2017). A concern emerging from these investigations, and shared by the co-designers of this survey, is whether land acknowledgements are sometimes tick box gestures (Vowel, 2016). This open-ended question is an opportunity to explore this concern through how students speak about the intent, purpose, and impact of land acknowledgements.

Students' responses to this question define and delineate the pedagogical and reconciliatory possibilities and limitations of land acknowledgements. Those who responded positively to land acknowledgements emphasized the educational and reconciliatory value embedded in land acknowledgements. Some of these same students and other students too, recognized the role land acknowledgements can play in a systemic process of erasure of Indigenous presence, an unawareness of colonialism, and the marginalization of Indigenous peoples which we will analyze further below. A collective and thematic reading of the 782 responses to this question allows us to offer Queen's University insight into how land acknowledgements are being received by students, and therefore how this educational institution may consider navigating the pedagogical parameters of land acknowledgements in conjunction with the wider process of enhancing students' awareness of colonialism and Indigenous realities.

Students who consider that land acknowledgements are educational and reconciliatory tend to see them as opportunities to demonstrate recognition of and respect towards Indigenous peoples, to enhance awareness of Indigenous realities and colonialism, to reflect on colonial wrongs, and to help shift Indigenous and settler relations. Approximately 20% of those who responded to the land acknowledgement question believe that such acknowledgements are important. For some, they are important because they show recognition and respect for Indigenous peoples.

> Land acknowledgements to me mean that there is progress being made with the amount of respect that is growing towards aboriginal and indigenous peoples and their land. Acknowledging the land and giving nod to them is a step in the right direction (ID 5, Concurrent Education and Drama, 1 SC course).

Others think that they are important because they may be educational, informative and awareness-raising opportunities in themselves, where listeners can learn about Indigenous peoples, territories, and colonialism. Some students consider acknowledgements a starting point for continued learning and reflection about Indigenous and non-Indigenous histories and realities. A Concurrent Education student, who views land acknowledgements as evidence that Queen's is a welcoming environment for Indigenous peoples, says:

> I think making land acknowledgements means acknowledging who this land originally belonged to. I think this is a good first step to take in the process of reconciliation. It is important to teach and remind youth, and adults that this land is not and was never ours. I think by doing this more and more we will begin to erase peoples ignorance and develop a stronger more cultivated and aware society to begin making other changes and progressions. (ID 124, some courses).

A Métis Nursing student explains that acknowledgements also highlight Indigenous resistance and persistence.

> This means a lot to me for a variety of reasons. Firstly, as a Metis woman, I think that it is important for todays society to acknowledge Canada's history. Having sports teams, arts organizations, etc acknowledged the fact that the land they are on isn't really theirs allows people within the community to understand that what happened was wrong. I think that this is the first step in the right direction. It also allows people to see that the Indigenous community is still here and fighting. (ID 690, no courses).

Recognition of resistance is rare in students' responses. Acknowledgements are also seen as evidence of progress towards better relations and a step towards reconciliation. Students who mention reconciliation often note that it is propelled by awareness.

> Acknowledgement and awareness are the first steps to reconciliation. It is extremely important to make these facts a part of our reality and traditions to move forward developing positive relationships and to give reciprocity to those who have suffered from the effects of our past and the actions that resonate from colonization to the present day. Acknowledgement is one step away from the many years of assimilation led attempts by the Canadian government and a step towards developing an equitable future. (ID 740, Consecutive Education, 2 SC courses).

The collective focus of these students captures some of the meaning of *acknowledgement* hoped for by its proponents including "a recognition of truth or existence" sometimes "implying gratitude or appreciation" (Wilkes et al., 2017, p. 91). On deeper cultural and political levels, land acknowledgement is meant to reflect and encourage a recognition of Indigenous existence, autonomy, and a right to self-determination (Wilkes et al., 2017). Some students understand land acknowledgements deeply, and sometimes point to the lack of depth with which they are treated, but many students do not understand enough to make sense of land acknowledgements.

Some students answered the question by pointing to colonial ignorance as an obstacle to meaningful land acknowledgement. Others *demonstrated* colonial ignorance in their responses. Ignorance that sustains unequal relations of power between settlers and Indigenous peoples, colonial ignorance, is "not a neutral or incidental absence of knowledge" (Schaefli, Godlewska, & Rose, 2018, p. 3). Colonial ignorance is the product of ongoing strategies to sustain an unawareness that maintains the privilege and domination required to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their territories and governance structures (Kuokkanen, 2008; Mills, 2007; Schaefli et al., 2018; Sullivan & Tuana, 2007). It can work in subtle ways, including making statements that lack crucial contextualization and information. Colonial ignorance also includes assumptions and attitudes that prevent students from perceiving ongoing Indigenous presence. The prevalence of such ignorance in the student responses suggests that without ongoing, meaningful, and critical educational intervention beyond land acknowledgements, the land acknowledgements will accomplish little.

Some students focused their comments on why land acknowledgements are not guaranteed to enhance meaningful understanding and awareness. These students reveal some of the barriers to meaning. As this Health Studies student explains, processing what is said during an acknowledgement may require knowledge that many listeners do not have.

> Personally, making a land acknowledgement does not mean very much to me because I do not really understand the various terms or groups that are often mentioned in these acknowledgements. (ID 215, 1 SC course).

If land acknowledgements are to encourage collective recognition of Indigenous peoples and their territories, then it is important to consider how ignorance may limit the effectiveness of the message. Land acknowledgements cannot bear the educational weight of other more extensive and critical learning opportunities. Some respondents, such as this Commerce student, recognize the limitations of their knowledge.

> To be honest, this doesn't mean much to me, because I have not been educated on Aboriginals, Inuits, and Metis people. Without this knowledge, it is difficult for me to understand why it is so important to honour the people who lived on a piece of land before the people that do now. I'd like to learn more. (ID 65, no courses).

Only six students stated explicitly that they want to learn more to understand land acknowledgements. While some respondents believe that land acknowledgements can initiate learning, others remind us that making sense of the meaning of these statements requires knowledge.

7.3% (62/844) of the survey's respondents do not answer this question. 10% of 782 respondents either did not know what land acknowledgements are, were unsure of what they entail, or attempted but failed to guess what they mean. Approximately 5% of students described land acknowledgements as "meaningless" (ID 64, racialized student, Commerce, no courses), to them, that they "don't care" (ID 17, no declared major, no courses), or of little "relevance" to their lives (ID 480, Commerce, no courses). While the reasons for these sentiments vary, these students reject the importance of land acknowledgements. We are concerned that when students deny the relevance of land dispossession and Indigenous presence, they are distancing themselves from this reality and consequently resist challenge to the settler colonial status quo (Medina, 2013; Schaefli et al., 2018; Whitt, 2016).

There are students who argue that a significant shortcoming of land acknowledgements is that they often do not explain why recognition of Indigenous territory and settler occupation is important, what the implications are, and how listeners can move forward and address land issues. In other words, they do not understand why the university is engaging in land acknowledgements.

> We have actually been talking a lot about this in drama recently...I think to me, a land acknowledgement is a recognition of the genocidal history of this country and that the land the event is situated upon was likely not belonging to the present owners at the event. I think its important to acknowledge but I wonder what the effect/impact is. What does it actually do to acknowledge this? Is it for simply raising awareness? For shifting the power dynamics? I think its an important acknowledgement of loss but it does not seem to have any 'moving forward' steps for me (or at least that I understand and could articulate)." (ID 831, Drama, 1 SC course).
>
> A symbolic, but largely useless gesture if it is not back up with support to elevate the issues faced by these indigenous groups. A lack of literacy or cohesive understanding on what the land acknowledgements mean or recognize (i.e. what are the consequences of these land acknowledgements? How do we as individuals, communities, and society embrace this truth and navigate through the conversations involved in this reconciliation process?) (ID 143, Concurrent Education and Environmental Studies, 3 SC courses).

Some students clearly want to know more about the issues raised. Recent critical literature on land acknowledgements argue that settlers who deliver acknowledgements are themselves often unaware of local Indigenous histories and realities and the cultural and political purpose of land acknowledgements (Asher et al., 2018; Wilkes et al., 2017). While land acknowledgements can be educational, if they are delivered and received through a context of ignorance or in a context in which positionality or responsibility for the benefits that colonialism

has brought settler society at considerable cost to Indigenous peoples is not explored, then land acknowledgements may foster and sustain ignorance.

One of the most important assumptions embraced by the students is that Indigenous people and everything associated with them, including colonialism, is of the past. A third of the respondents situate colonialism, Indigenous peoples, and/or and their title to land in the past. It is acceptable to refer to any people's past as important. However, placing colonialism and oppression exclusively in the past is a colonial strategy to secure a settler future (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). For example, a Consecutive Education student describes colonial dispossession as "wrong doings of the *past*" (ID 719, some SC courses) and a Geography student considers colonization as "*historical* incidences" (ID 779, 1 SC course). From this perspective, land acknowledgements are meant to address "past mistakes" (ID 297, Mathematics and Engineering, no courses). Or they are reminders of "which indigenous group used to reside there" (ID 748, Métis, Languages, Literature & Cultures, no courses), and that the land "belonged to a community before us" (ID 765, Consecutive Education and Music, no courses). Some respondents put Indigenous peoples in a double past as "groups that have previously been marginalized in the past" (ID 4, Current Education and Geography, no courses). Positioning all colonial violence in the past reflects profound ignorance of ongoing assaults on Indigenous identity by Canada through the predations of the Indian Act, court challenges to Indigenous land rights, land appropriation using a wide variety of mechanisms, the theft of children through excessive adoptions, and inadequate funding of education, health care and infrastructure needed by any community to thrive. Interpreting land acknowledgements as a recognition of *past* realities is a common assumption and a major problem.

For a relatively small number of students (6.6%, 52), Indigenous loss of land is part of the normal process of change in land ownership over time and inevitable and further that displacement and dispossession are commonplace in many contexts. The ongoing cultural and economic relationship of Indigenous people to land is absent from their understanding; allowing dispossession to be taken-for-granted. As this Concurrent Education student expresses:

> I think this is good, but I don't think that this does much - I mean people in England don't say "this land once belonged to the Anglos, before that the Saxons, before that the Vikings"... land changes hands. I think the big issue is the atrocities committed against them - residential schools, etc. (ID 45, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, no courses).

That dispossessing people of their land might also be an atrocity, perhaps the atrocity, does not occur to this student. It is significant that in this, and some other students', education about residential schools has not translated into awareness of systemic disadvantage. In a similar vein, this Commerce student who in the survey claims to care about Indigenous peoples' well-

being and social justice issues affecting Indigenous peoples, rejects the importance of land.

> I think that it is unnecessary. Yes there has been unfair treatment of Native Peoples by current and past governments, but I think there are more important things than announcing old land claims. Land in Europe changed hands many times and many times brutally and unfairly and if they were to announce who's land it used to be then we would never start the event. (ID 35, no courses).

In this construction the student acknowledges ongoing ill treatment of Indigenous peoples but describes land claims as "old" and by implication irrelevant while describing land dispossession as by European standards not extraordinary, and thus not worthy of formal recognition. Do land acknowledgements of any sort have the capacity to disrupt the trivialization of land theft? On this point, this History student who is conscious and critical of land theft argues that land acknowledgements have the potential to elevate the public's consciousness about the processes of colonialism, but that decolonization entails additional effort and action.

> I think it means that Canadians for the first time are beginning to recognize the historical processes of colonization and assimilation that resulted in major land theft from Indigenous peoples. Acknowledgement of that land represents a greater understanding of such processes by the Canadian public. To me, I think that while it represents an important gesture, it needs to become more than that. Recognition of land must also be accompanied by a broader process of decolonization, one which Indigenous Peoples would have to define and create for themselves. I do not think gestures or statements of recognition are enough to excuse the violent history of Canada in its treatment and relations with Indigenous Peoples. (ID 236, 2 IF courses).

Some students recognize the prevailing depth of colonial ignorance and doubt the capacity of land acknowledgements to address it. For them, land acknowledgements can only be a first, small, and minimal step towards change. The university faces a difficult challenge if it seeks to use land acknowledgements as a primary educational tool in the face of unawareness resistant to challenge.

Respondents critical of land acknowledgements feel that they can be window dressing, part of a tick box mentality to reconciliation, and cover for continued violence against Indigenous peoples. Some students are impatient with land acknowledgements as they are currently carried out because instead of making important social and economic changes, land acknowledgements allow institutions to treat decolonization metaphorically or symbolically (Asher et al., 2018; Tuck & Yang, 2012). Students specifically address: the delivery of land acknowledgements in ways that trivialize and empty them of meaning; that acknowledgements are rarely accompanied by meaningful action; that they seem intended primarily to relieve settler guilt and responsibility; and that they thus reinforce colonial dispossession through complacency.

Students recognize in mandatory statements a coerced, self-protective and pro-forma expression of settler guilt that they do not understand but reflexively mistrust. This Psychology student sees institutionalized and seemingly forced land acknowledgements as educationally

shallow.

> … It seems to me to be a part of policy in that the people don't want to get in trouble and therefore make land acknowledgements. I would appreciate if someone explain beforehand about the purpose of this practice to help better understanding and so I am able to pass this knowledge on to my students. (ID 96, Concurrent Education and Psychology, 1 SC course).

Other students also feel that institutional pressure is being applied in the delivery of land acknowledgements. Acknowledgements when "forced" (ID 59, French Studies, 2 courses), "rushed" (ID 9, History, no courses), "box checking" (ID 702, Drama, no courses), "routine" (ID 618, racialized student, English Language & Literature, 1 SC course) gesture to be done "out of obligation" (ID 347, Political Studies, 2 SC courses) are not valued. For this Consecutive Education student, the institutionalization of land acknowledgements is pro forma and misses an opportunity to engage with and relate to the meaning of acknowledging land.

> I like the idea of making land acknowledgements, it's supposed to be a sign of respect however I do feel that it is becoming something that is just said... I don't mean this to sound rude but I feel like at this program [Consecutive Education] it's becoming a disclaimer for each professor to state rather then for each of them to have their students explore what it means to be on the land... (ID 726, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, 2 IF courses).

Some students say they tune out when land acknowledgements are treated as tick box items and are "empty" (ID 625, racialized student, Global Developments Studies, 2 IF and 1 SC courses), "monotonous" (ID 126, Concurrent Education, no courses), "insincere and vague" (ID 9, International student, History, no courses) or just repetitive.

> I think it's important to make those acknowledgements because it's a step towards awareness and accountability that was neglected for so long in Canadian history. I find these to still be problematic in how they have become "routine" so to speak, and the acknowledgements do not seem to attempt to attribute much value into the words being spoken. I've noticed people zoning out because they're hearing the same words spoken over and over again. (ID 618, racialized student, English Language & Literature, 1 SC course).

A Concurrent Education student in French Studies suggests "that … people … delivering these land acknowledgements [should be] … exposed to certain types of training that will ensure their understanding of how important their words can be in this context" (ID 107, some SC courses). Some universities have provided such training on the importance of understanding and delivering land acknowledgements, in the form of webinars, panels, and online videos (Koleszar-Green, 2019; Perreault & Lew, 2016). Anishinaabe writer and educator Hayden King, contributing author of Ryerson University's land acknowledgement, says he would "like to move towards a territorial acknowledgement where you provide people with a sort of framework and then let them write it themselves. The really important aspect of a territorial acknowledgement for me, anyway, is this sort of obligation that comes on the back end of it" (CBC Radio, 2019). Calls for an ongoing and closer engagement with the implications and

purpose of land acknowledgement continue to be made as a result of the often hollowed, institutionalized practice of land acknowledgements (Vowel, 2016).

Beyond calls for genuine, thoughtful, and educational land acknowledgements, some students want land acknowledgements accompanied by meaningful action.

> I believe that it is important for these institutions to make land acknowledgements, but I believe that these acknowledgements should be followed by concrete actions to try and reconcile that they are on Indigenous lands. (ID 121, Concurrent Education, 2 IF and 1 SC courses).
>
> Land acknowledgements don't mean much when there are no actions to back them up. They are a good start though, when they are not done with reluctance and resentment. (ID 130, Concurrent Education and History, 1 IF course).

These students want tangible change and are wary of symbolic recognition. A few of these students clarify what this action might entail: that land acknowledgements be paired with "social volunteering or conscious efforts to be an ally and support" (ID 160, Concurrent Education and Drama, no courses); that they be treated as an "opportunity to do what we can to help First Nations within or near our community" (ID 180, Concurrent Education and Sociology, 1 SC course); and that educational institutions "give the land back, or […] set a couple million dollars of our tuition aside every year to create a fund that would help improve lives for those living on reserves" (ID 544, racialized student, Commerce, no courses). Another student would like Queen's to increase the visual presence of Indigenous place names and cultural markers on campus (ID 684, Nursing, 1+ courses).

Some of those who consider that land acknowledgements offer little to no benefit for Indigenous peoples (8%, 63), argue that acknowledgements do nothing to return stolen land to Indigenous peoples. This student, who majors in Religious Studies and minors in Indigenous studies, explains:

> As a First Nations person, I feel it is similar to reconciliation, as it is basically a way for the colonizer to forgive themselves for what they did. If you are able to recognize that it is indigenous land, then give it back to the indigenous groups that it was stolen from. Simple statements such as this really does not accomplish much in terms of indigenous life. (ID 627).

This response emphasizes a concern shared by other respondents; do institutional land acknowledgements benefit Indigenous peoples or settlers? And if these acknowledgements do not benefit Indigenous peoples, are they complicit with the continued displacement and dispossession of Indigenous peoples? Are they virtue-signalling for settlers who want to conspicuously display values, and a move to innocence to relieve settlers from their guilt and/or responsibility? When practices avoid interrupting settler colonialism, they work to "rescue settler futurity" (ID 431, International student, Gender Studies, 2 IF courses; see Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013). These students argue that non-Indigenous peoples and institutions benefit from institutional land acknowledgements, because they appear to forward

Indigenous and settler relations but do not disturb the ongoing, structural marginalization of Indigenous peoples. This Philosophy student points to the immediate contradiction of the meaning of land acknowledgements within official events at Queen's.

> Land acknowledgements are largely superficial. Merely by acknowledging our presence as settlers does nothing to eliminate settler colonialism and the harms it produces. It is a way for settlers to assuage their guilt and feel good about a superficial gesture. What we need is to ally ourselves in solidarity with Indigenous nations in their struggles against the Canadian state. A perfect example of the hypocrisy of land acknowledgements at official Queen's University is the playing of "God Save The Queen" immediately after. In effect, this celebrates both the oppressed and the oppressor and so ultimately sides with the oppressor over the oppressed via a mechanism of false neutrality. (ID 247, 1 SC course).

There is significant research addressing the pedagogical limitations and possibilities of land acknowledgements (Asher et al., 2018; Fellner, 2018) and Indigenous advocates who are critical of the de-colonial potential of these gestures (Bundale, 2019; CBC Radio, 2019; Vowel, 2016; Wiebe & Ho, 2014). Institutional land acknowledgements have the potential to disrupt the erasure of Indigenous presence and settler assumptions of entitlement to land, especially when coupled with learning and practices that deepen engagement in the process of decolonization (Fellner, 2018; Vowel, 2017). While the practice of acknowledgement varies in content based on place (university, province, treaty territory) (Wilkes et al., 2017), there is growing scrutiny of the standardized form of land acknowledgements, which are considered by Indigenous critics as performative, shallow, settler self-serving, and void of de-colonial potential (Asher et al., 2018; Khelsilem, 2014; Vowel, 2016).

Our analysis of the 782 responses to this question suggests that land acknowledgements are limited as educational tools and do little to address institutional responsibility for being on Indigenous territory. We have learned that some students believe that these statements interrupt listeners' unawareness of where they are and contribute to their learning about Indigenous peoples. However, we found that the presence of colonial ignorance, both reflected in students' deep unawareness of Indigenous realities and the harmful assumptions and attitudes reinforced by this not knowing, stand firmly in the way of land acknowledgements' potential to educate and unsettle students. Land acknowledgements cannot replace ongoing, meaningful, and critical educational intervention at all levels and in all disciplines.

Currently, many educational institutions including Queen's, encourage widespread institutional recognition of Indigenous territory, whether expressed in class, in documents, on websites, or in emails. Some students feel that land acknowledgements treated as tick box items empty their meaning and make the process superficial and meaningless. Some educational institutions have addressed this issue by hosting workshops and formulating frameworks to enhance deep understanding of the local significance and implications of acknowledging land (Koleszar-Green, 2019; Perreault & Lew, 2016). Based on students' responses, we think that Queen's might benefit from such an approach.

Some students believe that land acknowledgements are a step forward in the reconciliation process. It is often not clear how they define reconciliation which is again an appropriate area for education. Others clearly consider them at best meaningless and at worst cynical gestures. Sto:lo author and educator Lee Maracle argues that land acknowledgements do nothing to further Indigenous peoples fundamental needs and rights, including access to territory (Winsa, 2017).

Question 3. Prime Minister Stephen Harper on Colonialism

Our third open-ended question read:

> "We also have no history of colonialism. So we have all of the things that many people admire about the great powers but none of the things that threaten or bother them."
>
> - Former Prime Minister Stephen Harper (2006-2015) made this assertion when presenting to the G20 summit at Pittsburgh on September 25th 2009.
>
> What do you think of his comment?

In asking this question, we were interested in whether Queen's students were able to make the link between Prime Minister Harper's residential school apology on June 11, 2008 and his denial of colonialism a little more than a year later. Thirteen out of 760 respondents to this question were able to do so without any prompting. While under 2% of the student population is not an impressive number, this question requires much of the students. They must be aware of both the apology and Prime Minister Harper's later comments at the G20 and have made the link between them. In the current state of education about Indigenous peoples and colonialism, we should expect this level of awareness to be rare.[2] Much more encouragingly, 597 out of 760 students, so approximately 75% of those who responded to this question, considered that in denying colonialism, the Prime Minister was wrong while 8% expressed irritation, anger, or outrage at the assertion.

> He is wrong. Canada has a long history of colonialism. The way the First Nations' lands are not taken care of (water advisories) prove that we are still acting in colonial ways. I think Stephen Harper was misinformed and he wanted to paint Canada in an idyllic light. It is terrible that our own Prime Minister is not aware of Canada's past and present treatment of First Nations people. (ID 135, Concurrent Education, no courses.)

Only 3% of the 760 respondents to this question considered that the Prime Minister was correct in asserting that Canada is a country free of colonialism. Most of these students are from Commerce or Engineering and claim to have taken no courses on Indigenous topics in university. With some of these respondents, there is a tendency to use selected historical details to deny colonialism. So, from a student who took first-year Canadian history, treaties and a relative lack of violence associated with the formation of provinces (clearly Manitoba is forgotten here) suggest a lack of colonialism (ID 589). Other students use the date Canada came to be as a way to absolve Canada of colonialism, whether that is 1867 (ID 412) or 1982 (ID 332).

[2] The median year of birth for these students was 1996. Most of these students were 12 years of age at the time of the apology and 13 years of age for the denial. Likely those who are aware of the contradiction have been taught it in university. In addition, this is the Facebook generation, perhaps suffering poor exposure to diverse views (Bakshy, Messing & Adamic 2015).

A Civil Engineering student who has had no education on Indigenous topics since elementary school most defensively expresses this:

> It wasn't the Canadian people who took the land from first nations people and so it was potentially an accurate statement. Neither me nor any of my ancestors (all of who came from various parts of the world) has had any history of imperialism, or crimes against indigenous populations. (ID 505, Civil Engineering, no courses).

A profound ignorance of Canadian history, the nature of the rule of law and treaties and treaty responsibilities underlies this response (Asch, 1997, 2018).

In denying a colonial past, the Prime Minister was also clearly denying a colonial present. Many of the students critical of his statement focused entirely on the colonial period of French and English control of what became Canada (11% of respondents), suggesting possible unawareness of continuing Canadian colonialism in its dealing with Indigenous peoples. That Harper himself framed colonialism as entirely historical, while also denying it, may have encouraged students to frame their answers in historical terms. Accordingly, we included in this 11% of students only those who unambiguously placed colonialism exclusively in the past. It is likely that many more students think of colonialism as past. The translation of past into unimportant is best expressed by a Commerce student:

> I think this is wrong. We do have a history of colonialism. This is something that doesn't need to be a point of discussion at this point - it is in the past and Canada relatively speaking is fair and decent to a wide variety of cultures (ID 35, Commerce, no courses).

Removing anything concerning Indigenous people and particularly anything that might enhance the responsibility of non-Indigenous Canadians to the past is common among the students we surveyed and a common settler strategy as is clear in our analysis of other questions (Fabian, 1983; Maxwell, 2014, Yee, 2013).

On the other hand, also approximately 11% of the respondents to this question stated very clearly that in their view, colonialism is alive and well in Canada, sometimes citing the Prime Minister's comments as evidence.

> Stephen Harper's speech at the G20 summit was yet another powerful settler Canadian buying into the 'Canadian Myth' - feeding the idea that Canada is the peaceful nation that it makes itself out to be. In a global setting Canada is viewed as the peacekeeper, a country to look up to. It holds countries to a higher standard than it does within itself, withholding aid to countries with human rights abuses, when at home the abuses are unacknowledged and there is little to no action taken to deal with them. Harper is shifting the blame away from his own country to make him look better on an international scale, when realistically the history of colonialism is strong and persistent in Canadian history. It is not only frustrating to hear this comment but it is so untrue that it is hard to even believe he would say that. (ID 626, Global Development Studies, 4 IF courses).

We might hope for a higher than 11% awareness of continuing colonialism, but as it is likely that such awareness will come from students who have taken upper level courses dedicated to Indigenous topics, so far, at Queen's, their number will be relatively small.

Many students, roughly 20%, lamented the Prime Minister's ignorance and some of these focused on the inadequacy of education in Ontario.

> Stephen Harper is a donut...to put it in nicer terms. That statement is just so fundamentally flawed, and deplorable that he could consider that what the British, French, white settlers and then later the Government of Canada did to First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples could not be considered colonialism is staggering. He wouldn't dare say that Africa and the Caribbean did not have a history of colonialism but that is, I think, because that is what is readily taught. It is the example most commonly used and Canada's history is almost forgotten in this regard which is most certainly should not be. I remember a German friend who said that the most hard-hitting classes they took in high school were about the Second World War, Hitler, the holocaust and Fascism. He said that the exact point of making it so memorable was so that it could and would never happen again in Germany. Canada's history, while obviously not entirely comparable to that of Germany's, the two do bear some resemblance but in my high school education the talk of residential schools and the cultural genocide that was perpetrated against the First Nations, Metis and Inuit was relatively limited which I think is a huge problem. If we are not taught about it from a young age how can we ever expect things to change, ignoring our history won't work. (ID 238, Aboriginal ancestry, 1 SC course).

Among these respondents were students whom, while decrying the Prime Minister's ignorance, framed ignorance as an active political strategy, designed to undermine resistance and advance the interests of the state (Schaefli et al., 2018).

> Harper displays tremendous historical ignorance about the founding of the Canadian state as well as contemporary struggles of Indigenous people against the "effects" of this history. Obviously it is opportunistic convenience and indeed ideological relations (see, Althusser Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses) for Harper or indeed any other Canadian head of state to ignore these struggles in word while suppressing them in deed. (ID 247, Philosophy student, 1 SC course).

An International student, who has taken DEVS 220 and 221, expressed horror at the systematic "uneducation" of Canadians "to erase the violent history of the Canadian colonial state" and to build the "representation of Canada as a welcoming, multicultural place with 'no problems'" (ID 431, racialized student). A Drama student considered that ignorance of our own history is an important Canadian problem (ID 630, First Nations, non-status Indigenous person, several IF courses). A student hoping to become an educator considered the Prime Minister's comments "cruel and thoughtless" and warned "No healing can take place and no solutions can be found if we continuously reject the realities of the past" (ID 619, Arts & Science, 1 IF course). A Geography major saw the statement in its context at the G20 summit as symptomatic of prioritization of economic growth over citizen well being (ID 294, Geography, some SC courses). While a Psychology student argued for interweaving Indigenous topics and approaches "into all courses as it is a lens that should be incorporated into the way we view and learn everything" (ID 405, no courses). A Concurrent Education student expressed the fear that many Canadians believe the Prime Minister's "ignorant and arrogant statement" (ID 809, English Language & Literature, some SC courses) while a Global Development Studies student asserted that this

ignorance is foundational to Canada today:

> His comment reveals a deeply entrenched problem. Canada has a 'selective memory' regarding colonialism, and Harper's comment demonstrates that quite clearly. It also speaks to how Canadian White Settler nationalism depends on the invisibilization of the fact that colonialism is intrinsically tied to the country's existence. (ID 432, 1 IF and 3 SC courses).

A significant number of students (approximately 15%) used language suggesting that the Prime Minister was engaged in a politically informed process of denial (Regan, 2010).

> Ridiculous. Colonialism is a part of the history of most "first" world countries because they achieved the power that they have through exploitation of people, cultures, and resources. To deny colonialism is to deny the lived experiences of people, which is misguided and problematic. Canada has exploited Indigenous people from the very beginning. It is scary and frustrating that the former leader of our country made these remarks. (ID 120, Aboriginal ancestry, Concurrent Education, some SC courses).

Many of these students identified such denial as particularly injurious to Indigenous people and a primary obstacle to a healthy nation with a bright future.

> I can only imagine being what it would be like to have the head of a country outright deny the part of the countries history that targeted and aimed to abolish your culture/people. (ID 700, Nursing, no courses but some Anishinaabe cultural training).
>
> What a joke. It makes me angry, scared, and ashamed. I feel lucky to live in Canada and have access to all of the privileges of living here but I also feel ashamed. I think that Canada's biggest flaw is our denial of having flaws. I would like Canada to become a better nation but that is not possible unless we recognize our flaws so that we can try to correct them. (ID 634, Global Development Studies, numerous IF courses).

Some students, like this Nursing student, sensed the ideology embedded in the Prime Minister's use of "we" in "we also have no history of colonialism,"

> This statement makes me angry - I am unsure of who is being referred to when former prime minister SH makes the statement of 'we', but Europeans and our western culture certainly has an undeniable history of colonialism that cannot and should not be ignored. Our country was obtained and developed on the basis of colonialism in the cruelest sense of the term. (ID 679, Nursing, no courses but Nursing workshops).

the unintentional irony in using a unifying word to divide,

> …when I read it over I think of Harper speaking about the two communities (Indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples) as two separate communities. Harper uses the word "we" throughout the statement which does not sound very unifying. (ID 156, Concurrent Education and English Language & Literature, 1 IF course).

and the importance of redeploying unintentional irony to reveal the colonial structures they mask:

> I think this comment means that we, white people, can't begin to understand how indigenous individuals feel about the history and the colonization and the assimilation that they have gone through. All "We" know is the power to do so. Interesting though that with the use of "we" and "them" the government is once again separating indigenous peoples from the Canadian population as others (ID 603, Sociology, no courses).

Finally, 12 students wondered about the politics of denial: is social justice a matter of opinion or political party allegiance? Their questioning reflects anxiety in the context of radical relativity in a "value-free" society.

> I think he sounds like a conservative party member. Sorry, I had to throw a joke in.
> Anyway, it seems ignorant. To speak of colonialism is to acknowledge one's background: it isn't really about whether we're personally responsible, since we've inherited in various ways the results of such a phenomena. The act is terrible and we need to reconcile, not pretend we're flawless. There's a fine balance between whipping yourself for others' actions and ignoring an issue by displacing responsibility.
> But for real, social justice seems to be carried out mainly by people who are liberally-minded in that specific lens. We would see the same ignorance on similar topics by Donald Trump. I don't think it has to be that way, but it's a scary trend. (ID 140, Concurrent Education, Mathematical Physics, no courses).

Martin Luther King, concerned to build a new and better society, responded to this issue with little tolerance for either "sincere ignorance" or "conscientious stupidity."

Although we must acknowledge that almost all of these students were young at the time of the Prime Minister's Residential School apology (2008) and his denial of colonialism in Canada (2009), the very small number of them (2%) who linked the Prime Minister's apology with his denial of the existence of colonialism in Canada suggests a relatively weak education on Canada's colonial nature and perhaps reluctance to recognize the superficiality and cynicism of Canada's engagement with decolonization (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Wolfe, 2006; Rifkin, 2009; Davis et al., 2017). Residential schools have come to the attention of many of these students; 13% of respondents to this question used residential schools as evidence of Canada's past colonialism. However, many have not been equipped to understand the contradictions between nationalism and decolonization and they are not prepared to interpret contradictions in Canadian government policies around reconciliation and resource extraction and transport, for example. Similarly, amongst those who recognize Canada as a colonial country, too many place Canada's commitments to abiding colonial structures and Indigenous erasure in the past. Students who have taken courses dedicated to Indigenous content are more aware and, concomitantly, more outraged by the Prime Minister's denial of colonialism in Canada.

Question 4. Residential Schools

> Q2.4 "The closing of the schools [in 1996] did not bring the residential school story to an end. Their legacy continues to this day…. The beliefs and attitudes that were used to justify the establishment of residential schools are not things of the past: they continue to animate official Aboriginal policy today. Reconciliation will require more than apologies for the shortcomings of those who preceded us. It obliges us to recognize the ways in which the legacy of residential schools continues to disfigure Canadian life and to abandon policies and approaches that currently serve to extend that hurtful legacy."
> - "What we have learned" in the *Truth and Reconciliation Final Report* (2015), pp.103-104.
>
> What are the ongoing impacts of Indian Residential schools in Canada?

We asked students about Indian Residential Schools to assess the quality of education the secondary school system and Queen's are providing on this important topic. In 2017 Queen's University noted its own failure to educate its students about Canada's track record of assimilation, and has outlined commitments to this journey of acknowledgement by "promoting an awareness of the rights, histories, and contemporary issues of Indigenous Peoples" (Queen's University TRC Task Force, 2017, p. 5). Canadians' sincere acknowledgement and understanding of the profound consequences of residential schools is necessary to begin repairing relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commision of Canada, 2008). Universities, like other educational institutions, are tasked with the challenge of navigating and unsettling ignorance that bears with it harmful attitudes and assumptions that are deeply entrenched in Canadian consciousness (Godlewska, Schaefli, Massey, Freake, Adjei, et al., 2017; Regan, 2010). The graduating students who took part in this survey studied while this commitment to truth and conciliation was formulated. The co-designers of this survey saw this question as an opportunity to check-in with students about their knowledge of the ongoing consequences of the residential schools.

We found that over half of the 758 students who answered this question were able to identify some of the ongoing impacts of residential schools. However, while many students can name consequences such as health issues, cultural loss, and poverty, far fewer recognize the colonial aims of the schools or the endurance of colonial mentalities. An alarming number of students do not know or are unsure about the ongoing impacts of residential schools. A smaller but significant number of students express deep colonial assumptions and attitudes, and, in a few cases, deny the ongoing harms of residential schools. Others emphasize that there is work to be done by the Canadian state and society. Collectively, these responses demonstrate a need for deeper learning about colonialism and ongoing Indigenous resistance.

Over half of the students who respond to this question are able to identify ongoing impacts of residential schools. Most of these students recognize one or multiple forms of

intergenerational harm caused by residential schools. While about a tenth of these respondents do not explain what they mean by intergenerational harm, those who do, elaborate on the effects of residential schools on the families, communities, and descendants of survivors. Students frequently mention intergenerational impacts on physical and mental health, including chronic illness, post-traumatic stress disorder, death by suicide, addiction, and depression. Some students discuss how the former residential school system continues to disrupt family dynamics and relationships.

> Another ongoing impact of residential schools is the fact that children were cut off from their families. They were raised by the school system and taught their beliefs and traditions were wrong. When they became parents of their own, the children of the residential schools did not know how to take care of their own children… (ID 146, racialized student, Concurrent Education and Geography, 3 SC courses).

Importantly, students recognize cultural disconnection, as descendants of survivors may not have benefitted from their parents', families', or communities' cultural transmission.

Students also focus on consequences at a community-level, including collective intergenerational loss of language and culture.

> Many people who were in residential schools still feel the impact of the schools. The harm done to communities where people were sent to residential schools cannot easily be erased because sending children away to schools damaged the transfer of knowledge, culture, etc. between generations. (ID 334, Engineering Physics, no courses).

Some students recognize the social fracturing that these schools have inflicted on communities, and how this resulted in survivors being "unable to integrate back into the community" (ID 642, Nursing, no courses).

> …The impacts to Aboriginal communities are endless, especially when considering the effect of indoctrination on young children. Ultimately, this policy ripped apart many of fabrics ripping of Aboriginal communities in various ways. (ID 523, racialized student, Civil Engineering, 1+ courses).

Another student discussed the "inequities between Indigenous and non-indigenous communities … (health care, education, access to resources and land, employment etc.)" (ID 83, Consecutive Education and Kinesiology, 2 SC courses). Overall, it is significant that students tend to focus mostly on individuals and their families and considerably less on the effects of intergenerational harm on a community.

A smaller but significant number of students (8.6%, 65) focus on distrust as an ongoing impact of residential schools. Indigenous peoples and/or communities continue to distrust the "current education system" (ID 34, Commerce, no courses) and the "Canadian government" (ID 93, Concurrent Education, no courses). Some students noted the overall "loss of trust between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous peoples" (ID 75, Concurrent Education, no courses). Indigenous distrust of formal education is intergenerational, and as a Consecutive Education student

explains, many schools continue to be culturally inappropriate.

> Intergenerational trauma continues to affect Indigenous families who were affected by Residential Schools. The dropout rate for indigenous students continues to be high. Our schools are not currently equipped to adequately allow for First Nations students to be recognized in the curriculum or the school environment which is troubling to students and affects their ability to learn and stay in school. (ID 756, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, no courses).

Understanding why Indigenous peoples' distrust state institutions requires that students recognize how colonial policies, including residential schools, continue to impact Indigenous lives:

> The [Common Experience Payment] were a way for the Canadian government to "compensate" people who experienced residential schools and almost acts as a way for the government to say that they have addressed the horrors of residential schools and so they are no longer responsible for the past. (ID 292, English Language & Literature, 2 IF courses).

A small number of students (4.6%, 35) understand poverty and lack of economic opportunities as a form of intergenerational harm. Some point to the lack of ongoing government support offered to survivors, families, and communities. Another student describes how the Canadian government disadvantages Indigenous peoples in terms of fundamental services.

> It systematically does not provide the equal opportunity for this group of people in terms of education, transportation, and accessibility to resources in general. (ID 185, racialized student, Concurrent Education and Psychology, no courses).

This Concurrent Education student says that lack of resources available to address trauma, including healthcare, is at the source of the poverty many Indigenous peoples face.

> The survivors of Residential schools suffered through their experiences of mental/physical/sexual abuse, and the ways in which their language, and humanity was taken from them… There are instances of addiction and mental trauma that are permeating into communities and with lack of community resources to aid the people struggling, it has led to situations of homelessness and poverty" (ID 120, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, 1 SC course).

Relatively few students explain that intergenerational harm persists due to continued institutional and governmental abuse and neglect and/or non-Indigenous peoples' attitudes towards Indigenous peoples.

> The ongoing impact of residential schools are social problems arising from intergenerational trauma in aboriginal communities, prevailing racist attitudes in mainstream Canadian society, and the attempted destruction of Indigenous culture and language…Moreover, there are still prevailing racist attitudes in Canadian society and institutions. The issue of missing and murdered aboriginal women, and the acquittals in the trials of Colten Boushie and Tina Fontaine are examples. (ID 629, Philosophy, 3 IF courses).

Overall, we had hoped for more engagement with the part of the question that emphasizes how the residential school system "continues to disfigure Canadian life" (TRCC, 2015, p. 104).

While some students do speak to ongoing attitudes and practices that affect Indigenous people's lives, we hear very little about how this legacy affects Canadians' lives too.

Approximately 10% of students discuss how non-Indigenous ignorance and attitudes contribute to or challenge the legacy of residential schools. The reality of denial during and after residential schools is raised by this Consecutive Education student.

> I feel like non-Indigenous people in Canada are just beginning to realize the atrocities that children experienced. That is not to say they were unaware of this while it was occurring, they just chose to deny what was occurring. (ID 72, no courses).

Students connect ongoing ignorance and anti-Indigenous sentiment while also questioning whether formal education is doing enough to disrupt these attitudes. Others, like this Concurrent Education and Chemistry student, choose to reflect on the strides made to address ignorance about residential schools.

> There are days dedicated to remembering the suffering that occurred in the residential schools, to pay homage to the remaining survivors. Multiple campaigns and advocacy groups have developed in order to ensure history does not repeat itself. The residential schools were not taught in depth in the school system, however more and more youth are becoming aware of the truth and results of what the residential schools meant. (ID 129, International Indigenous person, no courses).

It is encouraging to see that throughout the survey, students are engaging with the concept of awareness in relation to Indigenous-settler relations. Such thinking invites a reflexivity that is important to recognizing how the Canadian public's denial and ignorance continues to shape Indigenous realities.

An important but seldom discussed topic is forced assimilation. Only a handful of students explicitly noted that assimilation was one of the main goals of the residential school system.

> The ongoing impact of residential schools includes institutionalized racism and a continued attempt to assimilate First Nations and Metis peoples in Canada and eliminate those who refuse to do so… (ID 218, Health Studies, multiple courses).

Even fewer point to ongoing strategies and assumptions on the part of non-Indigenous Canadians and the Canadian government that Indigenous peoples should assimilate into Canadian society. For this Chemical Engineering student,

> This expectation is still wide-reaching and despite the cessation of residential schools, general Canadian society still expects First Nations cultures to aggressively assimilate. (ID 301, no courses).

Forced assimilation is at times connected to a loss of culture, identity, and connections with family and community.

> It broke apart many of the sacred traditions and ways of live of these individuals and gave them a stigmatized imagine of them being "different" and "weird". It forced them to conform to European ways of living which greatly affected their ongoing lives and traditions. (ID 199, Health Studies, 1 IF course).

Respondents who express that residential schools' attempts to assimilate have deeply and inter-generationally affected Indigenous peoples show an important understanding of the logics that propelled the schools and continue to shape colonial policies (Henderson & Wakeham, 2009; Regan, 2010).

The TRCC (2015) positions education about residential schools, Indigenous peoples, and treaties as central to Canada's reconciliation process. Sites of education, including the media and educational institutions, have to various degrees responded to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's call to enhance education. Alarmingly, 11% (84) of students indicate that they either did not know what the ongoing impacts of residential schools are, were unsure, or simply repeated parts of the question. A quarter of these respondents are Commerce students and another quarter are Engineering students. The remainder are scattered across arts, sciences, and education programs. This unawareness, as well as the evidence of prejudice in some of the students' responses, reinforces the argument that more can be done at Queen's to enhance students' understanding of the residential school system.

A small but significant number of students, express prejudice in their responses (3.2%, 30)**.** While these responses do not represent the majority, they do speak to anti-Indigenous sentiment that has persisted throughout some students' post-secondary education. Nearly half of these respondents indicated that they have not taken any courses in university that enhanced their knowledge of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples, although only two students indicated that they had not learned about residential schools. The rest of these students largely learned most about residential schools at Queen's, from the media, or in high school classes. The prejudice found in some responses stem from a trivialization of residential schools and their legacy. A few students state that the residential schools are no longer relevant, or that it is all in the past.

> As disadvantages were created in the past, I feel it is important to move on. (ID 32, Commerce, no courses).

Past-ing is a deep, ongoing misconception that works to absolve Canadian society of responsibility to address injustice, and avoid addressing colonialism (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2007; Henderson & Wakeham, 2009; Regan, 2010; The Current, 2017).

> The people sent to Residential schools still suffer and their children can suffer too but I think that the government apologized and that should be it. The life should move on. (ID 208, Health Studies, 2 SC courses).

Other students work to distance themselves from this legacy by noting that non-Indigenous people face hardships too, or that continued discussions about residential schools perpetuate unwarranted guilt.

> I don't believe the same policies are being used today, that's absolutely ludicrous to say. People in Germany remember the holocaust but people do not constantly bring it up and use it against them to coerce the people into reconciliation. (ID 580, Sociology, 1 SC course).

This Civil Engineering student expresses extremely problematic, recognizably far right-wing beliefs.

> The most obvious impact is the continued whining about [residential schools]. Natives are not the only people to have had damaging and negative events in their people's history, yet somehow they are the most vocal and demanding culture in the world who cannot seem to get past their hardships. The Residential Schools are a crutch that the demographic has been leaning on to snare more tax dollars, and with the rise of leftist ideals this is only going to worsen in the coming years. If you believe the media, which is the enthusiastic tool of the Natives in Canada, the impacts of the Residential Schools are worsening over time, a concept that defies all logic and reasoning, yet somehow is true. (ID 63, no courses).

Such responses implicitly put the onus and responsibility on Indigenous peoples or imply that Indigenous peoples are unable to heal, suggesting a static state of harm and erasing survivors', families', and communities' endurance.

> The inability for those that have attended Residential schools to live a life without the dependence of drugs, their inability to become incorporated in society… (ID 419, racialized student, French Studies, 2 SC courses).

Finally, some students offer overgeneralized and often insensitive descriptions of Indigenous peoples and communities who are impacted by residential school experiences.

> Residential schools have left an impact on their communities that has led many to drug and alcohol addiction. I don't have much knowledge on this topic- however, from my understanding, the Government gives them a sum of money to repay them for their losses and they squander it. They probably need psychological help, not money. (ID 595, racialized student, Sociology, no courses).

These are some of the more overt expressions of anti-Indigenous sentiment that we found in students' responses. There is an urgent need for these harmful assumptions and viewpoints to be addressed and challenged.

Importantly, a small number of students (3.2%, 24) emphasize that there is work to be done on the part of the Canadian government and society to address the legacy of the residential school system.

> …The ways in which the Canadian government has tried to rectify the situation can not be fully valid if continued changes and attempts are not put into motion and if we as a society do not take full responsibility. (ID 21, racialized student, French Studies, 1 IF course).

This Consecutive Education and Psychology student says that

> The impact is massive - but to be concise, it is inter generational trauma that will continue until our country steps up and handles this properly. (ID 791, 1 IF and multiple SC courses).

These students understand that legacy of the residential school system is a collective responsibility. Overall, the question of *what work can be done* is under-discussed in students' responses. How non-Indigenous peoples can navigate social for colonialism and contribute to efforts of resistance and calls for institutional accountability.

Overall, we found that there is a wide range of student understanding about the ongoing impact of residential schools. Encouragingly, over half of the respondents were able to name consequences of this colonial policy. However, many students answered so briefly as to make their responses difficult to interpret. These responses can indicate only a basic recognition of the harms of the residential schools. It is likewise encouraging that some students identify some key colonial dynamics at play in the residential school system, including assimilation and ignorance. These students are, however, small in number. We found it alarming that 11% of respondents could not answer this question. Most of these respondents are clustered in Engineering and Commerce. Some respondents also expressed prejudicial assumptions and attitudes. We echo the TRC Calls to Action (2015) and the Queen's University TRC Task Force's (2017) Final Report which calls for learning that elevates all students' awareness of Indigenous realities and enhances their cultural competency. It is particularly important that students from all disciplines have opportunities to engage in dialogue around social justice and responsibility, as well as around ongoing Indigenous resistance.

Question 5. Racism and Colonialism

"Aboriginal women face rates of violence that indicate we are in a culture and a country that still has a lot of latent racism and colonialism."
- Jaime Black, artist, REDress project

What does this statement mean to you?

Our sense in co-framing this question was that while many students reject racism, they may not always understand what racism is and how deeply it is infused in society. We felt that Métis artist Jaime Black's statement and the REDress Project's powerful and well-known image would move beyond words to emotion and the loss incurred by racism. As an installation art project that moves from public space to public space across Canada, the REDress Project draws "attention to the gendered and racialized nature of violent crimes against Aboriginal women" "to evoke a presence through the marking of absence" (Black, 2014). Understanding and resisting the erasure of Indigenous women and the oppression they face is at the heart of much of the critical work being done around violence against Indigenous women (Black, 2014; Culhane, 2019; Moeke-Pickering, Cote-Meek, & Pegoraro, 2018; O'Reilly & Fleming, 2016; Savarese, 2016). Erasure is about systemically rendering Indigenous women and their ongoing subjugation invisible to the public. This survey question asks students what they know about violence against Indigenous women and how they feel about it. As an open-ended question, it invites a wide range of responses informed by the students' own experiences.

747 out of 844 students (89%) responded to this question reflecting a wide range of beliefs, critical and problematic, about violence against Indigenous women. 19.4% of the 844 either could not answer the question effectively, or just repeated the question. Silence from almost a fifth of the respondents suggests a need for post-secondary attention to this topic. While 45% (338) of the students say that there is work to be done to address violence against

Indigenous women, they are vague when it comes to identifying who is responsible and for what they are responsible. A third of these students do not indicate who needs to do work, and another third using sweeping language such as "Canada," "Canadian society," and "we" to describe those responsible for change. Few students identify the Government (15%, 51), the police (3.2%, 11), policy makers (1.5%, 5), and the justice system (0.6%, 2) as responsible. There are very few students who mention their own social responsibility. Only 12 (3.5%) students discuss how they will engage in efforts to address racism, colonialism, and/or violence against Indigenous women. Further, who is responsible for the work changes with the kind of work that needs to be done. When the argument is for more access to support, resources, and/or protection, as is the case with a nearly a fifth of the 338 respondents, students are very vague about where responsibility lies, with only one third pointing to the government. Students call for more investment of time and work, more attention to 'programs', though it is unclear what these are or would do for Indigenous women and the government's responsibility to protect Indigenous women. Some students 17.5% (59/338) call for more and better education, learning, and understanding, but again, who is responsible for anti-racist education or how it could be implemented remains undiscussed. Vagueness also characterizes the responses of 16.6% (56/338) of respondents, who call for major social change to address and eliminate racism, sexism, and/or colonialism in Canada.

> …we need to work harder as a society to end racism, and sexism towards Aboriginal women. We need to talk about these problems, take action, and fight for justice. (ID 89, Concurrent Education, no courses).

But some identify sustained colonial practices, such as residential schools and policies designed to eliminate Indigenous cultures through the marginalization of women, as responsible for intergenerational sexism, racism and violence and hope government will address these problems.

> To me this indicates the pervasiveness of the impact of residential schools. As a society, we need to work together in order to eliminate the racism and colonialism that has been passed down from one generation to the next throughout all aspects of society. (ID 110, Concurrent Education, no courses).
>
> This is an awful reality that there are thousands of missing and murdered aboriginal women across Canada. We still have the effects of racism throughout our society and in our institutions as a result of the many years that the Canadian government tries to eliminate the indigenous culture. Unfortunately it is usually women in minority's groups that face the most suffering and racism. I hope our government does more to address these issues. (ID 798, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, Consecutive Education, no courses).

Other students (8.6%, 29/338) point to social inequality and hierarchical thinking as the root of the problem.

> That many people view indigenous women as beneath them and other women who are white. We as a country have come a long way from where we were but we also have a long way to go before everyone is truly treated as equals and that although its more discreet, racism stills exists within our country (ID 53, History, no course).

5.3% (18/338) of respondents argue that attention to Indigenous-settler relations and "reconciliation" are what is needed but this is accompanied by little sense of how to disrupt racialized and gendered violence.

While few students say that the government is responsible for reducing racism, nearly a fourth say that the government and its institutions are responsible for maintaining and inflicting racialized, gendered, and/or colonial violence towards Indigenous women and peoples. Some students say that violence against Indigenous women is "institutionalized" (ID 368, racialized student, Global Development Studies, some courses) and that it reflects ongoing "systemic government sanctioned racism" (834, Drama, no courses). They also say that these realities of violence are "overlooked" (ID 220, Health Studies, 1 SC course) by government institutions and that there is a "lack of investigation and government action" into violence against Indigenous women (ID 222, Health Studies, 1 IF and some SC courses).

> … When reading their stories, you learn about the lack of empathy from police officers and how no one tried to stop the crisis for years. (ID 450, Commerce, no courses).

Some respondents are much more precise about which areas of the state perpetuate or should address ongoing harm to Indigenous peoples. Approximately 30% of the students hold the police responsible either because they fail to properly investigate the cases of missing and murdered women and girls or due to prejudice and the systematic infliction of state brutality upon Indigenous people(s).

> It means being so dehumanized that the police won't even help look for you/your body if you're an Indigenous woman. (ID 828, Métis, Concurrent Education, multiple IF courses).

Approximately 16% of the students who hold the government responsible say that it is the justice system that is inadequately addressing the issue.

> … even in cases where the perpetrators are caught they are often not punished to the extent they likely would be if their victims were white women. (as in the case of Helen Betty Osborne). (ID 803, Consecutive Education, 1 IF and multiple SC courses).

Some consider that because the system is itself "based on colonialism", it fails to hold perpetrators of violence against Indigenous women accountable in courts of law (ID 347, First

Nations, Engineering Physics, no courses).

> There are cases of Aboriginal women who were murdered and raped and had not received the proper, professional duty of Canada's justice system that shows blatant racism and colonialism. If you were to change the victim to someone else of a different race then the problem would be clear. (ID 185, Concurrent Education, no courses).

Some focus on the much "higher incarceration rates" (ID 113, Concurrent Education and English Language & Literature, 1 IF course) for Indigenous women and hold the justice system responsible for that.

> … Policing and the carceral system as a whole work to criminalize Indigenous identities, rather than protect them. (ID 236, History, 3 IF courses).

In keeping with theorists of racialized violence, many of these students point to how the conditions for this violence are created and perpetuated by the settler state and state actors through policies and state interventions rooted in racism, colonialism, sexism, and other entwined forms of oppression (Bailey & Shayan, 2016; Bonds & Inwood, 2016; CEDAW, 2015; Smith, 2015).

Approximately 8% of students point to the pervasive assumptions, stigmas, and stereotypes about Indigenous women prevailing in Canadian society. Unfortunately, some non-Indigenous students repeat derogatory language as part of their description of racism, consciously or unconsciously perpetuating and recreating racist expression. Responses like these sometimes engage in analysis, explanation, or rectification and sometimes fail to.

> The lack of resources given to Aboriginal women. This includes the police and their lack of involvement and resources given to these specific cases, such as disappearances of these women. The biased assumptions that these women probably just "ran away", "left", "got into substance abuse" and more. These assumptions lead to Aboriginal women being left in the dark, not helped, not given the resources, and left to defend themselves on their own. (ID 602, Sociology, no courses).

This student says that Indigenous women are violently sexualized and that this influences how the government, police, and justice system approach violence against Indigenous women.

> This is related to the topic of missing and murdered Indigenous women, which is a serious issue that Canada is facing. Indigenous women are being kidnapped, raped, and then murdered at a rate that is much higher than their settler counterparts. This suggests that the settler mentality of the Indigenous woman as a "squaw" or prostitute is still prevalent, which is extremely racist and damaging. Additionally, this also suggests that there is a lack of government and police services - the traces of colonialism and racism are prevalent in the justice system's hesitation to take action, or to condemn the perpetrators. (ID 617, English Language & Literature, 2 IF courses).

This student says that society's harmful and pervasive perceptions of Indigenous peoples shapes how government service providers address Indigenous peoples.

> It means for one the lack of care that is provided in police investigations into missing indigenous women. Due to this mistrust, there is also a high degree of under reporting in those situations. Even from anecdotal experience I have heard individuals even in my generation talk about aboriginals like they are societal leaches that take away tax dollars. Of course this is not my view, but It contributes to the societal perception of aboriginal individuals, and the kind of care that they receive when dealing with governmental services. (ID 698, Nursing, 2+ SC courses).

These students demonstrate to varying degrees understanding the colonial nature of the "obstinate passivity of the political and legal institutions" and the lack of public outcry in response to missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (Doenmez, 2016, n.p.).

Nearly a fifth (19%) of respondents (141/747) address how ignorance and/or awareness influences attitudes to Indigenous women and peoples. 40% of these students see ignorance as a major structural dimension of racism, rendering racism illegible or unnoticeable and even normalizing it (Black, 2014; Culhane, 2019; Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018; O'Reilly & Fleming, 2016; Savarese, 2016). This Concurrent Education student writes about the latent nature of racism, and how racial bias circulates and is maintained through everyday interactions and discourses.

> This is really disappointing to hear!! As a minority in Canada, even when there is "less" racism in Canada, there is a lot of hidden racism beneath words and articles and conversations that many people do not recognize. The innuendos and subtle racism through actions and connotations expose this racism. AND IT SUCKS (ID 97, racialized student, English Language & Literature, 1 IF course).

Unawareness is both about not knowing what is happening to Indigenous women and girls, and not recognizing one's own deep-seated, racist assumptions.

> Aboriginal women are still seen as different or lesser than others because of deep-set racism many of us aren't even aware is still ingrained in us. (ID 141, Concurrent Education and Drama, 1 IF course).

This Psychology student reflects on the intersections of race, colonialism, and gender, and how these manifest in a systemic and willful ignorance that propels violence against Indigenous women. She is quite exceptional in describing the historical, political, and thus structural function of colonial ignorance.

> Indigenous women show disproportionate rates of being aggressed, including being missing or murdered. This is reflective of a culture built upon systemic racism and oppression, which fosters (covert) social stratification and allows for aggression against those the system targets. Indigenous women are targeted more often due to the historical and modern day oppression against not only women, but the history of colonization against Indigenous persons as well. Correcting violence (whether social or physical) against oppressed persons includes recognizing and reconciling the oppressive system which supports not only the actions of the aggressors, but the willing ignorance of these realities and therefore lack of corrective or preventative actions. (ID 312, 1 IF and 2 SC courses).

This response aligns with Charles W. Mills' (2007, p. 29) study of "collective amnesia," which argues that social memory is constructed to exclude histories of structural discrimination, such as colonial violence in Canada. Denial of anti-Indigenous racism is fundamental to maintaining narratives, and thus social memory, that favours the colonial status quo. Of the students who mention this form of ignorance (3.6%, 27), some of them describe the government and the publics' denial of anti-Indigenous violence as a "blind eye" symptom (ID 164, Concurrent Education and French Studies, 1 SC course), as "neglect[ing] to even acknowledge our racist history" (ID 262, Health Studies, 1 SC course), and as sweeping "these atrocities … under the rug" (ID 329, Engineering Physics, no courses).

> Rates of violence against aboriginal women are higher than other groups, yet the government and Canadians in positions of power have done little to resolve the issue. It wasn't even a topic of interest to the government until recent years. I believe that this purposeful ignorance demonstrates the racism and colonialism that still exists. If it were a different group under attack, their response would likely be different. (ID 524, Civil Engineering, no courses).

Other students focus on identifying where social memory is inscribed, and how these sources both produce and have the potential to challenge colonial ignorance. It is widely recognized that mainstream media has played a powerful role in reinforcing and perpetuating stereotypes and biases about Indigenous peoples through paternalistic reporting, by framing Indigenous issues negatively and by cycling misconceptions (Bailey & Shayan, 2016; Harding, 2006; Moeke-Pickering et al., 2018). This student in Global Development Studies identifies the media as a main culprit in fueling violence against Indigenous women.

> Indigenous women face some of the highest rates of violence in the world, including assault, sexual assault, kidnapping, workplace discrimination, and malicious representation in media. In their households and communities, indigenous women face increased rates of spousal and familial violence as a direct result of the legacies of colonialism and Residential Schools, and in Canada as a whole face racial and gender-fueled violence. These are compounded and reproduced by negative imagery which has impacted indigenous women's status in Canada since colonialism, in which indigenous women are portrayed as lesser, without agency, and deserving of the treatment they face. The continuing power of such imagery is apparent in the lack of response to documented and broadcasted issues, such as the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (MMIW). Despite the hundreds of reported incidents, little to no concrete action has been made outside of indigenous groups and their allies. Were the representation and understanding of indigenous women different, the response would be much greater. (ID 373, "white passing" student, 2 IF and 2 SC courses).

A few students express similar views about the media as a source of misrepresentation that sustains harmful stereotypes and hostility towards Indigenous peoples. Some students also recognize that there is less media coverage of violence against Indigenous women.

As mentioned above, nearly 8% of the respondents (59/747) emphasize the need to enhance learning and awareness about racism, colonialism, and Indigenous peoples, and for most of these respondents, this is education's responsibility. On this point, this Sociology student links inadequate education to the perpetuation of myths, assumptions, and stereotypes

that fuel animosity towards Indigenous peoples, and serve to distance non-Indigenous Canadians from these realities.

> The fact that Indigenous peoples are not commonly addressed or learned about in schools can lead to people making their own opinions on the living situations of those on reserves; people still think that having a tax card and some government funding is not fair; people wonder how long we have to apologize for the mistake (look at Germany). Many Canadian citizens hit the blame onto their ancestors and believe that it is not their problem to fix and this leads to resentment based on the fact that individuals are Indigenous. (ID 587, racialized student, 1 IF course).

As members of the teaching profession, some education students take personal responsibility.

> This means that we have a LOT of work cut out for us as educators. (ID 174, Concurrent Education, 1 IF course).
>
> It means that as an educator I need to do what I can to bring awareness to this issue and teach values as well as curriculum content. (ID 761, Consecutive Education, 1 IF course).

Taking personal responsibility for interrupting ignorance and racism is mentioned by a small number of students who highlight the importance of challenging ignorance and being "an active voice" (ID 157) about missing and murdered Indigenous women. This position is shared by a First Nations Environmental Studies student, who says:

> This reality is hard to digest, but does instill passion to make things better starting with the simple task of informing those around me about these issues and about the history of my people. (ID 400, 1 IF course).

Some Indigenous and non-Indigenous students express a commitment to raising awareness through recognition of settlers' own role in this widespread issue (Eberts, 2014).

At times, students described how they feel and about racism, colonialism, and violence against Indigenous women. Of the 16.6% (124) of respondents who explicitly do this by using descriptive language or discussing their own realities, over a third say that the pervasive violence that Indigenous women face is sad or upsetting.

> This wholeheartedly upsets me and I hope to see someone with authority make active changes to remedy the situation. (ID 456, Commerce, no courses).

Some say it is sad that there is a lack of action aimed at addressing these issues.

> It makes me think of all the missing and murdered indigenous women and the lack of response in finding them or bringing justice and it makes me sad. (ID 385, no declared major, 1 IF course).

And others, like this Concurrent Education and Environmental Biology student, are sad about the widespread unawareness of this oppression.

> Many missing and unsolved murder cases of indigenous women. It is very sad that people are not aware of these issues. (ID 139, some SC courses).

Other respondents describe the realities of violence, racism, and/or colonialism as "unfathomable" (ID 149, Concurrent Education and French Studies, 2 IF courses), "mind

blowing" (ID 791, Consecutive Education and Psychology, 1 IF and 2+ SC courses), "shocking and shameful" (ID 181, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, Concurrent Education and History, 1 IF and multiple SC courses), "devastating" (ID 238, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, History, 1 IF course), "horrifying" (ID 245, Philosophy, no courses), "alarming" (ID 328, Engineering Physics, no courses), and "disturbing" (609, English Literature & Language, 1 IF and 1 SC courses). Only a handful of students say this violence is "no surprise" (ID 309, Psychology, 2 SC courses) to them. Nearly a fifth (24) of these 124 respondents can relate to these realities of violence due to their experiences of gender and/or race as non-Indigenous people. For example, this Geography student says:

> This breaks my heart. As a white woman I feel less valued in Canadian society than white males, so I cannot even begin to imagine what Indigenous women face on a daily basis. The violence against Indigenous women that is going unrecognized by the Canadian government is disgusting and needs to end. The government must invest money and TIME and put in effort to stop the continuing physical and emotional violence against Indigenous women. (ID 263, some courses).

This Psychology student responds similarly. She considers the discrimination she faces as a white woman informs her understanding of violence against Indigenous women.

> As a self identified female it means a lot to me. The fact that there has been so many missing and murdered indigenous women is very heartbreaking to me. Sometimes it's hard for me to even answer this question because I know that even in my experience as a white woman I receive degradation from my male peers and I can only imagine how hard it may be when race is additionally factored in. (ID 311, 2 SC courses).

Some of these students discuss their social proximity to Indigenous peoples, and how this influences how they feel or whether they will engage further with the issue.

> This quote makes me frustrated, as any type of racism in today's age is completely intolerable. As well, given the fact that I have played hockey on a team full of Indigenous people, and consider some of them really good friends, this violence really irritates me. (ID 445, Commerce, no courses).

However, this Commerce student distances himself from the issue, as violence against Indigenous women doesn't affect the people in his life.

> Very disappointed that the country and government that I believe to be one of the best in the world would let this happen. At the same time, it doesn't impact my family and friends and isn't visibly obvious to me. Hence, I do not have the energy or time to research and form an opinion. (ID 537, no courses).

A few students, like this Commerce student, express solidarity from their own experiences with oppression.

> I think this makes me upset and angry. I am of visible minority group myself, and I consider racism as very inappropriate mentality to have. I think the more I'm learning about Aboriginal history, the more I want to seek the truth and learn more about what we could do to help. (ID 474, International student, no courses).

Racism evinces an emotional response from 16.6% of Queen's students.

Some students (6.5%) are deeply troubled by the contradiction between Canada's image as a "multicultural" (ID 329, Engineering Physics, no courses), "safe" (ID 238, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, History, 1 IF course), and "progressive and equal" (ID 811, Psychology, 1 IF course) society and the racism, colonialism, and violence against Indigenous women and peoples expressed in the REDress Project. They express shock, anger, and confusion as they respond to this question. As this History student says:

> It's devastating. How can we possibly live in a country that claims to be so wonderful and welcoming and safe (which by and large I think Canada is) and yet, it is still a fully developed, first world country, and a leader in numerous fields and still it is a country where hundreds of aboriginal women go missing and we have no answer. There is no definitive explanation of what happens to these women and its horrifying. (ID 238, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, 1 SC course).

Some students doubt Canada's right to advocate for justice globally.

> This means that while being a country that speaks out against global injustices, we are failing to see what is going on in our own country. We lambaste the racism of the united states, and the human rights violations of other countries, but fail to see the same things in our country, leading to a blatant hypocrisy. The legacy of colonialism lives on in Canada and with the treatment of Aboriginal individuals who have been missing and murdered, as well as state inaction, it continues to this day. (ID 274, History, 1 IF course).

They doubt Canada's claims to be inclusive.

> Canada is largely painted as a multicultural, liberal, accepting country and these atrocities are swept under the rug. (ID 329, Engineering Physics, no courses).

And they challenge Canada's claim to be multicultural.

> It's upsetting to see since it highlights that our country is still a colonial power that intrenched in racism even though we claim to be multicultural. Indigenous women become targets because our country has shown it doesn't care about them (ID 428, Gender Studies, no courses).

Educational institutions hold the power and resources to equip students with more nuanced and critical understanding of Canada's colonial character.

The intersectionality of identity and racism, or how oppressive structures (racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, xenophobia, classism, etc.) are interconnected and cannot be examined separately from one another, is the subject of research and teaching in the social sciences and humanities at Queen's University. We were interested in the influence of this thinking on the respondents to our survey. We found that approximately 4.4% of students mentioned the intersectional nature of violence against Indigenous women. These students understand that social inequalities intersect (Hill Collins, 2015), especially in regard to the inseparable oppressions that Indigenous women face (Smith, 2015). They demonstrate an attentiveness to social inequalities either by employing the term "intersectional" and/or by pointing out how sexism, anti-Indigenous racism, classism, and/or colonialism interlock. From various disciplines, all but 4 of these 38 respondents identify as female. While it is difficult to

determine the students' capacity to undertake intersectional analysis of colonial realities in Canada, these responses demonstrate a certain sensitivity to the interconnected oppressions that Indigenous women face.

Some students responded to Jaime Black's image by assigning blame to Indigenous people, by denying the reality of missing and murdered women, or by minimizing the degree to which Indigenous women are singled out for such violence. 5.6% of students blame Indigenous women either partly or fully for the realities of violence to which they are subjected. This blame includes a focus on whether Indigenous women engage in sex work, substance use, or live in poverty, and are responsible for the conditions of precarity and violence that they face. These responses show no engagement or understanding of historical and ongoing colonialism as the driving force of these realities of precarity (Holmes & Hunt, 2017). Although there is community violence related to intergenerational trauma, the evidence around the high number of murdered and missing Indigenous women, points to colonialism and racism as major causes (Hargreaves, 2017; Hunt, 2014). Nevertheless, some students believe Indigenous peoples, largely Indigenous men, are mostly responsible for this violence. As Holmes & Hunt (2017) point out, growing alongside the increasingly publicly visible discourses around missing and murdered Indigenous women, is the assumption that Indigenous women, their families, and their communities are to blame for the violence they face. Victim-blaming and racist and sexist perceptions of Indigenous peoples function to deny the ongoing realities of colonial and gendered violence and normalize them (Holmes & Hunt, 2017; Holmes, Hunt, & Piedalue, 2015). Denial of the reality of missing and murdered women is the approach of 13 students who claim that without statistics, this reality is unverifiable, and by 15 students who are unconvinced racism is happening at all. 8 students argue that regardless of gender and race, all people face violence. Of the 65 respondents who blame, deny or minimize, 15 are Commerce students, 12 are Engineering students, 8 are Education students (2 Consecutive and 6 Concurrent), 6 are History students, and the rest are scattered across other disciplines.

Overall, deep thinking about Canada's colonial and racist nature is relatively limited. An alarming number of students cannot or do not engage with the question. Some respondents express prejudicial views that distance Canada from its racist, sexist, and colonial character, deny or minimize violence against Indigenous women, or blame Indigenous peoples for this reality. Encouragingly, nearly half of the students who respond to Jaime Black's statement and the REDress image recognize that there is work to be done to address racism, colonialism, and/or violence against Indigenous women. However, most students are vague about who is responsible for this work and only a few students explicitly recognize their own social responsibilities. At times, students show complex thinking about the intersectional nature of this violence and the settler mentalities and mechanisms that propel it. Students who consider that ignorance normalizes racism and colonialism, or who point out Canada's contradiction as a state that promotes itself as benevolent while perpetrating violence against Indigenous

women, challenge pervasive assumptions harmful to Indigenous peoples and Canadian society. Universities are in an especially crucial position to enhance critical thinking about colonial realities in Canada and address racialized, gendered, and colonial violence.

Question 6. Government Manipulation of Indigenous Identity

Q2.6 "Identity for Indigenous people can never be a neutral issue. With definitions of Indianness deeply embedded within systems of colonial power, Indigenous identity is inevitably highly political, with ramifications for how contemporary and historical collective experience is understood. For Indigenous people, individual identity is always being negotiated in relation to collective identity, and in the face of an external, colonizing society. In both Canada and the United States, bodies of law defining and controlling Indianness have for years distorted and disrupted older Indigenous ways of identifying the self in relation not only to collective identity, but to the land."
- Bonita Lawrence 2004, p.1

"What proves I am Indigenous is that I cannot prove to the government that I am Indigenous" - Ted Meyers

What effects do you think government definition of identity and repeated changes in the way identity is defined might have on a community?

Our sixth open-ended question was focused on Indigenous identity and the impacts on that identity of prolonged colonial assault. Without mentioning the Indian Act, we began the question with a quotation from Bonita Lawrence, one of the outstanding interpreters of the Indian Act and of Indigenous, particularly urban Indigenous, identity in Canada. Her quotation speaks of the complexity of Indigenous identity and its relationship to historical and contemporary government policies. Students could reveal knowledge of the Indian Act and the way it functioned to reduce the Indian population and divide First Nations communities. Or they might have views on government policing of identity. To illustrate how such policing might be felt by First Nations and Indigenous people in general, we added an ironic comment from the father of one of our co-designers in British Columbia, though we heard frustration at exclusionary government definitions across the country. We then asked the students to imagine the impacts on a community of repeated changes in government definition of identity.

Approximately 20% of the students did not attempt to answer the question (142/709). A further 65 (9.2%) said they did not know or could not understand the question or provided an incomprehensible answer. So, engaging intelligibly on the subject of Indigenous identity was not possible or desirable for over a fourth of the Queen's students we surveyed. A further percent, more difficult to enumerate, answered the question generically, with little demonstrated understanding of the issues beyond those presented on the surface by the

question.

> Frustration. They know who they are, they know who everyone else is, and they embody what it means to be indigenous by being alive. It is such an intrinsic quality that they must feel that they jump through hoops just to be recognized by an outside party. If it went on for long enough, it would probably start to wash away the ties that people have to their community. (ID 140, Concurrent Education, Mathematical Physics, no courses).

The Indian Act has been in effect for almost 150 years and its effects have been devastating (Palmater, 2011). Had this individual much knowledge of the subject, he would have framed his answer very differently. Notice here too his exclusive focus on the individual when talking about identity.

Although the question focused on the impact on community, following neoliberal prioritization of the individual (Foucault, 1991; Rose, 1999), the largest number of students (192) focused strongly on imagining what the identity confusion might mean to individuals. These are examples of this reduction to the individual in student responses:

> It might effect their feeling on the value of their own culture and therefore themselves (ID 787, Consecutive Education, no courses in Arts & Science but Prof 502 in Education).
>
> The most probable effect is confusion with respect to the individual's identity. (ID 318, Engineering Physics, no courses).
>
> Identity is something deeply personal and for another group to try and categorize somebody can be demeaning and remove this personal component to it, taking away one's right to say who they are. As a result, community members could feel a lack of value towards who they identify as. (ID 10, Geography, some SC courses).

In all these cases, and in many of the student's responses, community is no more than a container within which individuals find and express their identity. This is perhaps best exemplified in the following response:

> I think that it is, and has always been unfair for the government to believe that they have the power to dictate a community's identity. It does not leave room for individual's to decide who they are, and to represent themselves to society in a way that is just and fair. By being told what their identity is, it would really impact the self-esteem and self-perceptions. (ID 651, Nursing, 1 SC course).

This Nursing student mentions community and individual but the focus is on community identity as determined by individuals. There is little sense of the autonomy or integrity of Indigenous peoples, as peoples and as nations. The limitations and harm in approaching Indigenous people without recognition of Indigenous cosmocentric concepts of self and personhood and the value placed by Indigenous peoples on collective history and identity are discussed in Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, & Williamson (2011). The invasive nature of individualism as a social value, increasingly enhanced by the prevalence of neoliberal values, is expressed well by this Nursing student:

> It may be difficult for Indigenous individuals to identify themselves when they have been assimilated in the western culture and are in a "individual" rather than "collectivist" society. This assimilation makes it difficult to have a collective identity. (ID 680, Nursing, no courses).

Note that this student carries another deep and well documented settler prejudice, that Indigenous people are vanishing, their disappearance is inevitable (Bird, 1996; Dunbar-Ortiz & Gilio-Whitaker, 2016; Hutchings & Miller, 2016; Riley, 1988, 2003). Not all students lack a sense of the historical nature of community and identity. But for some of these 192 students, even ancestry is an individual matter.

> The use of a changing legally defined identity creates a disconnect between a person and their ancestry when a person is told by the government that they are not a part of the cultural group that they feel they belong to (ID 327, Engineering Physics, no courses).

Some students seem to go through contortions to avoid the focus on community. Here in response to our question, this student considers the individual, the family and the group but not the community.

> Having a constantly-changing government definition of Indigenous identity means that people cannot define their own identity and also that they can have it "taken away" when the official definition changes. It could also mean that members of a family or group are not allowed to have the same government-defined identity. This can cause division within groups and individual confusion. (ID 336, Engineering Physics, no courses).

Another way to bypass community and the concept of collective interests not associated with the nation state is to focus on the relationship between the individual and his or her culture, bypassing the idea of community altogether, what Charles Hale has called Neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale, 2005).

> … As well, being told that you can't identify in a certain way might result in a deterioration of the relationship to the culture you are no longer able to identify with. the disconnect created between a person and their culture could be detrimental. (ID 239, History, some SC courses).

These student comments are probably unconscious denials of the distinctiveness of Indigenous communities reflecting a larger social valuing of the productive individual. A small number of students (~30) express the multicultural neoliberal values of the day with some vehemence. For these students, the only identity is Canadian identity and discussion of any other identity is a distraction from the real problems of the day which are to be taken at face value, matters of fact to be dealt with as social problems.

> Discussing abstracts is a superb way to distract from real life, tangible issues of poverty, unclean water, poor health and education, and violence against women. Let's stop talking about 'identity' and put our energy into problem solving for all Canadians. (ID 796, Consecutive Education, no courses).
>
> Or similarly:
>
> Government should in NO WAY be involved with the individual's exploration of their own identity. A community is made up of individual identities, to assign a group identity makes a mockery of the concept of individualism and identity. Identity issues is something that every person faces daily, not just Natives. (ID 63, Civil Engineering, no courses).

Sovereignty for these students begins and ends with the Canadian government which has clearly failed to fully integrate and assimilate Indigenous peoples.

> The community feels restricted to having their own identities and instead being labelled by the Government of Canada. Rather than making change to Canada and benefiting it as a whole multicultural mosaic, Indigenous Peoples are treated like "the other", and hence, cannot be able to work together to build up the country (it's not their fault!) (ID 97, racialized student, English Language & Literature, 1 SC course).

Although this student chooses not to blame Indigenous people for their otherness, some do blame Indigenous people and individuals for the position they find themselves in: "People should be more confident about themselves." (ID 433, International student, Commerce, no courses)

Many students do understand the importance of community and the very damaging role the Canadian government and Canadian society has played in supressing the fundamental values and ways of life that guide Indigenous communities (Wilson 2005; Wilson 2008).

> I think there is and has been pressure throughout Canada's history to leave traditional practices behind which can result in fragmentation between the self that Indigenous people want to be and the self that they feel they need to be in order to be successful. I think this places extreme strain in communities that might be trying to preserve their traditional values and aspects of culture that are consistently being drowned by non-Indigenous media, politics, and social pressure. (ID 55, Engineering physics, no courses).

And some, roughly 6.5%, understand that the aim in Canada's strategies around the Indian Act has always been reduction in the number of people who can claim status, so as to deprive Indigenous people of rights and land (Coulthard, 2014).

> Identity is extremely personal and having your identity defined using specific terms created by a government with an agenda to break down a culture is very harmful. Because the government has put such specific parameters on what it means to be Indigenous, those left outside of that definition (the majority of First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples) are left confused, are denied their lands, communities and history and cannot access their culture. (ID 181, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, History, 1 IF and 1 SC course).

27% (192/709) of students argue that the Indian Act and the assault on Indigenous identity is colonial. Students describe the Canadian government as colonial in a variety of ways. Some focus on the divisions that Canada's identity politics create within and between Indigenous communities and Indigenous individuals and Canada's sustained commitment to assimilation.

> It really limits the people on being able to define who is Indigenous on their own. It gives the government a power where they can decide who gets the extra funding or benefits that they promised due to the history of poor treatment for Indigenous peoples, and allows them to make excuses for giving funding to one set of people over another; even though both might identify and be recognised by their community as Indigenous. This is not fair, and if anything, further perpetuates toxic power relationships that have led to problems today. (ID 371, Global Development Studies, 2 IF courses).
>
> It sort of sets up a competition of "who is more Indian". There are communities that shun members out if they choose to marry a non-indigenous person. The repeated changes is modern day assimilation, makes it hard for individuals to get status. Do settlers have to defend their "whiteness"? (ID 632, First Nations, Health Studies, 2 IF and 1 SC course).

Others focus on the use of law, bureaucracy and paperwork to control Indigenous peoples as an issue of human rights and simply dangerous in the context of any government.

> The fact that the government is defining what constitutes Indigenous status rather than those who identify as such is a great representation of the relationship that exists today and has for years. The government makes policies and decisions that suit their agenda, often by carefully selected wording that they can use to their advantage in policies. (ID 824, Consecutive Education, Psychology, 1 SC course).
>
> Somebody who has no knowledge of your culture or identity telling YOU who YOU are is completely ridiculous. The community experiences a loss of identity because on paper, in legislation they are being told that they do not make the cut. This is very dangerous. (ID 413, racialized student, French Studies, some SC courses).

Others see Canada as deeply engaged in colonial paternalism that blocks Indigenous self-determination.

> It disallows self determination. It creates the perception that these peoples are subservient, creates a lack of identity, creates a tension between what they know to be true and why they are in the news and in the media, and most importantly it continues a legacy of paternalism that is unacceptable. (ID 619, Arts & Science student, 1 IF course).

Finally, some see Canada as committed to systematic undermining of community, culture and continuity, regardless of evident and tragic cost in human lives.

> The community loses its sense of self. They lose their agency, as their identity is being defined by a third party that does not understand the community's culture and values. (ID 133, racialized student, English Language & Literature, 1 IF and 1 SC course).
>
> This may result in a dissociation from one's history, culture and community, and over time, community dissociation from those aspects which define that community. This vagueness may see the generational destruction of a community's culture, and has profound effects on the psychological well-being of its members. This may play into the higher rates of suicide, depression, illness, and so forth seen in Indigenous communities. (ID 312, Psychology, 3 SC courses).

So, while many students apparently lack any knowledge of Indigenous identity and the history and continuity of Canada's attempts to undermine Indigenous existence, and others have accepted neoliberal values to the point of denying Indigenous collective identities, a significant number of students assert that Canada is an oppressive colonial power. As we have seen, students expressed this view in a number of ways: arguing that the Canadian government engages in divide and rule strategies, that it is paternalist and seeks to undermine Indigenous identity and autonomy, that it seeks to erode identity through paperwork and bureaucracy, that it may be racist and self-interested, that it seeks to isolate and marginalize Indigenous people, or that it has and continues to systematically undermine community and cultural continuity. We take this sense of Canada's colonial nature to reflect a deeper, more critical level of analysis on the part of these students. We were interested in the relationship between these respondents and Queen's Faculties.

	Paternalist	Undermining Continuity	Assimilationist	Bureaucracy	Divide and Rule	Govt Racist	Isolates	total	% of Faculty
Education - Concurrent	13	13	2	5	12	7	0	52	36%
Arts & Science - Arts	23	15	6	10	9	6	4	73	29%
Business	5	2	4	1	7	2	0	21	20%
Education - Consecutive	5	2	2	8	1	3	0	21	19%
Arts & Science - Science	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	6	17%
Engineering	2	4	0	1	3	1	0	11	11%
Health Sciences	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	7	10%
Not Declared	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	N/A
Total	52	37	15	28	34	21	5	192	

Table 4. Awareness of Canada's colonial strategies by Faculty.

We were reassured to see the Faculty of Education (Concurrent Education) at the top of the list but puzzled by the position of Consecutive Education. Are there more science educators amongst the Consecutive Education graduates? Or is some other factor at play? The Arts are well represented, though they could be higher. There are clearly some informed students in Business, but the overall poor performance of students from this Faculty (see quantitative analysis) would suggest that these critical students may be outliers. Critical education does not seem to be a major part of Science, Engineering or Nursing education. Understanding the depth

of anger of Indigenous people in Canada with the government, settlers, and Canadian society is likely to be fundamentally incomprehensible to these students.

Question 7. Positive Changes Driven by First Nations, Métis, and Inuit People

The last question on the knowledge test showed students the following image and asked:

What positive changes are being driven by First Nations, Métis and/or Inuit people(s) today?

We asked this question for educational and diagnostic reasons. First, the focus of many of the test questions is quite negative. While this focus is educationally important, especially in the context of widespread ignorance about the realities of colonialism in Canada, focusing on harm without narratives of strength and resurgence risks reinforcing discourses of Indigenous damage and decline, a mentality that easily supports settler interests (Million, 2013; Tuck, 2009; Vizenor, 2008). It was consequently important to encourage students to think about Indigenous vitality. We were also interested in what students perceive of the enormous and powerful work being done by Indigenous peoples and communities to shift colonial power relations. About a fifth of students (180) students did not answer the question. An additional quarter (206) answered that they were not sure or did not know. Another quarter focused on educational efforts, particularly in schools and universities. Many students also focused on aspects of Indigenous resurgence and noted in particular the importance of Indigenous leadership in environmental protection and sustainability.

The most common response from students who answered the question (31.1%, 206) was that they are unsure or do not know of any positive changes being driven by First Nations, Métis or Inuit people(s). Many students expressed regret for their lack of knowledge and a

desire to learn more.

> I really hate to say that I do not fully know. I wish so much that I did and I will be researching this on my own time following this survey. (ID 834, Drama, 1 IF course).
>
> I do not know too much about this area; I want to learn more about the positive changes that are being driven by First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples. (ID 167, Biology and Concurrent Education, 1 SC course).
>
> I'm not sure, and this is wrong that I do not know. (ID 156, English and Concurrent Education, 1 IF course).

Other students point to education, media, and community organizations as primary sources of their learning and emphasize the need for more comprehensive coverage in these realms.

> No idea - we aren't exposed to these in media (including social media) or education. (ID 718, Consecutive Education, 1 SC course).
>
> to be honest I am not sure. We learn a lot about history and what happened as a result but very little about today's positions. (ID 265, Geography, 2 SC courses).
>
> Honestly, I don't really know. I'm sure the communities are beginning to work to rebuild and build each other up, but most of what I hear about in the news and from my church is stories about the missing and murdered women, food insecurity in the North, undrinkable water all over the country, young people who are still displaced from their communities, substance abuse problems in Aboriginal communities, and work on Truth and Reconciliation. Most of that last is presented from the perspective of the government who seem very pleased with themselves for having now apologized, so they're done, or from my church, who seem to have mentioned it like once with a sense of continuing guilt, but won't talk at length about it. I do know there are groups in my school and faculty to build up Aboriginal representation and communities, but I don't know a lot of what they do. (ID 304, Mechanical Engineering, no courses).

It is significant that over 75% of students who answered that they did not know have not taken courses in university about Indigenous topics. Of the 47 students who could not name positive changes but had taken courses, only 8 had taken Indigenous-focused courses. That so many students have difficulty identifying the work being done by Indigenous people(s) to improve Canadian society demonstrates the need for a more comprehensive approach to teaching about Indigenous topics. Such education, promoted both through course content and instructors' pedagogical strategies, would help students develop the critical consciousness to identify the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values that have come from the history of colonization, in order to challenge them (Battiste, 2013; Regan, 2010; TRC, 2015). It would also foreground the historical and contemporary stories, knowledge and experiences of Indigenous people(s) and emphasize that colonialism is not the only story of Indigenous lives.

Although a little under a third of students cannot name positive changes, about just as many (30.2%, 201) consider their own learning and the improvements they have seen in education and public awareness a significant positive change.

> I think there is a large educational force within these communities. The most I have ever learned is from talking to people that personally identify with these communities and who are pushing for change within the government and educational systems. (ID 311, Psychology, 2 SC courses).
>
> We now have better ideas of how Canada as a nation can begin the reconciliation process, and I think it is first needed that we recognize the immense impact that colonization and further oppression based on colonialism as truly had on the Aboriginal and Indigenous communities. There is more education…and more awareness of the challenges Aboriginal and Indigenous folks face. (ID 154, Biology, Psychology and Concurrent Education, 1 SC course).
>
> First Nations, Metis, and Inuit people are fighting every day to protect their culture, Identity, and native lands. Individuals are constantly fighting to be themselves, and are educating all Canadians on our past. The education of individuals on matters of First Nations, Metis, and Inuit history is important to our growth as a country. (ID 274, History, 1 SC course).

Several students emphasize the importance of awareness for taking action against injustice in Canada.

> It puts my colonialist worldview into perspective. Awareness makes me want to contribute to make things better. I think both settler-Canadians and indigenous communities could benefit from reconciliation. (ID 741, Mathematics and Consecutive Education, 1 IF and 1 SC course).
>
> They are…making ignorant citizens aware of Canada's history and the part that they can play by becoming educated and by not being complacent. (ID 217, Health Studies, no courses).

Speaking about Queen's, other students note that while they have noticed some efforts to improve awareness on campus, more needs to be done.

> I definitely observe more of a First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples presence within education; still lacking, but is emerging. I see a positive presence at the Faculty of Education, but elsewhere at Queen's University, and Kingston in general, there is a lack of presence. I am beginning to see more and more land acknowledgements, but beyond those statements, there isn't much else said. (ID 183, Biology and Concurrent Education, 1 SC course).
>
> Increased awareness in communities about Indigenous issues is the only thing that I know about. I guess that further involvement and acknowledgement is shown in some universities through their integration and start of more Indigenous courses and opportunities for knowledge, but I think more is needed in this area. (ID 262, Health Studies, 1 SC course).

That so many students consider education and awareness a positive change reinforces the importance of continuing and enhancing these efforts at Queen's.

Many students also emphasize Indigenous resurgence, particularly through the arts, cultural revitalization, self-government, land actions, and restoration of community health and

well-being. As this Concurrent Education student says,

> [There are] so many! First Nations, Inuit, and Metis peoples are establishing schooling for communities to re-learn traditional languages and ways of knowing. There are programs that are self-run within communities for arts and traditional practices. Many Indigenous folks are also involved in advocacy work and reclamation work to reclaim traditional territory, protest capitalist takeover of land, and a variety of other issues. (ID 176, 3 SC courses).

For a Global Development Studies student,

> Movements are being started and driven by Indigenous peoples. Indigenous people are learning and enforcing their rights and asserting their presence. Idle No More and Standing Rock were massive movements which garnered a lot of attention and support. The Unist'ot'en people are enforcing their right to their land to prevent pipeline construction. Many indigenous people are making an effort to relearn their culture and language and embracing both of these. Even within music, groups such as A Tribe Called Red are integrating tradition with modern music forms as one avenue of continuing to move forward. Within education, there are many people who are achieving higher education and then using that to go back to their own or other indigenous communities and try to make a positive impact. (ID 634, "multiple" IF courses).

A Biology and Concurrent Education student likewise notes that Indigenous people(s) are

> Fighting for equality in government representation. Fighting for their children to have access to basic human rights. Fighting for their children to not be taken from their homes and put into foster care. They are celebrating and having their traditional ceremonies….They are sharing their knowledge with colonizers to help us understand the importance that their traditions have. Sharing stores about residential schools to help people understand the systemic racism that has existed and continues to exist to try and reconcile and start healing with many people in the public. (ID 757, no courses).

Several students noted in particular the importance of respecting Indigenous leadership and the need for non-Indigenous allyship in advancing decolonization.

> Everything positive happening in Canada for the living conditions of FNMI peoples is being led by Indigenous people. In terms of Education, return to land, language revitalization, health care, etc…. Settlers need to seek out opportunities to assist grassroots workers and not start their own organizations with prescriptive ideas of what will fix communities they have no understanding of. (ID 828, Métis, Consecutive Education).
>
> I see, in my community, and in Canada as a whole, these peoples fighting for their voices to be heard, whether through the government, or through art, poetry, music, etc. I believe that there is so much to do in fighting against the oppression they have faced, and one day they will win this fight. It is our job to be allies. (ID 832, Drama, 1 SC course).
>
> There are small organizations targeting different problems within the Aboriginal community, and if looking at one issue there are smaller groups driven by First Nations in order to get change. The positive changes on a larger scale can be the demanding of an inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Idle No More etc. Though there are positive impacts, it is important to understand that there are many small scale movements - but in order to make changes they must be bigger with larger support from the general population of Canada, and its government. (ID 274, Global Development Studies, 1 IF course).

The vast majority of these students have taken courses on Indigenous topics at Queen's.

Many students also see Indigenous leadership in land and environmental protection as a major positive force. Students consider that there is much to learn from Indigenous approaches to land and well-being, particularly in the current context of climate change and other ecological crises.

> There are a lot of positive environmental changes being driven by First Nations, Metis, and Inuit Peoples. They are very connected to and respecting of the land and they fight for the rights of the land and natural resources. Especially in a time of dire need to protect our environment, this leadership should be acknowledged and followed by all. (ID 124, Concurrent Education, multiple courses).
>
> Many "developed" societies today are just coming around to the sustainable principles that guided many Aboriginal communities. It is unfortunate that these countries are only just realizing how valuable these principles are, but this is a great lesson that can be taught by Aboriginal peoples. (ID 523, racialized student, Civil Engineering, multiple courses).
>
> I have learned so much from these communities about respecting the land that we walk on and giving back to the land from which we take so much. (ID 311, Psychology, 2 SC courses).

Overall, almost half (46%) of the students we surveyed had difficulty answering the question. The vast majority of these students had not taken courses on Indigenous topics in university, suggesting a need for more and better attention to Indigenous critical perspectives in course offerings at Queen's. Encouragingly, the majority of students who did answer the question considered their own learning and the changes they see to the education system as a significant positive change: there is considerable appetite on the part of students to learn. Amongst students who are taking courses on Indigenous topics, many are learning about resurgence. Students are also inspired by the leadership of Indigenous peoples in protecting land and the environment and consider that there is much to learn from Indigenous people and philosophies.

Questions 8 & 9. Queen's Environment and Enhancing Education

> What evidence do you see that Queen's is a welcoming environment for First Nations, Métis or Inuit people? (Q3.2)
>
> What could Queen's do to enhance the Indigenous content of its education (in courses, extra-curricular activities, the social environment)? (Q3.3)

We asked students these two questions on the advice of administrators at partner universities who were interested in hearing from students. In response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (2015) calls for post-secondary institutions to advance reconciliation, a university-wide task force at Queen's outlined 25 recommendations for institutional transformation that would, among other things, create a more welcoming environment for Indigenous peoples and promote a deeper learning about Indigenous realities by reflecting Indigenous perspectives, histories, and ways of knowing within and beyond classrooms (Queen's TRC Task Force, 2017). Since the publication of these recommendations in 2017, the Task Force has been tracking their implementation (Queen's TRC Task Force, 2018). The analysis presented here offers administrators, faculty, and staff an opportunity to see what activities and initiatives students are noticing, and what students want to see done at Queen's (see Tables 5 and 6). Students discuss course availability and whether courses should be mandatory. Some students focus on Indigenous access to education and support. Others name cultural and social initiatives, including places, spaces, ceremonies, and representation, that benefit Queen's environment. Some say they want to see more educational initiatives that aim to teach, like extracurricular activities and land acknowledgements. And some emphasize the importance of Indigenous clubs, people, and perspectives at Queen's. Most students do not say how they feel about the initiatives they list. Those who do, consider that not enough is being done at Queen's to improve the environment for Indigenous peoples. A much smaller number of students resist the premise of our questions and say that Queen's is doing enough or too much. That nearly a fifth of students cannot name initiatives, activities, or supports that influence Queen's environment, and a tenth cannot suggest ways to enhance learning, suggests that there is room to improve communication, both around current initiatives and around the importance of better integration of Indigenous perspectives and approaches in all aspects of campus life.

The majority of students call for more courses with Indigenous content. Many students note discrepancies in course offerings across departments.

> Queen's is making an effort to teach students about Indigenous peoples, however, this is not the truth in all departments even though all Queen's students should be aware. ((Q3.2): ID 267, Geography, SC courses).
>
> [Queen's] could ensure that Indigenous content is present in departments that it currently isn't (for example, it can be frustrating having discussions with my housemates in departments such as math, sciences, and kinesiology, because they simply have a very different understanding of who Indigenous peoples are, and they are never brought up in their classes). ((Q3.3): ID 10, Geography, 3 SC courses).

For 131 students (16%), Indigenous content should be a mandatory part of a degree program.

> Make it a mandatory part of all courses, no matter the subject. Professors and students should shut down racism when it happens in class (which is often). ((Q3.3): ID 130, Concurrent Education, no courses).
>
> Give more than a half hour course on [Indigenous content]. it should be a mandatory, semester long course. I mean, we devote a full year to 2 arts credits, where we do almost nothing, but we can't fit one of the most important topics in Canada's history in there? ((Q3.3): ID 45, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, Concurrent Education, no courses).

However, as pointed out by a Concurrent Education student,

> Students don't like being forced to take a course, even if its content is valuable. ((Q3.3): ID 43, no courses).

Other students focus on the need to offer better training for non-Indigenous faculty and staff.

> Educate the professors on how to teach it so they feel more comfortable bringing the content into their classrooms. ((Q3.3): ID 757, Consecutive Education and Biology, no courses).

To enhance Indigenous content in Queen's education, students call for more speakers and workshops that address Indigenous topics and perspectives. Students would also like Queen's to recruit and hire Indigenous faculty, staff, and administrators. Some students, like this First Nations Geography student who minors in Indigenous studies, say that there is a need for "…Indigenous profs/faculty in ALL departments (i.e. my math courses have none)" (ID 255, 1 IF course). Similarly, this Concurrent Education and French Studies student would like to see "More classes offered with an indigenous perspective taught by INDIGENOUS PEOPLES" (ID 105, racialized student, 1 SC course). These students are calling on Queen's to prioritize and amplify Indigenous voices.

The small but vital Aboriginal Teachers Education Program (ATEP), the Aboriginal Access to Engineering program and the language courses offered through the Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures have drawn the attention of ~11% of the students we surveyed. Many Education students mention the Aboriginal Teacher Education Program as an important element of Queen's learning environment. This Consecutive Education and Drama

student says:

> The [ATEP] is a promising environment to safely train educators for Aboriginal people. ((Q3.2): ID 798, no courses).

Other students consider that the program is "not nearly emphasized enough" (ID 120, Canadian with Aboriginal ancestry, Concurrent Education, 1 SC course) or that it should be "better advertis[ed]" (ID 712, Consecutive Education, no courses). About the Aboriginal Access to Engineering Program in the Faculty of Engineering and Applied Sciences, one Civil Engineering student says:

> I have personally seen and met several people within my classes who are doing well with their studies. Various aboriginal organizations have been made known to me. The Aboriginal Access to Engineering is one which I know is active in my faculty. One of my engineering professors is a First Nations person and has made known his role as a First Nations person who is active in the work being done at Queen's. ((Q3.2): ID 524, no courses).

Some students know that Mohawk, Anishinaabemowin, and Inuktitut language courses are currently available at Queen's, and some assert that they "show an appreciation of these peoples/cultures and a desire to learn about them" ((Q3.2): ID 314, racialized student, Engineering Physics, no courses). More generally, some students want enhanced advertising and promotion of course offerings with an Indigenous focus. One Concurrent Education student says that she "didn't know about many [available courses] until [her] upper years" ((Q3.3): ID 124, some courses). To address this issue, this Commerce student thinks that "these courses should be marketed on places like Solus as new and interesting courses" ((Q3.3): ID 60, no courses).

Worryingly, a small but significant number of students (4% answering Q.3.3) consider that Indigenous content is only relevant for some disciplines.

> I don't believe that Queen's should [enhance Indigenous content in its education]. I believe that the faculties which study indigenous content should be emphasized and encouraged by the school. If I am in an economics class I see no reason to learn more about First Nations, but if I am learning about Canadian history they should be a central tenet of the course. (ID 480, Commerce, no courses).
>
> Maybe [Indigenous content] should be in culture and history classes. It has no place in other programs. (ID 35, Commerce, no courses).
>
> I'm an engineering student, most of my courses are math and science which don't have content about any cultures. (ID 323, Engineering Physics, no courses).
>
> In Engineering, not too much, as our area of study doesn't revolve around social and political issues. (ID 504, Civil Engineering, 1 SC course).

It is significant that students writing in this vein position Indigenous content as social, political, or historical and therefore unrelated to commerce and STEM. This thinking relies on the

assumption that Commerce and STEM are themselves not social and political. It is also significant that the majority of students who answer in this vein have not taken courses on Indigenous topics. That there appears to be a circular relationship between dismissing Indigenous topics as irrelevant or unimportant and not taking courses with Indigenous content speaks to the importance of strong integration of content, particularly in professional programs. This integration would also involve interrogating the social, political and historical assumptions at play in constructing subjects such as commerce or STEM as separate from social concerns (see Bang & Medin, 2010; Borden & Wiseman, 2016; Johnson, 2016).

The presence of Indigenous clubs, people, and perspectives are raised by students in response to both questions. About 10% (Q3.2) of students recognize the positive influence Indigenous-led and focused clubs have on making the Queen's environment welcoming for Indigenous peoples. While many of the respondents don't specify which clubs they are referring to, those who do, tend to identify Queen's Native Student Association. Some students also recognize the presence of Indigenous individuals who offer cultural support and/or who educate. Although Elders-in-residence are crucial to fostering positive experiences for Indigenous peoples working and learning at the university (Queen's Gazette, 2017; Queen's University et al., n.d.), only a handful students (Q3.2, 10), most of whom are in education, mention them. Similarly, only 4 people mention Aboriginal Council of Queen's University. Some students recognize the important presence of Indigenous speakers (Q3.2, 25) including guest lecturers and visiting scholars, and faculty (Q3.2, 4) at Queen's.

As geographers we know that places dedicated to particular activities and the space the university cultivates for such places carries very important messages for students, staff and faculty. Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre stands out as a most important place for students: a quarter of respondents to question 3.2 mention the Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre. Clearly its outreach is having a major impact. Other places mentioned by students include the Sacred Medicine Garden, tended by faculty, staff, and students of the ATEP (2015) for four years now; the study space in the Integrated Learning Centre; Indigenous art at Queen's, including "art being commissioned for law building atrium" (ID 672, Nursing, 1 SC course) and "art in the galleries on campus" (ID 768, Consecutive Education and French Studies, no courses); signage, including "library rooms named after indigenous groups" (ID 437, racialized student, Commerce, no courses) and the Queen's Remembers plinth. Erected in 2017, this monument honours the Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee and serves as an educational resource on main campus (Gaudreau, 2017). Some students think that increasing Indigenous visibility at Queen's would enhance students' education on Indigenous topics. This includes including more Indigenous artwork, creating poster campaigns, and adding statues, plaques, and "monuments to celebrate Indigenous culture" (ID 318, Engineering Physics, no courses). One student says that there should be an "Informative gallery/area within JDUC/Queen's Space" (ID 530, Commerce, no courses), and another says that "…there could be more

indigenous visual representation on campus (i.e., instead of only tricolour flags, include symbols/colours of indigenous cultures)" (ID 687, Nursing, no courses). This Global Development Studies student says that enhancing learning at Queen's through Indigenous visibility requires careful attention to representation and additional educational efforts.

> I know Queen's has tried to implement some 'Indigenous spaces' however from people I have talked to, they could use some work. For example: I am confused as to why/how the Reflection Room is actually an Indigenous space as there is no preference given to Indigenous students for its use, nor is there anything within the room that reflects Indigenous culture (which would be a visual representation which could also help educate non-Indigenous students). Also, even with 'Indigenous spaces', if there is not the understanding and respect of the general student population, even these designated spaces can feel alienating. I feel that Queen's has to go much further than just labeling certain spaces. (ID 634, multiple IF courses).

That many of the students are writing about Indigenous visibility in the Queen's environment in the context of enhancing Indigenous content in education aligns with the Queen's TRC Task Force's (2017, p. 12) plan to "creat[e] culturally validating spaces by incorporating Indigenous art in common spaces, including Indigenous languages on welcome signs, plaques, and building names, and integrating traditional Indigenous plants across the campus gardens."

Q3.2 Evidence that Queen's is a Welcoming Environment		
Type of Initiative	**% (No.)**	**Specific Mentions**
Courses & Programming	21.3% (178)	Courses with Indigenous content
	6.1% (51)	Aboriginal Teacher Education Program
	2.9% (32)	Aboriginal Access to Engineering
	2% (17)	Indigenous languages courses
Educational	28.8% (240)	Land acknowledgements
	6.4% (53)	Awareness Project survey
	2% (17)	Presentations on Indigenous topics
	1.6% (13)	KAIROS Blanket exercise
	1.2% (10)	Workshops on Indigenous topics
Cultural and Social	26.6% (222)	Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre
	4.3% (36)	Indigenous places and spaces (Sacred Medicine Garden, artwork)
	2.6% (22)	Smudging
	1.6% (13)	Ceremonies (convocation blankets, song and commemoration at events, etc.)
	1% (8)	Signage
	0.8% (7)	Bimaadiziwin Ka'nikonhriyo Indigenous & Allies Living Learning Community
	0.7% (6)	Queen's Remembers Plinth
People	10.1% (91)	Clubs (e.g. Queen's Native Student Association)
	4.3% (36)	Indigenous speakers (guest lecturers, visiting scholars)
	1.2% (10)	Elders in residence
	0.5% (4) I	Indigenous Council
	0.5% (4)	Indigenous Faculty
Access and Support	4.1% (34)	Funding and financial support
	0.7% (6)	Educational support and resources
	1.8% (15)	Self-identification
	0.4% (3)	Enrollment opportunities

Table 5. Students see evidence that Queen's is a welcoming environment.

Q3.3 How to Enhance Indigenous Content in Queen's Education		
Type of Initiative	**% (No.)**	**Specific Mentions**
Courses & Programming	33.4% (274)	More courses that are Indigenous-focused
	29.4% (241)	More courses with Indigenous content integrated
	3.9% (32)	Advertise Indigenous-related courses offerings
	0.9% (7)	Train faculty and staff to develop curriculum and teach Indigenous topics
Educational	14.3% (117)	More "extracurricular" events and activities
	5.1% (42)	More land acknowledgements
	4.4% (36)	More presentations & speakers that discuss Indigenous topics
	2.8% (23)	More workshops that address Indigenous topics
	1.7% (14)	Educational orientation week activities
	1.1% (9)	More KAIROS Blanket exercises
	0.9% (7)	More surveys (like the Awareness Project questionnaire)
Cultural and Social	1.8% (15)	More ceremonies and cultural events for all (smudging, pow wows, drum circles)
	3.8% (31)	Increase environmental visibility
People	4.4% (36)	Recruit and hire Indigenous faculty, staff, and administrators
Access and Support	1.5% (12)	Better funding for Indigenous students

Table 6. Students suggest how to enhance Indigenous content in Queen's education.

Questions pertaining to university environments, as a place for Indigenous peoples to work, learn, and play, have especially gained institutional attention following the release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (2015) call to action. Over the years, Queen's has faced calls to address ongoing inequities faced by Indigenous and racialized students, faculty, and staff (D.A.R.E, 2009; Henry, 2004; PICRDI, 2017). When asked about the environment at Queen's, some students point to ongoing equity issues and say that "Queen's is very much unwelcoming to non-white individuals in comparison to white [individuals]" ((Q3.2): ID 396, Environmental Biology, 2 SC course), including "groups such as Palestinians, immigrants, and other minority groups" (ID 538, Commerce, no courses). One student reflects on his positionality and says that while he "do[es] not see much evidence" that Queen's is a welcoming place for Indigenous peoples, he does "not belong to an Indigenous group, and cannot infer what would be construed as welcoming" (ID 483, no declared major, no courses). Other students respond similarly, and say that local Indigenous communities, students, and faculty should be involved in deciding how Indigenous content can be enhanced in Queen's education.

A small but significant number of students feel that not enough is being done to make Queen's a welcoming environment. Nearly 9% of students argue that not enough or "very little" (ID 738, Consecutive Education, 1 IF course) is being done to make Queen's a welcoming environment, and another 7.5% say that they don't see evidence that Queen's is welcoming for Indigenous peoples. Some students say that Queen's efforts appear "unauthentic" (ID 816,

Consecutive Education, 1 IF course), "tokenistic" (ID 820, Consecutive Education, 1 SC course), "superficial" (ID 247, racialized student, Philosophy, 2 SC courses), and "the bare minimum" (ID 312, Psychology, 1 IF and 2 SC courses). For example, a Consecutive Education student says that "PROF 502 course is only 12 hours long which is pretty telling of the ministry and the education program's value of indigenous education" (ID 718, 1 IF course). Some students explain why they think Queen's is not doing as much as it could. This Consecutive Education student says that while Queen's could improve, "… it is still driven by strong colonizational agenda" (ID 780, 1 IF course). Another student, also in Consecutive Education, believes that "Queen's is also at an early stage of learning" (ID 775, no courses). A First Nations Concurrent Education student majoring in Indigenous studies says that, while she can see that some effort is being made, "compared to other universities, Queen's is behind" (ID 127). On this point, two other students say that Trent University has done a much better job at creating a welcoming environment, including hiring Indigenous faculty and integrating Indigenous content in courses, disciplines, architecture and programming (ID 45, Concurrent Education, no courses; ID 87, Concurrent Education, some courses).

Some students recognize that work is being done and have paid attention to who is doing it.

> I see a lot of hard work on the part of Indigenous students and community members to foster an environment of education, reconciliation, and equity. Queen's as an institution is doing the bare minimum to meet federal policy on Indigenous affairs. ((Q3.2): ID 312, Psychology, 2 SC and 1 IF course).

This Concurrent Education student emphasizes Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre.

> The 4 Directions Centre is doing its best, the institution is not. ((Q3.2): ID 834, English Language & Literature, 2 IF courses).

And some point to the work of specific departments and programs.

> I see very little evidence that Queen's is a welcoming environment at the institutional level, but I do see that individual departments and faculties at Queen's (specifically Gender Studies due to my experience) are more so. (Q3.2): ID 431, International student, Gender Studies, 2 IF courses).

As highlighted in Queen's TRC Task Force (2017) report, these students point to the importance of widespread institutional engagement to foster widespread change at Queen's.

Fourteen students express resistance to the very premise of the two questions and deny the need for recognition of Indigenous people, dedication of spaces to them, enhancing Indigenous content in education, or that there is any equity problem at all.

> [Queen's] doesn't discriminate against [Indigenous peoples]… Should that not be enough? ((Q3.2): ID 64, racialized student, Commerce, no courses).

A Physics student says,

> I think Queen's is a welcoming and non-descriminatory environment for ALL people ((Q3.2): ID 321, no courses).

For two other students,

> I do not see a need for a welcoming environment. Queen's is an academic institution where all groups, peoples, etc. should be welcomed based on their academic performance. Once inside the Queen's community there are many clubs and initiatives available for First Nations peoples to join. ((Q3.2): ID 589, Sociology, 1 SC course).
>
> Nothing, lots is done. Most people just aren't interested because most people don't relate or identity with [Indigenous content] ((Q3.3): ID 644, Life Sciences, 2 SC courses).

Twenty-two students reject enhancing Indigenous content in education. They regard such enhancement as "unnecessary" (ID 595, racialized student, Sociology, no courses) and feel that Queen's "has done more then enough" (ID 751, Consecutive Education, 1 IF course) does not "need to improve" (ID 32, Commerce, no courses).

> Nothing, lots is done. Most people just aren't interested because most people don't relate or identity with [Indigenous content] (ID 644, Life Sciences, 2 SC courses).

Other students oppose the access, support, and recognition available to First Nations students[3] on the basis that it is unfair to non-Indigenous people. The certainty that some students express when saying that Indigenous peoples do not face discrimination at Queen's, together with the belief that Indigenous students should not receive supports tailored to their needs, reflects an unawareness of, or even an indifference, towards the systemic barriers that Indigenous students face in post-secondary education, including insufficient financial resources or access to enrollment (Restoule, Mashford-Pringle, Chacaby, Smillie, & Brunette, 2013). These students' responses point to the need for better learning about how colonialism shapes inequities, particularly access to education. They also point to the need for deeper discussions around privilege.

Overall, the high response rate and the range of responses students offer tell us that students have much to say about Queen's environment and enhancing Indigenous content in Queen's education. Many students mention that courses and programming that focus on or address Indigenous topics influence Queen's environment and how, with better coverage and more coverage, courses and programs could enhance all students' education on Indigenous topics. Some students position themselves as for or against more and/or mandatory Indigenous content in their education. The students who restrict Indigenous content to particular disciplines clearly consider Indigenous content inappropriate to their areas of study (often Commerce and STEM). Spaces and places that represent Indigenous cultures and cater to

[3] These respondents only refer to First Nations students.

Indigenous peoples wants and needs are highlighted by some. Indigenous people, groups, and perspectives in and outside classrooms at Queen's are also seen as positive influences for Queen's environment for Indigenous peoples and student's education. Some students call for more Indigenous faculty and staff and the increased presence of Indigenous speakers and perspectives. Few students speak about the support that Indigenous students receive for enrollment, funding, and their education but this probably reflects the relatively small number of Indigenous students at Queen's – which is another issue. Some students say that there is little to no evidence that Queen's is a welcoming place for Indigenous students, and that the institution needs to do more. Those who respond negatively to the questions, and who say that advantages for Indigenous students are unfair, divulge problematic attitudes towards some of Queen's efforts and Indigenous peoples. Respondents who say that they do not see discrimination against Indigenous peoples at Queen's and who say that the university is welcoming to all seem to dismiss the notion that Queen's can and should improve its environment for Indigenous peoples. As Queen's is moving forward with its plan to implement the recommendation of the TRC Task Force (2017), we hope these responses give the school a sense of what initiatives students are noticing in their environment and what they would like to see done for their own education on Indigenous topics.

Question 10. What Participants Have Learned

What have you learned from answering these questions?

While this survey is designed to measure students' awareness of Indigenous realities and engage them on how they are learning to think about colonialism and its relationship to Indigenous peoples and to Canadian society, it also offers an opportunity for education (Godlewska, Massey, Adjei, & Moore, 2013). Knowing if and what students are learning from this survey informs the educational value of this kind of research. For most students, this survey serves as an opportunity to check-in with their level of awareness, and for many, has taught them new things. Over a third of students report realizing how little they know about various Indigenous topics. For some, this means reflecting on the shortcomings of their education thus far. They question gaps in knowledge and understanding, and encouragingly, over a fifth of students say they want to learn and do more moving forward. Over 10% of respondents say that the survey gave them a sense of how much they know, and at times, reinforced their knowledge. Students point out some of the specific things they learned about from the survey. Many students describe the degree to which they did or didn't learn anything from for answering the survey questions, including a lot (3.7%), some more about topics they know about (5.2%), a little (2.4%), or nothing (5%).

Over a third of the students who responded to this question say that they learned how *little they know* but a third of these do not specify the nature of this ignorance. Some students say that they "don't know as much as [they] thought" (ID 834, Drama, no courses), and that taking the survey has exposed their "surface level" (ID 513, Civil Engineering, no courses) or "superficial knowledge" (ID 697, Nursing, no courses). Beyond Indigenous topics in general, some students identify their unawareness of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit cultures, issues, and rights. Others say that they have come to realize that they know little about colonial and Indigenous histories and the "effects of the past and current governments" (ID 131, racialized student, Concurrent Education and Physics, no courses).

> … assumed the best of the Canadian government, when in fact [the government's] response is substandard" (ID 9, International student, History, no courses).
>
> I underestimate the negative effects of residential schools. (ID 790, Consecutive Education and Fine Art, 1 IF and 2 SC courses).

Others notice that they may be more aware of the past than they are of current issues and realities.

> [I learned] that there's a lot we haven't been taught growing up about the CURRENT problems faced by Aboriginal peoples. We learned about the issues in Canadian history, but received no coverage of how this impacts life today, or any current policies and issues. (ID 543, Commerce, no courses).

Earlier research conducted by the Awareness Project team shows that situating Indigenous peoples in the past is embedded in some of Canada's curricula and textbooks (Godlewska, Moore, & Bednasek, 2010; Godlewska, Rose, Schaefli, Freake, & Massey, 2017; Schaefli et al., 2018). The Awareness Project found that many of Ontario's Grade 1-12 curricular documents and textbooks[4] frame Indigenous peoples, their territories, and cultures in the past, which consequently undermines contemporary Indigenous land claims, self-determination, and vitality, and works to legitimate settler governance and possession of land (Schaefli et al., 2018). As Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and educators continue to emphasize the failings of elementary and high school education in cultivating awareness (Battiste, 2013; Dion, 2007; Dion, Johnston, & Rice, 2010; Donald, 2012; Scully, 2012), it is crucial that universities offer all students opportunities for deeper learning about colonialism and Indigenous peoples. For 6% of respondents, completing this survey has exposed the shortcomings of their formal education.

> [I have learned] that our education system is not doing an adequate job at educating us on these important topics. (ID 734, Consecutive Education, 1 IF course).

Students share how they feel about their lack of formal learning.

> …it saddens me that there is no education on this, even in University. (ID 99, Concurrent Education, no courses).
>
> that i really don't know a lot about the topic. it is quite sad that this is the case for someone of my age and level of education. (ID 416, racialized student, French Studies, 1 IF course).

A few students reflect specifically on their education at Queen's. This student gives a rather telling review.

> I have learned a lot more about First Nations, Inuit and Metis people from answering these questions than I did in my whole undergraduate degree at Queen's. (ID 155, Concurrent Education and Biology, no courses).

Others, albeit not many, feel their education has prepared them to answer the survey questions.

> I have learned a lot from my courses at Queen's, and I feel happy knowing that if you make an effort, you can learn about Indigenous issues and start to respect the Indigenous peoples. (ID 622, racialized student, Concurrent Education, 2 IF courses).
>
> That the courses I have taken in university have provided me with some knowledge about Indigenous issues, and that I would love to learn more about them. (ID 617, English Language & Literature, 2 IF courses).

Some students reflect on their "gaps in … knowledge, especially in the area of what Indigenous people are doing today in terms of change" (ID 764, Consecutive Education, 1 SC course). Some

[4] The Awareness team conducted an analysis of the curricular documents and textbook from Ontario's Grade 1-12 Social Studies and Canadian and World studies stream between 2003 and 2015.

say they want to learn more about what Indigenous peoples are doing to actively pursue change.

> I learned that I still need to learn more about current Indigenous rights and their activists and what Indigenous people themselves are spearheading to preserve their culture. (ID 151, racialized student, Concurrent Education, multiple courses).
>
> That I have to educate myself on ongoing efforts by indigenous youth. (ID 186, Concurrent Education, 2 IF courses).

In a similar vein, some students admit that they "may not know as many good things [about Indigenous peoples] as negative things" (ID 782, Consecutive Education and Music, 1 IF and 1 SC courses).

> How little I know, and [that] I've learned primarily negative things from other sources throughout my life. (ID 409, Engineering Physics, no courses).
>
> I realized that many of the things that I know about First Nations issues are about what is wrong in the community, but I don't hear about the good things that are also going on. (ID 450, Commerce, no courses).

The ongoing association of Indigenous peoples with "mostly negative or sad information" (ID 113, Concurrent Education and English Language & Literature, 1 IF course) is often tied to mainstream media's tendency to frame Indigenous realities through crisis, tragedy, drama, and conflict (RCAP, 1996; Warry, 2007), to obfuscate and oversimplify events (Sloan Morgan & Castleden, 2014), and to omit Indigenous voices and critical perspectives (Anderson & Robertson, 2011). Much like problematic settler representations reinforced in formal education (Battiste, 2013; Schaefli et al., 2018; Seawright, 2014), these media practices propel and shape harmful colonial perceptions and sentiments towards Indigenous peoples (Anderson & Robertson, 2011; Harding, 2006; Lambertus, 2004; Morgan & Castleden, 2014). Indigenous peoples have long said that recognition of their own stories is a crucial part of creating the space to foster equitable relations (Dion, 2009). According to some students, this survey process helped challenge their "misconceptions" (ID 281, Concurrent Education and Geography, 5 SC courses) and "prior assumptions" (ID 275, racialized student, Concurrent Education, 3+ SC courses) about Indigenous peoples and Canadian society.

> I have learned that I have many misconceptions that I have heard through the media or from other people. As an educator I think it will be important to tell the true stories to my students so that they do not have these same misconceptions. (ID 825, Fine Art, 1 IF course).

It is important that this process of unlearning assumptions and misconceptions is activated and maintained beyond initiatives like this survey, and deeply embedded in all students' post-secondary education. While this survey might reinforce some students' recognition of the dissonance between what they have learned so far and how they should approach Indigenous topics in their own teaching, university investment in resources and people will cultivate this

unlearning. For the Awareness Project team, these responses tell us that this survey serves as an opportunity for students to reflect on what they do and do not know, and for some, may act as a catalyst for learning more and putting into question why, as this Commerce student explains, "our education system is failing to properly educate us on the Indigenous people and their history" (ID 445, no courses).

Encouragingly, over a fifth of students say they have learned that they need and want to learn and do more. This signals that some students are thinking about their responsibility to engage, especially in cultivating their own learning. To address what many students say is a lack of education on Indigenous topics, some students say that they will take matters in their own hands and "engage in more self learning" (ID 342, Engineering Physics, no courses). On this point, this Environmental Studies student says:

> [I have learned] that I am uneducated on the topic but would like to learn more. I believe that our schools fail to teach adequate information on the subject and that I should search out the information on my own. (ID 394, no courses).

It is heartening that some students say they are willing to take responsibility for their own learning. This said, it is important for educational institutions to actively cultivate this awareness for students who will eventually graduate and, without any intervention, risk carrying understandings harmful to Indigenous peoples as they "assume positions of relative social power" (Godlewska, Schaefli, Massey, Freake, & Rose, 2017, p. 2). These Civil Engineering students recognize the influence this awareness will have on their contributions to society and their work.

> … I have huge knowledge gaps, and I would like to better understand how I can integrate the viewpoints of First Nations, Métis and Inuit people into my work and education. (ID 520, no courses).
>
> I need to continue to learn about Indigenous affairs to be a better Canadian citizen. (ID 493, no courses).

In the case of Education students receiving their education at Queen's, knowing about Indigenous realities is necessary to cultivating the learning of their own elementary and high school students. Some Education students say that this survey has emphasized the importance of enhancing their own knowledge "before teaching … citizens of tomorrow" (ID 783, Consecutive Education and Health Studies, no courses) so that they "can therefore pass on … knowledge to … students" (ID 760, Consecutive Education, 1 IF course). A Consecutive Education and Geography student says that she "need[s] to be more critical in [her] thinking of the government and their action" (ID 758, 1 IF course); an awareness that is likely to enrich elementary and high school students' understanding of Indigenous realities. Beyond learning more, a few non-Indigenous students say that they want to do more by "engag[ing] more with indigenous people in [their] community" (ID 235, no declared major, 1 SC course), "learn[ing] more about how [they] can help in [Indigenous] movements" (ID 430) and learning how to

"contribute to the [Indigenous] community" (ID 474, International student, Commerce, no courses). Beyond those who say they personally want to learn and do more, 5% of respondents recognize that there is a lot do to raise awareness, address ongoing issues of discrimination, and encourage reconciliation.

Beyond those who say that taking this survey reveals how little they know, over 10% of respondents say that the survey helped them recognize how much they know. In these cases, the survey puts into perspective some of their learning accomplishments thus far.

> I have gained perspective on what I did and did not know. (ID 704, Drama, no courses).
>
> That I have some solid knowledge, still need and am welcoming more. (ID 152, Concurrent Education, multiple IF courses).

Some of these students say that answering the survey questions reinforced their knowledge.

> Much of these questions consolidated my learning. (ID 730, Consecutive Education, 1 IF and multiple SC courses).

It is encouraging that students found in this survey an opportunity to check-in with their (un)awareness and that many left the survey wanting to learn more.

About 14% of respondents said that the survey, which was co-designed to address topics in governance issues, current events, cultures, and geography, was informative about particular topics. Some of the specific things they mentioned include the ongoing effects of Indian Residential Schools, historical and current realities of colonialism and systemic racism, efforts to revive Indigenous languages, population growth, and the cultural distinctions between peoples. 4.5% of students say they have learned about the injustice and mistreatment that Indigenous peoples face. Theses responses, like many others found throughout the survey, reflect how little some students know about the nature of settler colonialism and its impact on Indigenous peoples.

> I have learned that Indigenous peoples still suffer today from the traumas of assimilation. (ID 596, Sociology, 1 IF course).
>
> I have learned about the unfair rules and regulations that many people of indigenous culture continue to face. (ID 671, Nursing, no courses).
>
> the level of racism that the government has put on these groups of people is way beyond what I had originally concepted. (ID 278, Geography, no courses).

In its limited capacity, this survey has served as a fleeting educational tool that encourages awareness of Indigenous realities of colonial oppression. It is vitally important that formal education do this work more consistently and profoundly.

For the 5% of students who say they learned nothing from the survey, only a few clarify what they mean. Some, like this Métis respondent, say there was "Nothing [they weren't] already aware of. (ID 29, Civil Engineering student, no courses). A handful of students say that

they learned nothing because they thought the questions were subjective, and therefore unreliable.

> Not much. I'm judging the questions for their merits as assessment tools and they seem lacking. The answers push a subjective narrative with some facts attached. (ID 42, Concurrent Education, no courses).

Responses like this that address the quality of the survey as an assessment tool, are addressed below. The rest of the respondents largely just say that they learned "nothing", which gives us no sense as to whether this means they have already learned a lot about these topics and learned nothing new, or that, perhaps, they don't have any interest in learning.

For most students, this co-designed survey was an opportunity to learn about Indigenous and colonial realities and to reflect on what they do and do not know. Nearly a third of these highly educated respondents are exiting their university education feeling they know very little about Indigenous topics. Some point to their education, thus far, as a key component of their ignorance. Participating in this survey made some students realize what assumptions they carry about Indigenous peoples. While it is impossible to determine whether taking this survey initiates shifts in students' learning, attitudes, or practices, it is encouraging that a fifth of the respondents take away, as a lesson of their participation, a sense of responsibility to learn more, and at times even do more.

Question 11. Questionnaire as an Assessment of Knowledge

The final question on the survey asked students to consider whether or not the questionnaire was a fair assessment of their knowledge:

> Did these questions give you an opportunity to show what you know about First Nations, Métis and Inuit people?
>
> If yes, please explain why the questionnaire was a good assessment of what you know about First Nations, Métis and Inuit people:
>
> If no, please explain why the questionnaire was not a good assessment of what you know about First Nations, Métis and Inuit people:

In asking this question, we sought to give students a chance to speak back to the questionnaire. We also use students' responses to improve the questionnaire and its delivery in subsequent versions. The vast majority of students (741, 91%) considered the questionnaire a good assessment of their knowledge. 50 students (6%) declined to answer the question, and 27 students (3%) did not consider the questionnaire a good assessment of their knowledge. Those who considered the questionnaire a good assessment most often thought so because it encouraged them to think about what they know and because they learned something from participating. Students who did not feel the questionnaire was a good assessment of their knowledge most often considered that the questions were biased.

Many students noted that the questionnaire made them think critically about their own perspective and the limits of what they know. For a History student,

> It brought me out of my comfort zone. It tested me on what I believe and got me to really think about how I view indigenous issues. (ID 247, 1 SC course).

For a Political Studies student,

> It helped me to learn new material as well as show me that I am not well educated on this topic. It has opened my eyes to new aspects of these people that I have not considered before. (ID 349, 1 SC course).

A Mathematics and Engineering student pointed in particular to the dangers of assuming one knows all that there is to know, highlighting the importance of education grounded in critical Indigenous perspectives:

> I think it was a good gauge of education regarding social and systemic issues relating to First Nations, Metis and Inuit people. I think some of us may think we have some education on Indigenous people because we had a field trip in grade 3 to an Aboriginal education centre or something of the sort, but the reality is the great majority of us are uneducated on the subject and this quiz really brought out that reality. (ID 295, no courses)

Encouragingly, several students consider it their responsibility as residents of Canada and as university students to learn more and better:

> I feel as though it would be very reasonable to know all of the answers. What this questionnaire has shown is that I did not know many of the answers, and that there is much I am able to learn, and have a certain responsibility to learn. (ID 245, Philosophy student, no courses)
>
> I think it was a good assessment. There were specific topics that I was not aware of or had a skewed understanding of. These teacher candidates need more training on indigenous issues. (ID 143, Environmental Studies and Concurrent Education student, 3 SC courses)
>
> It asked basic knowledge that we should all know right now (ID 233, Health studies student, 1 IF course)

The 3% of students who did not consider the questionnaire a good assessment of their knowledge most often expressed criticism, and sometimes anger, about the nature of the questions. For a Engineering Physics student, the questions were:

> Loaded questions, biased answers. Total garbage. (ID 55, no courses)

Other students considered the questions "partisan" (ID 63, Civil Engineering, no courses) and "extremely leading" (ID 69, Nursing, no courses). Many of these students also express resistance to learning throughout the questionnaire. For the Nursing student who considered the questions "extremely leading", "It's not really relevant to my area of study" (ID 69). A Civil Engineering student who considered the questions contained "wording to make you feel bad" declared that "I am not here to learn about history" (ID 492, no courses). For a Physics and Concurrent Education student, there is no relationship between education and responsible citizenship. The questionnaire is:

> a biased assessment based on subjective views of Indigenous peoples. The fact is that horrific actions have happened, continue to happen, and as a country Canada needs to rectify that. But I don't need my subjective views assessed when there is real work to be done…. If Israel can maintain their hold on Palestinian land, then Canadians can maintain their hold on Indigenous land" (ID 43, no courses).

Such avoidance of responsibility and rationalization of land theft is particularly disturbing coming from a future teacher.

It is significant that nearly all of the students who considered the questionnaire a biased assessment report that they have not taken courses at Queen's about Indigenous topics and did not learn much in K-12. It is also significant that a large majority of these students report that their families feel that "First Nations, Métis and Inuit people receive privileges that others do not," that "it is all in the past and does not matter anymore" and/or that "It just never came up as a topic of conversation". Prejudice and ignorance learned at home, it seems, thrive in the absence of good education. The mutually reinforcing nature of ignorance and backlash

demonstrates the importance of careful and thoughtful planning in integrating Indigenous content across all university faculties and disciplines.

Conclusion

With new hires, a new Indigenous Studies major in the works, an active TRC task force, a thriving Four Directions Indigenous Student Centre, ATEP, numerous Indigenous-focused courses, and evidence of work at integrating Indigenous content into a variety of courses and venues, it is clear that Queen's University is working hard to address the state of knowledge of Indigenous topics and realities in the general Canadian population. But we need to do more.

Our findings suggest that courses capable of getting at the nature of Canada's colonialism are essential to decolonizing education at Queen's and opening students to awareness of the oppressive nature of settler states. Some such content can be integrated into introductory social science and humanities courses taken by students in Arts & Science, Education, Engineering, Nursing and Business. However, introductory courses, where faculty are able to engage these topics, are not likely to plumb the systemic nature of colonialism and grapple with concepts such as settler colonialism, biopolitics, states of exception, the politics of recognition, white supremacy, and land as pedagogy (Wolfe 2006, Rifkin 2009, Morgensen 2011, Simpson 2014, Borrows 2016, and Coulthard 2017) which are essential to overcoming deeply embedded colonial assumptions prevalent in the way students – and not just students - think. We believe that an interdisciplinary and Indigenous Studies Major and suite of courses, drawing students from across the faculties, supported by significant integration of carefully taught Indigenous content in introductory social science and humanities courses will begin to address entrenched settler ignorance. That will require hiring more Indigenous faculty, providing content support for existing faculty (so hiring Indigenous Education Advisors, and thinking carefully about where to best house them: Four Directions, at the Center for Teaching and Learning, or with the administration of the Indigenous Studies major), and sustained commitment on the level of faculties to the breadth and depth of education on Indigenous peoples and colonialism in Canada.

Rather than trying to recreate such courses in the faculties of Engineering, Commerce and Health Sciences, we suggest that these faculties direct their students to the suite of Indigenous-focused courses and make taking one such course a requirement. The Faculty of Education might make taking an Arts & Science Indigenous-focused undergraduate course a requirement of entry or graduation for all education students. This does not obviate the need for discipline-specific courses, but reduces the burden on instructors within smaller faculties to provide breadth and depth of education with too few resources. The argument made by some Commerce, Engineering and Science students that awareness of Indigenous topics is irrelevant to their disciplines suggest ignorance of their responsibilities as citizens, unawareness that we all swim in a social sea whose ecology is a matter of universal concern, and perhaps a disregard for professional ethics. It is important to recognize that such comments do not represent all students from these faculties, in fact, these faculties can boast well-informed and critical social thinkers. Nevertheless, our findings suggest that unawareness is a stand out problem in

Science, Engineering, Commerce and, sadly, in Nursing. That we had the opportunity to survey these students, speaks to the concern and commitment of Deans and instructors to Awareness of Indigenous peoples and current realities.

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