

Running head: RECONCILIATION, RESPECT, AND TRUST

Perspectives on Reconciliation, Cultural Identity and Respect, and Intergroup Trust Among
University Students in Canada

by

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Abstract

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) documented the harmful impact of the Indian Residential School system on Indigenous Peoples, their families, and communities across generations, and reconciliation efforts have been underway. Social psychologists have proposed two paths to conflict resolution and reconciliation: socioemotional, which restores *identities* damaged in the conflict, and instrumental, which alleviates *distrust* (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008). In a correlational pilot study (72 Indigenous, 90 non-Indigenous students), I examined the relationships among perceptions of reconciliation progress with the public and government, reconciliation attitudes, perceptions of cultural respect, intergroup trust, and well-being. In this thesis, I explored Indigenous and White students' views toward these topics in greater depth in individual interviews ($N = 13$) which were guided by constructivist grounded theory methodology. Students' cultural identity was related to remembering history, connecting to others, and engaging with culture. Indigenous students reported greater growth in cultural identity over their life, whereas White students' cultural identity was less salient or associated with privilege. In discussing cultural respect, students spoke about themes such as connecting to others in a good way, responding to different views, challenging yourself, and emersion in culture. In influencing trust, students spoke about having a personal connection, support and action, learning to distrust, feeling secure and comfortable, and actively trusting. Students believed reconciliation involved changing relationships, understanding and responding to the past, was personally relevant, and involved making meaningful action. Despite seeing barriers, all students perceived progress toward reconciliation, and believed it would continue to advance.

keywords: Reconciliation, Cultural Respect, Intergroup Trust, Canada

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Perspectives on Reconciliation, Cultural Identity and Respect, and Intergroup Trust Among
University Students in Canada

Over time, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples have lived together on the land we now call Canada, where they have developed both good and harmful relationships. In earlier history, Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples mutually benefited from trade and cooperated during military alliances, resulting in relatively equal relationships (King, 2012). The Métis, descendants of European fur traders and Indigenous peoples (The Métis National Council, n.d.), are another example of close relationships that resulted in the birth of a distinct cultural group. At other times, however, there has been considerable conflict, and some governmental policies have resulted in significant harm (King, 2012; Ross, 2014). Since confederation, governments within Canada have used various race-based laws and policies to dismantle Indigenous social, cultural, religious, and political institutions, which has had a heavy impact on Indigenous peoples' health and well-being (Ross, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

Many recognize the Indian Residential School system, which was in operation for over a century and up until the mid 1990s, as one of the most harmful Canadian policies for Indigenous peoples (Ross, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). The Canadian government mandated that Indigenous children attend church run Residential Schools in order to assimilate them into European-centric society, resulting in separation from family, community, and cultural loss (Ross, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Staff did not allow the children in these schools to speak their language, practice their spirituality, or engage in traditional cultural ceremonies (Ross, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Abuse was widespread, and substandard living conditions and subsequent

disease led to a high death rate among children (King, 2012; Ross, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Up to 6,000 out of the 150,000 students who attended these schools died, but the true number is unknown as officials stopped keeping records after 1920 (Puxley, 2015). The majority of Residential Schools closed by 1980, with the last school closing in 1996 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

Reconciliation in Canada

Survivors of the Residential School system launched a class-action lawsuit against the Canadian government in response to the damage caused by these schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). As part of a settlement agreement, Canada launched a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate the system (Truth and Reconciliation of Canada, 2015). Canada is not alone in working toward uncovering truth and working toward reconciliation after group or political conflict. South Africa, for example, launched a commission following the end of the apartheid system in the 1990s (see South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 1998). In Australia, the *Bringing Them Home* report documented the similar impact of government-mandated separation of Indigenous children from their families across generations (see Australia Human Rights Commission, 1997). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada gathered thousands of statements about the Residential School system and released its final report in 2015; since, reconciliation efforts have been underway (see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

Canadian governments, churches, and members of the public have engaged in efforts across the country to strengthen relations with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. In 2008, then Prime Minister Steven Harper acknowledged that the Indian Residential School system was cultural genocide, and issued an official apology to survivors on behalf of the Canadian

government (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2008). In an effort to increase awareness and understanding, some provincial governments have implemented new learning expectations for Indigenous history in the public-school curriculum (Johnson, 2017). Moreover, church organizations have organized workshops such as the “Blanket Exercise” to teach non-Indigenous peoples in Canada about the impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples (KAIROS, 2017) or supported Indigenous advocacy efforts, such as improving access to water in First Nations communities (Churches for Freedom Road, 2017). In 2017, 50,000 people gathered for a “Walk for reconciliation” in Vancouver to show their commitment to revitalizing relationships (Reconciliation Canada, 2017) and in Winnipeg, Indigenous and non-Indigenous community members have joined together in grassroots gatherings to discuss topics related to reconciliation (Circles for Reconciliation, n.d.).

People in Canada have made many efforts toward advancing reconciliation, however there is still work to be done. According to a national survey, non-Indigenous Canadians are almost evenly divided on whether the current relationship between Indigenous peoples and other Canadians is positive or negative, and approximately one-third have not heard of the Residential School system (Environics Institute, 2016). Although Indigenous peoples and culture have shown much resilience, some people continue to be negatively affected by traumatic experiences. Among Indigenous peoples, having attended Residential Schools is related to greater present-day difficulties such as lower self-perceived health and mental health (Hackett, Feeny, & Tompa, 2016), problematic substance use (Ross, Dion, Cantinotti, Collin-Vézina, & Paquette, 2015), and disruptions in family and community functioning (Ross, 2014). Indigenous peoples continue to experience lower health, education, and other socio-economic outcomes in comparison to other Canadians, which have roots in social, economic, and political marginalization (Truth and

Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015; National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, 2013). Furthermore, some Indigenous peoples believe that racism is growing (CBC News, 2017). To maintain peaceful and harmonious intergroup relations, understanding how we might advance reconciliation from Indigenous and other Canadians' perspectives is of pressing importance.

Pathways to Repair Relationships and the Needs-Based Model

Social psychological perspectives may help us understand how to repair and strengthen relationships following group or political conflict. Kelman (2004) proposed that conflict settlement, conflict resolution, and reconciliation are three peace-making processes. Kelman (2004) also identifies conditions such as the mutual acknowledgement of the other's nationhood and humanity, the development of a common moral basis for peace, confrontation with history, acknowledgement of responsibility, and the establishment of patterns and institutional mechanisms for cooperation as important for reconciliation. Building from Kelman (2004), Nadler and Schnabel (2008) proposed that addressing psychological needs, such as positive esteem, security and justice, and the need for autonomy, are particularly important aspects of successful conflict resolution and reconciliation.

Nadler and Schnabel (2008) distinguish between two paths to ending conflict. Instrumental reconciliation, reflective of conflict resolution, aims to change relationships between adversaries, therefore alleviating the psychological barrier of distrust (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008). Socioemotional reconciliation, consistent with Kelman's position that reconciliation involves identity change, repairs and strengthens victim and perpetrator identities that have been threatened in the conflict (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008). Groups that engage in repeated acts of cooperation in the present toward goals such as a cleaner environment or better

health are thought to become more trusting toward one another, whereas addressing events of the past and successfully completing an apology forgiveness cycle is thought to restore damaged identities to be equal, worthy, and secure (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008). The instrumental and socioemotional aspects of reconciliation, however, are not separate and may be interdependent (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008).

Following conflict, both victims and perpetrators experience threats to their respective identities. Victims experience a loss of power and control through the violation of their rights as equal persons, whereas perpetrators experience feelings of moral inferiority as a result of violating another (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008). These identity threats lead to differing emotional needs. For victims, socioemotional reconciliation restores a sense of autonomy, power, and control, whereas for perpetrators, reconciliation offers an opportunity to restore a damaged “moral” identity (Schnabel & Nadler, 2008). In support of this, experimental studies have found that a message of empowerment increases former victims’ willingness to reconcile, whereas a message of acceptance increased former perpetrators’ willingness to reconcile (Schnabel & Nadler, 2008).

Intergroup Trust

Instrumental reconciliation primarily alleviates distrust towards members of the other social group (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008). Within interpersonal relationships, Rempel, Holmes, and Zanna (1985) propose a three-factor model of trust: faith, dependability, and predictability. Researchers have proposed that feelings of intergroup trust are also related to threat, which may be *symbolic* of the group’s values or goals (e.g., believing outgroup members view one’s own group negatively), or *realistic* (e.g., perceived competition for scarce resources) (Dovidio et al., 2008). In Northern Ireland, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns (2009) found that increased

contact between Catholics and Protestants was related to more positive behavioural tendencies toward members of the other community, and that this was mediated by increased intergroup trust. Furthermore, Tam et al. (2009) found that trust was a stronger predictor of behavioural tendencies toward members of the other community than attitudes (e.g., liking) toward them were. In a study on Indigenous peoples' response to the Government of Canada's apology for the Residential School System, Bombay, Matheson, and Anisman (2013) found that greater perceived discrimination was related to lower feelings of intergroup trust, forgiveness, and optimism that change will happen.

Cultural Respect

Socioemotional reconciliation primarily addresses identities that were damaged in the group conflict (Nadler & Schnabel, 2008). People are motivated to maintain and enhance their self-esteem and self-concept, and because we derive a part of our identity from the social groups we belong to, we are sensitive to threats against our group because it is by extension a threat against our self (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For example, in other minority-majority interactions, researchers have found that White participants had more negative evaluations of Black participants when they perceived them as being less supportive of White values (Biernat, Vesco, & Theno, 1996). In Australia, researchers identified "multiculturalism" or perceptions of cultural respect as a related but statistically independent construct from perceptions of macro and personal discrimination (Bodkin-Andrews, O'Rourke, Grant, Denson, & Craven, 2011). In addition, Bodkin-Andrews et al. (2011) found that "multiculturalism" or feeling that one's culture was accepted and valued by others was related to positive school outcomes among Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. In its final report, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada also emphasizes the importance of "establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful

relationship” in its conceptualization of reconciliation (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 6).

Intergroup Relations and Psychological Well-Being

Psychologists have found that intergroup relations and aspects of reconciliation are related to psychological well-being. It is well-documented that minorities who report more personal experiences of discrimination and greater societal level discrimination have greater mental health problems (e.g., depression, anxiety, psychological distress) than those who experience less (Schmitt, Branscombe, Posmes, Garcia, 2014). Positive relations between groups can also have a positive effect on psychological well-being. Feeling trust toward others and feeling safe in your community, for example, has been associated with lower mental health distress (Phongsavan, Chey, Bauman, Brooks, & Silove, 2006). Other researchers have found that among survivors of the Rwandan genocide, renewed trust and cooperation with perpetrators and unconditional forgiveness were correlated with greater mental health (Mukashema & Mullet, 2013). Following “The Troubles” in Northern Ireland, researchers have found that intergroup forgiveness between Catholics and Protestants mediated the relationship between the extent to which the conflict had affected the person’s life and mild nonpsychotic psychiatric morbidity (Myers, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2009). Finally, experimental studies have found that acknowledgement of wrongs by perpetrators after mass trauma can increase psychological well-being among members of a previously victimized group (Vollhardt, Mazur, & Lemahieu, 2014).

Positive social change takes time. Social psychologists have described reconciliation as both a process and an end-state (Kelman, 2008). Perceptions of progress toward reconciliation in Canada may be related to both intergroup trust, a psychological component of instrumental reconciliation, as well as perceived cultural respect, a component of socioemotional

reconciliation. Furthermore, feeling greater intergroup trust and that your culture is respected may also predict more positive attitudes toward reconciliation. Perceptions of reconciliation progress and attitudes, intergroup trust, and cultural respect may also be related to various aspects of immediate (i.e., affect) and longer-term (i.e., perceived success in life, psychological distress) psychological well-being. As historical events and present-day dynamics and challenges vary across nations, it is important to study the topic of reconciliation among many groups. To my knowledge, no researcher has examined these variables in combination within the Manitoba context.

Pilot Study

To examine the relationships between perceptions of reconciliation progress and attitudes, cultural respect, intergroup trust, and psychological well-being (i.e., affect, perceived success, psychological distress), I conducted an online correlational pilot study from September 2017 to March 2018 to determine the strength and direction of any relationships found between these variables. I hypothesized that participants who perceived greater progress toward reconciliation would show more supportive attitudes toward reconciliation, because seeing greater progress toward reconciliation would lead people to perceive their culture was more respected by others and feel greater intergroup trust. Furthermore, I predicted those who perceived greater reconciliation progress would report greater well-being, also because this would lead to higher perceptions of cultural respect and greater feelings of intergroup trust. As this is a correlational study and causation cannot be determined, I also test an alternative model. In the alternative model, I tested whether perceiving your culture to be respected by others predicts perceiving greater reconciliation progress and intergroup trust, and whether this in turn predicts greater well-being. I expected these effects to be stronger among Indigenous than non-

Indigenous peoples as they are more likely to be directly or negatively affected by colonial policies, such as Residential Schools.

Method

Participants

I recruited 188 students from the University of Manitoba. According to an a-priori G*Power analysis that assumes a small to medium effect (.25), a total sample of size of 240 is required to achieve 80% power to detect correlations and allow for cross-group comparisons between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants, if they exist in the population. I recruited participants in three ways. First, students were recruited from the Department of Psychology's research subject pool, SONA ($n = 131$). Participants received 1 credit toward a course requirement for Introductory to Psychology. Due to low numbers of Indigenous students participating, I also recruited in-person at Migizii Agamik ($n = 52$), the Indigenous Student Centre at the University of Manitoba. Students completed the survey on the research assistant's computer or their own personal computers and received a chocolate or granola bar for their time. Finally, 4 participants were recruited through an email advertisement sent by the Department of Native Studies at the University of Manitoba to their graduate students. These students were entered into a draw to win a \$25 gift card.

Procedure

Introduction to Psychology students signed up online using SONA, the Department of Psychology's research subject pool. In order to maximize the number of Indigenous participants, I also emailed and phoned eligible students who had indicated in a prescreening survey conducted by the Social Justice Laboratory that they would be interested in future studies. Students that I recruited through SONA completed the study in-person in rooms with two

computers. Participants recruited at Migizii Agamik approached a table where a research assistant explained the purpose of the study. Participants read and signed an information and consent form, then completed the survey on the research assistant's or their own personal computers. Finally, participants who were recruited through email advertising by the Department of Native Studies completed the survey at a time and place of their convenience through an online link. After participants provided informed consent they completed the study using Qualtrics, an online survey software system. Participants agreed to a commitment question adapted from Clifford and Jerit (2016) that requested they minimize potential distractions (e.g., cell phone) and answer questions without consulting outside sources (i.e., the internet). Next, participants completed a demographics questionnaire (e.g., age, ethnicity) and read a brief description of Residential Schools by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission accompanied by a photo of former students in a classroom. Finally, participants completed the measures in the order outlined below and were provided with a debriefing form.

Materials

The pilot study included questions assessing perceived reconciliation progress with the general public and government, intergroup trust, reconciliation attitudes, perceived cultural respect, and psychological well-being. Unless otherwise noted, participants rated their agreement with each item on a 7-point likert scale with the following anchors: *1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = slightly disagree, 4 = neither disagree nor agree, 5 = slightly agree, 6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree*. I averaged the scale items to create a total composite score, assuming the participant responded to at least 70% of the items.

Reconciliation Progress with the Public. This measure, intended to assess participants' perceptions of reconciliation progress with the general public, was created by Fontaine and

Starzyk (2017) and was created based on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's conceptualization of reconciliation:

To the Commission, reconciliation is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. In order for that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour."

(Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 6-7).

Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with the following statements: (a)

"Reconciliation is happening between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada," (b)

"People in Canada have a good understanding of the history of Residential Schools," (c) "The relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada is mutually respectful,"

(d) "People in Canada are aware of the issues facing Indigenous peoples," (e) "Non-Indigenous

peoples in Canada acknowledge that Residential Schools were harmful," (f) "People in Canada

are making meaningful amends for what happened in Residential Schools," (g) "People in

Canada want to change policies that negatively affect Indigenous peoples," and (h) "Indigenous

and non-Indigenous people in Canada have equal opportunities." Internal consistency of this

measure was good and had a Chronbach's alpha of $r = .88$. An exploratory factor analysis, using an oblique rotation and the maximum likelihood extraction method, showed one factor

(eigenvalue = 4.41). Chi-square goodness of fit test was significant, $\chi^2(20) = 49.4, p < .001$,

however, indicating a poor model fit. I examined the factor matrix, items loaded onto the factor

in the following order: (b), (d), (f), (c), (h), (g), (e), and (a). As I will outline below, the items

used to assess reconciliation progress with the government were analogous to this measure, but

had a poor model fit as well. As such, I chose to retain the highest loading items on the factor

matrix that were common to both measures, which were (d), (b), (c), and (f). Please see [Table 1](#) for factor matrix loadings. Internal consistency remained good ($\alpha = .87$) and had one factor (eigenvalue = 2.89). Chi-square goodness-of-fit test was non-significant as well, $\chi^2(2) = 1.65$, $p = .44$. Model fit was further examined using FITMOD software; RMSEA = .000, 95% CI [.000, .165], indicating a good fit.

Reconciliation Progress with the Government. This measure, also created by Fontaine & Starzyk (2017), was similar to the previous one assessing reconciliation with the public, however it assesses reconciliation with the Government of Canada instead. Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with the statements: (a) “Reconciliation is happening between Indigenous peoples and the Government of Canada,” (b) “The Government of Canada’s recent actions reflect a good understanding of the history of Residential Schools,” (c) “The relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Government of Canada is mutually respectful,” (d) “The Government of Canada’s recent actions reflect an awareness of the issues facing Indigenous peoples,” (e) “In its recent actions, the Government of Canada has acknowledged that Residential Schools were harmful,” (f) “The Government of Canada is making meaningful amends for what happened in Residential Schools,” (g) “The Government of Canada wants to change policies that negatively affect Indigenous peoples,” and (h) “The Government of Canada provides Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples with equal opportunities.” As with the previous measure, the internal consistency was excellent ($\alpha = .90$) and a factor analysis showed 1 factor (eigenvalue = 4.86). Chi-square goodness-of-fit test was also significant, however, $\chi^2(20) = 109.13$, $p < .001$. According to the factor matrix, the items loaded in the following order: (f), (b), (d), (a), (c), (g), (h), and (e). Items (c), (b), (d), and (f) were retained, as the analogous items

from the previous measure also loaded relatively highly. Please see [Table 2](#) for factor matrix loadings. Internal consistency remained good ($\alpha = .88$) and had one factor (eigenvalue = 2.92). Chi-square goodness-of-fit test statistic was reduced, but remained significant, $\chi^2(2) = 25.85, p < .001$, RMSEA = .27, 95% CI [.06, .30], indicating a poor model fit. In the interest of keeping the two scales assessing perceptions of reconciliation progress analogous, however, I decided to retain items (b), (c), (d), and (f).

Intergroup Trust. For Indigenous participants, this four-item measure assessed feelings of trust toward *non-Indigenous* peoples and leaders, whereas for non-Indigenous participants it assessed trust toward *Indigenous* peoples and leaders. Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with statements such as: (a) “I believe [Indigenous/non-Indigenous] leaders when they say they want reconciliation,” (c) “I don’t trust [Indigenous/non-Indigenous] leaders to act fairly in the interests of everyone” (reverse-coded) and (d) “I think that most [Indigenous/non-Indigenous] people in Canada are trustworthy.” Items (a) and (b) were modified from a study conducted by Bombay, Matheson, and Anisman (2013) and item (c) from Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, and Cairns (2009). I created item (d). A reliability analysis revealed acceptable internal consistency for Indigenous participants, $\alpha = .75$, as well as non-Indigenous participants, $\alpha = .75$. An exploratory factor analysis found one factor among both Indigenous (eigenvalue = 2.29) and non-Indigenous respondents (eigenvalue = 2.33). I subsequently combined the four items to make an overall composite for intergroup trust. The skew was $-.37$ ($SE = .19$) and kurtosis was $-.51$ ($SE = .38$).

Reconciliation Attitudes. This eight item measure, created by Halloram (2007) and modified to be suitable for a Canadian context, assessed how supportive participants were of

reconciliation. Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with statements such as: (b) “I have a positive attitude towards reconciliation,” (e) “We need to recognize the contribution made by Indigenous peoples to Canadian culture,” (f) “I feel that the reconciliation process, and what it means, is a good thing,” and (g) “Indigenous heritage should be important to Canadians.” A reliability analysis revealed excellent internal consistency, $\alpha = .91$, and a factor analysis revealed two factors (eigenvalues = 4.99, 1.08) which were highly correlated ($r = .62$). According to the pattern matrix, items (b), (f), (h), (a), and (c) had loadings $> .46$ on factor 1, whereas items (e), (g), and (d) had loadings $> .65$ on factor 2. As both factors were highly correlated and past researchers have used a total combined score, I combined the eight items to make an overall composite for reconciliation attitudes. The skew was negative, -1.29 ($SE = .19$), and kurtosis was 1.46 ($SE = .38$), indicating a non-normal distribution. As a result, I used a square-root transformation, however this did not meaningfully affect results so I decided against using the transformed composite.

Perceived Cultural Respect. This four-item measure is the ‘multiculturalism’ subscale of the perceived discrimination and multiculturalism scale created by Bodkin-Andrews, O’Rourke, Grant, Denson, and Craven (2010). Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with statements such as: (a) “People I meet accept my cultural identity,” (b) “People in Canada are often proud of the achievements of people from my culture,” and (d) “Others in Canada respect people from my culture.” Internal consistency was good ($\alpha = .84$) and a factor analysis revealed one factor (eigenvalue= 2.72). As such, I combined the four items to make an overall composite for cultural respect, which had a skew of $-.71$ ($SE = .19$) and kurtosis of $-.11$ ($SE = .38$). I used a square-root transformation on the composite as it was negatively skewed, however

this did not change results so I did not use it.

Positive and Negative Affect. I assessed participants' present feelings and emotions using an internationally reliable short form of the positive and negative affect schedule (PANAS), developed and validated by Thompson (2007). Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they felt ten emotions on a 5-point likert scale, ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. Sample items that assessed positive affect included (c) "alert" (g) "determined," and (h) "attentive," whereas items that assessed negative affect included (a) "upset," (b) "hostile," and (d) "ashamed." The items were combined to create separate positive ($\alpha = .81$; one factor, eigenvalue = 2.93) and negative ($\alpha = .77$; one factor, eigenvalue = 2.57) affect composites. Positive affect had a skew of $-.32$ ($SE = .19$) and kurtosis of $-.74$ ($SE = .38$), and negative affect had a skew of 1.60 ($SE = .19$) and kurtosis of 2.28 ($SE = .38$). As negative affect was positively skewed, I used a log transformation, but this did not change results so I did not use it.

Perceived Success. As another measure of psychological well-being, I used Diener et al.'s (2009) Flourishing Scale, where a high score reflects a person with many resources and strengths and views themselves in positive terms. Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with eight statements such as: (a) "I lead a purposeful and meaningful life," (b) "My social relationships are supportive and rewarding," and (c) "I am engaged and interested in my daily activities." Internal consistency was excellent ($\alpha = .89$), and a factor analysis using the generalized least squares extraction method found one factor (eigenvalue = 4.29). I combined the eight items to make an overall composite for perceived success, which had a negative skew of $-.96$ ($SE = .19$) and kurtosis of $.79$ ($SE = .38$), indicating a non-normal distribution. A square-root transformation did not meaningfully change results.

Psychological Distress. Finally, I measured participants level of psychological distress using a short six-item screening scale created by Kessler et al. (2002). Participants were asked to rate how often they felt six emotions over the past 30 days from 1 = *none of the time* to 5 = *all of the time*. Sample items included (a) “nervous?” (b) “hopeless?” and (d) “so depressed that nothing could cheer you up?” Internal consistency was good ($\alpha = .86$) and one factor was found (eigenvalue = 3.57), so the items were combined to make an overall psychological distress composite. The composite had a positive skew of 1.14 ($SE = .19$) and kurtosis of 1.78 ($SE = .38$); a log transformation did not meaningfully change results.

Demographics. I included a demographics questionnaire at the beginning of the survey for descriptive purposes and to be used in exploratory analyses for inclusion as possible covariates. These questions assessed participants’ sex/gender using three items (Bauer, Braimoh, Scheim, & Dharma, 2017), age, ethnicity (including Indian and First Nation band status/membership if applicable), citizenship status, number of years lived in Canada (if other than citizen at birth), level of education, annual income, and religious affiliation (categories drawn from Statistics Canada, 2017). Participants also answered the extent to which they identified as being Canadian (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*) and whether they had another cultural identity. If participants indicated having a second cultural identity, I asked whether this was their primary identity and the extent to which they identified with it (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*). A summary of the descriptive statistics for the composite and demographic variables is included in Tables [3](#), [4](#), [5](#) and [6](#).

Pilot Results

Sample Description

Overall, my final sample included 162 participants. This is below my target sample size of 240, however due to difficulties in recruiting participants, I decided to end recruitment. When determining my eligibility criteria, I was interested in people's opinions who lived and plan to remain in Canada. As such, the eligibility criteria stated on SONA was "Must be a Canadian citizen, landed immigrant, or refugee," however when examining my sample, a large proportion ($n = 21$) of participants had selected "something else (e.g., temporary resident, student visa)" in response to the Canadian status variable—as such, they were excluded from analyses.

Participants were also excluded if they did not consent ($n = 4$) or commit to answering conscientiously ($n = 4$), and due to a technical mistake, two participants completed the survey twice. As such, their second response was excluded. Finally, participants who spent less than 2.7 seconds reading the description of Residential Schools were excluded ($n = 3$); this cut-off was based on a finding by Lewandowski, Coddington, Kleinmann, and Tucker (2003) that found college students read silently at a rate of about 202 wpm ($SD = 20.2$). The passage is 145 words, meaning it should take students on average 43.1 seconds to read (2 SD below the mean is 2.7 seconds).

Participants were an average age of 22.25 ($SD = 7.69$). Sex and gender were assessed using three items. The first asked participants for their assigned sex at birth (42 male, 120 female) and the second asked for current gender identity (41 male, 113 female, 8 Indigenous or other cultural gender minority). The third question asked participants what gender they currently lived as in their day-to-day life, and was only asked of those who indicated a different gender identity from their assigned sex (1 male, 6 female, 1 sometimes male, sometimes female). Seventy-two participants were Indigenous (45 First Nations mainly from Manitoba, 26 Métis, and 1 Inuk), and 90 were non-Indigenous (29 White, 61 non-Indigenous ethnic minorities). One-

hundred and ten participants reported being a Canadian citizen by birth, 30 by naturalization, and 22 were permanent residents. Of those born outside of Canada, the average number of years spent living here was 9.08 ($SD = 5.05$). On average, the extent to which participants identified as being Canadian was 3.89 ($SD = 1.01$) on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. Eighty-nine participants reported having a second cultural identity, and the extent to which they identified with this secondary identity was $M = 3.89$ ($SD = .98$) on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. For religious affiliation, 65 participants reported Christian, 50 no religious affiliation, 23 Traditional Indigenous Spirituality, and 24 reported other affiliations (e.g., Muslim, Hindu, Sikh).

Correlational Analysis

To determine the strength and direction of any relationships between my variables, I computed a correlation matrix on the total sample (see [Table 7](#)). Contrary to my hypothesis, participants reported greater support for reconciliation as they perceived less reconciliation progress with the public ($r = -.35$) and government ($r = -.28$). Participants who saw greater reconciliation progress with the public and government were also more likely to view their culture as respected by others ($rs = .45$ and $.45$, respectively) and feel greater intergroup trust ($rs = .27$ and $.32$, respectively). Those who thought more reconciliation had happened with the government also reported more success in life ($r = .18$), less psychological distress ($r = -.15$), and less negative affect ($r = -.23$). Those who felt others respected their culture also felt more intergroup trust ($r = .49$), felt they were more successful in life ($r = .26$), and reported less negative affect ($r = -.20$). Intergroup trust was also related to greater support for reconciliation ($r = .15$), more perceived success in life ($r = .21$), less psychological distress ($r = -.21$), and less negative affect ($r = -.27$). Those who saw themselves as more successful in life ($r = .19$) and felt

more positive affect ($r = .22$) also reported more positive reconciliation attitudes.

Analysis of Variance

Previous research suggests Indigenous, White, and non-Indigenous ethnic minorities differ in their support for various reconciliation efforts (Starzyk & Fontaine, 2017). In line with this, a one-way ANOVA found significant differences between these groups on several measures. A Welch test was used in some cases, as Levene's test showed violations of homogeneity of variance on three measures (perceived reconciliation progress with the public and government and cultural respect). Overall, Indigenous participants saw significantly less reconciliation progress with the public and government than did White or non-Indigenous minority participants. On a 7-point likert scale, with higher scores reflecting greater perceived progress, Indigenous participants reported a mean of 2.85 ($SE = .14$) for progress with the public and 3.56 ($SE = .16$) for progress with the government, which is below the scale mid-point. In addition, on average, Indigenous participants neither agreed nor disagreed that their culture was respected, in comparison to non-Indigenous minority and White participants who slightly agreed to agreed. Indigenous participants also had moderate feelings of trust toward non-Indigenous peoples and leaders in comparison to non-Indigenous minorities who felt slightly more trust than the scale mid-point. White participants reported the greatest amount of intergroup trust on average, agreeing with most of the statements. Finally, both Indigenous and White participants reported highly supportive attitudes toward reconciliation, but Indigenous participants did report slightly more positive attitudes than non-Indigenous minority participants. No significant group differences were found in any of the well-being measures. See [Table 8](#) for a summary.

Conditional Process Analysis

To test the predictive pathways between the variables, I used Hayes (2018) PROCESS

V3 macro software. Due to a small sample and low power, I decided to run moderation analyses between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants, rather than Indigenous, White, and non-Indigenous minority participants. As this is a correlational study and causation cannot be determined for certain, I tested two models for each outcome variable using different antecedents (Model 92; 10,000 bootstraps, Seed = 4, see [Figure 1](#) for visual depiction). In the first set, I tested my original hypothesis that perceiving greater reconciliation progress (X) would lead to greater feelings of cultural respect (M_1) and intergroup trust (M_2), which would lead to more supportive attitudes toward reconciliation and psychological well-being (Y). It is also possible, however, that perceiving your culture is respected (X) leads to more intergroup trust (M_1) and greater judgements of reconciliation progress (M_2), which then leads to more supportive attitudes and psychological well-being (Y). As such, I tested this second alternative model as well for each outcome variable. In all models, I tested whether the effects varied depending on the participants' ethnicity (W , coded Indigenous = 1, non-Indigenous = 2), as I expected results to be stronger among Indigenous peoples. All effects (b) are unstandardized.

Common Pathways. Only the dependent outcome, Y , changed when testing the hypothesized and alternative models, so several pathways were common to each set of analyses. In the original hypothesized model, perceptions of reconciliation progress with the public or government was the predictor X , cultural respect was mediator M_1 , intergroup trust was mediator M_2 , and either reconciliation attitudes or psychological well-being was outcome Y . In this model, as Indigenous participants saw less reconciliation progress with both the public and government, they felt their culture was less respected, $b = .46$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.28, .64], and $b = .40$, $SE = .08$, 95% CI [.24, .56] respectively. Feeling that your culture was respected did not, however, lead to greater feelings of intergroup trust. Perceived reconciliation

progress was related to intergroup trust for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, but in different ways. Indigenous participants who saw less reconciliation progress with the public in turn felt less intergroup trust, $b = .48$, $SE = .12$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.24, .71], whereas non-Indigenous participants reported slightly more trust, $b = -.17$, $SE = .08$, $p = .04$, 95% CI [-.33, -.01]. Indigenous participants also felt more trust towards non-Indigenous peoples and leaders as they perceived more progress with the government, $b = .43$, $SE = .10$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.23, .64]. See [Table 9](#) for a summary of results.

In the alternative model I tested whether feeling your culture was respected (X) predicted greater intergroup trust (M_1) and greater judgements of reconciliation progress with the public or government (M_2), and whether this in turn predicted more positive reconciliation attitudes or psychological well-being (Y). In this model, as people felt their culture was more respected, they felt greater intergroup trust, $b = .61$, $SE = .26$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [.09, 1.13], regardless of whether the participant was Indigenous or non-Indigenous. As Indigenous peoples felt more trust toward non-Indigenous peoples and leaders, they also saw more reconciliation progress with the public, $b = .41$, $SE = .12$, $p = .001$, 95% CI [.17, .66] and government, $b = .48$, $SE = .12$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.25, .71]. Non-Indigenous peoples showed the opposite pattern, however. As they felt greater intergroup trust, they saw significantly less reconciliation progress with the public, $b = -.28$, $SE = .12$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [-.51, .04]. Non-Indigenous peoples who felt greater trust toward Indigenous peoples and leaders did not, however, perceive significantly less reconciliation progress with the government, but the trend was in the same direction. See [Table 12](#) for a summary of results.

Reconciliation Attitudes. When perceived reconciliation progress was the focal predictor X , and cultural respect and intergroup trust were mediators M_1 and M_2 , a direct effect

was found; Indigenous participants who saw less reconciliation progress with the public and government reported *more* supportive attitudes toward reconciliation, $b = -.32$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$, 95% CI $[-.50, -.14]$ and $b = -.23$, $SE = .08$, 95% CI $[-.39, -.06]$. This relationship was not explained by feelings of cultural respect or trust, however. Among non-Indigenous participants, indirect effects were found. Non-Indigenous peoples who saw less reconciliation progress with the public felt greater intergroup trust, which in turn predicted more supportive attitudes, $b = -.07$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[-.15, -.004]$. The index of moderated mediation was also significant, indicating a difference from Indigenous participants, $b = -.11$, $SE = .05$, 95% CI $[-.22, -.02]$. Non-Indigenous participants who saw more reconciliation progress with the government also felt their culture was respected more and felt more intergroup trust, which predicted more supportive attitudes toward reconciliation, $b = .03$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[.002, .07]$. See Tables [10](#) and [11](#) for a summary of results that includes all dependent outcomes in the hypothesized model.

In the alternative model, I tested whether cultural respect (X) predicted greater intergroup trust (M_1) and reconciliation progress with the public or government (M_2), and whether this predicted more positive reconciliation attitudes (Y). Indigenous peoples who felt their culture was respected perceived greater reconciliation progress with the public, which predicted *less* supportive reconciliation attitudes, $b = -.10$, $SE = .05$, 95% CI $[-.20, -.01]$. Additionally, Indigenous participants who felt their culture was more respected felt greater intergroup trust and saw more reconciliation progress with the public, which led to *less* supportive reconciliation attitudes, $b = -.06$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[-.16, -.01]$. Non-Indigenous peoples who felt their culture was respected also felt more intergroup trust, but this predicted *more* supportive reconciliation attitudes, $b = .16$, $SE = .06$, 95% CI $[.05, .28]$. The pattern of results was similar when reconciliation progress with the government was entered as M_2 (see Table [13](#) and

[14](#) for a summary of results that includes all dependent outcomes in the alternative model).

Perceived Success. In the hypothesized model, as Indigenous participants saw more reconciliation progress with the public, they felt their culture was more respected, which in turn predicted greater success in life, $b = .14$, $SE = .06$, 95% CI [.04, .26]. This conditional indirect effect was significantly different from non-Indigenous participants, index of moderated mediation: $b = -.12$, $SE = .06$, 95% CI [.04, .26]. Indigenous participants who saw more reconciliation progress with the government also felt their culture was more respected, which predicted greater life success, $b = .12$, $SE = .05$, 95% CI [.04, .22], although the index of moderated mediation was non-significant. No significant direct or indirect effects were found among non-Indigenous participants.

In the alternative model, when cultural respect was entered as the focal predictor and intergroup trust and perceived reconciliation progress with the public or government were the mediators, no indirect effects were found. Feeling that your culture was respected did have a positive direct effect on perceived success in life, however, when perceptions of reconciliation progress with the public was entered as M_2 among both Indigenous, $b = .31$, $SE = .10$, $p = .002$, 95% CI [.11, .50], and non-Indigenous peoples, $b = .26$, $SE = .11$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [.06, .47]. This was also true with perceptions of reconciliation progress with the government as the mediator, Indigenous $b = .30$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI [.11, .50], non-Indigenous $b = .23$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI [.02, .44]. This suggests that feeling your culture is respected is an important predictor of perceived success in life, but that it is not through increased perceptions of reconciliation progress or increased intergroup trust.

Psychological Distress. In the first analysis, I tested whether perceiving greater reconciliation progress predicted less psychological distress, *through* greater feelings of cultural

respect and intergroup trust. No indirect effects were found. The effect of cultural respect on psychological distress was dependent on the participants' ethnicity, however, $b = .37$, $SE = .14$, $p = .01$, 95% CI [.10, .63]. Non-Indigenous participants who saw their culture as more respected by others actually reported slightly *greater* psychological distress, $b = .22$, $SE = .10$, $p = .03$, 95% CI [.02, .41] and $b = .23$, $SE = .10$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [.03, .43] (reconciliation with public and government, respectively).

In the alternative model, when cultural respect was entered as the focal predictor, a conditional direct effect was found among non-Indigenous students, who, again, reported feeling greater psychological distress as they felt their culture was more respected. This was true whether perceptions of reconciliation progress with the public or government was M_2 in the model, $b = .22$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI [.04, .41], and $b = .23$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI [.03, .41], respectively. It is unclear of why this may be, as neither perceptions of reconciliation progress or feelings of trust accounted for this relationship.

Positive and Negative Affect. In the first model, when reconciliation progress with the government was entered as predictor X , a conditional indirect effect was found among Indigenous participants. As Indigenous participants perceived greater reconciliation progress with the government they felt more intergroup trust, which in turn predicted *less* positive affect, $b = .09$, $SE = .05$, 95% CI [.002, .20]. Though this finding is contrary to my hypothesis, it is possible that the items used to assess positive affect (e.g., "Inspired," "Determined") reflect more active feelings, rather than happiness per se, and that perceiving greater progress and feeling more trust leads people to feel that further action is less necessary. Feelings of cultural respect and trust did not explain the entire relationship, however, as the direct effect also remained among Indigenous participants, who reported less positive affect as they perceived greater

progress with the government, $b = -.33$, $SE = .11$, $p = .003$, 95% CI $[-.55, -.11]$. This pattern trended in the same direction when reconciliation progress with the public was the predictor, however it did not meet statistical significance. Perceptions of reconciliation progress with the public and government also significantly predict less negative affect among Indigenous participants, $b = -.20$, $SE = .08$, $p = .01$, 95% CI $[-.37, -.04]$ and $b = -.16$, $SE = .07$, $p = .03$, 95% CI $[-.30, -.02]$, though this was not explained by greater feelings of cultural respect or trust. In the alternative model, Indigenous participants who perceived their culture was more respected also felt more intergroup trust and perceived greater reconciliation progress with the public, which in turn predicted less negative affect (indirect $b = -.04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.10, -.004]$), but not positive affect. As Indigenous participants felt their culture was more respected, they felt more intergroup trust and also perceived more reconciliation progress with the government, which also in turn predicted less negative affect, indirect $b = -.04$, $SE = .02$, 95% CI $[-.08, -.004]$ and, showing the same pattern in the hypothesized model, *less* positive affect, indirect $b = -.08$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[-.16, -.02]$. The indirect effect of cultural respect on positive affect through both perceptions of reconciliation progress and trust independently were also significant among Indigenous participants, however for negative affect, only the pathway through trust was significant. No indirect effects were found among non-Indigenous participants.

Pilot Discussion and Implications

The results of this pilot study have several implications. Although causation cannot be determined through a correlational study, the results suggest that a relationship does exist in the Manitoba context between several variables. Of particular interest, feeling that your culture is respected predicts greater perceived success in life among participants, although, contrary to expectations, it also predicted greater psychological distress among non-Indigenous participants.

Additionally, perceiving greater reconciliation progress was also related to aspects of well-being among Indigenous participants. Among non-Indigenous participants, feeling that your culture is more respected predicted greater feelings of intergroup trust, which in turn predicted more supportive reconciliation attitudes. Unexpectedly, Indigenous peoples who thought more reconciliation had occurred with the government supported reconciliation less and felt *less* positive affect. Though it is unclear of why this may be, it is possible that as Indigenous peoples perceive less progress, they see more of a need for reconciliation.

One consideration in this study is the relatively high number of ethnic minority participants in comparison to White students within the non-Indigenous participant group. Research suggests members of ethnic minorities differ their support for various reconciliation efforts in Canada (Starzyk & Fontaine, 2017), and as the intent of the Residential School system was assimilation into Euro-centric Canadian society, they may also be less likely to identify with the ‘perpetrator’ group and may also differ in the strength of association between these relationships. To avoid the pitfalls associated with low statistical power (Kline, 2013), I decided against a moderation analysis with three groups as I was already below my target sample size, although future research that includes a larger sample may examine this further.

The results of this pilot offer interesting insights into the relationships between perceptions of reconciliation, intergroup trust, and cultural respect, and builds on Nadler and Schnabel’s (2008) needs-based model of reconciliation to include various aspects of psychological well-being as well. A limitation to this study, however, is that constructs such as cultural respect and intergroup trust were measured with short, general statements, which raises the question of what these constructs mean to Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. As some results were surprising, it will be important to better understand these constructs. In addition,

several of the scales used (e.g., reconciliation progress) were unvalidated or developed outside of the Canadian context and modified (e.g., reconciliation attitudes). Finally, the results of the study suggest Indigenous peoples perceive less reconciliation progress, feel lower intergroup trust, and perceive less cultural respect, but the reasons for these differences in view remain unanswered.

Thesis Objectives

In this thesis, I aimed to further develop understanding of reconciliation, intergroup trust and cultural respect in Canada in greater depth among university students. I sought to explore the meaning of reconciliation, trust, and cultural respect to develop an understanding of the common themes among students' perceptions and attitudes. Furthermore, I also aimed to understand how students' cultural background (i.e., Indigenous or White) related to their views, because the results of the pilot study suggest there are differences in attitudes. In exploring these topics, my goals were to answer (1) what does cultural respect mean to students, (2) what influences trust, and (3) in what ways does cultural background influence students' views?

Method

Research Design Overview

In researching students' views, I chose to use qualitative research methods guided by constructivist grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2006; 2015). I interviewed 13 students from the University of Manitoba. This allowed me to discuss reconciliation, trust, and cultural identity and respect in greater depth to understand their meaning and what influences beliefs. I chose to conduct individual interviews as opposed to focus groups as they allow for more privacy, which may increase how comfortable participants felt in sharing their views and stories. In our meeting, I first asked students about their personal background, such as cultural/ethnic

background, hometown, and program of interest. This allowed me to understand students' views in greater life context. In the interview portion of the meeting, we discussed students' views toward the topics of reconciliation, trust, and cultural identity and respect. I conducted and analyzed the interviews concurrently, also using observations and field notes, memos, and diagramming to aid interpretation.

Grounded theory methodology aims to create a theory or explanation of a phenomenon through generating conceptual categories or properties from data; the data is then used to illustrate the emergent concept (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 23). Expanding on Glaser and Strauss' 1967 grounded theory, Charmaz (2006; 2015) further developed this methodology within a constructivist framework. Within interpretive frameworks such as constructivism, researchers understand that the conclusions they come to are dependent on their own interpretation of the data (Charmaz, 2006). This orientation "...assumes emergent, multiple realities; indeterminacy; facts and values as linked; truth as provisional; and social life as processual" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 126). Constructivism also encourages the researcher to be reflexive and aware of their own influence on the research process, and acknowledges that the data and findings are co-constructed with participants (Charmaz, 2015). Constructivist grounded theory also emphasizes the importance of social context, which is valuable as the topics of reconciliation, cultural respect, and intergroup trust are heavily influenced by historical, situational, and current social conditions (Charmaz, 2015).

Study Participants

Researcher Description. I acknowledge that my own personal background influences my interpretation of the data; in this way, the findings are co-constructed by both the participants as well as myself (Charmaz, 2006; 2015). I am a graduate student in my mid-twenties who is

currently completing a Master of Arts degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of Manitoba. I expected entering this study that my status as a student would help build rapport with participants, as I interviewed other students. I hold a BA (Hons) in Psychology with a minor in Native Studies, and have some previous experience conducting interviews and using constructivist grounded theory methodology, though my background is primarily in quantitative research methods. Through my father's side, I am Anishinaabe and have several family members who attended Residential Schools or were involved in the class-action lawsuit on behalf of former students. This, as well as my education in Native Studies, has increased and personalized my understanding of the issue. Through my mother's side, I am also English, Scottish, German, and Welch. My mother started my interest in social issues through sharing her own understanding and knowledge of sociology and through her work experience. As such, I am invested in advancing social justice issues such as reconciliation in Canada, as well as in promoting psychological well-being.

Participants. I recruited 13 undergraduate students who were enrolled in an Introduction to Psychology course at the University of Manitoba. I recruited students in a purposive manner, by specifically seeking out a relatively even balance of undergraduate students with Indigenous and White cultural backgrounds, and men and women. I will outline the students' background characteristics in greater detail in the results section.

Recruitment Process

In the fall academic term of 2018, over 1,500 students who were enrolled in Introduction to Psychology at the University of Manitoba completed a pre-screening survey conducted by the Social Justice Laboratory and had indicated they would be interested in taking part in future studies. In exchange for participating in the present study, students received either 3 research

participation credits, which is part of a course assignment for Introduction to Psychology, or if they preferred, a \$15 gift card. Students provided demographic information in the pre-screening survey, which allowed me to purposely sample by alternating between contacting students who were women and men, and identified having an Indigenous background or identified only having a White background. It became clear that recruiting according to cultural background is complex; indeed, some students who reported one identity (e.g., solely Indigenous or solely White) in the pre-screening survey reported the presence of additional backgrounds in the interview. It would be highly valuable to gain the perspectives of students who were of other, non-Indigenous minority backgrounds, however examining cultural differences that might exist among a group as diverse as “non-Indigenous minority” was unfortunately out of the scope of this particular study’s timeframe.

Starting in October 2018, I continuously recruited students in-between conducting interviews. Recruitment, interviews, transcription, and analysis happened concurrently at roughly 1-2 interviews per week, with some breaks. When recruiting participants, I used a random number generator to decide the order that I called or emailed eligible students to tell them about the study. Using a random number generator may have opened up the variety of responses I received. Using a snowball approach may have lead to a more homogenous sample of opinions, as students would have been recommending those they already knew and would likely have more similar views. Twelve students expressed interest in taking part in the study when I called them, although most students did not answer their phone on the first try (voicemail, out of order line; $n = 50$). Some students declined due to external factors, most often because they had already completed their research participation ($n = 17$). Of the 12 students who expressed interest in the study, two did not show up for their scheduled interviews. I also re-

called students who did not answer their phone initially at a later date, as some who initially answered their phones requested I call back later, and successfully recruited two to participate. I also send out 70 emails to eligible participants, and received 3 responses. Of those three responses, one student participated. One student did not show up for their interview, and the other needed to cancel and was unable to re-book. I ended recruitment in April 2019.

As the interviews progressed, it became clear that many of the students had similar thoughts about reconciliation, trust, and cultural identity and respect. It is always unclear, however, whether a new theme or insight may emerge, say, 10 or 100 interviews in the future. I often think of outliers who appear even among hundreds of participants. These outliers, if interviewed, may give unique insights that are unlikely to be captured unless specifically sought out. Researchers often discontinue data collection when they judge their "...categories are 'saturated' ... gathering fresh data sparks no longer sparks new theoretical insights" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 113). The term *saturation* has been critiqued as misleading, however, as it suggests completeness and that there is a point at which it is not possible to add anything further to a theory (Nelson, 2016). In response to this, I emphasize that instead of discontinuing data collection because I have reached saturation, these results suggest a theoretically sufficient model instead. Dey (1990) describes theoretical sufficiency as "...the stage at which categories seem to cope adequately with new data without requiring continual extensions and modifications" (p. 117). Indeed, in the last three interviews, the students spoke about similar topics that had also been discussed by other students previously.

Data Collection

In this study, I gathered and created several sources of data to inform the results. These included participants' background questionnaires, individual interviews, a "Reconciliation Over

Time” graph, as well as my own written documents (e.g., field notes, memos). I held all meetings in a quiet room in the Social Justice Laboratory at the University of Manitoba, located within the same building as the Department of Psychology. No one else was present for the interviews. First, I explained the general purpose of the study, potential risks and benefits, and confidentiality considerations to participants and answered any questions they had. No participants had concerns and all provided written informed consent (see [Appendix A](#)).

Background Questionnaire. Next, participants completed a short demographics questionnaire. I asked participants about their age, cultural/ethnic background, where they were born, how long they had lived in Winnipeg for, as well as their program of interest and what year they were in their studies (see [Appendix B](#)). I collected this information in a conversational way and also shared my own cultural background and academic interests in reciprocity, which helped me to build participants’ trust and comfort before starting the interview. Before collecting participants’ background information, I also offered tea and snacks.

Individual Interviews. After completing the background questionnaire, I started the interview. Interviews ranged from 34 to 75 minutes in length ($M = 48$ minutes). I developed interview protocol based on many items from the pilot study described earlier, and revised or added questions according to feedback from my primary advisor, Dr. Katherine Starzyk, Research Associate Dr. Katelin Neufeld, as well as my thesis committee members, Drs. Kristen Reynolds and Andrew Hatala (see [Appendix C](#)). I audio-recorded each interview and used software to automatically transcribe the recordings verbatim. Volunteers from the Social Justice Laboratory and I listened to the recordings and edited the transcriptions for accuracy.

First, I gave a brief overview of Residential Schools informed by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s report. Before asking my questions, I first acknowledged that as

people come from different backgrounds, we might have a range of views when it comes to the meaning of reconciliation. The first question I asked was open-ended: “When you think of reconciliation, what are the first things that come to mind?” I encouraged participants further explore the topic by using prompts such as “Tell me more about that.” Once participants had nothing else to add, or if they were unsure of the meaning of reconciliation, I asked extra prompting questions about certain aspects of reconciliation based on items from the pilot study. These questions sought to understand how well students thought others in Canada understood the history of Residential Schools, how well other Canadians were aware of current challenges Indigenous peoples face, and whether the Government of Canada was making meaningful amends. In concluding the section focused on reconciliation, I introduced a graph where I asked participants to draw their perceptions of the state of reconciliation over time (described in detail later), how they came to their conclusions, and how it made them feel.

Next, I introduced the topic of intergroup trust by first assuring participants that there were no right or wrong answers, and that I was simply interested in people’s personal opinions and attitudes. First, we discussed what feeling trust toward others meant to the participant. Next, we talked about students’ perceptions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous leaders’ trustworthiness. Here, I specified that I meant leaders broadly: this could mean elected officials, but could also be other leaders in the community as well. Finally, I asked participants about whether their own experiences had influenced the amount of trust they had toward Indigenous or non-Indigenous peoples, and how it made them feel.

In the final section of the interview, I introduced the topic of cultural respect by first asking about cultural identity, a closely related concept. Although the topic had been spoken about briefly in the background questionnaire, I wanted to understand what cultural identity

meant in greater depth. I asked participants what culture they identified with, first sharing my own background as both White (English, Scottish, German, and Welch) and Indigenous (Anishinaabe). The initial questions explored what participants' cultural identity meant to them. For example, I asked about a time when they felt "particularly Cree". Next, I asked participants about what respect meant to them, and whether they felt others in Canada respected people from their culture. I asked about experiences they might have had where they felt their culture was respected by others, how the experience made them feel, and how we might show respect for others' cultures. I concluded the interview by asking whether there was anything else that participants would like to add.

Reconciliation Over Time Graph. After discussing the meaning of reconciliation, participants completed a graph that asked them to draw how they perceived the state of reconciliation (very negative to very positive) had changed over time (10 years ago to 10 years from today; see [Appendix D](#)). This time span was chosen because at the time of data collection, it had been approximately 10 years since the Government of Canada's apology for Residential Schools. This graph was created based on Haddock, Zanna, & Esses' (1993) "feeling thermometer," which measures how favorable views are toward other social groups, as well as a project I was previously involved in that examined participants' mental health over time on a similar graph (Mackenzie et al., 2017).

Written Documents. Throughout the study, I used several types of written documents to organize the data and to aid my interpretation. First, immediately following each interview, I wrote field notes. These notes summarized participants' background (e.g., gender, culture, program of interest) and general observations from the interview (e.g., affect, conversation flow). I also documented the general topics that we discussed in the field notes. Unfortunately, the

recording file from one interview (#8, Adrian) was corrupted. As such, I relied on my field notes from this meeting in analysis. Second, I also periodically wrote memos throughout data collection and analysis. In these memos, I documented my thoughts about similarities and differences I observed in participants' experiences. In writing these memos, I compared the most recent interviews with previous interviews, and, later, compared commonalities across the main themes. Finally, I also created clustering diagrams to visually represent the emergent themes and their sub-themes, which were updated periodically and evolved throughout data collection and analysis.

Analysis

I analyzed the interview transcriptions and conducted interviews concurrently, consistent with a grounded theoretical approach (Charmaz, 2006; 2015). This allowed me to continuously think about the most recent interviews in comparison to earlier interviews. I used NVivo 12 qualitative analysis software to code the transcripts, organize, and aid in analysis.

Data-Analytic Strategies. My analysis was primarily guided by recommendations by Charmaz (2006; 2015), a grounded theoretical researcher. Qualitative research aims to get “close” to the sharer and their subjective experience, with the conceptualization of themes emerging in an inductive, bottom-up manner (Creswell, 2013; Levitt et al., 2018). In the initial stage of data collection, I started my analysis by coding each line of data *openly* with a particular focus on naming specific actions and processes. After I received feedback on initial coding from Dr. Hatala that pointed out my tendency to sometimes rely on noun-based codes, I revised some initial codes to be verb-based. As I continued to conduct interviews, I started to notice that certain similar codes were reoccurring, for example, those that described common barriers to reconciliation. When I started to notice similar codes reoccur, I developed higher-order

conceptual codes that I sorted the initial codes into. Later in analysis, I subsequently coded for these higher-order themes in a *focused* and more directed manner. I also sorted the lower and higher-order conceptual codes into the main categories of Cultural Identity and Respect, Trust, and Reconciliation for organization. I used functions within NVivo to look at the frequency of codes within a theme according to demographics such as cultural background and gender.

Qualitative analysis is iterative and self-correcting, in that the researcher systematically and continuously compares the fit of new data with existing data to verify emerging conceptualizations, which increases the rigor of findings (Morse, Barret, Mayan, Olson, & Spiers, 2002). Indeed, an important analytic strategy used to develop a theory is comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Throughout the process, writing memos prompted me to compare and contrast new participants' views with previous participants' views. At the suggestion of Dr. Reynolds, I also later focused on thinking about how certain emergent themes may be linked and the common emotions that participants felt. My field notes were also useful in giving a general overview of each interview for meetings with Dr. Katherine Starzyk, Iloradanon Efimoff, and my committee members. I also periodically updated a code-book within NVivo that defined the higher-order themes and sub-themes that emerged throughout data collection. Finally, I created and updated visual clustering models and diagrams throughout the analysis to depict the emergent themes and subthemes.

Throughout data collection and analysis, I had several independent meetings with my supervisor, Dr. Katherine Starzyk, and a PhD student in my laboratory, Iloradanon Efimoff, to discuss the interview findings. Dr. Katherine Starzyk has expertise in intergroup relations and human rights issues from a social psychological perspective. Dr. Starzyk was born in Poland, a country deeply affected by WWII, which has informed her work and interest in these topics.

Iloradanon Efimoff also has a particular interest in studying topics related to Indigenous peoples, in particular anti-racist education, and has both Haida and European roots. In these meetings, I shared an overview of the topics that were discussed in the interviews and received suggestions about psychological phenomenon that was related to participants' views. We also discussed issues around reflexivity, such as how my own background may influence the interview process, my own reactions to some of the interviews, and how some of my own personal experiences reminded me of certain emergent themes. Finally, I met with my committee members, Drs. Hatala and Reynolds, who gave advice on further analyses to consider and the writing process, as well as feedback on my rough writing outline. Dr. Hatala has worked on various community health projects with Indigenous peoples worldwide, and Dr. Reynolds has a background in clinical psychology and an interest in knowledge translation and community mental health. Both have significant experience in qualitative research projects.

Methodological Integrity. To demonstrate that the claims made from this study have produced findings with methodological integrity, I used several strategies suggested by Tracey (2010) for producing rigorous, credible, and sincere research. A hallmark of rigorous research is the presence of rich data to support significant claims (Tracey, 2010). At the end of recruitment, I had approximately 142 single-spaced pages of interview transcripts to illustrate the findings with. In using NVivo software, I was able to continuously see the frequency of examples that fell within a theme, which ensured that I had several examples to illustrate a finding with. I also sought to maintain rigor through careful documentation of field notes, which were written immediately following each interview to keep the discussion fresh in my mind. In collecting data, I sought to maintain consistency by conducting all interviews myself and asking questions in the same ordering. To increase the credibility of the findings, in presenting the results, I

aimed to show, not tell, through relying heavily on quotations from participants. In exercising self-reflexivity, I aimed to check that I was correctly understanding my participants through summarizing what they had said, and watching for their affirmative (or not affirmative) reaction. As discussed in the researcher description, I am relatively new to qualitative research. As such, I sought to increase transparency by seeking and incorporating feedback from my committee members on coding, field notes, and memos.

Ethical Considerations

Reconciliation research in Canada must involve a balance between Indigenous and Western approaches to understanding. I am mindful that psychological research is most often situated within Western methodologies, as such, it was important to me to use a research approach that is complimentary with Indigenous worldviews. Indigenous ontology recognizes multiple truths or realities (Wilson, 2008) and traditional ways of knowing tend to be closer to qualitative approaches to research (Botha, 2011). Researchers have noted that this is consistent with constructivist approaches (Wilson, 2008). Researchers are increasingly using constructivist approaches in psychology, mixed-methods, and social justice inquiry (Charmaz, 2015).

This study received ethical approval from the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board. Prior to starting the interviews, I explained the purpose of the study, potential risks and benefits, and issues such as confidentiality to participants. Recognizing that the topic of reconciliation may be emotionally heavy for some, I emphasized that all of the questions that I would be asking were entirely voluntary. I sought to create a non-judgemental environment that participants felt safe sharing their views, through expressing empathy and normalizing participants' experiences. After the interview, I verbally went over the debriefing form with participants, which re-stated the purpose of the study, findings from the pilot study, and included

information about resources they may access if they had any negative feelings (e.g., campus counselling services and cultural supports, help-lines). I encouraged participants to contact me, should they have any later questions about the study or about the psychology program in general. Finally, in order to protect the confidentiality of participants, I have changed their names.

Results: Participant Characteristics

The students who took part in this study ($N = 13$) ranged in age from 18-22, representing a typical age range of undergraduate students. Of the 7 women, 3 identified having some Indigenous ancestry (Michelle: Métis & Ukrainian; Laura: Métis & British; and Kayla: Swampy Cree), and 4 identified only White backgrounds (Alicia: Ukrainian, Norwegian, Polish, & America; Rachel: Scottish; Casey: Ukrainian & Finnish; and Karen: French Canadian, & Hungarian). Of the 6 men, 3 identified having some Indigenous ancestry (Joe: Cree; John: First Nations, Swedish, & Trinidadian; and Mitchell: Cree) and 3 identified with only White backgrounds (Mike: Scottish, Polish, Welsh, & Ukrainian; Adrian: Russian, German; and Jake: Canadian, Russian Mennonite, French). As discussed later, students often self-identified with mixed ancestry to differing extents. Many of the students ($n = 8$) were born in other places (e.g., rural and First Nations communities, cities in other provinces) while others had lived in Winnipeg for the majority of their lives ($n = 5$). The students were at various stages of completing their undergraduate degree, ranging from their first to third and final year. While some early year students were undecided as to which program they would enter, others were working toward paths such as Social Work, Political Studies/Economics, or Nursing. I have included a summary of the students' age, gender, and cultural/ethnic background I collected in the demographic questionnaire in [Table 15](#). The cultural identities presented in the table are the

ones students' self-identified with, as some mentioned having other backgrounds that they did not identify strongly with.

The Meaning of Cultural Identity and Respect

In this first section, I will start with a discussion on cultural identity. In doing so, I aim to give greater context as to how this might relate to students' views toward closely related topics, such as cultural respect. I will start with a discussion on the centrality and importance of cultural identity, as the students in this study were from a variety of backgrounds, and sometimes felt connected to their backgrounds to differing extents. Next, I will speak about the themes that emerged that were specific to students with Indigenous and White cultural backgrounds. Though students shared more in common than they did differences, most students with an Indigenous background spoke about identity growth, whereas many White students thought less about their identity. In comparing students by cultural background, I have presented students who self-identified with an Indigenous cultural background in one group, and students who self-identified with only White cultural backgrounds in the other.

Despite some differences, students from both Indigenous and White backgrounds shared much in common when it came to what their cultural identity meant to them. In the next section, I will speak about the main common themes and subthemes that emerged among all students. For some, cultural identity involved Remembering History, whether this be through acknowledging and accepting the bad and good of the past, or understanding the continued effects of history. Students felt most strongly connected to their identity when they were Engaging with Culture, that might include speaking the language, eating and celebrating, or taking part in traditional activities. Students who engaged in these culture-specific activities often experienced a sense of belonging, as cultural identity was also related to having a

Connection to Others: family, others in the community, or even strangers. I have included a venn diagram depicting the main emergent themes for the meaning of cultural identity that were different and common to students with Indigenous and White cultural backgrounds in [Figure 2.](#)

The Centrality and Importance of Cultural Identity

The students in this study differed in how important or salient their cultural identity was to them. For example, to Michelle (pseudonym) who was Métis and Ukrainian, her cultural identity did “Not [mean] a whole lot...” whereas to Laura, who was Métis and British, her cultural identity “...makes up who I am as a person and as an individual...”. Often, students identified with their multiple cultural backgrounds to differing extents. For example, Mitchell spoke about identifying with his Cree side over others: “I identify with, like, my mom’s Cree side. Also my dad’s Métis and English. That’s what I most identify with. But to me personally I would be on my mom’s side, which is Cree.” Casey, a student who was of Finnish, Ukrainian, and (she believed) French descent, said “If I am French I don’t remember... French culture has never really affected me in the way that Finnish [Interviewer: —culture has].” Jake, a student who had Russian Mennonite, French, and Métis ancestors, said “I identify... well, mostly it’s just Canadian because I’m just kind of a mix of things but mostly with the French and Mennonite. I don’t really- I don’t- I wasn’t- Indigenous- very well.” One student, Joe, struggled with balancing his mixed Cree and Scottish backgrounds:

Joe: Cree. I don't really- as much as- I know it's there. I don't really acknowledge my White side. I like to say that I'm Cree, an Indigenous person. That's- that's- that's the identity that I claim. That's the part of myself that I respect most and that's the identity that I want to build a foundation around for myself.

Most students were not bothered by having multiple cultural backgrounds, however. When I

asked Laura about what her Métis identity meant to her, she spoke about being “...happy to be able to be a part of the group.” When I asked about what her British identity meant to her, she said:

Laura: It’s also a belonging thing like- but it’s, I am someone who I want to like help with certain things. So like the Métis thing- I want to be able to help things to get better. So I think that’s, what- like how important it is to me, kinda thing. Whereas like on my mom’s side of the family it’s not like a ton to help with the cultural.

Students differed in how important their cultural identity was to them, and sometimes identified with multiple backgrounds to different extents. In the next section, I will discuss differences that emerged related to identity between Indigenous and White students.

Growth and Protecting Indigenous Identity

Students with Indigenous backgrounds experienced growing awareness of their Indigenous identity over their life, wished to learn more about their culture, or felt it was something to protect ($n = 6$). Although many White students were also disconnected from their cultural background, they did not talk about growth in their cultural identity. For example, Michelle, who was of Métis and Ukrainian descent, described coming from a family that did not until more recently acknowledge their Métis background:

Michelle: ...I'm just like more now learning about the Métis because in my family.

Regardless of the fact that my dad's grandmother was very visibly Native she did not like, it was not talked about it was like not probably the best term, but referred to it as “jumping the fence.” So there was some of it, like it was in my family because it was so... It was a long time ago and it was kind of one of those things where it was like at the time you just didn't talk about it.

John described his cultural background (First Nations, Swedish, & Trinidadian) as fragmented due to his father leaving, and not something he had thought about until recently: "...I may not practice too often any of the, cultures, but I'm more aware of them and I have gone out of my way to look into them a bit more." For John, connecting to his First Nations culture was sparked by increased education and Indigenous programming in high school: "In high school, they pushed a lot of, more, like with the Day of Reconciliation in that program. They pushed it a lot more than what, uh, then, probably they used to." Kayla, a Swampy Cree student from a Manitoba First Nations community, did not see herself to be raised strongly traditional and spoke about how she believed she did not speak her language fluently because her grandparents were in Residential Schools. However, she also expressed a desire to "...learn more about my own culture." Joe, a Cree student, also experienced a disconnect from his Indigenous culture growing up like Michelle, John, and Kayla did, but learned more as he got older:

Joe: I grew up actually, I live in [First Nations community] most of my life but I lived in a Christian community of [Manitoba community]. It's about an hour away from the city far south. And I didn't learn that I was Indigenous (or Aboriginal is what I learned to have the term of the time), until I was in Grade 3. And as a kid I don't recall at all talking about Indigenous life, what Aboriginal means. That's something I had to find out on my own.

Joe found it "amazing" that Indigenous peoples were "...taking the time to learn our traditions and ways of healing again." He believed "It is very important for our culture to take those steps and reclaiming our identities." When I asked Laura about the impact of learning about history had on her own Métis identity, she replied: "It was really- it was interesting and it like helped me to see like what my ancestors would have gone through and like understood more about my own

background.” Although not mentioned explicitly by others, one Cree student, Mitchell, also spoke about protecting his Indigenous identity: “I feel like it’s something that no one can take away from me, and I don’t want anyone to take away from me. And if someone attacks it, I’m gonna defend it with my life because that’s a part of me and no one is taking that from me.”

The Salience of a Majority Identity and Privilege

While Indigenous students’ cultural identity was more salient, a common theme among students who had White cultural backgrounds was the lack of salience surrounding their identity, or the privilege that accompanies that identity ($n = 5$). When I asked Rachel about her Scottish background, she said “Oh boy.” After six seconds of silence, she apologized, saying “Sorry, this is like hard to think about on the spot.” Adrian (the interview with the corrupted recording), according to my field notes, also found it odd to be asked about his White background and did not feel he was White culturally in any way other than his skin colour. Even Joe, a student who strongly identifies as Indigenous, expressed surprise when asked about his White background: “What ways do I feel White. I never really actually thought about that.” Not having to think about an identity may be considered a form of privilege. Some, such as Mike (Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian) and Karen (Hungarian and French Canadian), spoke about privilege explicitly. For Karen, however, the topic of privilege emerged out of our conversation on reconciliation. When I asked Mike about his background, he replied:

Mike: I am 100 percent privileged and privileged. Way too much. I like I didn't do anything to- to be where I am but like just being a White man just kinda like without even knowing it. And it's just so unfortunate but it almost puts you step forward. You don't want that to happen. You don't think it should happen but it's [Interviewer: It's the way it is] like it's the way it is. And like I don't know it's just like people like- like I said

everyone needs to be on the same playing field. Everyone needs to be there but it's just I've been privileged enough to kind of be put there I guess. Like yeah I haven't done anything like spectacular and a lot of people have but it's just unfortunately it's just the colour of my skin.

Alicia (Ukrainian, Norwegian, Polish, and American) expressed the novelty of being asked about her White background, "...the word White just seems so like, a-typical," and brought up teasing a friend for being "extra White." When asked what that meant, Alicia brought up materialistic things such as shopping and getting mad when she "breaks a nail," which one might associate with a person who is viewed to have privilege as well. White identity is, in many ways, less salient and not an identity that many students think about regularly, or for some, associated with privilege.

Students of various backgrounds differed in how important their cultural identity was to them. Sometimes, students identified with their multiple cultural backgrounds to differing extents as well. Students with Indigenous backgrounds were more likely to speak about growth in cultural identity and awareness, and one spoke about feelings of protectiveness over his identity. Students with White backgrounds, on the other hand, were less likely to think about their cultural identity, or spoke about having privilege.

Common Themes

Despite some differences, however, students shared much in common when they thought about what their cultural identity meant to them. This might include Remembering History through acknowledging both the bad and good and seeing or experiencing the continued effects. It may also include Engaging with Culture through speaking the language, eating and celebrating, or taking part in traditional activities. Finally, cultural identity also involves

Connecting with Others, whether that be with family, other members of the community, or even strangers. Throughout all of the results sections, I will present the subthemes in italics.

Remembering History. To students of various background ($n = 6$; Indigenous = 3; White = 3; Women = 3; Men = 3), thinking about cultural identity was related to their cultural group's history. This might mean speaking about taking responsibility for harm that was done in the past, and also feeling proud of cultural achievements. For some students, remembering history meant understanding or experiencing how the past affects people today. Jake, who identifies most strongly as Canadian, thought about history: "I just see myself as Canadian and I... If I'm learning a Canadian history, regardless of its lower Canada or upper Canada, it's Canadian history and for me, that's my heritage kind of thing." Rachel, who was of Scottish descent, also thought about history, and felt that it was important to *acknowledge both the bad and the good*:

Rachel: I guess it's kinda like to accept like all the bad things we've done and all the good things we have accomplished and just be held to that. I feel it's important to have my culture to learn about all that and to be held responsible for things we've done and to be proud of all the achievements we made if that makes sense.

Rachel had an interesting insight. She believed that perhaps, one reason why people are so quick to judge other peoples' cultures is because they do not understand their own:

Rachel: ...Maybe that's why people don't understand other cultures cause they don't even think about theirs that much right. Oh, I guess a lot of us should learn about our own backgrounds before we start talking because I mean I never talk about my background, right? So if we all learned about our backgrounds that we shouldn't be judging other groups if we can't even talk about our own, right.

Students with Indigenous backgrounds also connected the past to their cultural identity, sometimes speaking about *continued effects*. Joe, in speaking about whether the government of Canada has been making meaningful amends for the past, felt that full healing was not possible, and that Indigenous peoples were defined by their past trauma: "...But the past is always going to be there. I don't really think that there is actually a way of coming together in terms of making like a full healing circle type deal. There is no way you can ever let go. And those, that past is what sadly defines our people." Coming to terms with history can be an uncomfortable process for some. Michelle, a Métis and Ukrainian student, describes her feelings as she started to learn about the history of Residential Schools: "...I can admit to myself like, I'm Métis, and for so long, I was a little bit racist because I didn't have the facts like you know? And it's one of those things that once you know you're like, oh you feel very guilty."

For students of various backgrounds, a part of cultural identity was connected to remembering history. For some, this involved *acknowledging both the good and bad* of past and taking responsibility, and for others, this involved thinking about the *continued effects* of trauma and their own feelings about learning about history.

Engaging with Culture. Students of many different backgrounds ($n = 9$; Indigenous = 6; White = 3; Women = 6; Men = 3) felt that a part of their cultural identity meant personally taking part in activities they associated with their culture. Some thought about speaking the *language* (or, alternatively, their inability to speak the language), others thought about *eating and celebrating*, and others thought about engaging in *traditional activities*. For example, Kayla, a Swampy Cree student who moved here from a Manitoba First Nations community for university, thought about language when I asked what her cultural identity meant to her:

Kayla: It's kind of weird cause I was raised not like in a traditional sense, like and I

don't really speak Cree so I feel like I'm kind like, I used to think like I shouldn't be able to like call myself Cree like this because I wasn't really closely connected to my culture and I can't speak my language I can only understand it. So I just found it like really, I don't really, I think I like, kind of like in the middle, in between. Like I'm proud to be Indigenous and Cree.

Karen, a student who was of French Canadian and Hungarian background, also immediately thought of language when I asked what her cultural identity meant to her: "There was a strong Hungarian influence in my life. My- I spent a lot of time when I was very young at my grandma, my grandparent's place. And they spoke only Hungarian to me so as a result I understand Hungarian pretty well." Laura, who was of both Métis and British descent and has an English-speaking grandmother, even thought about accents, a characteristic of language: "I think being around my grandma because she is like a like a British accent I think that's really cool and I wish I would've got the accent..." Mitchell described feeling particularly Cree when using single-word expressions in his language: "It's like something, when something crazy happens like, it's instead of saying like 'Oh my God' you're like [Cree word]... And also there's the, literally instead of saying 'Oh my God' there's like [Cree Word], which is 'My God' in Cree."

Some students also spoke about the impact Residential Schools had on Indigenous languages. Kayla, for example, believed that the reason she did not speak Cree was because her grandparents were in Residential Schools and they never passed it along. Joe considered language to be an integral part of cultural identity, and expressed how bothered he felt about not being able to speak Cree:

Joe: For me it really bothers me that I don't know my own language. And it's, it sucks because that's how our traditions and our ways of healing are passed along. They

weren't passed on through the English language. The meaning and power behind our traditions and healing structures have essentially weakened throughout time.

Students' ability to speak their language was one way they engaged with their culture. Another common way that students engaged with their culture was through *eating and celebrating*, and taking part in *traditional activities*. Michelle, when speaking about her Ukrainian background, brought up "perogies," and Casey reminisced about an old, Finnish family recipe: "My papa, he passed down like a family recipe. And we call them 'Finn' pancakes, but like F-I-N-N, cause Finnish." Some students also spoke about cultural celebrations that they had attended in their life. Michelle thought of a "Ukrainian festival" where there was "dancing" she had gone to as a child, which was similar to Karen's experience: "...things like Folklorama where I danced in the Hungarian pavilion until I was 10." Students also felt that cultural identity was related to engaging in *traditional activities* in their culture. John described his background as "fragmented" and had not explored his cultural identity very much, but described how he had become more open through taking part in traditional activities in school:

John: The things to do with school I have to say because a lot of the things we did like go to powwows and smudge. It's more it made me. It brought it like right to my face and told me like year this is a part of my background. So it made me more confronted and opened my mind a bit more to it.

Students engaged in diverse activities that were traditional to their culture. Joe, for example, described feeling Cree "...When I'm out fishing, hunting, camping. Connecting back with the land." Casey, on the other hand, joked about feeling the most Finnish when she went to Thermea (a local spa), because going into saunas is a tradition in Finnish culture:

Casey: ...I practiced like one of their traditions per se. We love to go into saunas, like

saunas are like main thing... I know it wasn't a sauna, but I went into my hot tub and then I jumped out and went into the snow. And so have you heard of that? Where Finnish people will go into the sauna and then cold and then hot and cold.

For many students, cultural identity meant engaging in activities that are related to their culture—whether that be through speaking the language, making family recipes, attending celebrations, or other culture-specific activities. Sometimes, students became connected to others through engaging in these activities.

Connecting to Others. Among most students ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 6; White = 4; Women = 6; Men = 4), cultural identity was related to a sense of connection and belonging, whether that be through *family*, other members of the *community*, or even *strangers*. According to Mitchell, a Cree student, when he is around others who celebrate his culture, “It makes me feel like I’m needed or I belong...” Joe also echoed this, saying “...You know you feel that love in that, that sense of belonging when you’re around your Indigenous culture, you know you feel like you belong somewhere...” Being around family members can also make one’s cultural identity more salient. Joe, after first expressing surprise at the novelty of being asked about being asked about his White identity, said he felt most White: “When I’m around my White side of my family. That’s when I feel White. Cause that’s a whole different lifestyle. Indigenous lifestyle, White lifestyle.” Casey also spoke about feeling connected to Finnish culture when she would spend time with her grandmother as a child:

Casey: ...she would speak in Finnish and she’d go like [Finnish words] and like tickle me or whatever [laughing].

Interviewer: That’s cute.

Casey: And I would feel kind of like Finnish or like connected to that culture more just

because it was like so fun as a kid and stuff like that. But I would just have to say those moments.

Students cultural identity also connected them with the broader *community*. For Joe, he also felt Cree: “When I’m with, when I’m surrounded by Elders and my community and people that think just like me.” Kayla, when speaking about the friends she made at Migizii Agamik, the Indigenous student center, expressed: “And like we would just laugh and like-just feeling really connected like we belong and kind of thing.” When I asked Mitchell why his Cree cultural identity was so important to him, he replied:

Mitchell: Because it makes me happy. It’s who I am and how I was raised. Even though I don’t know the language I want to learn about the language, I want to be educated in my culture and just be at one with my people. I have- the feeling of belonging I get from people when I’m with other people that are Cree. It just makes me feel like so connected to them. But it’s just- I feel they’re a part of my family already.

Students’ cultural identity did not just connect them with family, or other people in their immediate community. Rachel was not strongly connected to her cultural identity, however it was something that connected her with a *stranger* at her work:

Rachel: Well I work at a truck stop and I have a Scottish guy coming all the time and he’s always really excited. He saw my last name was [Scottish Name]. He’s like “Oh it’s Scottish” [laughing] and he always tells me stories so I guess that’s it.

When I asked Rachel how these experiences made her feel, she expressed “I felt pretty happy because you can talk about it and the other people are always happy too, right, to find somebody outside is from the same place same background to just talk about it.” Clearly, cultural identity can have a positive effect on students, in that it brought positive feelings of connection to others.

Despite the sense of connection that comes with cultural identity, some students also spoke about their *disconnection from culture*:

Casey: It also makes me feel a little, I guess confused, or disconnected at the same time though. Just because I don't actually know a lot of Finn history. Cause they don't teach you that in school. And like, we don't really eat a lot of Finn dishes and all that stuff. So I guess I would say there is a connection, but I would like to connect more in the sense of like trying their food, trying different cultural things and maybe learning more of their history just so I can pass that down like my mom. She kind of speaks Finnish, but not really, but like I think she wants us to pass that knowledge down throughout the family.

Cultural background, when it is not part of the majority culture, can also make people feel like they do not belong. Karen, when speaking about growing up in a primarily German town where most people knew little about her Hungarian culture, said "It isn't such a big deal to me. It does feel a little bit like... I dunno. I can sometimes feel like an outsider."

Cultural identity is complex and mixed, with many students identifying with their cultural backgrounds to differing extents. Indigenous students commonly experienced growth in their cultural identity as they grew older, whereas most White students thought about their cultural identity less, or thought about privilege. Cultural identity for many involved remembering history: acknowledging harms and achievements, as well as the continued effects. Students felt most connected to their cultural identity when taking part in activities like speaking the language, eating food and attending celebrations, or engaging in traditional activities. Cultural identity was also related to a sense of belonging or connection with various others: family, members of the community, and even strangers. Some students spoke about their disconnect to culture, however, and when one is a minority, they may also feel like they do not belong or stand out.

Perceived Cultural Respect

Students' cultural identity was related to the amount of respect they perceived others in Canada had for people from their culture. Students who had White cultural backgrounds generally perceived their culture to be respected by others in Canada. When asked why, students explained that they did not experience discrimination or prejudice. According to Rachel, who was of Scottish descent: "I mean I've never had anybody I guess, hate on me, for lack of a better word for it. I've never had anyone be against because my background is Scottish. I've never heard any hate to my face before, right?" Karen, who was of Hungarian and French Canadian descent, explained: "...I haven't really experienced any discrimination or prejudice, because if you just look at me, I don't- I'm not a visible minority."

There were some who felt differently, however. Alicia, a Ukrainian, Norwegian, Polish, and American student who is from a town where relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are particularly strained, expressed: "I mean I feel like they used to but I feel like now especially, well I guess in Canada and also like in the States too, where it's like White had been like such a bad word." Mike felt that generally his cultural background was respected, however he, like Alicia, also felt there are some who view White people negatively due to the past:

Mike: From mine. Yes I think. Well I guess there's kind of a 50/50 because again it's like I'm sure some people kind of like some people probably see us as the bad guys which totally is understandable from what has happened. What is going on now but then at the same time I feel like there's almost just kind of a level of respect from being a good person and kind of being able to say hi and walk down the street. So I think it could be pretty 50/50 from kinda almost seeing- seeing us as the bad guy...

Jake, who identified mainly as Canadian, also had mixed feelings. He felt that immigrants respected Canada, but “...people who are Canadian themselves always focus on the bad things that we’ve done and not the good things, kind of thing... If you focus on the negative things then you’re going to have a hard time respecting your heritage.”

Students with Indigenous backgrounds also had mixed feelings about whether others in Canada respected Indigenous culture, but were more likely to say they saw less respect. Some, such as Laura, said that she had heard jokes being made about Métis people, but expressed “I think Métis’s definitely more accepted then... like those who are fully Native.” According to John: “Yes and no. To an extent. Uh, a lot of older generations I don’t think they do. And to be fair to them I can’t really see why they would because they were kind of raised without a lot of the knowledge that the younger generations are.” Some Indigenous students, such as Kayla, who was from a First Nations community in Manitoba, saw little respect and felt that there was still much ignorance, especially in the media:

Kayla: Other people? It’s really hard to say... Respect. Not really. Because like I said there is like a lot of ignorance and they don’t even understand. And the only things they have to go by is the stereotypes. So you know, like uh, like reading comments on news articles. Yeah like uh, people say like ‘Native people are the most sensitive. What else are they going to complain about now?’ And people would be like ‘just give them their money so they can shut up’ or something like that.

Other Indigenous students, such as Joe, were reluctant to make a generalized judgement about how others in Canada viewed Indigenous peoples, however:

Joe: That’s a hard one. That’s something I personally feel I don’t have the right to say... That’s speaking for other people and not all people of a different culture don’t respect our

culture. That's placing a label and I don't believe in placing labels... Because there are people out there that we've already, we've created those-those mends and those relationships with want to- want to help and contribute to the healing of our people. And to say, and to try and acknowledge that those people aren't there is wrong.

Students of both Indigenous and White backgrounds had mixed feelings about whether others respected people from their culture. White students were more likely to perceive greater respect due to a lack of discrimination, however some believed that others might respect their culture less because of being seen negatively due to the past. Indigenous students also had mixed feelings, however they were less likely to perceive respect largely due to ignorance and the presence of racism.

The Meaning of Cultural (Dis)Respect

Students of various backgrounds had many common views when it came to the meaning of cultural respect, however there were also some differences. Some students, like Michelle, a Métis and Ukrainian student, mentioned that it is easier to think of cultural disrespect: "The first thing actually that pops into the mind is not respect but it's more like a disrespect because I know it's like the opposite thing." When I asked about cultural disrespect, students spoke about topics such as cultural appropriation, not forcing beliefs on others, non-domination, and behaving respectfully at celebrations. How did students believe we may show cultural respect? Students conceived of respect largely as a relational process involving Connecting to Others in a Good Way. For many students, this involved connecting with others, showing kindness, and valuing and accepting others. Others also brought up the importance Challenging Yourself in various ways, such as not prejudging others, educating yourself, standing up for good, and respecting yourself to respect others. In Responding to Different Views, students felt we should accept

other views and not force beliefs, not look down on others, and not limit others' decisions within reason. Finally, some students felt that we can show respect for others through Emersion in Culture, by learning about culture and attending cultural events and celebrations. I have included a diagram of the main emergent themes for the meaning of cultural respect in [Figure 3](#).

Connecting to Others in a Good Way. Students spoke about respect being a relational and dynamic process that involves connecting with and treating others well ($n = 9$; Indigenous = 5, White = 4, Women = 5, Men = 4). To Joe, respect was the foundation for social structures and *connecting with others*: “You know if you’re ever going to make, create those foundations and create those social structures they’re going to come out of respect. You’re never going to connect with somebody that you don’t respect and that’s just the way life works.” Mike also spoke about connecting and acknowledging others, even those who are strangers: “...being a nice person and not kind of shying away and not looking someone in the eyes and just like everyone has a- everyone has good in ‘em. Everyone is able to stop and say ‘Hi’ even if you’re a little bit shy...” Others highlighted the reciprocal nature of respect that comes from connecting with others well:

Casey: So I guess in general it would be something that’s mutual like, you know, you have to give respect to get respect. So it’s something that- where it’s like you’re polite. Your first impression is kind of what builds your impression of others. And that’s kind of going to make that person wanna respect to you. Like how you talk to them, how you present yourself and how you act around them. If you’re nice to them, if you’re not rude basically, then the other person is going to be nice back.

Adrian, according to my field notes, also spoke about the dynamic nature of cultural respect.

Adrian felt that intolerance negatively impacted both the person on the receiving end, as well as

the person who was acting intolerantly. Adrian believed if you treat someone poorly, it can cause the person to become antagonistic toward you in return. Treating someone in the right way may be as simple as *showing kindness* and *valuing and accepting* others. According to Jake, a 3rd year Canadian student:

Jake: Respect is hugely important. If you don't respect somebody then you can't like... Respect is... You have to- If I respect somebody then I'm going to be kind towards them and I'm going to see, I'm going to value like I'm going to value their opinions on things. I'm going to hold their opinions at a higher light than people who I don't respect, because if you don't respect somebody, then why would you care what they think? Respect's about treating somebody the right way and treating their opinions a certain way, as well. You can't- if you look at somebody in a positive light then usually, you're respecting them.

Mitchell also spoke about valuing others, and knowing it is mutual: "To me respect is just having- not only having, but just- knowing that someone else or something else is as much value to them as you- like you're like you have a value. And so do they." Closely related to valuing others, Kayla felt that respect was about *acceptance*: "Respect. I just think of that like, it goes hand-in-hand with like acceptance. You can't really respect someone without accepting like who they are where they come from. So I just think like accepting a person wholeheartedly."

Some students disagreed, however, in whether they felt that respect should be freely given in relationships. Alicia thought of respect as involving "understanding" and "communication," but felt that respect needs to be earned: "Like I know with our coach, like if you, if you don't respect her. It's not a good time. But also like she has to earn it too. Like we go both ways like we have to have good communication and we have to like listen and

understand what each other wants.” Laura, like Alicia, also felt that respect should be earned: “I definitely don’t think respect should just be given automatically. I definitely think you have to earn it you have to earn people’s respect. You can... Like make or break a relationship based on respect as well as trust.” Karen, on the other hand, felt:

Karen: Respect should be gifted to everyone unless they are being not respectful. I think it’s just important to respect other people and their beliefs, their background, you know, who they are, what they identify as. It’s important not to judge people based on those things.

Challenging Yourself. Students also spoke about the ways in which one might challenge themselves to be respectful ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 6; White = 4; Women = 6; Men = 4). After acknowledging the social aspect of respect, Joe pointed to the importance of personal accountability: “But really it’s you that should be respecting others. It comes down to you.” To students, this might involve *not pre-judging others*, *educating yourself*, *standing up for good*, and *respecting yourself*. In *not pre-judging others*, Laura, for example, spoke about how “Not believing those stereotypes” was important, and Casey expressed that “...judging someone before you even meet them...” was disrespectful behaviour. According to my field notes, Adrian too thought about not making negative assumptions about someone because of their background, ideology, or religion. Other students spoke about the importance of *educating yourself* about other cultures. According to Mitchell:

Mitchell: I think is- the first step is educating yourself. So educate yourself well enough that you can ask questions about a culture, or not even ask questions. Maybe find out in a way where you don’t have to ask questions, because in some cultures asking a question about something might not be respectful. And so it’s just... finding a way to find out

what is respectful in a culture would be one way of doing it.

Kayla also had similar views to Mitchell on the importance of educating yourself. She, on the other hand, felt it was good to ask questions: "...I would just say like just to ask questions because that's the only way you could respect, if you like understand their culture. So I think that's only way. Like if you're uneducated then educate yourself." Michelle too felt that one way to show respect for others was by educating yourself. Michelle spoke about how there are many different cultures in Canada, and felt that having a basic understanding of other cultures was particularly important for those who might enter professions where one works with people, such as psychology or nursing.

John spoke about how he felt that people who were respectful were those who fought for good and what they believed in. One way in which we might be able to *stand up for good* is through speaking out against intolerance. Rachel and Laura, for example, brought up standing up to others when someone is being negatively impacted. When I asked Laura why this aspect of respect was important, she replied: "I just think it's important for people to be there for each other. And I think the world works better and spins better when everybody's working together and not against each other." Finally, although not mentioned by other students, Joe, a 2nd year Cree student, believed that *respecting yourself* was important as well. Joe felt "...Respect is within yourself, and taking that respect and sharing it with others" and that "You have to be able to respect yourself to respect others."

Students spoke about the various ways in which we might challenge ourselves to be more respectful. For some, this might mean educating yourself and resisting pre-judgement and stereotypes. For others, this might mean fighting for good and standing up for others. Finally, one student spoke about having self-respect, in order to respect others in turn.

Responding to Different Views. Students also spoke about the ways in which they felt we should respond to different peoples' views and beliefs. To many students ($n = 8$; Indigenous = 3; White = 5; Women = 5; Men = 3), this may mean *accepting other views* and *not forcing your beliefs*, *not looking down on others*, and *not limiting others' decisions* within reason. In *accepting other views*, Joe, a 2nd year Cree student, "When it comes to respecting other people, I guess just in general terms- just let them believe in what they want to believe in. You believe in what you want to believe in and if they don't want to believe in what you want to believe in that's perfectly fine." Rachel, a 1st year Scottish student, had similar views: "...my big thing is like they- you have your beliefs and they have theirs and then you just accept it. You're not undermining them like 'Oh no you should believe this or think that.'" It is also important to understand that others have values that may be different from yours. When I asked Jake, a 3rd year Canadian student, how we might show respect toward others, he replied:

Jake: Well, respecting their cultural values is important. Like the things that they value are going to be different than what you value depending where they're from. Like some people family time or some people value their religion more if they're from a certain area or things like that.

Some students also spoke about not putting or *looking down on others* for having different beliefs. To Casey, a 1st year Finnish student, showing respect toward others means "Like you're not- basically you're not putting down the other person. You're taking their values and beliefs into consideration and you're not I guess saying 'Oh that's stupid, why would you say that.'" Joe felt the similarly: "One thing is... I never frown upon another culture or anybody that follows a religion as wrong. You know, to say that what you believe in is wrong. That's completely bogus. 'It's witchcraft'- that's, that's not respect."

In responding to different beliefs and values, students also spoke about the importance of *not limiting others* and respecting decisions within reason. According to Jake, “You can’t really respect someone’s culture but still limit their culture and place limitations on them. That doesn’t really work.” Jake went on to explain: “You have to balance cultural, like other cultures, that’s part of being a country full of as many immigrants as Canada is.” Joe also spoke about respecting others’ beliefs within reason, tying it to Indigenous peoples’ experiences in Residential Schools:

Joe:... You know, it’s one thing to let people believe in their own thing. You should always do that. Let people believe in their own thoughts. That’s their world, that’s their life. That’s nothing you can control. But where you draw the line is when other cultures and other traditions and religions are saying that your culture is less. And that example ties exactly back to Residential Schools where our people were thrown into school because they weren’t Christian. Our traditions and our ways of life were ‘witchcraft,’ they were ‘crazy.’ That was wrong.

One theme that students spoke about was the ways in which they believed we should respond when others have different cultural beliefs or values. Students spoke about accepting different views, not looking down on or frowning upon others, and respecting others’ beliefs and decisions within reason.

Emersion in Culture. One final theme that students spoke about was taking part in cultural events and activities as a way to show cultural respect ($n = 8$; Indigenous = 5; White = 3; Women = 4; Men = 4). Students spoke about *learning about culture*, often through *attending cultural events and celebrations*. Mike, a 1st year Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student, expressed: “...Like, like Halloween costumes- dressing up as an Indian woman- not the same as

maybe meeting someone and- and doing something of their culture.” Mike went on to recall an event he had attended where he learned about traditional Indigenous teachings:

Mike: ...we had an Indigenous man come and sing for us. He kind of came and sang for everyone and like it was- it was at Indigenous school we had all like all the kids were helping and everyone was helping and we had a man stand on stage and sing while he played the drum and kind of told us about the drum and what it meant and all that. So I think that's- that's even a start and just kind of like learning about what the drum means and what- it's like what the- what the skin on it means and he said that every time he- he beats the drum it's like when you're in the womb and you kind of hear your mother's heartbeat for the first time. He said it's the first thing that everyone hears. So I mean just even learning about that was really interesting.

Other students, such as Alicia, also felt *attending cultural events and celebrations* was a way to show respect, as she viewed it as a start toward better understanding. According to Alicia, “Like I know my mom was very adamant about me going to powwows and stuff and like now they're in like the high schools. So I think, I kind of- like it's like a start for students to understand different cultures.” John too agreed, expressing that “...things like the powwow are good ideas.” Other students expressed feeling like their culture was particularly valued by others when others would take part in cultural celebrations:

Mitchell: So every winter there would be people from other places. Like we had a few people from Minnesota come up to [Mitchell's community] and there, and there's people from surrounding communities or people from Winnipeg or Thompson and we go, they go to [Mitchell's community] and to compete in events like dog sleigh races or snowshoeing during the winter. And there's also like indoor events like jigging or

dancing, square dancing. Different events like that. And then I feel like that- you, no matter what their ethnicity or who they are or where they came from, they're all celebrating the-the territory of the Cree and the Dene people. I just feel like that's such a great thing. That everyone there is celebrating that.

Students had mixed feelings toward whether their culture was respected. Students of White backgrounds generally perceived their culture was respected by a lack of discrimination, although some perceived that White culture was becoming less respected in recent years due to being viewed negatively because of the past. Students of Indigenous backgrounds also had mixed views, although they were more likely to view their culture as less respected, largely due to ignorance of the general public and discrimination. Overall, students had many common ideas about how we might show respect toward other peoples' cultures, which included connecting with others in a good way, taking personal accountability to challenge yourself in various ways, responding to others with different views with acceptance and not looking down on others, and taking part in cultural activities or events.

Influencing Trust

In this second section, I will present findings on how students felt about the topic of intergroup trust in general, and identify factors that might influence a person's feelings of trust toward others more generally. To start, some students' reactions to these questions suggest generalized feelings of trust toward a group of people is not universally accepted—I found it encouraging to see that some students reject group-based judgements altogether. Other students found it difficult to make an intergroup judgement for other reasons, such as having little awareness of leaders or politicians, or having little intergroup contact or experiences to influence their views. Despite the challenges of talking about intergroup trust, students discussed several

common themes when it came to the meaning of trust toward people they knew personally. These common themes were also present for students who spoke about their feelings of trust toward Indigenous or non-Indigenous peoples generally, or leaders or politicians in the community.

Generally, it was easiest to trust those who students had a Personal Connection with, whether that be through friendships or family connection and seeing similarity to the self. Perceiving Support and Action also influences trust: it was important for students to feel that another was dependable, reliable, and acted with integrity. Another theme that emerged is that we may Learn to Distrust through our own personal experiences, as well as what we hear from family members, the media, governments, and the broader community. Trust, for many, was also related to feeling Secure and Comfortable—knowing that the other person would not cause harm, was someone they could safely confide in, respected different views, and who was welcoming and caring. Finally, some students spoke about Actively Trusting, through trusting others from the start, or trying to manage their biases. I have included a diagram of the main emergent themes in [Figure 4](#).

The Challenge of Talking About Intergroup Trust

It was easier for some students to speak about trust toward people they knew on a more personal level, rather than toward a group of people generally or community leaders. Some, like Mitchell, a Cree student, rejected judgements based on background altogether: “...overall we can’t judge someone just based on their ethnicity or their cultural background.” Others, such as Rachel, a Scottish student, felt she had equal levels of trust toward others, regardless of their background: “I feel like my trust in general like equal among all groups...” Some students also felt they did not know enough about leaders or politicians to make a judgement on their

trustworthiness, and other students explained they had little negative experiences or intergroup contact that had led them to feel less trust or make a judgement. John, a First Nations, Swedish, and Trinidadian student, explained that he had never been negatively judged for his race to lead him to have less trust, but acknowledged that this might impact others: “Honestly, growing up the way I did I can’t say I’ve had too many negative if at all, uh, experiences with being judged for my race or anything so it never really impacted me in the way that it might impact someone else who has had those experiences.” Mike, a Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student, also felt he had not had many intergroup interactions. He went on to question media representations:

Mike: I yeah I like I don’t I don’t really know a lot of Indigenous people I’m not gonna lie like in ele... or in middle school there were like it’s just kind of as I- it feels like the older I got and like the different schools I went to the more people I was I sort of like saw and like talked to and like had interactions with yeah. But I mean like what happens on the news I feel like isn’t the same as if you actually talk to them and have a conversation with them. Cause the news is showing all the bad things and everything that’s bad.

Intergroup trust is a challenging topic to speak about for some students. This might be because they reject group-based judgements altogether, they were unfamiliar with leaders or politicians in the community, or they had little intergroup interactions or negative experiences to influence their views.

Influencing Trust

Despite the uncertainty many students felt toward the topic of intergroup trust, several common themes emerged when it came to the meaning of trust on a more general level.

Interestingly, students who did speak about trust on a more general intergroup level spoke about

similar themes to those who spoke about their trust toward individuals. First, it is easier for students to have greater feelings of trust toward someone they had a personal connection with. Furthermore, feeling a personal connection with a member of another social group may influence feelings of trust toward the group in general. Second, trust is largely influenced by perceiving support and action, more so than words: students felt that it was important for others to act reliably and dependably, with kindness, and to be inclusive toward others. Third, a person's actions can be harmful, which may decrease a sense of security and comfort—another important component of trust. Fourth, trust, particularly in intergroup settings, is also something that may be learned through personal experience, from family, the media and government, or other community members' views. Finally, some students also trusted others in a more active, choice-like way: some give people the benefit of the doubt from the start, or actively work toward minimizing biases and trusting people in general.

Personal Connection. For many students ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 5; White = 5; Women = 5; Men = 5), trust was related to feeling a personal connection with someone or something. Trust was something to be built upon; it was easier for students to trust those who they had a personal connection with, whether this be as family, friends, or classmates. Having a personal connection with a member of another social group may also influence feelings of trust toward the group generally. John explained that it easier to trust people he knew well than others, because of the possibility of strangers having a dark side:

John: Honestly it's not a matter of uh- background to me it's more just... How well I know them. So for instance someone I don't know there could always be something and granted yeah, I guess you can say the same thing with uh with people I know but with

someone I don't know. The thought that they could have a dark side or something like that. It's a lot more easier to believe than with someone I know.

Having personal contact with a member of another social group may also be related to greater trust toward the group more generally. This may be through having *personal friendships* or a *family connection*. Rachel, who previously expressed she felt equally trusting toward all groups, explained: "I mean I wouldn't be friends with [Indigenous friend] if I didn't trust them." Joe, who strongly identified as Cree, felt little distrust toward White people, which he explains is due to having a half-White family:

Joe: When it comes to non-Indigenous people like personally for me since my dad's White I have a half-White family. I've never actually felt like a hatred or like, like a pulling force that made me believe that I can't work with these people as an Indigenous person.

Interestingly, students did not necessarily have to have close friend or family connections with members of another social group to feel greater trust toward that group. Even lighter intergroup contact may influence trust through *seeing similarity* to the self. According to Karen:

Karen: Well, I grew up in... Not a great neighbourhood for the first 10 years of my life. There was a lot of Indigenous kids in my school and some were kind of you know. More like- more likely to be those kids who are smoking behind the school and stuff like that. And- but lots of them were just, you know, kids like me. You know? They were just there to learn and be a kid.

Although Casey did not have Indigenous friends growing up, she explained that a friend of hers did. Like Karen, Casey also spoke about seeing Indigenous students as similar and normal to other students:

Casey: To be honest like, when I was in like, I'm going to say elementary school, there wasn't many different races. Like there-or there was, but like there weren't any like Black people or Indigenous people as much as there are now. I guess maybe you just cause immigration is now a bigger thing. Or just the schooling system is getting less racist. One or the other. But, so like my first I guess experience or whatever would be more around high school cause there was a lot more like Aboriginal people. And so far like, I wasn't really friends with a lot of them, just because I already had my own friend group and I'm kind of shy sometimes. But like, I could tell that they were nice people. And like I think one of my friends was friends with one of them or whatever. And like I could tell that they weren't bad. They were normal, like a normal kid. Like they did homework. They went out and partied. Just normal things.

One does not even need to be personally friends with someone to feel that they were trustworthy. One student judged prominent Indigenous people he had heard speak to be trustworthy because he felt like he could potentially have a personal, supportive interaction. It is interesting to note that Mike, a Kinesiology student, found Kevin Chief, a basketball player, to be trustworthy as well as Wab Kinew, who he has had indirect contact with through a person he knows.

Mike: I don't know if it's the- if it's the like their politics mind or whatever and like I mean every politician has that sort of way to them. But it was just kind of the way they spoke and the way they kind of talked about their problems and how they overcame those problems. I just feel like I could sit down and kind like they could help me out with my problems.

Some students theorized where feelings of trust may originate from. Mitchell, a Cree student, also believed that trust may come from a need to belong:

Mitchell: ...trust usually comes from the need to belong. Because when you belong to something you trust it. So when I belong to my family I trust my family. Or when I belong to a friends I trust this group. So it really comes from like- for me it comes from belonging. It comes from just being loved and that trust is built.

John, a First Nations, Swedish, and Trinidadian student, on the other hand, felt that trust was related to empathy. When I asked him to explain the link he saw further, he explained:

John: I feel as though it's similar to the whole relationships thing. Uh, if I can empathize with a person I'm more willing to put myself in their shoes and so I'm more willing to look at things from their perspective. And that's normally the case with people I know. And if I can look from someone's perspective then I'm more likely to trust them.

In recognizing the importance of personal relationships, Joe spoke about the importance of creating connections with all people of Canada:

Joe: I know there's people out there that believe that Indigenous people and White people or other people of colour shouldn't have any connection at all if we want to be a powerful nation. But the reality is is that we're all in Canada now, and we got to somehow work around creating connections with all people of Canada. Indigenous people, White folk, and people of colour.

Students found it easier to trust people they knew or had a personal connection with. Having a personal connection to a person of another background, whether this be as friends, family, or as classmates, may even influence feelings of intergroup trust generally. One may not even need to have a close personal relationship—for one student, even feeling like he could connect was enough to feel greater trust. Trusting others may be related to seeing greater similarity to the self, and possibly a sense of belonging and empathy.

Support and Action. To many students ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 5; White = 5; Women = 6; Men = 4), a sense of trust was related to how supportive they felt a person acted, whether that be regarding people they knew personally, Indigenous or non-Indigenous peoples generally, or leaders in the community. This was true for students of various cultural backgrounds. To students, a trustworthy person was one who acted in a *dependable and reliable* way, with some students speaking about knowing they could fall back on someone for support when needed. Casey, a Finnish and Ukrainian student, likened trust to having someone to fall back on, and felt it was important to feel like you could depend and rely them:

Casey: ...I guess like the trust fall is like the best example. When you trust that you can fall back on something or depend on someone you're not- like you don't have any doubts. And you know that there's a strong bond and that the person or like situation has you or something. Like you can rely on them.

Laura, a Métis and British student, also, described the feeling of trust as: "Knowing that that person- you always have a person to fall back on." A trustworthy person is also one who *acts with integrity*: acts in line with their word, is inclusive, and works toward positive change. Some students, such as Casey, were unfamiliar with Indigenous leaders to have a strong opinion about their trustworthiness. Instead, she spoke about her feelings toward other politicians such as the current Prime Minister, who she sees has made concrete efforts to increase gender equity in politics:

Casey: Even- even though Justin Trudeau is young, I know that he is trying his best hopefully to work towards a more inclusive, I guess, government in general. I know that he included twelve Congress women and twelve Congress men and there usually is more men than women. Yeah, like there's always a major difference- I know that- I don't

know. He's just doing stuff basically.

Others, like Michelle, also brought up the importance of taking action. Michelle believed it was important for one to act in line with their words: "Actions. Like I'm more like an action person. But if you could say something but like, your act like actions have to follow the words kind of thing." Michelle felt little trust toward non-Indigenous politicians for this reason:

Michelle: ...I don't think they're trustworthy people, because that's exactly what I just said, like what you say and what you do. I think they very much so say a lot. But doing does not happen or there is a lot of the times where they'll say something to the opposite it's just- so I'm not really very trustworthy of politicians, so government-wise, not...

Yeah.

Mitchell had similar feelings about the importance of acting in line with what you say and keeping your word. When speaking about his feelings of trust toward non-Indigenous leaders, Mitchell expressed that he wanted to trust them, however "...there's parts of me that says where-where are the signs that you that you're actually doing this? Because sometimes there's leaders that say something but they don't act on it." Harmful past actions may influence perceived motivations in the present. Mike, for example, spoke about trusting Indigenous leaders over non-Indigenous leaders when it came to reconciliation. When asked why, he explained that the older White generation has been "...throwing shade on [Indigenous peoples] for so long now." Jake believed that one way we might increase trust between groups was putting time and effort into reconciliation: "Trust is just a lot of time and if we put- if we keep putting in effort to fix our trust with First Nations and fix like if we keep putting efforts toward reconciliation then trust among First Nations community will grow."

To students, a sense of trust was influenced by how supportive and action oriented they

felt a person was. For some, a sense of trust meant feeling like you could depend on and was reliable; someone to fall back on for support, like a trust fall. A sense of trust is related to acting with integrity, more-so than words—it is important for people to see efforts made toward greater support, inclusion, and positive change.

Learning to Distrust. Another theme that emerged among students is that trust is something that may be learned ($n = 7$; Indigenous = 3; White = 4; Women = 4; Men = 3). This may be from past *personal experience, family members, media, governments*, or the broader *community*. Michelle distrusted people, and especially men, generally due to having negative past experiences, regardless of who they were: “I also don’t personally like have tons of trust for strangers, like it does not matter who they are.” When asked about feelings of intergroup trust, Kayla, a Swampy Cree student, brought up her own experience of being racially profiled in a store after moving to Winnipeg from her First Nations community. Students also believed people learn to distrust from what they hear in the media, from family, the government, and others in the community. Mitchell, a Cree student, believed increasing intergroup trust may be difficult due to the presence of stereotyping in the *media*:

Mitchell: I think promoting trust would be challenging for a number of individuals. Not only from different ethnicities but probably from experiences that they see, not only in the media but like their everyday lives. Because I’ve seen negative stereotyping or negative profiling. So it would be a challenge to have that trust right away.

Students believed we may also learn to distrust through what we learn or hear from other *family members*. According to Karen, a Hungarian and French Canadian student:

Karen: And you know my family, especially my mom’s side of the family they are more conservative. They- my mom’s family comes from Communist Romania when Romania

was still part of the Soviet Union. So they have very conservative views. I would even say racist views. So there has always been that kind of influence in my life. And I just- as I grew older I- I'm realizing that they're wrong. And that their views need to change or they just shouldn't talk about it, because they really don't know what they're talking about most of the time.

According to my field notes, Adrian, a Russian and German student, also felt we may become distrustful toward people of different backgrounds due to what we learn from family. Jake, a Canadian student, echoed this. He explained that he had older Indigenous family members, but this was not a background he identified with. Jake expressed that he did not have a lot of trust toward Indigenous peoples, largely due to his own family's views:

Jake: Generally. Well my uh I don't have a high level of trust for- with people like Indigenous people in general. And that's just. I could probably say it's because of the way I was- not by the way I was raised by my parents but definitely like my grandparents like my grandpa because of like the whole family could have Métis cards and his mom could have. But they never they never signed the treaty or anything like that because they don't trust the governments and like their specific family never had to deal with Residential Schools or anything because of that but they're never treaty Native so they don't really trust Natives and my grandparents don't trust Natives you know like my grandpa is Native basically [laughs]. Like you look at him he looks very Native and he doesn't trust them. And so I kind of grew up around where I have a hard time trusting them and like when things happen and it goes on the news I have a hard time really saying that I have a hard time really forming an opinion on it. Sometimes it's like 'well did it actually happen' or things like that.

Students believed that we may learn to distrust from our personal experiences, stereotypes in the media, and from what our family says. Jake, a student in political science, also believed that distrust between *governments* based on events that happened in the past may trickle down to the general public through the *media*. He felt that education may help us to see other people's side and increase trust:

Jake: ...The only way to do it [increase trust] is from birth. You were never told about the Cold War or you were never told about the conflicts in the Middle East. That be basically the only way you can really do it because if you are if you're taught about it then you're going to have a seed in your head. Where you don't really trust. Like- because if you look at so for governments especially it's based on what happened between the countries but then when it trickles down to people it could be like it could it could be that nothing would happen between the countries but they just have a distrust because something happened before...

Not only may students learn to distrust others through personal experience, what is heard on the media, from family, or governments, they may also learn to distrust others based on what they hear from *community members*. Kayla, a Swampy Cree student who lived most of her life in a First Nations community, spoke about how a warning from her community before moving to Winnipeg affected her:

Kayla: When I think of trust it's kind of like a like blind faith. Like you just have to... Just like without that goes without saying like we trust each other in my community or our leader. Trust- it's just pretty like a- I'd say like foreign, like when we come out here they tell us not to trust anybody here. And I guess that kind of sticks. Like even without thinking we like don't... We kind of learn- like we're taught to be defensive and on our

guard and like not to trust anybody unless it's your own. Like even if you get help from somebody we're always taught to second guess their intentions like always. So it's kind of like a built in defense mechanism.

When Kayla moved to Winnipeg from her community, she struggled with the culture shock. Her and a friend experienced racial profiling, which made her feel like her community was “right to warn us before we left.” Learning to distrust others can have negative effects. Kayla felt it could lead to feelings of isolation and loneliness among students:

Kayla: You think, it makes it harder like because they're kind of like building up a wall for like opportunities and to make friends. And we just I think that's kind of like a trap to make ourselves feel alone because you're advised not to trust others. So I kind of do it to ourselves to the point where we feel lonely or we can't make friends or we shouldn't be doing this with other groups of people. So we kind of like second guess and it's always like our community our family in the backs of our heads like they would not be proud of me if I were to give into this temptation or something like that.

Learning to be defensive may also lead one to question the motives of others:

Kayla: It's really hard to say like, like I said before we have this defense like it's really hard to believe someone not from our own cultural background would want to fight with us like or for us. It just is really hard to believe that, cause we always think like what's in it for you. Yeah. Like why would you want to help us or is this a part of like, like your own gain or if like getting us on your side would make you seem like the ultimate leader.

To many students, trust is something that may be learned—whether this be through past negative personal experiences, stereotypes in the media, from our families' views, our governments'

views, or our community's views. Learning to be defensive can, for some students like Kayla, lead to feelings of isolation, loneliness, and cause one to question the motives of others.

Feeling Secure and Comfortable. Many students ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 5; White = 5; Women = 5; Men = 5), when I asked about what trust meant to them, spoke about themes related to security and comfort. Students spoke about trusting others who would *not cause harm*: someone they felt they could *safely confide* in, who *respected other views*, and who humanized and treated them in a *caring and welcoming* way. When I first asked John what trust meant to him, he paused for a long while, then said: "I think there are two people, two types of people that tend to trust easily. People who get attacked easily and people who tend to be naïve..." John worried that he could be too naïve at times, and felt less trust toward people in positions of authority or who were of good social standing when he did not know them. When questioned further about this, John expressed a feeling of intimidation and perceived a non-caring attitude:

John: It's like looking up at a mountain, it's like, seeing something insurmountable.

Almost like- you try to look into their eyes and you look back at yourself and you see that there there's nothing there. It's like you think- like you think that maybe they wouldn't care at all about you or- I think that could hurt the trust.

Jake described trust as feeling like a "...person's not going to betray you like you can open up to them or you can even just be around them and they're not going to harm you and they're not going to betray you in any way." When I asked Laura about trust, she also spoke about "Knowing they're not going to do something to hurt you." Mitchell also spoke about "...feeling safe with another person or knowing that whatever you tell another or do with another is kept safe I guess." Other students, like Casey and Rachel, spoke about times in their life when another person had been rude and unkind toward them, causing them to lose trust and not want to

be friends. Mike, when asked what trust meant to him, described a sense of emotional security and the ability to *safely confide*, free from judgement: “I can talk to you and I can kind of be sure that you’re not going to be sort of going around to other people and saying like all of this happened or he said this like this is terrible right. It just kind of not being judgement.”

Related to a sense of security and comfort, other students spoke about the importance of not forcing others and *respecting different views*, as not doing this can lead to tension. Joe expressed: “...If people want to work with you, you can’t force them. You have to respect that. You’re never going to gain a person’s trust if they’re against you as much as you want to try and jab that into their head. It’s just not going to work.” Despite having generally positive experiences with Indigenous peoples, Casey expressed some discomfort she felt around her brother’s friend:

Casey: ...my brother’s friends with I think someone who is Native American. So like I’m kind of friends with him but kind of not, if that makes sense. Only when he comes over basically are we friends. But like it’s overall been a positive experience. I guess the only thing I would say was- not negative- just ridiculous, is the way he just talks about religion and God. Just cause I’m kind of atheist like I’m not- and I don’t really know a lot about religion I’m not really into that. So I guess it’s just one of the things I was like- you can believe whatever you want like that’s mine I have nothing against it. It just sometimes brings along tension, because I don’t know a lot about it and it’s like so confusing. So then I was like him like “we can talk about this but like if it gets too heated then we should probably stop.”

Conversely, students felt comfortable around those who were *welcoming and caring*. Kayla, for example, spoke about her feelings of trust toward a non-Indigenous professor at the University,

who made her feel welcome through showing genuine care:

Kayla: ...my English professor from my first year was really- helpful and you can tell she really cared about like issues that my people face. And she centred all of our work around like, Indigenous authors. And like reading about Residential School survivors and having one come to class to speak up. So it's really nice to have someone who is like non-Native, a non-Native person be so passionate about what they teach and incorporating the, like our cultural teachings into it too. And she really cared about it. So it was just nice to feel like there's other people about like us as a people. Yeah. And we felt really like welcomed.

For many students, a sense of trust was related to feeling safe and comfortable with another person. To some, this meant feeling like one could confide without judgement or telling others what was said. For others, it was important to not force others and respect differing views. Showing genuine care and making one feel welcome was another factor that made it easier to trust others.

Actively Trusting. A final theme that students spoke about ($n = 6$; Indigenous = 3; White = 3; Women = 3; Men = 3) was that of working to trust others actively, though this is not always an easy task for everyone. Some students spoke about *trusting from the start*, and others spoke about actively trying to *manage biases*. Near the end of our discussion on trust, Jake expressed the difficulty of influencing trust, and felt "Trust is something you really have to put your mind to, I guess." Some students such as Laura and Karen, liked to give people the benefit of the doubt from the start. As Laura explained: "I like to hope that I can trust a lot of people so from, in the beginning I always have a little bit of trust in people. And then if they break that trust or keep that trust indicates whether I trust that person."

Another way students actively worked toward trusting others was through working on one's own biases. This was very important to some, such as Mitchell, a Cree student:

Mitchell: I feel like my own experiences have, like just. If I went the way I was without my personal experiences with other peoples of different ethnicities I wouldn't be the same way that I am today because today I, I don't really care about anyone's ethnicity. I literally like throw it out the window and just say, "go," because I'm really trustworthy with just about every- I can trust anyone because I'm not personally biased.

Casey, a Finnish and Ukrainian student, too found it important to work toward being not racist or judgemental. Instead, she actively tries to be open-minded: "Yeah, like and usually I try not to be racist or I try not to judge people. I try to get to know them first and be friends with them. Usually I try to be open minded." This may be easier said than done, however. Mitchell, who felt it was very important to be non-biased, found it difficult sometimes. When speaking about whether he felt others respected people from his culture later in the interview, Mitchell caught himself using 'us' and 'them' language:

Mitchell: I feel like its... maybe learned from what they were- from what others were taught. And I hate saying— literally I just noticed that I, I'm referring to other people as 'they.' I'm referring— ugh.

In conclusion, some students, regardless of their cultural background, felt hesitancy surrounding the topic of intergroup trust. They may reject group-based judgements altogether, have little contact with members of other social groups to make a judgement, or know little about leaders or politicians in the community. Despite the challenges associated with talking about intergroup trust, several common themes emerged among students when it came to the meaning of trust more generally. Interestingly, these themes also emerged among students who were able to

speaking about intergroup trust generally and toward leaders. First, it is easier to trust someone when one has a personal connection—though this connection does not necessarily have to be strong. Students also felt that a trustworthy person is one who is supportive and you can rely on when you fall, and acts with integrity. Trust is also something that may be learned through personal experience, what we hear from family, the media or government, and our community. Students also felt more trusting toward those who they felt secure and comfortable around—someone they could confide in without judgement or fear that they will share what was said, someone who respected their beliefs, and someone who acted in a welcoming and caring way. Finally, some students chose to give people the benefit of the doubt from the start, or made an effort to actively work toward being non-biased, open, and non-judgemental.

Perspectives on Reconciliation

In this third section, I will describe students' views on various aspects of reconciliation. Reconciliation, for some students, was a harder word to explain the meaning of, whereas others had more to say on the subject. One, for example, expressed "It's a little bit unclear to me what exactly like reconciliation means because like you said it can mean different things to different people" (Karen, a Hungarian and French Canadian student), or brought up that to some, "...you have to be in university to understand what it means, it's like it's not brought up to you..." (Joe, a Cree student). Casey, a Finnish student, even sheepishly confessed to looking up the definition prior to coming to the interview because she was unsure of the meaning, and found that it means "...the restoration of friendly relationships between two groups..." Despite the difficulty some had in articulating what reconciliation meant to them, several common themes emerged.

Like Casey, many other students (who may, or may not have looked up the definition prior to coming) also spoke about relational aspects of reconciliation, in that it involves

Changing Relationships. This might mean fostering understanding, inclusivity, acceptance, and treating others as equals. Some students also found the topic to be Personally Relevant, whether it be through reflecting on their own family, community, and country's background, coming to terms with cultural loss or reconciling with the self. Others also spoke about the ways that we Understand and Respond to the past, through learning and responding with, for example, apologies and acknowledgement. Another theme that emerged was Looking Forward: some spoke about moving forward and the importance of reconciling for future generations. Finally, students spoke about many forms of Meaningful Action that may be taken, including supporting Indigenous peoples, holding celebratory events, addressing structural disadvantages, resolving issues related to treaties and land, and taking care of Mother Earth. I have included a diagram of the main emergent themes and subthemes in [Figure 5](#).

In our meeting, students and I also discussed elements of reconciliation such as whether they felt the general public was aware of past and contemporary challenges, whether students felt that the government was making meaningful amends, and the barriers they saw to advancing reconciliation. Generally, students believed that there was less awareness of the past and contemporary issues, but have seen increased awareness in recent years, particularly within the public education system and in the media. Students felt that reconciliation was held back by continued conflict and division, shallow understanding and resistance to learn, psychological biases and emotional harm, and political and structural barriers. Despite the barriers they saw, students were hopeful—all perceived progress toward reconciliation over the last 10 years, and believe that reconciliation will continue to improve over the next 10 years.

Changing Relationships. The first common theme that students of various backgrounds spoke about was the relational aspect of reconciliation ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 4; White = 6;

Women = 6; Men = 4). Students spoke about themes such as fixing relationships and fostering better *understanding* between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, working toward *inclusivity*, *acceptance*, and *treating others as equals*. Laura, a Métis and British student, felt that the "...relationship between different cultural groups is kind of messed up right now" and felt "it's important for people to be able to get along and like I don't like to see different conflicts and stuff like that." She thought that "Residential Schools have had like a huge part in destroying the relationship between two groups. So yeah like I hope that can be fixed through reconciliation just because, like it-it's not right what happened." Relational change may come through creating better *understanding* between people. Kayla, a Swampy Cree student, spoke about the importance of creating a better *understanding* of the past and its effects:

Kayla: The only thing I think about is like understanding. Like I said educating before but just to let everyone know like non-Native people like what it's really about and why. Like they just see us as like angry and not getting over it. And we're always like protesting about certain things like missing and murdered Indigenous people. So like I just say I wish we could try to make them understand in a way they would see as like non-threatening. Like we're not trying to force it upon them but like trying to make them understand why we're still this way would like help more. Yeah.

Rachel and Alicia also thought about the importance of better *understanding* between social groups. According to Alicia, who comes from a city where relations are notoriously bad: "I guess an understanding. I feel like maybe, I dunno about across Canada, but like especially in my city there's not a huge understanding between different social groups." In addition to increasing understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, Jake, a Canadian student, also spoke about the importance of *inclusivity*. This is particularly important in decision making:

Jake: Actually, probably including tribes' opinions and stuff when we're going forward with reconciliation. Like having more input from people who are actually affected by it. Because I feel like we haven't really had like a counsel or anything like that. We don't really have a system to say like "this is how we feel about reconciliation, these are the things that happen." And then you would kind of have to negotiate on how they feel it would be fixed. Because you can't really- somebody who's never been through it or never experienced it or who didn't have, didn't know anybody who went through can't really say 'This is how we're going to fix it.' But it gets tough. Like it's definitely difficult like for something like this it's really impossible for somebody on the outside looking in to give a definite solution to the problem.

Casey, a Finnish student, also felt it was important to work toward a more "inclusive environment." While some students spoke about understanding between people and greater inclusivity, other students, such as Karen and Kayla, brought up the importance of *acceptance*, which, for Karen, was related to *treating others as equals*. According to Karen:

Karen: For me I just feel like, we need to you know, accept these people into our society. You know, treat them as if they are equal to us. Cause you know even if- if you're like yes, we're supposed to see them this way, not everyone does. And they still are very disadvantaged in our society. Despite what we've tried to do to make it up to them, I guess so.

For many students, reconciliation was a relational process of changing and fixing relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. This might mean creating a better understanding between cultural groups, acting in an inclusive and accepting way, and treating others as equals.

Personally Relevant. Students of a variety of backgrounds saw reconciliation as personally relevant or impactful, or connected to them in some way ($n = 7$; Indigenous = 4; White = 3; Women = 4; Men = 3). For Laura, a Métis and British student: “Like it means a lot to me. And I just want like it to mean a lot to other people. I want it to be like talked about a lot.” Students felt the topic of reconciliation was connected to them in various ways. For some, the topic was *connected to their family, community, and country’s history*, which could, for some, be emotionally impactful. For Karen, a Hungarian and French Canadian student, learning about Residential Schools led her to feel “stricken with guilt and shame.” Other students with Indigenous backgrounds spoke about *loss of culture* and *reconciling with the self*, and the desire to see Indigenous peoples learn their history and reclaim their cultural identities. Rachel, a Scottish student, first spoke about the similarities she saw between the Holocaust in WWII and Residential Schools, and felt the past was important to learn about, because it was connected to her country and by extension her family and her culture:

Rachel: ... We always learn about all these terrible things that happen all around the world and we never really think about our own country and I feel like it's important to know about my background because like my family's from here right. So that's- come- in my line of history. Sorry I can't word that properly. But, yeah, I feel it's important to learn about it- learn about our culture and where I'm from and where I'm living. If that makes sense. You know what I mean.

Karen, a Hungarian and French Canadian student, expressed that she wished she could do more to help: “And, you know, I wish that I could learn more about what we can actually do to reconcile with these people that we, that we have harmed so deeply.” Karen, in seeing her privilege as a White person, saw this as a call to use power to do good:

Karen: I just think it's important for more privileged people. White people. It's important for them to recognize their privilege and recognize their power and their voices that are- are louder right now. They're more heard than- than other marginalized groups and I think that we need to speak up and say 'things need to change. They're changing already but they need to change more.' So, for me, if you have power you should use it to do good.

Students of Indigenous backgrounds also felt that reconciliation was a personal process. Instead of connecting it to their own background, and seeing that as a reason for further learning or a call to become an ally, some Indigenous students spoke about personal culture loss, the need to re-claim their identity, and prove worth. Mitchell, a Cree student, talked the importance of reconciling not just with others, but *reconciling with the self*:

Mitchell: I think of making peace with not only other people around you but oneself. Like just being who you are and being happy with what is given to you and presented with. It's- deeper than just words. It's something that I can't almost describe but it's just something. It's not a feeling. It's almost like- it's a part of who you are. Because to reconcile with, not only just other people but with yourself, is one of the hardest things to do.

Related to *reconciling with the self*, Joe, a Cree student, felt reconciliation was also a personal process of re-claiming Indigenous identity: "It is very important for our culture to take those steps and reclaiming our identities. Going back to learning our languages and connecting back to our roots. That whole process is what reconciliation is." When asked why this aspect of reconciliation was so important to him, Joe explained:

Joe: For me it's because I take pride in my Indigenous identity. It's really important to

me. The reason that I'm here in school is because I want to prove to people that my identity has worth as an Indigenous person and that we are a strong nation and that we have a lot to prove even though that a lot of people don't believe that today. We're seen as a lot of stereotypes that- have forced us into believing that our people are lesser than others. I personally believe. But just taking those steps. To prove to everybody that we are strong and we are here. That's what reconciliation is to me.

For students of various backgrounds, reconciliation was personally important and relevant to them. Furthermore, some students connected the concept of reconciliation to their family, community, or country's history and responded though expressing a desire to learn about their own history, wanting to be an ally, or reconciling with the self. In leaving a closing comment, Joe said:

Joe: ...I really think it's- it goes down to telling yourself, okay, what am I going to do for the world? What am I going to do for the world, what am I going to do for myself? What- what can I do for myself that's going to benefit the world. How am I going to help the world and the people around me? You know- at the end of the day it all comes down to you. You know, like for me, I follow the seven teachings. I know, are you loving? Are you encouraging? Are you showing the signs of humility, and trust, and respect? Are you being wise? Are you being smart about your choices? It's all those things. It's all those factors. You have to follow by them in order to create a positive result for yourself and your generation and the world.

Understanding and Responding to the Past. Another common theme that students spoke about was the importance of education, understanding and *learning from the past*, and the way we *respond to the past* ($n = 11$; Indigenous = 5; White = 6; Women = 7; Men = 4). Many,

but not all, students spoke about receiving education about Indigenous history and/or culture in high school. Some also spoke about seeing increased awareness of issues affecting Indigenous peoples from reading and through the media. In *learning about the past*, students spoke about “just being open” (Michelle, a Métis and Ukrainian student) and obtaining a “...general understanding of what happened” (Alicia, a Ukrainian, Norweigin, Polish, & American student), and saw increased awareness as a sign of progress. Laura, a Métis and British student, expressed “I think just learning about what happened and how it’s not right and like raising awareness to what had happened.” Jake, a Canadian student, spoke about the importance of learning from past mistakes: “...we have to learn from Residential Schools and the reserve system and all that stuff. We have to figure out a way to make it better. We can’t just keep living the same things over and over.” Some felt that education was important for bringing about change, particularly among younger generations. According to Mike, a Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student:

Mike: I mean I- I started learning about it and I think it was Grade 10 or 11 when I feel like it should be so much earlier because like- I mean like I feel like if you learn about it in elementary school it would just have a huge impact on you because kids were getting taken out like during elementary school and like- So I feel like if you heard about it in an elementary school just like imagine getting taken away. So yeah exactly, but then also like I mean my parents know about it but it’s just like I feel like you need to learn about it earlier and kind of even more in depth honestly.

Learning about the past is one important step toward reconciliation. Another important aspect is the way in which we *respond to the past*. Karen, for example, spoke about apologizing: “Cause when I think of the word reconciliation, when you reconcile with someone you’re kind of

apologizing or- or you know getting through some difficult things that you've gone through them with in the past and you know, coming back together." Mike and Joe, on the other hand, brought up the importance of recognition and acknowledgement:

Mike: ...I mean for a long time they [Indigenous peoples] didn't, I don't think they got the recognition they deserved. So I think it's just kind of like- like for us to see that there is, like they have, like just as much to offer as everyone else. So just kind of opening your eyes and finally see it, I think.

Joe, a Cree student, agreed with the importance of acknowledgement, though he connected it to Indigenous peoples' relationship with the land. When asked what he thought a reconciled future might look like, he said "I think one where we're acknowledged, where people know that we were the first people of this land." It is important to not only think about the past, however.

When I first asked Joe what came to mind when he thought about reconciliation, he replied:

Joe: Well one thing I always like to address is that I think reconciliation is a lot more than just remembering the past, because when you put it that way it kind of eliminates the fact that Indigenous people are still alive and healthy here today. I really think that reconciliation is more of like a process of learning and healing, talking about what our people and our ancestors had to go through in order for us to get here today.

Students, many of whom had received education about Residential Schools or Indigenous culture prior to starting university, spoke about the importance of *learning from the past* and *responding*. Students thought about making apologies, acknowledgement, learning from mistakes, and healing.

Looking Forward. Some students were forward focused when they thought about the importance of reconciliation ($n = 4$; Indigenous = 3; White = 1; Women = 2; Men = 2). Laura, a

Métis and British student, thought about *moving forward*: “I think about, like moving forward and things getting better than they have been.” Students such as John and Alicia were also forward-thinking, bringing up the importance of *reconciling for future generations*. In speaking about her feelings of trust toward Indigenous leaders, Alicia felt that it was important that leaders act with future generations in mind. John also brought up the importance of thinking about future children:

John: I like to think that kids are the future I think because they’re the ones who are going to lead the country one day. So I think it’s most important. To do things that could positively impact younger generations.

Interviewer: Because they’re our future.

John: Yeah exactly. Not so much to worry about what the government could improve on now. More so to see what the government could potentially improve on in the future.

Some, such as Joe, felt that we might be able to learn from the past and intergenerational effects to create a better future moving forward: “...Instead of suffering from intergenerational effects more turning those intergenerational effects into something that we can, not benefit from, but learn from in order to create a better future for our future generations.”

Although a smaller theme, some students were more forward thinking when it came to the meaning of reconciliation. It is important to learn from the past and move forward in order to create a better future for younger generations.

Meaningful Action. One theme that students of various backgrounds discussed was the importance of taking meaningful action ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 6; White = 4; Women = 6; Men = 4). When I asked Jake, a Canadian student, if there was anything else he thought of when it comes to reconciliation, he replied: “All I can really think of is action instead of words. That

would be the thing that's helpful for reconciliation instead of always talking about it."

Meaningful change could look like a variety of actions, though students had different ideas as to what might count as meaningful. For some, this meant *supporting Indigenous peoples* through increased programming (such as ACCESS at the University of Manitoba) and working toward equality and greater representation in places such as student council or governments, or holding *celebratory events*. For some, this mean *addressing structural disadvantages* that Indigenous peoples face, such as living conditions on reserves. This was recognized by students of various backgrounds, who brought up issues such as isolation, poor economic prospects, the need for healing and mental health services, proper water services, better education, and housing. Joe, a Cree student who spent most of his life growing up on a First Nations reserve, spoke about his experiences in his community:

Joe: One thing I really, is close to me is the fact that we are still forced into reserves.

That really bothers me as a First Nations person because when you live in a reserve it's, they're beautiful. The people are beautiful but the living conditions are terrible. We live off the land. The fish and our surroundings more than what you'd see in an urban setting, living off of like groceries and proper housing. We don't, we don't have that...

Joe believed that others in his community internalized these conditions. Students also brought up the importance of addressing other instrumental forms of reconciliation, such as resolving issues related to *Treaties and land*. Generally, however, students did not express high knowledge of the issues. As Casey, a Finnish student, said:

Casey: I think you guys also have like I'm gonna say treaty problems as the most basic way to put it like with the land I know that like it's a big issue cause like First Nations people were here first so that makes total sense like they actually have a right to the land

not cause we came here from a different like from Europe basically which is colonization. Um, so I understand that they're like that's one of the main tensions going on I think.

Students differed in what they felt was the most meaningful actions to be taken. Others like Michelle, a Métis and Ukrainian student, also brought up land, however she felt that it may not be the most meaningful type of action:

Michelle: I don't think just like giving land it's gonna make everything better. I don't think, like I think there has to be something, something more meaningful done than because especially considering a lot of the issues that come from the reserve, it isn't always the greatest place right now for a lot Indigenous people so why is that? I'll give you more land, like resources, like mental health resources and other things like that and maybe... I don't know like that, that's something that's so far away though like how do you slowly integrate some of the reserves and to other towns or something like that. It's just something that I don't really know if anybody knows how to do properly.

While Joe had also spoken earlier about other topics, such as how bothered he was by living conditions on reserves, re-claiming identity, and showing respect, he felt that there were more important problems to focus on, such as *taking care of Mother Earth*:

Joe: ...Those are issues that we are trying to resolve with ourselves, but we're kind of so blinded by finding that healing and we're not really paying attention to what's actually important and that's taking care of our Mother Earth. It's being destroyed on a daily. It's getting worse and worse every single day. You know the destruction of our Earth, the temperature rise and the sea levels rising. You know, that's going to kill everybody one day.

Students spoke about meaningful action being a critical part of reconciliation—what, exactly, “meaningful action” looks like may vary. Students spoke about *addressing structural disadvantages*, such as improving living conditions in First Nations communities, *supporting Indigenous people* through programming and increasing Indigenous representation in high level positions, holding *celebratory events*, addressing issues related to *Treaties and land*, and *taking care of Mother Earth*.

Barriers to Reconciliation

Generally, students perceived that there was less awareness of past and contemporary issues that affect Indigenous peoples among the general public, but that this has been growing in recent years. While discussing topics related to reconciliation, students spoke about many barriers that they saw. These might include seeing continued conflict and disconnection between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, people having a shallow understanding or being resistant to learn, psychological biases or emotional harm, and political or structural barriers.

Conflict and Divide. A smaller theme that students spoke about was related to present conflict and division, which acts as a barrier to reconciliation ($n = 3$; Indigenous = 2; White = 1, Women = 3; Men = 0). In discussing reconciliation with Michelle, she quickly launched into how she hears people *arguing* over issues affecting Indigenous peoples, like land reparations, scholarships, and the level of harm caused by Residential Schools. Michelle expressed: “I feel like you can’t get a word in edge-wise because they’ve been taught this way for so long that people don’t want to think that the way they believed and how racist they’ve been.” Alicia, a White student, felt that attempts at amends in her town were not working, and saw high levels of *conflict and violence*:

Alicia: I know the crime rates are high. Like really high. But it’s even like it seems

more to be like assault and homicide. And I feel like it's more racial than just like random. Like for a couple months I think about a year ago it was almost like every week there was like- like a dead Aboriginal in like the river. And it wasn't just like dead, it was like mutilated almost. It was just like really hard. And like even like in parks and stuff like people would get shot and it was always like tagged. Like it was like, literally, White person dead with like a tag. Or saying like who did what. Or it was like an Aboriginal person dead. And it's like someone saying, this is what they deserve. And it was almost like a war. Like it was really bad right. And it's like only getting worse.

Alicia believed that retaliation was a large reason why attempts at amends in her town were not working. She saw a back and forth cycle of conflict:

Alicia: I guess it's like the eye for an eye thing again. Like what we did to them, they'll do to us and then we'll do it back and then we'll just keep going but at no point, like, will they like come together and like acknowledge what happened. Which I guess it's like an immature way of doing it.

While she was unsure of what might help the situation in her town, she suggested obtaining a general understanding of what happened, talking to people who were higher up, and "...Maybe a big debate." Although Kayla, who grew up in a First Nations community, did not describe relations as violent as Alicia did, she also spoke about problems related to *division* between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Kayla felt that when Indigenous peoples gravitate toward other Indigenous peoples, it does not lead to forming relationships and just leads to a divide:

Kayla: The Native kids always stay with the Native kids and we don't form relationships with non-Native people and it's not really we try it's just like we always tend to gravitate

towards our own people. Like I noticed even downtown when I was waiting for the bus and there's like a Native person and they'll recognize me. Like they'll like just guess and they'll come up to me and ask me like if I had a smoke or change or something but if it's someone who is like- like could be profiled as White they won't approach them. Yeah. So they just kind of like a gravitation and I think it's just more of like a divide. The longer things go on the way they are right now.

Conflict and division between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples is not the only barrier to reconciliation. *Lateral violence* within Indigenous communities may also be a barrier:

Michelle: ...from our town like a lot of amazing Indigenous people from the reserve who started working for my parents and they got so much backlash from people on their reserve. "You want to go work for the White man." It's not easy for people to leave the reserve, and that like aspect it's like really strongly, kind of...

Interviewer: Looked down on?

Michelle: Yeah. And it's- it's kind of like they get really frowned upon and pushed away, if you're gonna go work somewhere else.

Some students spoke about seeing continued conflict and divide as a barrier to advancing reconciliation. Arguing, high levels of violence, not forming cross-cultural relationships, and lateral violence within Indigenous communities act as barriers to moving forward with reconciliation.

Shallow Understanding and Resistance to Learn. As mentioned by many, education is an important part of advancing reconciliation. Unsurprisingly, then, students saw *shallow understanding* and little awareness, along with *resistance to learn* and potential *bias in education* as a barrier ($n = 10$; Indigenous = 6; White = 4; Women = 6; Men = 4). Students generally

believed the public did not understand the past well, and that this leads to continued conflict.

Some students also felt that generational differences in attitudes toward reconciliation were rooted in a lack of education. According to Jake, “That would depend on age, I guess, because people like my age group we were all learning about it in high school, like a lot.” He goes on to say, “I think the older generation is probably not as well known exactly what happened, even though if they were to live through it or anything like that, I think that would be necessarily as well known.” When I asked Joe about how well he felt others in Canada understood history, he replied:

Joe: I don’t think it’s really understood at all. I mean the reason why we still have conflicts in Canada with First nations people and I guess the White population is because that gap hasn’t been acknowledged. Nobody’s taking the time to learn the past of our people. And like even like this interview, for example, it’s- it’s awareness that’s only being recognized today, something that should have been acknowledged right away when it happened.

Some, like Alicia, felt that education alone did not always lead to *understanding*. According to Alicia: “I think that they understand that, like it was a part of history, they like acknowledge it but I don’t know if they know the extent of like the ripple effect that kind of created in society.”

Karen also felt understanding was shallow, which leads to blame and stigma: “I think they have a very shallow understanding. Especially if it’s people who don’t know what happened. They have a negative view towards our Indigenous peoples and the struggles that they go through and just blame them for it.” Karen felt “They’re just kind of seeing the after effects and they’re not looking deeper.” Kayla, too, believed ignorance about the past, such as Residential Schools, was a large barrier to reconciliation.

In thinking about reasons why the Canadian public may, or may not be aware of past and contemporary challenges, Casey also brought up the influence of negative family views. While others had spoken about this theme in the context of learning to distrust, Casey, a Finnish student, also saw it as a barrier to reconciliation:

Casey: Um, it could be a factor of both education and maybe like your parents and how they raised you. Like let's say you grow up with parents who already hate Indigenous people or who are already racist then that's going to affect you as a child you're gonna then grow up with these beliefs and values that Indigenous people are bad and that they're not good or something like that and also like on your education. If- if you didn't really learn as much like in the past what happened with the Residential Schools or if you're not really up to date in like today's issues...

In addition to seeing a need for greater understanding, and the potential influence of family member's views in developing negative perceptions, some also felt there was *resistance to learning*. Michelle, a Métis and Ukrainian student, felt: "I get a lot of people get really confused like why we're gonna take certain courses now depending on what kind of field you're going in to study and they're kind of like, well why do I need this course?" Laura too felt that there are people who are "Just not willing to learn about it or open to understanding it." Karen too, felt this was a barrier: "They choose not to learn about it. They don't, watch the news or they don't read articles about that kind of thing." Adrian, a German and Russian student, felt that people may not learn because they are drawn to issues that affect them. John, on the other hand, felt that people may not want to learn or acknowledge the past, because of how dark the history is:

John: Since it was such a dark history. I feel as though part of the reason it wasn't being brought up and acknowledged too well is because maybe it's just something that not a lot

of people want to look into more or feel comfortable looking into or talking about...

Because there are still people alive to this day that may have been that were influenced by these events.

Furthermore, Kayla also spoke about the potential for *bias in education*: “And the only time they’d probably hear about it like in history like vaguely what it’s be like the- European kind of point of view. Like the way they learned it. So, I think we would like will always be just a chapter to that. Like in the history book. So that’s why they would, they’re like not educated about us so.”

Many students spoke about a general lack of awareness or *shallow understanding* as a barrier to reconciliation. Others also spoke about *resistance to learning*, and how there are some people who are simply not open to learning, that the history can be uncomfortable to hear, as well as the potential for *bias in education*.

Political and Structural Barriers. A third type of barrier to reconciliation that students spoke about was related to environmental or structural influences, such as *political conflict and climate, current laws and policies*, and the *reserve system* ($n = 7$; Indigenous = 3; White = 4; Women = 4; Men = 3). Mike, a Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student, for example, felt that recent conflict between Indigenous nations and the Canadian government over pipelines was one barrier to reconciliation. He expressed “It’s definitely not putting a good influence on it. It’s I feel like it’s almost kind of taking a step back from where we were where and where we want to be.” Alicia, a Ukrainian, Norwegian, Polish, and American student, also attributed further conflict in her town to her mayor, who she thought was “...not making good like racial decisions and stuff” through trying to remove an Aboriginal high school, but she was unsure of the full story. According to Alicia, this was making Indigenous people think that “White people

are just trying to like take over and erase them.” Others, like Michelle, were also concerned about the political climate in the United States “pouring over” into Canada:

Michelle: I think I’m a little worried, because like, Trump is not the greatest. People don’t realize like, Canada, US, it’s like, a similar thing when it really affects like our views and it’s really kind of, I think, kind of pouring over. So I really just, that’s one thing I hope doesn’t happen here.

While Jake, a political studies student, did not speak about pipelines or the United States influence explicitly, he also felt that politics was a large barrier to moving forward. He felt politicians were most concerned with getting votes:

Jake: Well, at least for political reasons, would just be because it’s about who gets you the votes in the end and if it’s somebody that they don’t think that it’s worth their time to try to fix that because they don’t think they’re going to get enough votes from it anyways so they’re just gonna skip it on it and it might make more, other people angry kind of thing.

Students also brought up *law and policy* issues, such as problems associated with Indian/Treaty Status cards and the Indian Act. Joe, a Cree student, felt:

Joe: Being Indigenous is important to me. You know, the fact that- being Cree and Indigenous- that’s what’s in my heart. That’s not something that’s defined by a treaty status. I hate the whole status treaty, Indian Act. The fact that we technically, we have to own a- own a card to say that we’re Indigenous. It’s- it’s so bad. It’s uh, that’s not something that should be defined by any, any type of law. That’s if you’re Indigenous, you believe you’re Indigenous. That’s within your heart. That’s your spirit.

Alicia also brought up status cards, although she appeared to have some misconception as to how

they worked:

Alicia: Maybe taking away status cards, not even taking away I mean like making them so people don't have to live on the reserve just to have a status card. Because I know that's a big issue too for people at home. It's like they have to be confined to one specific part of the city if they want to have like basically their payback I guess. It's like how I've been taught that status cards work.

One does not need to live on a reserve to have a treaty status card—this misconception speaks to the limited understanding surrounding Indian status. Other students also spoke about the *reserve system* and some problems associated with them; isolation, lack of resources and economic opportunities, and the difficulty of moving away from family. Alicia felt:

Alicia: I think it's a good idea in the sense that like it gives them their own community. But I think it also isolates them. And they don't learn to like, acknowledge other cultures and stuff like that. And like faced with things like that. At the same time it's also not students from [Alicia's hometown]. It's from like smaller reserves and they live basically like an apartment altogether. I don't think it's like a proper setup for the youth and I don't think it's a good set up for the adult to have to like send their children all the way there just to be put in like- like bad living conditions.

Closer to home, Jake and Michelle also spoke about seeing resistance to an urban reserve that is being planned in Winnipeg. According to Jake:

Jake: Like for the old military base here or whatever, there is a big Crown court case about it and I think it's supposed to be a reserve in a couple of years and more people are upset by that then happy by that.

Interviewer: So it seems like even when changes come, they're kind of big changes and

it ends up really rubbing people the wrong—

Jake: [laughter] Exactly. Like it's not easy to balance but you kind of have to. At some point you have to balance it.

Another type of barrier that several students spoke about were related to political or structural influences. Students spoke about barriers such as political conflict, problems associated with current laws and policies, and issues associated with reserves.

Psychological Biases and Emotional Harm. Finally, students also spoke about psychological biases and emotional barriers to advancing reconciliation ($n = 9$; Indigenous = 3; White = 6; Women = 6; Men = 3). Students of various backgrounds spoke about people having *biased, stereotypical, or negative views* toward both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, which was often viewed as rooted in ignorance, lack of education, or anger. According to Casey, “People aren’t really educated about [Indigenous peoples] and they have like stereotypes that they’re like lazy people but that’s not true. That they’re like drunks and stuff but that’s not true.” Biased views can lead to *victim-blaming attitudes* for the poor social conditions Indigenous peoples experience. According to Jake, a Canadian student whose Indigenous grandfather does not trust Indigenous people:

Jake: Well [Jake’s grandfather] basically just feels that- to lack of better terms lazy.

They kind of brought it on themselves and stuff like that which it can be partially true, I guess. It’s the same thing with every single population has lazy people. And that’s just the way it works. But with him he- that’s just something that he-he always talks about like if there’s problems on reserves. Then he- instead of looking at the problem he’ll just instantly will be like ‘the people on the reserves must’ve done something wrong,’ like with the water and then he just found like with the water happened, and the water crisis,

and they had to bring water in and all that stuff he just thought well ‘why doesn’t the Natives just fix their- why don’t they have proper sewer systems.’ Like ‘what’s wrong with them’ kind of thing... I have a hard time sometimes being- what’s the word. I guess I have a hard time feeling bad about some of the things that happened as well historically. But that’s just cause the way I- the way it was with my grandparents.

Mitchell too felt that *stereotyping*, largely in the media, and victim-blaming attitudes are a barrier to reconciliation. He spoke about a particularly divisive and high-profile case, where a young Indigenous man was shot by a White farmer:

Mitchell: Well the stereotypes around reconciliation or Indigenous peoples. There are stereotypes. There’s a lot in the media about- even when there was a case about an Indigenous young man being shot in the farm.

Interviewer: Colten Boushie.

Mitchell: Yeah, there was a lot of controversy about that and a lot of people saying like, “Oh he shouldn’t have gone there if they were actually trying to steal” or just...

Interviewer: The victim blaming attitudes come up?

Mitchell: Victim blaming and just there’s a lot in the media which comes into play.

Michelle also felt stereotyping was a problem, but in her experience, another problem was when people *minimize harm*, deny, or do not admit their own racism:

Michelle: Yeah, it’s almost like people believe that it was just way way long ago, like it’s ancient history. So it’s just kind of like a weird thing like people have no like right facts on. And it’s you know it’s kind of weird to talk about with people because they don’t talk with you like it’s like you could have a really educational discussion with them and they’ll be like, you’re wrong. They’ll be like “Okay, whatever. Stop getting so upset” or

“stop being so,” I don’t even know what the word is.

Michelle, who admitted to feeling strong guilt because she previously held racist views toward Indigenous peoples herself, despite being Métis, later goes on to talk about people’s resistance to admitting to harms:

Michelle: I think it’s, it’s one of those things it’s like not even just admitting you’re wrong. It’s like a guilt, like a strong guilt because people like they also don’t want to admit this Canada this great place had done such a horrible chapter. People never want to admit that people are capable of horrible things.

Students also saw that *negative views* and behaviour by Indigenous peoples was a barrier to reconciliation. According to Alicia: “I feel like a lot of stuff is like coming back to White people. It’s like racist past, which is understandable, but I feel like now it’s kind of overboard and there’s no like level like it’s kind of overshoot in a way.” She later explained how this made her feel:

Alicia: Almost like uncomfortable because I know like a couple of people in my class, like they’re Aboriginal and they would kind of like take small digs at people for no reason. And I thought that was a weird way of approaching things and trying to make a point (Interviewer: Yeah, yeah). Especially one girl. She would always just be like “Ugh, it’s cause of White people” and she was like the only Aboriginal person in a class of White people so it was just like “Okay, you can say what you want, like like no one’s really listening.” (Interviewer: Yeah, yeah). It’s just kind of childish. So it was almost like weird to like just hear little digs like that.

Alicia explained that these sorts of experiences were “awkward and hard for people to understand” and made her “question society.” Kayla, a Swampy Cree student, also spoke about

people not understanding Indigenous peoples' anger, and the need to find a non-threatening way to increase understanding. Mitchell, a Cree student, also spoke about people in his life having *biases* against reconciliation generally. He believed that this was because reconciliation had just started.

Mitchell: I think about like, not my own personal biases but the biases that people around me hold. Like the people close to me. Like my parents or like grandparents, they have biases toward reconciliation. I don't know what it may be but they have negative views about reconciliation.

Students spoke about psychological biases and emotional barriers that they saw toward advancing reconciliation. For example, students spoke about continued racism and stereotyping against Indigenous peoples and minimization of past harm, and Indigenous peoples blaming White people, and having general negative feelings toward reconciliation.

Reconciliation Over Time: Seeing Progress and Feeling Optimistic for the Future

Reconciliation is a process that takes time. As Casey felt, "To change those beliefs and those deep rooted feelings- it's going to take a lot of time. But I know that as a human race we are able to change our views." I was interested in how students felt the state of reconciliation has changed over time; from 10 years ago, to the present day, along with predictions for the next 10 years. When I introduced the Reconciliation Over Time graph, overwhelmingly, all students perceived progress toward reconciliation over the last 10 years. Some drew relatively straight and steady increases, whereas others included ups and downs. Students attributed the increase over the past several years to factors such as increased awareness of history as well as current issues (often through school and the media), greater understanding, less discrimination, cultural reclamation, seeing Indigenous peoples succeed, and reconciliation events. Furthermore, all

students were hopeful that reconciliation would continue to increase over the next 10 years—one (Laura, Métis and British student) was so optimistic, she drew a dot that went above and out of the boundaries of the *1-Extremely Negative* to *5-Extremely Positive* range. Indigenous students' perceptions of reconciliation over time are presented in [Figure 6](#), whereas White students' perceptions are presented in [Figure 7](#). Approximate values are also presented in [Table 16](#).

The students who have seen the most amount of change (i.e., from 10 Years Ago to Today) were Laura and Rachel (+2.1), followed by Casey and Michelle (+1.8). Laura explained that she could not remember a lot being talked about before, but within the last couple of years she has been “hearing a lot.” Rachel echoed this, explaining that she had heard people talk about issues affecting Indigenous peoples in schools and on social media more. The students who have seen the least amount of change from 10 years ago to today were Mitchell and Adrian (+0.9) and Karen (+1.0). Mitchell explained that he feels things have gotten better because there is less racial profiling and discrimination. According to my field notes, Adrian also spoke about hearing less negative remarks about Indigenous peoples as a sign of progress. Considering this, factors that influence how much progress students see may include how well they feel we are Understanding and Responding to the Past and whether we are seeing Meaningful Action. Psychological and emotional barriers, on the other hand, such as prejudice and discrimination, negatively influences perceptions of progress.

In thinking about today in comparison to their prediction for the next 10 years, Joe (+2.1) and Mike (+1.8) judged the greatest amount of change would happen. The students who believed the greatest amount of change had and would happened overall (i.e., from 10 Years Ago to 10 Years From Today) were Joe, Laura, and Casey. When I asked Joe to walk me through the graph and why he saw the state of reconciliation changing like this, and why he was hopeful for

the future, he replied:

Joe: Yeah. Well. The reason why I have it lower from 10 years and 5 years ago. It's, even, even though it wasn't just me you never really hear people talking about reconciliation at all... I have a lot of friends that have talked about how they're so inspired, that coming to university really connected them with themselves. And I really think this process of reconciliation just this term, it's sparked that... Process of wanting to reclaim that identity, and as more and more people, Indigenous people, come to university which is my vision. Personally I want to see more Indigenous people not come to universities but more... I want them to be able to recognize that their self-worth as an Indigenous people, that they're beautiful and that they're strong and they have potential. I really think that's where reconciliation comes from just having that confidence to say that I can do something in this world is really important. So as that continues on into the future and more and more people start to recognize within themselves that they have potential it's just going to increase and increase and hopefully pass on to our youth, and then continue on to generations to generations...

To Joe, his hope for the future lay in a desire to see positive changes for youth when Looking Forward, which he hoped would be passed on through the generations. When thinking about the future, students felt positive. As Mitchell, a Cree student expressed: "It gives me hope and makes me feel happy encouraged and I just want to see a world where other people like myself feel comfortable talking about their Indigenous background." Karen, a Hungarian and French Canadian student, felt similarly: "It makes me feel hopeful. You know, like you said we're not fortune tellers. But I do have a positive outlook. And I just I can only hope that it will get better."

In thinking about reconciliation, some students had difficulty articulating what it meant, whereas others had more to say about the topic. Despite the uncertainty some felt, students of various backgrounds spoke about several common themes. Reconciliation, for many, was a relational process of changing relationships to be more positive. For others, reconciliation was also personally relevant, in that it was connected to their family, community, or country's history. Students spoke about themes such as understanding and responding to the past, through learning from the past, apologies, and acknowledgement. Many students also spoke about the importance of taking meaningful action, although what 'meaningful action' looked like varied. Students saw several types of barriers toward advancing reconciliation. These included continued conflict and division, having a shallow understanding or resistance to learn, psychological biases or emotional barriers, and political and structural barriers. Despite these barriers, all students have perceived progress toward reconciliation over the last 10 years, and all were optimistic that this would continue into the future.

Core Themes

It was clear to me throughout the interviews, as well as to some participants, that there are many commonalities that spanned across discussions on reconciliation, trust, and respect. In this final section, I will review the ways in which these common core themes manifested within each of these broader constructs, as well as how some of these broader constructs, such as trust and respect, may relate. First, students spoke about the Significance of Learning as a common theme across discussions of reconciliation, cultural respect, and trust. Many students believed reconciliation involved Understanding and Responding to the Past, often speaking about the education they had received about Residential Schools or Indigenous cultures prior to starting university. The Significance of Learning also emerged in conversations surrounding respect.

Students spoke about Challenging Yourself through educating yourself about other cultures, through, for example, Engaging in Culture. Finally, students also spoke about the various ways we may Learn to Distrust others: from what we hear from others we know, the media, or government.

Second, many students spoke about the Relational aspects of reconciliation, cultural respect, and trust. When students spoke about reconciliation, they thought of Changing Relationships though fostering understanding, inclusivity, acceptance, and seeing one another as equals. In discussions about respect, students also spoke about Connecting to Others in a Good Way through showing kindness and valuing and accepting others, and Responding to Different Views with acceptance, not forcing beliefs, or looking down on or limiting others. Students also found that it is easiest to trust when one has a Personal Connection, whether that be through friendships, family, or seeing greater similarity to the self.

Third, many students also spoke about the Personal aspects of reconciliation, cultural respect, and trust. The topic of reconciliation was Personally Relevant to students in various ways; some students were more directly impacted by systems such as Residential Schools and living conditions on reserves, whereas others had an emotional reaction to learning about history. Students also felt cultural respect involved Challenging Yourself by not prejudging others, educating ourselves, respect oneself to respect others, and standing up to for good. Trust, for some, was also personal. One may have Learned to Distrust others from negative personal experiences, or might Actively Trust others through trusting from the start, or trying to minimize ones' biases. I have included a diagram with the main core themes across discussions on reconciliation, respect, and trust in [*Figure 8.*](#)

The Significance of Learning

Students spoke about themes that were related to the significance of learning across discussions on reconciliation, respect, and trust. A part of reconciliation for many was related to understanding and responding to the past. Many students spoke about the education they had received prior to starting university and believed education was important for advancing reconciliation. A part of challenging yourself to be more culturally respectful involved educating yourself as well; one way of doing this may be through engaging in cultural activities and events. Trust, for some, is also something that may be learned through personal experience, what is heard in the media or from governments, and from our family and community. Some felt that we might positively influence trust through spreading awareness and education.

Perspectives on Reconciliation: Understanding and Responding to the Past. One theme that emerged in discussions surrounding the meaning of reconciliation was understanding and responding to the past. When students thought about reconciliation, several brought up the education they received about Residential Schools or Indigenous culture in high school or in university. A couple spoke about feeling emotionally impacted, others spoke about finding the history interesting to learn, and some connected the topic to their own cultural background or direct experiences. Kayla, a Cree student, spoke about the need to educate in order to lessen ignorance:

Kayla: Like there's people who will say that we like as a people just need to move on and yeah just to move on from everything. But it's kind of hard when it affects people today [Interviewer: Yeah]. So. I guess I just say something like a new strategy or new plan. And I think the only way it can do that is like educate others and because there's like too much ignorance.

Casey, a Finnish student, spoke about how even educated people can still be racist or biased.

She expressed “So I think, for reconciliation I would feel like it would also be important to take steps towards teaching kids openness and stuff cause even if you’re like having ninety-five intelligent or whatever you can still be racist and obviously that’s not a good thing.” Some, such as Joe, a Cree student, brought up that it was not just non-Indigenous Canadians who should be educated about the past and culture. He believed Indigenous children should also be educated about their own culture:

Joe: ...So when it comes to reconciliation, if you’re going to attack a problem you’ve got to start at the root of the problem. It starts at the fact that our people are not learning about their traditions when they’re very young. It’s coming up at this age when we’re more mature and adult. But I think if we start our children off knowing that they’re Indigenous, getting them involved in their traditions, fishing, hunting, powwows, all those cultural aspects of life is going to strengthen those children. It’s going to strengthen those youth and it’s going to inspire them to reconnect with themselves and ongoing into the future. It’s just gonna, it’s going to create that drive that’s going to push them to keep reclaiming and inspire others to reconnect.

In thinking about reconciliation, the importance of learning and education emerged as an important theme. Many students received education about Residential Schools or Indigenous culture before starting university, and saw it as important for creating better understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. It is not only important for non-Indigenous peoples to be educated, however. Indigenous children may also learn about their culture as a way to advance reconciliation.

Meaning of Cultural (Dis)Respect: Challenging Yourself and Engaging in Culture.

Two themes emerged in discussions surrounding respect that also had elements related to

learning. First, the significance of learning emerged in discussions surrounding ways we might challenge ourselves to be culturally respectful. In discussing ways we may be respectful of other cultures, students spoke about topics such as being open to educating yourself, and not pre-judging others. Michelle, a Métis and Ukrainian student, felt “educating yourself is a really big one” and as Laura, a Métis and British student put it, simply being “open to learn about other people and their stories” is a way to show respect.

Another way we might learn about other social groups in a respectful way is through immersion in culture, such as through attending celebrations and events. Alicia, a Ukrainian, Norwegian, Polish, and American student who had attended Indigenous cultural events such as powwows, felt, “it’s like a start for students to understand different cultures.” Mike, a Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student, also spoke about “respectfully learning” and felt that hearing about the meaning of the drum from an Indigenous man at an event held through school to be “a start” and “really interesting.”

In our discussions about ways to be more culturally respectful, the importance of learning was related to two themes: Challenging Yourself and Engaging in Culture. Students spoke about educating yourself, being open to hearing others’ stories, and not believing stereotypes. They also spoke about learning about other cultures and increasing understanding through engaging in cultural activities or events to be more respectful.

Influencing Trust: Learning to Distrust. Finally, students also discussed how trust is something that may be learned. This might be through our own past experiences, what is shown in the media or through the government, and what we hear from our family, friends, and community. Karen, a Hungarian and French Canadian student, acknowledged that “it’s hard to go and change everyone’s mind” but felt “we just need to keep... Keep spreading awareness.”

Jake, a Canadian student, believed that learning was an important component of increasing trust between people:

Jake: ...Like history stuff, like we're learning about history and we're learning about Residential Schools and how reserve systems have been, then we're probably gonna trust Indigenous populations more than if we don't learn about that and we just learn- Like if we were just told what my grandparents were told or what my parents were told then we're probably gonna have a lot of different feelings toward Native groups than if we actually learnt about what's going on.

Across conversations on reconciliation, respect, and trust, students spoke about the importance of learning. Many students believed education about the past and Indigenous culture was important for increasing understanding and advancing reconciliation among both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Students also felt that we may challenge ourselves to learn about and be open to other peoples' cultures; one way of doing this is through emersion in cultural activities and events. Finally, trust is something that may also be learned from personal experience, from the media or government, or from our family and community—to influence trust, some students felt that spreading awareness and improving education may help combat negative views.

Relational Processes

Another core theme that emerged in discussions surrounding reconciliation, respect, and trust, was relational aspects and processes. In speaking about reconciliation, students spoke about Changing Relationships between Indigenous and other Canadians through fostering understanding and acceptance, seeing continued conflict and divide as a barrier that impedes things such as communication. Another major theme that emerged in conversations about respect was the importance of Connecting with Others in a Good Way, that might include

showing kindness and valuing and accepting others. For many students, it was also easiest to trust those they had a direct or indirect Personal Connection with.

Perspectives on Reconciliation: Changing Relationships. Reconciliation, for many, was largely viewed as a process of changing the nature of relationships. Students spoke about fostering understanding, acceptance and “embracing other people and who they are” (Mitchell, Cree student), treating Indigenous peoples as “equal to us,” (Karen, Hungarian and French Canadian student), and the importance of “people to be able to get along” (Laura, Métis and British student). Indeed, some students spoke about continued conflict and divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples as a barrier to advancing reconciliation. Casey, a Finnish student, felt that better integration may help:

Casey: ...I feel like if schools integrated different races and cultures and beliefs together into- when children are younger into like kindergarten or whatever. I know that people would grow up being more accepting and stuff like for example in kindergarten I was friends with someone who is Chinese, someone who's Iranian, someone who is Italian and that's kind of White but like whatever, you know what I mean. Like different cultures like different ways they practice things and then you grown up and you're not, like, you're not in this all White school being biased thinking 'Oh my God these people are so different. What are they doing?' Like you're just growing up with like a general 'Oh everyone may be different but that's okay.' So I think it's important that schools either educate little kids on that it's okay to be different from each other but to still be friendly to each other no matter those differences and stuff.

When students thought about the meaning of reconciliation, many conceived of changing the nature of relationships between Indigenous peoples and other Canadians. As Joe expressed, “I

really just think it comes down to just respecting everybody around you and making those connections again and making those bonds.”

The Meaning of Cultural (Dis)Respect: Connecting to Others in a Good Way. One theme that emerged out of discussions on respect was the importance of connecting to others in a good way. Respect was seen by some as a mutual and dynamic process. When there is continued conflict and divide between social groups, people are clearly not connecting to others well—they are not communicating or understanding one another and not treating each other well. As Alicia said when describing relations in her hometown: “One end isn’t listening and one end isn’t providing enough, and like one feeling mistreated still.” Jake echoed this, saying “You can listen to somebody, if you don’t respect them it’s going to go in one ear and out the other.” To be more respectful toward others, students spoke about showing kindness and “not being rude” (Casey, Finnish student), “being a nice person and not shying away” (Mike, Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student), and “realizing that what you do or say to them has a consequence” (Mitchell, Cree student). Clearly, an important component of respect involves connecting to other people in a good way, through treating others with kindness and creating better understanding and communication to lessen conflict.

Influencing Trust: Personal Connection. Students recognized the importance of relationships in our discussions surrounding trust. Indeed, one factor students felt influenced trust was having a personal connection, whether this be through friends and family, or even in less direct ways, such as being classmates. Mitchell, a Cree student, felt “There’s a lot of aspects that come with trust. So maybe like your connections with them on a personal level. So like what you do together or maybe emotional bonds or blood ties or just the conventions of like what we see as family and friends.” John, a First Nations, Swedish, and Trinidadian student, who

found it easiest to trust those he knew closely, believed that feeling empathy can lead to greater perspective taking and understanding, which may lead to trust:

John: I feel as though it's similar to the whole relationships thing. Uh, if I can empathize with a person I'm more willing to put myself in their shoes and so I'm more willing to look at things from their perspective. And that's normally the case with people I know. And if I can look from someone's perspective then I'm more likely to trust them.

Rachel, a Scottish student, felt that "I feel like working with other people- like people of different groups. I feel that always something that brings the trust, right."

Changing relationships is an important goal of reconciliation. Connecting to others in a good way is also an important component of respect; this might include being kind and polite, treating others well, and recognizing the impact you may have on them. Finally, some students also spoke about the relational processes involved in trust. It is easier to trust someone who one has a personal connection with, and working with people from other social groups may positively influence trust.

Personal Processes and Impact

Reconciliation, respect, and trust were not just relational processes—for some students, these matters also felt closer to home. Some viewed reconciliation to be Personally Relevant in some way. Some students were affected by systems such as Residential Schools and living conditions on reserves, or experienced a strong personal emotional reaction to learning about the past or expressed a desire to help. Students also felt that respect was also related to personal processes of being accountable. Some students spoke about Challenging Yourself to be more respectful through educating yourself and not believing stereotypes, respecting yourself to respect others, and standing up to disrespect. Finally, trust for some was also personal—one may

Learn to Distrust others through negative past personal experiences, or may also choose to give people the benefit of the doubt from the start, or work toward actively trying to manage biases.

Perspectives on Reconciliation: Personally Relevant. Several students of various backgrounds personally connected the topic of reconciliation to themselves in some way—through reflecting on their family, community, and country's history, personally seeing or experiencing effects of the past and present conditions, wanting to help, and reconciling within the self. Joe, a Cree student who spent most of his upbringing in First Nations reserve, spoke about how he believed the poor living conditions affected others he knew in his community:

Joe: Like- we're stuck, we're stuck in this box and we're- it's sad because a lot of us are forced to believe that, that, that's our worth is that level. But it's not, and it's not, that's not shown. There's a reason why I had a graduating class of 30 people and only five of us went out to university. And it shows that there are these stereotypes and these, these conditions that our people are currently facing...

Interviewer: Can become internalized?

Joe: Yeah. It affects everybody you, you may not, they may not notice it but it strikes in the person's mind that, like, 'I can't do this. I'm not ready for this, I was unprepared for this. The reserve is all that I know.' So it's almost like a fear. It's a fear to come out here and show people like we're still here. I mean it's hard. It really bothers me that that issue hasn't been addressed.

Some students who were not directly connected to Residential Schools still felt emotionally affected. Karen, a Hungarian and French Canadian student felt "stricken by guilt and shame," and later expressed a personal wish to help. Michelle, whose family had not until more recently acknowledged their Métis background, expressed she was hit hard by learning about Residential

Schools:

Michelle: It almost leaves you like, what? Like I had no idea. I think like a lot of this stuff you hear about like in that book and you're just kind of like, that's ones that struck me the most of everything I learned. I was just like, it hits you hard. That's what people went through on a daily basis.

Reconciliation does not always bring up difficult or negative emotions, however. Mitchell, a Cree student, in speaking about reconciliation efforts, explained how being a part of Indigenous advocacy and support groups felt to him: "...it makes you feel empowered [Interviewer: Yeah]. Because I really like that, despite all the stereotypes and despite everything else that Indigenous peoples are just like everyone else and we can do anything we want."

For some students, the topic of reconciliation was personally relevant to them in some way. Some students reflected on their own family, community, or country's connection to systems such as Residential Schools, and how they or others have been affected or impacted either positively or negatively.

The Meaning of Cultural (Dis)Respect: Challenging Yourself. Respect (or disrespect), for some, was also viewed to have a personal component and be related to holding yourself accountable. Some students, for example, felt that a way we might be more respectful toward other cultures was by challenging ourselves and our prior beliefs, through not believing negative stereotypes and educating yourself. Joe believed that respect was more about personal accountability, as well as respecting yourself to respect others:

Joe: Respect is a value that's very, um, viewed as a social thing and something people believe. Others should respect others. But really it's you that should be respecting others. It comes down to you. It's not, it's not what others think then. If you, if you

think that others should, should be respecting- of course they should be. But if your mindset is that person should respect me-

Interviewer: You have that expectation.

Joe: You've got it all wrong. It- it- it's you that should be respecting that person even if you, internally, don't respect them. Just show them respect, you know? That's something you can keep to yourself. You can be bigger than that hate or poison. You can tell yourself that you're bigger than that person and then that part. And then you should be able to take that and completely ignore all the other negative aspects around you because- inside you should believe that your worth is important. You have to be able to respect yourself to respect others.

Another way we might challenge ourselves and be personally accountable is the way we respond to others who are being disrespectful. Rachel, a Scottish student, spoke about standing up to others who are being hurtful as a way of showing cultural respect:

Rachel: I mean if you see people, you always see people on videos always going saying cruel things to people of different groups a lot of people they just stand around and they just like videotaping right? To post how mean this person is, but they never actually step in step in right? If you just like- I mean it's really small just one time you know to step in and be like, you know like 'stop' right? I feel that could be a step, if we stop watching and actually really take action.

Feeling disrespected may also have a negative emotional impact on a person, even when they are not the target. Mike, a Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student, who spoke about an incident where a good friend of his was racially profiled, explained how he felt about the incident:

Mike: Not- not good cause I... Like I mean he's my friend I like I care for him I want him like I wish him all the success in the world but it's like literally because the colour of his skin and can't he can't get all the way down a block because the cops think that something's going on. Yeah. It doesn't feel good. It kinda hurts.

Feeling respected by others, however, was viewed to have the opposite effect. Rachel felt "...you don't feel down like somebody is judging you or judging your background or whatever, you just kind of feel carefree for lack of a better word." John also felt that cultural events could be uplifting: "Personally it's- it's uplifting since I don't embrace or practice the culture in the same way others do. I don't get the same feeling but it does feel nice that people are starting to respect it. In with days like that."

Influencing Trust: Learning to Distrust and Actively Trusting. Trust, for some, was also related to personal experience. Due to past experiences, one student, Michelle, spoke about how she generally distrusted all people, regardless of their background. Another Indigenous student, Kayla, spoke about her personal experiences with discrimination after moving to Winnipeg when I asked about her feelings of trust toward non-Indigenous peoples. On the other hand, some students generally give others the benefit of the doubt and start off having "a little bit of trust in people" (Laura, Métis and British student). Still, other students spoke about how they work toward actively minimizing their biases. Students also viewed feelings of distrust to be related to negative outcomes, such as isolation and behaving more cautiously. John, for example, spoke about sometimes feeling less trust toward people in positions of authority. When I asked how this made him feel, he replied: "Nervous. It's like walking on eggshells, I find." Kayla, a Swampy Cree student who was warned by members of her community before moving to Winnipeg, and had her concerns of being discriminated against confirmed by personal

experiences, felt that distrusting others could lead to isolation and loneliness.

For many students, the topics of either reconciliation, respect, and trust were viewed to be personally relevant or impactful in some way. For some, the topic of reconciliation was connected to their own family or community's experiences with systems such as Residential Schools, whereas a couple had a strong emotional reaction to learning about history. Others felt that respect was a process of challenging yourself to not believe stereotypes, educating yourself, respecting yourself to respect others, and standing up to disrespect. Finally, trust for some was also personal. Due to negative personal experiences, some learn to distrust others, which may lead to feelings of isolation and loneliness. On the other hand, some people choose to give others the benefit of the doubt and trust from the start, or else work toward actively trying to manage their biases.

The Relationship Between Trust and Respect

Finally, in our discussions, some students spoke about the relationship between trust and respect. When I first asked Casey, a Finnish and Ukrainian student, what came to mind when she thought about respect, she replied "It's like a mutual thing. It's not one-sided. It has to go both ways. And I think it also kind of builds off of trust...". Casey believed that a large component of respect was connecting with others in a good way and responding to differences in a considerate way—being polite, not looking down on others, or pre-judging someone. When I asked Casey later to elaborate on the link she saw between respect and trust, she replied:

Casey: I don't know. It's- it's weird cause it's like if you trust someone you respect them. Do you know what I'm saying? (Interviewer: Yeah, yeah). So I feel maybe. If you trusted someone who is reliable. You know they're respectable because they are reliable. They're not someone with poor values. They're not reliable. They're reliable.

So for example you could rely on your friend to pick you up from school or something.

Unlike you know that there's that one friend, that if you ask them for a ride or if you really needed them, they're not that reliable and they're not that trustworthy. So it's like you kinda respect them less. So, based off of trust.

Others, such as Alicia, also drew a connection between trust and respect. Alicia, for example, believed that respect was something to be earned through being trustworthy:

Alicia: Like I know with our coach, like if you, if you don't respect her. It's not a good time. But also like she has to earn it too. Like we go both ways like we have to have good communication and we have to like understand what each other wants. And I can't remember what my other point was.

Interviewer: You mentioned that she has to earn respect. What are some ways in which somebody might earn respect?

Alicia: Being trustworthy. Like I know sometimes she'll say one thing and do another and then we'll all be mad at her about it. But we still have to have that like professional like view of each other and like respect because like it's always like work to us. But if we don't have respect then it's just not a good experience for one another.

Traits associated with trustworthiness, such as reliability for Casey and dependability for Alicia are viewed to be traits deserving of respect. Laura, too, felt that respect should not be given automatically. When asked why, she explained that "It just shows that they want to try and they're not... you know just going by kind of thing." Interestingly, these are all actions that may make or break trust, through seeing support (or lack of) and following through on action.

Another commonality that respect and trust share is that of security and comfort. For example, when Mike spoke about feelings of trust, he spoke about knowing that someone will

not judge him when he confides in them. When asked why this part of trust was important to him, he replied “It’s like I’m I mean I don’t think anybody is. But nobody is a fan of being judged. Nobody is a fan of having things they said kind of turned back on them.” Non-judgement or looking down on others was a component of *responding to differences* in views, a theme that emerged out of conversations on respect. Joe believed that disrespect was at the heart of problems:

Joe: ...we’re acknowledging that when it came to respecting one another way back then, that respect was never there. It’s why this- why this whole epidemic, like why our world is the way it was today is because at one point in time one person didn’t respect the other person just because of who they were within themselves.

According to Joe, “I think overall when it comes to promoting that trust, is just offering that respect.” Laura felt similarly:

Laura: I think respect... Like knowing that there’s respect lets you trust that person more.

Interviewer: And why is that?

Laura: I think they go hand in hand... Like if respect is broken you’re not gonna trust that person. And if respect is there, you’re gonna trust that person. Know that they’re there for you.

Students saw trust and respect as related. Students’ views point toward the relationship between trust and respect being a reciprocal one, in where connecting to someone and responding to differences in a good way (i.e., with support, non-judgmental attitude) can lead to greater feelings of trust and perceived respect, and a trustworthy person is also one who is respectable. Another way trust and respect may be linked is through feeling comfortable and secure. Several

students spoke about feeling able to safely confide in someone when needed as a component of trust—the ability to confide in someone implies security in communication and understanding and non-judgement. Understanding, for many, was a goal of connecting to others in a good and respectful way.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it was clear that there were common core themes that spanned across discussions on reconciliation, respect, and trust. First, the Significance of Learning was an important component of reconciliation, in that many students spoke about the education they received about history or Indigenous culture prior to starting university and felt it was an important for increasing understanding among Canadians. Students also felt that we may also be more respectful of other cultures through learning about them, through, for example, engaging in cultural activities and events. Trust is something that might also be learned through personal experience, what we hear in the media or from governments, and from our family and community. Some students believed that education might increase a positive sense of trust.

Second, students spoke about the various Relational aspects of reconciliation, respect, and trust. Reconciliation, for many, was about changing the nature of relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to be more positive and less combative. Respect, for many, was also about connecting to others and responding to different views in a good and considerate way. Trust, too, was relational in that it is much easier for students to trust those that they had a personal connection with.

Third, students also spoke about the ways in which reconciliation, respect, and trust was Personal to them. In speaking about reconciliation, some were personally affected by systems such as Residential Schools and living conditions on reserves, whereas a couple students had a

strong emotional reaction to learning about history. Respect, for some, was also about being personally accountable to educate yourself and challenge your prior beliefs, having self-respect to respect others, and standing up against disrespect. Trust too, was personal. Trust may be learned from past personal experience, although others choose to give others the benefit of the doubt from the start, or make a conscious effort to be non-biased.

Discussion

In this thesis, I explored perspectives and views on reconciliation, trust, and cultural identity and respect among students at a Canadian university. The findings of this study illustrate what cultural respect may mean to students, identified factors that may influence trust toward others, and examined how students' cultural background influenced their experiences and views toward these topics.

What does cultural respect mean to students?

One objective of this study was to expand on what cultural respect meant to students. For some, it was easier to think about examples of cultural disrespect, instead of respect. When students thought about cultural disrespect, they brought up topics such as cultural appropriation, not forcing beliefs on others, not derogating others, and behaving respectfully at celebrations. In order to show cultural respect, many students felt that we must work to connect to others in a good way. For many, this meant with treating others with acceptance, inclusivity, and kindness, and asking questions in an appropriate way. Many felt that cultural respect means accepting that others may have different beliefs or values than you, and although you may not have to agree, not forcing your views on others unless there is significant reason to. It is also a personal process of challenging yourself—you may question your prior beliefs about other cultures, resist stereotypes, educate yourself through books and the media, and respect yourself. Students also

felt one may also work toward greater understanding of other cultures through taking part in cultural activities, events, and celebrations.

What may influence trust?

For many students, it is generally easier to trust someone they were closer to personally—either as friends (or through friends), family (or through family), or even someone they felt they could connect with. This, in part, made the topic of intergroup trust challenging to speak about, as students did not always have enough contact to feel they could speak about trustworthiness. The findings suggest that students found it easier to trust someone they were closer to personally through seeing greater similarity to the self, and possibly having a sense of belonging. Some students also felt that trust was related to a sense of being able to depend on someone to support you, and that it is important for people to act reliably and in line with their word. Another way that trust is influenced is through what we have learned. Students spoke about learning to distrust others from our past experiences, through what we hear in the media, from our families, others in the community, and the government. For many students, a sense of trust was also dependent on feeling secure and comfortable around others. It was important for one to feel like they could safely confide in others with non-judgement and won't be harmed or betrayed. Finally, some students spoke about generally giving people the benefit of the doubt and trusting others from the start, and some actively try to minimize their own biases.

In what ways does cultural background influence students' views?

Overwhelmingly, students with various cultural backgrounds spoke about many common themes when it came to their views toward cultural identity, respect, trust, and reconciliation. While students of different backgrounds felt that cultural identity was related to remembering history, engaging with culture, connection and belonging, Indigenous students were more likely

to speak about growth in cultural identity. For one student, this was sparked by reconciliation events held in high school. For some White students, their background was less salient to them; it was unusual for some to think about. Two spoke about having privilege, and some spoke about being seen negatively because of the past. In the pilot study, Indigenous and non-Indigenous students who felt their culture was respected by others in Canada reported greater success in life, however non-Indigenous students also reported greater psychological distress. The reasons for this were unclear, and there was a large number of non-Indigenous minority participants in the sample, however the White students who spoke about privilege also spoke about some negative feelings associated with it. For example, a student spoke about how seeing one of his friends discriminated against hurt vicariously, and made him aware of his own privilege. It also emerged in some discussions that White people may be seen negatively due to events of the past, which may be another possible explanation for the relationship between cultural respect and psychological distress among non-Indigenous peoples.

Students of various backgrounds spoke about themes related to the personal impact of reconciliation, respect, and identity. Sometimes, however, students' cultural background influenced how they experienced these common phenomena. Some Indigenous students, in speaking about reconciliation, reflected on their own family or community's experiences with harmful Canadian policies. Indigenous students spoke about their inability to speak their language, family members having attended Residential Schools, as well as challenging living conditions in First Nations communities. Students with White backgrounds were not impacted by harmful Canadian policies directly, however in discussing both reconciliation and cultural respect, students of White backgrounds also spoke about wanting to help and standing up to discrimination, and feeling happy for Indigenous friends as reconciliation advances.

Students of various backgrounds spoke about learning to distrust others through various ways. While the majority of students did not express having personal feelings of intergroup distrust, there was some evidence that suggests distrust toward Indigenous peoples is in part driven by family racism, ignorance, or negative stereotypes. Distrust toward non-Indigenous peoples, on the other hand, appeared to be in part driven by experiences of racism or warnings from others. Overall, while the processes that students experienced, such as distrust through learning, were the same, students' cultural background may influence how these manifest.

Perceptions of Progress Toward Reconciliation

Every student had seen movement toward reconciliation over the last 10 years, and all students believed that the state of reconciliation would continue to improve over the next 10 years. This was a powerful finding—despite the many challenges and barriers that exist toward advancing reconciliation, this result suggests a hopefulness for the future. Students attributed the progress they saw to factors such as increased awareness and education, seeing less discrimination, cultural reclamation, seeing Indigenous peoples succeed, and increased events related to reconciliation. The extent to which students believed we were Understanding and Responding to the Past well and taking Meaningful Action influenced perceptions of progress, as did the barriers (and in particular, the presence of discrimination) they saw.

Hope is an important motivator for prosocial change. Across four studies in various intergroup contexts, Greenaway, Cichocka, van Veelen, Likki, and Branscombe (2016) demonstrated that among advantaged group members, hope predicted support for social change to benefit a disadvantaged group. This was explained by perceiving greater efficacy of the advantaged group to achieve social change. Hope, additionally, was a stronger predictor of support for social change above other emotions, such as sadness and positive mood (Greenaway

et al., 2016). Considering this, students' hopefulness about the future is a particularly encouraging sign, as it suggests that this may lead to more support for future reconciliation.

One factor that may explain perceptions of reconciliation progress is how close or aware a person is to issues affecting Indigenous peoples. Some students came from First Nations communities, where they have first-hand exposure to more difficult living situations, or have had family affected by Residential Schools. Students of White backgrounds may not have thought about reconciliation or issues that affect Indigenous peoples to the same extent. As brought up by, we tend to be drawn to issues that seem more relevant to us, and awareness about reconciliation and various issues that Indigenous peoples face is still growing.

Related Psychological Constructs

The findings of this study support and elaborate on theories such as Nadler and Schnabel's (2008) needs-based model of reconciliation. For example, within socioemotional reconciliation, members of groups that have harmed another experience a threat to their group's "moral" identity. This sentiment did emerge: Mike, a Scottish, Polish, Welsh, and Ukrainian student, spoke about the possibility of White people being seen as the "bad guys" for what had happened in the past. Members of groups that have been harmed, on the other hand, have an increased psychological need for empowerment. Mitchell, a Cree student who engages in advocacy efforts, spoke about how it made him feel "empowered" and how "despite all the stereotypes and despite everything else," Indigenous peoples "can do anything we want." The findings of this study also elaborate on what may influence trust toward members of other social groups following conflict, a component of instrumental reconciliation. Of particular interest is the various ways in which we may learn to distrust others: through personal experience, what is heard from family or other members of the community, and from media and the government.

One student who came from a hometown where relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are especially violent spoke about seeing a need for not just education, but for greater understanding. She felt that others in her home city did not see the ripple effect that Residential Schools had in society. Another student brought up that she felt that others saw problems that Indigenous peoples had, but had a shallow understanding of how they were linked to the past. Researchers have borrowed the term “privity” from legal scholars to describe the link between a minority group’s current economic or social issues and past mistreatment (Starzyk & Ross, 2008). Perceiving a stronger causal connection between a past injustice and a victim group’s current suffering can increase support for reparations toward that group (Starzyk & Ross, 2008). These students felt that others had a shallow understanding and did not see the ripple effects of Residential Schools. The students’ descriptions share much similarity with the concept of “privity,” in this case, not seeing a clear connection between systems such as Residential Schools and the current day issues affecting Indigenous peoples.

One student, who felt that respect should be gifted to everyone, also expressed a particularly strong desire to help Indigenous peoples heal from Residential Schools and be an ally. Researchers have identified ‘respect for persons’ as an attitude that predicts less negative and more positive action tendencies within intergroup contexts (Laham, Tam, Lalljee, Hewstone, & Voci, 2010). Those who endorse unconditional respect for persons believe everyone is owed respect by virtue of their inherent worth and dignity as a person, generally sees and treats others as equals, and believes others should be free to pursue their own endeavours (Laham, Tam, Lalljee, Hewstone, & Voci, 2010). Researchers have found that greater self-other overlap and intergroup emotions partially mediated the relationship between endorsing ‘respect for persons’ values and positive action tendencies toward outgroups (Laham, Tam, Lalljee, Hewstone, &

Voci, 2010).

Considerations of Age and Educational Environment

In recent years, Manitoba schools have started to incorporate greater Indigenous-focused curriculum into education for Kindergarten to Grade 12 students (Dawkins, 2018). Many, although not all, of the students' experiences appeared to reflect this increase in education in public schools. Students reported learning about Indigenous history or culture, and attended cultural celebrations or events where they, for example, learned about the significance of the drum. It is likely that this is one strong reason that the importance of learning was a common theme across discussions about cultural respect, trust, and reconciliation. The students in this study were also all enrolled in an Introduction to Psychology course, suggesting they had a common interest in human thoughts, emotions, and behaviour. Considering this, it is possible that they might be affected by learning about a topic such as Residential Schools differently than students who were less interested in studying humans. Most students were also interested in other human centered fields, such as Nursing, Native Studies, and Political Science. Students from other fields, such as the sciences, were relatively underrepresented.

The students in this study held many common views on cultural identity, respect, trust, and reconciliation. This is possibly a result of how close students were in age (18-22), that they recently graduated from high-school, and that they shared a common interest in psychology. Some students perceived that generational differences were a reason for the prejudice that exists, pointing to people in their lives who were generally unaware of systems like Residential Schools or their effects. Research suggests that intergroup attitudes, such as symbolic racism, are often crystalized by the time people reach young adulthood, increase throughout adulthood, until declining late in life (Henry & Sears, 2009). Other researchers have found that older adults show

greater racial bias against Black people on implicit association tasks, which is explained in part by lessened ability to inhibit and regulate automatic associations (Gonsalkorale, Sherman, & Klauer, 2009). It is likely that had this study been conducted with different age groups, perspectives on this topic may be different, especially as many students received education about Residential Schools or Indigenous culture before attending university, the time when attitudes become more crystalized.

In our meetings, two students also noted a well-publicised racially motivated event that occurred at the university in the fall semester. In November of 2018, an unknown person posted signs that stated “ITS OKAY TO BE WHITE” in various places across the University of Manitoba’s campus. Similar signs were also posted on other university campuses across Canada and the United States. Staff and students quickly condemned the posters, with University of Manitoba president David Barnard making a statement that acknowledged the signs as part of a “...coordinated international effort by neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups” (Scarpelli, November 2, 2018). One student spoke about how they felt it was not good for anyone, and the other expressed disappointment at the poster, seeing it as intentional act of antagonism.

Strengths and Limitations

The Canadian public’s discourse on reconciliation has increased over the last several years—something noted by many students—though research into Canadian’s perspectives on reconciliation and related topics, such as cultural respect and trust, remains limited. One particular strength of this study is the timeliness of the issue, the population, and context in which these topics were studied. Manitoba in particular is a diverse province, with 18% of the population having an Indigenous identity (Statistics Canada, 2017). Relations between Indigenous and other Canadians remain ambivalent, however. One participant who was from a

city where Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations are particularly strained believed that relations may be worse where there is a larger Indigenous population. Contact alone may not improve relations to the extent that we'd hope to see. Lashta, Berdahl, and Walker (2016) found that in the prairie cities, having personal ties with Indigenous peoples was related to lower new and old-fashioned racism, however contact alone was only related to lower old-fashioned racism. It is important, then, to continue to encourage building personal, friendly relationships and ties between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

One consideration of this study is the sample. Overall, 13 students completed this study, and all were enrolled in Introduction to Psychology. Due to low numbers of enrollment in the course, I was unable to recruit any Inuit students for this study, and due to time constraints, I was also unable to interview students who had non-Indigenous minority cultural backgrounds. These students may have valuable insight into reconciliation, respect, and trust, stemming from their unique experiences and cultural background. Additionally, upper year or graduate students across other disciplines may also have unique perspectives or emphasize certain aspects of reconciliation, stemming from their academic interests.

Implications for Future Research and Knowledge Mobilization

Clearly, cultural identity is a complex topic. Students clearly varied in how salient their cultural identity was to them, and some identified with their different cultural backgrounds to differing extents. Students who were only of White cultural backgrounds tended to not think about their identities to the same extent than students who had Indigenous cultural backgrounds. This may have implications for how future cross-cultural research which employs quantitative methods is conducted. For example, the perceived salience of one's cultural identity, or one's attitude toward that identity, may be a stronger predictor of intergroup attitudes than ethnic

category alone.

This study explored perceptions of reconciliation, trust, cultural identity and respect among university students. It is likely, however, that had this study explored perceptions among another population, other themes may emerge. For example, it is possible that Residential School survivors may focus on certain aspects of reconciliation, such as healing, to a greater extent than others. Canadians of other age groups, educational backgrounds, and geographical regions may also think about other themes related to reconciliation as well. Additionally, other groups may emphasize certain aspects over the other. Future research may continue to explore other people in Canada's views and perspectives on reconciliation, cultural respect, and trust. By understanding where gaps in views exist, we can identify where work is still needed to increase mutual understanding and further advance reconciliation.

The findings of this study may be of interest to educators and University institutions who wish to work toward reconciliation, be an ally to Indigenous peoples, and create a more welcoming, inclusive, and accepting atmosphere. I intend to present the findings of this study to university organizations, such as Migizii Agamik, the Indigenous Student Centre at the University of Manitoba. I also intend to share the findings of this study with representatives from the University of Manitoba who have been working toward advancing reconciliation through Indigenous student support, retention, and mentorship. Finally, I also plan to present these findings at academic conferences and publish the results in a scholarly journal.

Conclusion

Reconciliation within Canada has become an increasingly spoken about topic, with Canadians becoming much more aware of how governmental systems such as Residential Schools have harmed Indigenous peoples, families, and communities. Education has been cited

as a critical component of reconciliation; within this study, the importance of learning emerged as an important theme across conversations on reconciliation, respect, and trust. As Justice Murray Sinclair, commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report stated, "Education got us into this mess—the use of education at least in terms of Residential Schools—but education is the key to reconciliation" (Watters, 2015). Considering this, it is particularly important to study students' perceptions on these topics, as we are at a time where educational reform is happening within elementary and high schools. Understanding how students have responded to this increase in education will be important for ensuring that we move toward reconciliation in a good way.

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[Table 1](#)*Factor Matrices for Reconciliation Progress with the Public*

All Items	Factor: 1
(b) People in Canada have a good understanding of the history of Residential Schools.	.82
(d) People in Canada are aware of the issues facing Indigenous peoples.	.82
(f) People in Canada are making meaningful amends for what happened in Residential Schools.	.78
(c) The relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada is mutually respectful.	.75
(g) People in Canada want to change policies that negatively affect Indigenous peoples.	.67
(e) Non-Indigenous peoples in Canada acknowledge that Residential Schools were harmful.	.67
(h) Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada have equal opportunities.	.65
(a) Reconciliation is happening between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada.	.51
Items Retained	Factor: 1
(d) People in Canada are aware of the issues facing Indigenous peoples.	.85
(b) People in Canada have a good understanding of the history of Residential Schools.	.85
(c) The relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada is mutually respectful.	.75
(f) People in Canada are making meaningful amends for what happened in Residential Schools.	.72

Note. Extraction method: Maximum likelihood.

[Table 2](#)*Factor Matrices for Reconciliation Progress with the Government*

All Items	Factor: 1
(b) The Government of Canada's recent actions reflect a good understanding of the history of Residential Schools.	.83
(f) The Government of Canada is making meaningful amends for what happened in Residential Schools.	.82
(a) Reconciliation is happening between Indigenous peoples and the Government of Canada.	.80
(d) The Government of Canada's recent actions reflect an awareness of the issues facing Indigenous peoples.	.79
(c) The relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Government of Canada is mutually respectful.	.77
(g) The Government of Canada wants to change policies that negatively affect Indigenous peoples.	.72
(e) In its recent actions, the Government of Canada has acknowledged that Residential Schools were harmful.	.66
(h) The Government of Canada provides Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples with equal opportunities.	.65
Items Retained	Factor: 1
(c) The relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and the Government of Canada is mutually respectful.	.83
(b) People in Canada have a good understanding of the history of Residential Schools.	.82
(d) The Government of Canada's recent actions reflect an awareness of the issues facing Indigenous peoples.	.82
(f) The Government of Canada is making meaningful amends for what happened in Residential Schools.	.73

Note. Extraction method: Maximum likelihood.

[Table 3](#)*Descriptive Statistics for Composite Variables*

	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>Skew (SE)</i>	<i>Kurtosis (SE)</i>
Reconciliation Public	3.59 (1.45)	0.17 (.19)	-1.00 (.38)
Reconciliation Government	4.17 (1.37)	-0.39 (.19)	-0.44 (.38)
Reconciliation Attitude	6.13 (0.87)	-1.29 (.19)	1.46 (.38)
Cultural Respect	5.13 (1.22)	-0.71 (.19)	-0.11 (.38)
Intergroup Trust	4.64 (1.28)	-0.37 (.19)	-0.51 (.38)
Perceived Success	5.77 (0.86)	-0.96 (.19)	0.79 (.38)
Psychological Distress	2.32 (0.79)	1.14 (.19)	1.78 (.38)
Positive Affect	3.04 (1.00)	-0.32 (.19)	-0.74 (.38)
Negative Affect	1.59 (0.68)	1.60 (.19)	2.28 (.38)

Note. $N = 162$.

[Table 4](#)*Descriptive Statistics for Categorical and Ordinal Demographic Information*

Demographic	<i>N</i>	%
Assigned Sex		
Male	42	25.9
Female	120	74.1
Gender Identity		
Male	41	25.3
Female	113	69.8
Other (gender minority identity, e.g., two-spirit)	8	4.9
Lived in Gender (if Gender Identity is different from Assigned Sex)		
Male	1	0.6
Female	6	3.7
Sometimes male, sometimes female	1	0.6
Ethnicity		
Arab	3	1.9
Black	8	4.9
Chinese	3	1.9
Filipino	24	14.8
Indigenous	72	44.4
First Nations	45	27.8
Métis	26	16.0
Inuk (Inuit)	1	0.6
Status Indian (Treaty or Registered)	45	27.8
Member of First Nation/Indian Band	45	27.8
Korean	3	1.9
Latin American	1	0.6
South Asian	12	7.4
White	29	17.9
Other	7	4.3
Cultural Identity		
Has second cultural identity	89	54.9
Second cultural identity is primary identity	57	35.2
Citizenship Status		
Citizen at birth	110	67.9
Citizen by naturalization	30	18.5
Permanent resident	22	13.6
Education		
High school diploma or equivalent	133	82.1
Registered Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	3	1.9
College, CEGEP, or other non-university certificate or diploma	5	3.1
University certificate, diploma, or degree	20	12.3

[Table 5](#)*Descriptive Statistics for Categorical and Ordinal Demographic Information Continued*

Demographic	<i>N</i>	%
Income		
Under \$10,000 (including loss)	100	61.7
\$10,000-\$19,000	33	20.4
\$20,000-\$29,999	9	5.6
\$30,000-\$39,999	3	1.9
\$40,000-\$49,999	1	0.6
\$50,000-\$59,999	3	1.9
\$60,000-\$79,999	1	0.6
\$80,000-\$99,999	1	0.6
\$100,000 and over	1	0.6
Missing	10	6.2
Religion		
Buddhist	1	0.6
Christian	65	40.1
Hindu	4	2.5
Jewish	2	1.2
Muslim	7	4.3
Sikh	4	2.5
Traditional (Indigenous) Spirituality	23	14.2
Other (e.g., Baha'i, Pagan, New Age, etc.)	6	3.7
No religious affiliation (e.g., Agnostic, Atheist, Humanist, etc.)	50	30.9

[Table 6](#)*Descriptive Statistics for Interval and Ratio Demographic Variables*

	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range	Skew (<i>SE</i>)	Kurtosis (<i>SE</i>)
Age	134	22.25 (7.69)	17-69	2.73 (.21)	10.55 (.42)
Years Lived in Canada	50	9.08 (5.25)	2-25	0.78 (.34)	0.48 (.66)
Canadian Identity	161	3.89 (1.01)	1-5	-0.87 (.19)	0.46 (.38)
Secondary Cultural Identity	106	3.84 (1.00)	1-5	-0.67 (.24)	-0.30 (.51)

Note. Canadian and secondary cultural identity refers to the extent to which participants identified with their Canadian or secondary cultural identity on a 5-point likert scale, ranging from 1 = *not at all* to 5 = *extremely*. Only participants who had a second cultural identity responded to the extent to which they identified with their secondary identity.

[Table 7](#)*Pearson Correlations Among Measures*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Reconciliation Public	1.00**	.81**	-.35**	.45**	.27**	.09	-.09	-.06	-.13
2. Reconciliation Government	-	1.00**	-.28**	.45**	.32**	.18*	-.15*	-.10	-.23**
3. Reconciliation Attitude	-	-	1.00**	-.08	.15*	.21*	-.01	.25**	.02
4. Cultural Respect	-	-	-	1.00**	.49**	.26**	-.04	-.02	-.20**
5. Intergroup Trust	-	-	-	-	1.00**	.21**	-.21**	.01	-.27**
6. Perceived Success	-	-	-	-	-	1.00**	-.48**	.36**	-.18*
7. Psychological Distress	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00**	-.10	.38**
8. Positive Affect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00**	.26**
9. Negative Affect	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.00**

Note. * Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed). ** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

[Table 8](#)*Means and Differences Between Ethnic Groups on Variables*

	Indigenous (<i>n</i> = 72)		White (<i>n</i> = 29)		Non-Indigenous Minority (<i>n</i> = 61)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SE</i>
Reconciliation Progress						
Public*	2.85	(.14) ^{ab}	3.75	(.29) ^a	4.38	(.16) ^b
Government*	3.56	(.16) ^{ab}	4.36	(.28) ^a	4.79	(.13) ^b
Intergroup Trust*	4.06	(.15) ^{ab}	5.54	(.19) ^{ac}	4.91	(.14) ^{bc}
Cultural Respect*	4.35	(.13) ^{ab}	6.02	(.14) ^a	5.63	(.12) ^b
Reconciliation Attitudes*	6.38	(.09) ^b	6.13	(.20)	5.84	(.11) ^b
Perceived Success	5.79	(.10)	5.94	(.14)	5.67	(.11)
Psychological Distress	2.36	(.09)	2.22	(.16)	2.31	(.11)
Positive Affect	3.14	(.12)	3.06	(.17)	2.91	(.13)
Negative Affect	1.69	(.09)	1.39	(.09)	1.56	(.09)

Note. *Omnibus mean difference between groups is significant at the .01 level.

^a Pairwise comparison between Indigenous and White participants is significant at the .05 level.

^b Pairwise comparison between Indigenous and non-Indigenous minority participants is significant at the .05 level.

^c Pairwise comparison between White and non-Indigenous minority participants is significant at the .05 level.

Table 9

Common Pathways to the Hypothesized Model

	M ₁ (Cultural Respect)	M ₂ (Intergroup Trust)
Antecedent	<i>b</i> (SE) [95% CI]	<i>b</i> (SE) [95% CI]
<u>Model Summary</u>	$R^2=.42$ $F(3, 158) = 38.60^*$	$R^2=.37$ $F(5, 156) = 18.31^*$
Constant	.71 (.66) [-.59, 2.00]	-.27 (1.24) [-2.73, 2.18]
X (Rec. Progress Public)	.83 (.20) [.44, 1.22]*	1.12 (.25) [.63, 1.62]*
W (Ethnicity)	2.33 (.43) [1.48, 3.17]*	1.88 (.91) [.09, 3.67]*
X * W	-.37 (.12) [-.60, -.13]*	-.65 (.14) [-.93, -.37]*
M ₁ (Cultural Respect)	-	.09 (.27) [-.45, .64]
M ₁ * W	-	.16 (.18) [-.19, .50]
<u>Conditional Effects</u>		
X as Predictor		
Indigenous	.46 (.09) [.28, .64]*	.48 (.12) [.24, .71]*
Non-Indigenous	.09 (.07) [-.05, .24]	-.17 (.08) [-.33, -.01]*
<u>Model Summary</u>	$R^2=.42$ $F(3, 158) = 38.75^*$	$R^2=.37$ $F(5, 156) = 18.38^*$
Constant	.77 (.74) [-.69, 2.24]	-.71 (1.27) [-3.22, 1.79]
X (Rec. Progress Government)	.66 (.18) [.29, 1.02]*	1.05 (.23) [.60, 1.50]*
W (Ethnicity)	2.15(.51) [1.15, 3.15]*	2.13 (.93) [.30, 3.97]*
X * W	-.26 (.12) [-.49, -.02]*	-.61 (.14) [-.89, -.34]*
M ₁ (Cultural Respect)	-	.08 (.28) [-.46, .63]
M ₁ * W	-	.17 (.18) [-.18, .51]
<u>Conditional Effects</u>		
X as Predictor		
Indigenous	.40 (.08) [.24, .56]*	.43 (.10) [.23, .64]*
Non-Indigenous	.15 (.08) [-.02, .31]	-.18 (.09) [-.36, .005]

Note. Common pathways to the hypothesized model. Reconciliation Progress with the Public or Government was analyzed separately and entered as predictor X, Cultural Respect as M_1 , and Intergroup Trust as M_2 .

Regression coefficients (*b*) are unstandardized.

* $p < .05$

Table 10

Outcomes for the Hypothesized Model (Reconciliation Progress with the Public as the Focal Predictor)

	Attitudes Toward Reconciliation	Perceived Success	Psychological Distress	Positive Affect	Negative Affect
Model Summary:	$R^2=.33$ $F(7, 154) = 10.90^*$	$R^2=.15$ $F(7, 154) = 3.78^*$	$R^2=.10$ $F(7, 154) = 2.51^*$	$R^2=.03$ $F(7, 154) = .79$	$R^2=.14$ $F(7, 154) = 3.65^*$
	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]
Antecedent					
Constant	9.80 (.95) [7.92, 11.68]*	5.36 (1.07) [3.25, 7.47]*	5.07 (1.00) [3.09, 7.05]*	2.90 (1.32) [.31, 5.51]*	3.30 (.84) [1.63, 4.96]*
X (Rec. Public)	-.56 (.19) [-.94, -.17]*	-.02 (.22) [-.45, .41]	-.14 (.20) [-.54, .26]	-.49 (.27) [-1.02, .04]	-.48 (.17) [-.82, -.14]*
W (Ethnicity)	-3.12 (.70) [-4.51, -1.73]*	-.93 (.79) [-2.49, .62]	-1.55 (.75) [-3.01, -.09]*	-.21 (.97) [-2.13, 1.71]	-.60 (.62) [-1.83, .63]
X * W	.24 (.11) [.02, .45]*	.02 (.12) [-.23, .26]	.06 (.11) [-.17, .29]	.27 (.15) [-.03, .57]	.27 (.10) [.08, .46]*
M ₁ (Cultural Respect)	.06 (.20) [-.34, .45]	.35 (.23) [-.10, .79]	-.52 (.21) [-.94, -.10]*	.21 (.28) [-.34, .76]	-.08 (.18) [-.43, .27]
M ₁ * W	.01 (.13) [-.24, .27]	-.04 (.14) [-.33, .24]	.37 (.14) [.10, .64]*	-.10 (.18) [-.45, .26]	.0004 (.11) [-.23, .23]
M ₂ (Intergroup Trust)	-.28 (.19) [-.65, .08]	-.11 (.21) [-.53, .30]	.03 (.20) [-.36, .42]	.25 (.26) [-.26, .76]	.05 (.17) [-.28, .37]
M ₂ * W	.36 (.11) [.14, .59]*	.12 (.13) [-.13, .38]	-.10 (.12) [-.34, .14]	-.11 (.16) [-.42, .20]	-.06 (.10) [-.26, .14]
Conditional Effects					
M₁ as Predictor					
Indigenous	-	-	-.15 (.09) [-.34, .03]	-	-
Non-Indigenous	-	-	.22 (.10) [.02, .41]*	-	-
M₂ as Predictor					
Indigenous	.08 (.09) [-.09, .25]	-	-	-	-
Non-Indigenous	.44 (.07) [.29, .58]*	-	-	-	-
X as Predictor (Direct)					
Indigenous	-.32 (.09) [-.50, -.14]*	-.01 (.10) [-.21, .20]	-.08 (.10) [-.27, .11]	-.22 (.13) [-.48, .03]	-.20 (.08) [-.37, -.04]*
Non-Indigenous	-.08 (.06) [-.19, .04]	.01 (.07) [-.12, .14]	-.02 (.06) [-.14, .10]	.04 (.08) [-.11, .20]	.07 (.05) [-.03, .17]
Indirect Effects					
X > M₁ > Y					
Indigenous	.03 (.04) [-.07, .10]	.14 (.06) [.04, .26]* ^a	-.07 (.04) [-.19, .02]	.05 (.06) [-.07, .18]	-.04 (.05) [-.15, .06]
Non-Indigenous	.01 (.01) [-.01, .04]	.02 (.02) [-.004, .07] ^a	.02 (.02) [-.003, .06]	.001 (.02) [-.03, .04]	-.01 (.01) [-.04, .01]
X > M₂ > Y					
Indigenous	.03 (.04) [-.02, .12] ^a	.01 (.05) [-.09, .10]	-.03 (.04) [-.11, .04]	.07 (.05) [-.04, .19]	-.01 (.05) [-.10, .09]
Non-Indigenous	-.07 (.04) [-.15, -.004]* ^a	-.02 (.02) [-.07, .01]	.03 (.02) [-.004, .08]	-.01 (.02) [-.05, .04]	.01 (.02) [-.01, .05]
X > M₁ > M₂ > Y					
Indigenous	.01 (.01) [-.01, .04]	.001 (.01) [-.03, .03]	-.01 (.01) [-.04, .01]	.02 (.02) [-.01, .06]	-.002 (.01) [-.04, .02]
Non-Indigenous	.02 (.01) [-.003, .04]	.01 (.01) [-.002, .02]	-.01 (.01) [-.02, .001]	.002 (.005) [-.01, .01]	-.003 (.004) [-.01, .002]

Note. Reconciliation Progress with the Public was entered as predictor *X*, Cultural Respect as *M₁*, Intergroup Trust as *M₂*, and either Attitudes toward Reconciliation, Perceived Success, Psychological Distress, Positive Affect, or Negative Affect were entered as *Y*. Ethnicity was entered as moderator *W* at all pathways (coded Indigenous = 1, non-Indigenous = 2). *Significant, $p < .05$, or indicated by a 95% CI that does not include 0. ^aIndex of moderated mediation is significant, as indicated by the 95% CI.

Table 11

Outcomes for the Hypothesized Model (Reconciliation Progress with the Government as the Focal Predictor)

	Attitudes Toward Reconciliation	Perceived Success	Psychological Distress	Positive Affect	Negative Affect
Model Summary:	$R^2=.31$ $F(7, 154) = 9.78^*$ b (SE) [95% CI]	$R^2=.16$ $F(7, 154) = 4.11^*$ b (SE) [95% CI]	$R^2=.12$ $F(7, 154) = 2.92^*$ b (SE) [95% CI]	$R^2=.07$ $F(7, 154) = 1.61$ b (SE) [95% CI]	$R^2=.13$ $F(7, 154) = 3.18^*$ b (SE) [95% CI]
Antecedent					
Constant	10.07 (.98) [8.14, 12.01]*	5.71 (1.07) [3.60, 7.83]*	5.01 (1.01) [3.02, 6.99]*	3.05 (1.30) [.47, 5.63]*	3.04 (.86) [1.35, 4.74]*
X (Rec. Government)	-.40 (.18) [-.76, -.04]*	-.10 (.20) [-.49, .29]	-.22 (.19) [-.59, .14]	-.69 (.24) [-1.17, -.22]*	-.29 (.16) [-.60, .03]
W (Ethnicity)	-3.31 (.73) [-4.75, -1.87]	-1.29 (.80) [-2.86, .28]	-1.45 (.75) [-2.92, .03]	-.25 (.97) [-2.16, 1.67]	-.28 (.64) [-1.54, .98]
X * W	.17 (.11) [-.04, .39]	.10 (.12) [-.13, .33]	.08 (.11) [-.14, .30]	.36 (.14) [.08, .64]*	.13 (.09) [-.06, .31]
M ₁ (Cultural Respect)	.02 (.20) [-.39, .42]	.37 (.22) [-.07, .82]	-.49 (.21) [-.91, -.08]*	.28 (.27) [-.26, .82]	-.14 (.18) [-.49, .22]
M ₁ * W	.03 (.13) [-.23, .29]	-.07 (.14) [-.36, .21]	.36 (.14) [.09, .63]*	-.13 (.18) [-.48, .22]	.05 (.12) [-.18, .27]
M ₂ (Intergroup Trust)	-.34 (.19) [-.76, -.04]	-.14 (.21) [-.55, .27]	.11 (.20) [-.28, .50]	.39 (.26) [-.11, .90]	.06 (.17) [-.27, .39]
M ₂ * W	.39 (.12) [.17, .62]*	.15 (.13) [-.10, .40]	-.14 (.12) [-.38, .09]	-.18 (.15) [-.49, .12]	-.08 (.10) [-.28, .12]
Conditional Effects					
M ₁ as Predictor					
Indigenous	-	-	-.13 (.09) [-.31, .05]	-	-
Non-Indigenous	-	-	.22 (.10) [.03, .43]*	-	-
M ₂ as Predictor					
Indigenous	.05 (.09) [-.12, .23]	-	-	-	-
Non-Indigenous	.45 (.08) [.30, .60]*	-	-	-	-
X as Predictor (Direct)					
Indigenous	-.23 (.08) [-.39, -.06]*	.005 (.09) [-.18, .18]	-.14 (.09) [-.31, .03]	-.33 (.11) [-.55, -.11]*	-.16 (.07) [-.30, -.02]*
Non-Indigenous	-.05 (.07) [-.19, .08]	.11 (.07) [-.04, .25]	-.06 (.07) [-.20, .08]	.03 (.09) [-.15, .21]	-.03 (.06) [-.15, .08]
Indirect Effects					
X > M ₁ > Y					
Indigenous	.02 (.04) [-.07, .10]	.12 (.05) [.03, .22]*	-.05 (.04) [-.13, .02] ^a	.06 (.05) [-.04, .17]	-.04 (.05) [-.13, .06]
Non-Indigenous	.01 (.02) [-.02, .06]	.03 (.02) [-.0004, .09]	.03 (.02) [.001, .09]* ^a	.003 (.03) [-.05, .06]	-.01 (.02) [-.05, .03]
X > M ₂ > Y					
Indigenous	.02 (.03) [-.03, .09]	.004 (.04) [-.09, .08]	-.01 (.03) [-.08, .05]	.09 (.05) [.002, .20]*	-.01 (.04) [-.10, .06]
Non-Indigenous	-.08 (.04) [-.16, .01]	-.03 (.02) [-.08, .01]	.03 (.02) [-.01, .08]	-.01 (.02) [-.05, .04]	.02 (.02) [-.01, .06]
X > M ₁ > M ₂ > Y					
Indigenous	.01 (.01) [-.01, .03]	.001 (.01) [-.02, .03]	-.003 (.01) [-.03, -.01]	.02 (.02) [-.001, .07]	-.002 (.01) [-.04, .01]
Non-Indigenous	.03 (.02) [.002, .07]*	.01 (.01) [-.003, .03]	-.01 (.01) [-.03, .001]	.002 (.01) [-.01, .02]	-.01 (.01) [-.02, .003]

Note. Reconciliation Progress with the Government was entered as predictor X, Cultural Respect as M₁, Intergroup Trust as M₂, and either Attitudes toward Reconciliation, Perceived Success, Psychological Distress, Positive Affect, or Negative Affect were entered as Y. Ethnicity was entered as moderator W at all pathways (coded Indigenous = 1, non-Indigenous = 2). *Significant, $p < .05$, or indicated by a 95% CI that does not include 0. ^aIndex of moderated mediation is significant, as indicated by the 95% CI.

[Table 12](#)*Common Pathways to the Alternative Model*

	M ₁ (Intergroup Trust)	M ₂ (Reconciliation Progress with Public)	Or	M ₂ (Reconciliation Progress with Government)
<u>Model Summary:</u>	$R^2=.29$ $F(3, 158) = 21.05^*$ b (SE) [95% CI]	$R^2=.35$ $F(5, 156) = 16.54^*$ b (SE) [95% CI]		$R^2=.35$ $F(5, 156) = 16.90^*$ b (SE) [95% CI]
<u>Antecedent</u>				
Constant	.85 (1.28) [-1.68, 3.38]	-3.96 (1.50) [-6.93, -.98]		-3.28 (1.43) [-6.11, .46]
X (Cultural Respect)	.61 (.26) [.09, 1.13]*	.27 (.31) [-.35, .89]		.28 (.30) [-.31, .87]
W (Ethnicity)	1.07(.93) [-.75, 2.90]	3.82 (1.09) [1.68, 5.97]*		3.52 (1.03) [1.48, 5.55]*
X * W	-.12 (.17) [-.47, .22]	.03 (.20) [-.37, .43]		.04 (.19) [-.34, .42]
M ₁ (Intergroup Trust)	-	1.10 (.28) [.56, 1.64]*		1.18 (.26) [.66, 1.70]*
M ₁ * W	-	-.69 (.17) [-1.03, -.35]*		-.70 (.16) [-1.02, -.37]*
<u>Conditional Effects</u>				
M ₁ as Predictor				
Indigenous	-	.41 (.12) [.17, .66]*		.48 (.12) [.25, .71]*
Non-Indigenous	-	-.28 (.12) [-.51, -.04]*		-.22 (.11) [-.44, .001]

Note. Common pathways to the alternative model. Cultural Respect was entered as predictor X, Intergroup Trust as M_1 , and either Reconciliation Progress with the Public or Government as M_2 .

Regression coefficients (b) are unstandardized.

* $p < .05$.

Table 13

Outcomes for the Alternative Model (Reconciliation Progress with the Public as Mediator 2)

	Attitudes Toward Reconciliation	Perceived Success	Psychological Distress	Positive Affect	Negative Affect
Model Summary:	$R^2=.33$ $F(7, 154) = 10.90^*$	$R^2=.15$ $F(7, 154) = 3.78^*$	$R^2=.10$ $F(7, 154) = 2.51^*$	$R^2=.03$ $F(7, 154) = .79$	$R^2=.14$ $F(7, 154) = 3.65^*$
	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]	b (SE) [95% CI]
Antecedent					
Constant	9.80 (.95) [7.92, 11.68]*	5.36 (1.07) [3.25, 7.47]*	5.07 (1.00) [3.09, 7.05]*	2.90 (1.32) [.31, 5.51]*	3.29 (.84) [1.63, 4.96]*
X (Cultural Respect)	.06 (.20) [-.34, .45]	.35 (.23) [-.10, .79]	-.51 (.21) [-.94, -.10]*	.21 (.28) [-.34, .76]	-.09 (.17) [-.43, .27]
W (Ethnicity)	-3.12 (.70) [-4.51, -1.73]*	-.93 (.79) [-2.49, .62]	-1.55 (.75) [-3.01, -.09]*	-.21 (.97) [-2.13, 1.71]	-.60 (.62) [-1.83, .63]
X * W	.01 (.13) [-.24, .27]	-.04 (.14) [-.33, .24]	.37 (.14) [.10, .64]*	-.10 (.97) [-.45, .26]	.0004 (.11) [-.23, .23]
M ₁ (Intergroup Trust)	-.28 (.19) [-.65, .08]	-.11 (.20) [-.53, .30]	.03 (.20) [-.36, .42]	.16 (.22) [-.29, .60]	.05 (.17) [-.82, -.14]
M ₁ * W	.36 (.11) [.14, .59]*	-.04 (.14) [-.33, .24]	-.10 (.12) [-.34, .14]	-.11 (.15) [-.42, .20]	-.06 (.10) [-.26, .14]
M ₂ (Rec. Public)	-.56 (.19) [-.94, -.17]*	-.02 (.22) [-.45, .41]	-.14 (.20) [-.36, .42]	-.49 (.27) [-1.02, .04]	-.48 (.17) [-.82, -.14]*
M ₂ * W	.23 (.11) [.02, .45]*	.02 (.12) [-.23, .26]	.06 (.11) [-.17, .29]	.27 (.15) [-.03, .56]	.27 (.10) [.08, .46]*
Conditional Effects					
M ₁ as Predictor					
Indigenous	.08 (.09) [-.09, .25]	-	-	-	-
Non-Indigenous	.44 (.07) [.29, .59]*	-	-	-	-
M ₂ as Predictor					
Indigenous	-.32 (.09) [-.50, -.14]*	-	-	-.22 (.13) [-.48, .03]	-.20 (.08) [-.37, -.04]*
Non-Indigenous	-.08 (.06) [-.19, .04]	-	-	.04 (.08) [-.11, .20]	.07 (.05) [-.03, .17]
X as Predictor (Direct)					
Indigenous	.07 (.09) [-.11, .26]	.31 (.10) [.11, .50]*	-.15 (.09) [-.34, .03]	.11 (.12) [-.13, .35]	-.08 (.08) [-.24, .07]
Non-Indigenous	.08 (.09) [-.11, .27]	.26 (.11) [.06, .47]*	.22 (.10) [.02, .41]*	.01 (.13) [-.24, .27]	-.08 (.08) [-.25, .08]
Indirect Effects					
X > M ₁ > Y					
Indigenous	.04 (.04) [-.02, .12]	.02 (.05) [-.09, .11]	-.03 (.04) [-.12, .04]	.07 (.06) [-.04, .21]	-.01 (.05) [-.12, .07]
Non-Indigenous	.16 (.06) [.05, .28]*	.05 (.04) [-.02, .15]	-.06 (.04) [-.16, .003]	.01 (.04) [-.06, .10]	-.03 (.03) [-.11, .02]
X > M ₂ > Y					
Indigenous	-.10 (.05) [-.20, -.01]*	-.002 (.03) [-.06, .06]	-.02 (.03) [-.08, .04]	-.07 (.05) [-.17, -.01]	-.06 (.03) [-.13, -.005]* ^a
Non-Indigenous	-.03 (.02) [-.08, .01]	.003 (.02) [-.04, .05]	-.01 (.02) [-.06, .04]	.01 (.03) [-.03, .08]	.02 (.02) [-.01, .07] ^a
X > M ₁ > M ₂ > Y					
Indigenous	-.06 (.04) [-.16, -.01]* ^a	-.001 (.02) [-.04, .05]	-.02 (.02) [-.06, .02]	-.05 (.03) [-.11, .01]	-.04 (.02) [-.10, -.004]*
Non-Indigenous	.01 (.01) [-.003, .03] ^a	-.001 (.01) [-.02, .01]	.002 (.01) [-.01, .02]	-.005 (.01) [-.02, .01]	-.01 (.01) [-.02, .003]

Note. Cultural Respect was entered as predictor *X*, Intergroup Trust as *M₁*, Reconciliation Progress with the Public was entered as *M₂*, and either Attitudes toward Reconciliation, Perceived Success, Psychological Distress, Positive Affect, or Negative Affect were entered as *Y*. Ethnicity was entered as moderator *W* at all pathways (coded Indigenous = 1, non-Indigenous = 2). *Significant, $p < .05$, or indicated by a 95% CI that does not include 0. ^aIndex of moderated mediation is significant, as indicated by the 95% CI.

Table 14

Outcomes for the Alternative Model (Reconciliation Progress with the Government as Mediator 2)

	Attitudes Toward Reconciliation	Perceived Success	Psychological Distress	Positive Affect	Negative Affect
Model Summary:	$R^2=.31$ F(7, 154) = 9.78* <i>b</i> (SE) [95 CI]	$R^2=.16$ F(7, 154) = 4.11* <i>b</i> (SE) [95 CI]	$R^2=.12$ F(7, 154) = 2.92* <i>b</i> (SE) [95 CI]	$R^2=.07$ F(7, 154) = 1.61 <i>b</i> (SE) [95 CI]	$R^2=.13$ F(7, 154) = 3.18* <i>b</i> (SE) [95 CI]
Antecedent					
Constant	10.07 (.98) [8.14, 12.01]*	5.71 (1.07) [3.60, 7.83]*	5.01 (1.01) [3.02, 6.99]*	3.05 (1.30) [.47, 5.63]*	3.04 (.86) [1.35, 4.74]*
X (Cultural Respect)	.02 (.20) [-.39, .42]	.37 (.22) [-.07, .82]	-.49 (.20) [-.91, -.08]*	.28 (.27) [-.26, .82]	-.14 (.18) [-.49, .22]
W (Ethnicity)	-3.31 (.73) [-4.75, -1.87]	-1.29 (.80) [-2.86, .28]	-1.45 (.75) [-2.92, .03]	-.25 (.97) [-2.16, 1.67]	-.28 (.64) [-1.54, .98]
X * W	.03 (.13) [-.23, .29]	-.07 (.14) [-.36, .21]	.36 (.14) [.09, .63]*	-.13 (.18) [-.48, .22]	.05 (.12) [-.15, .30]
M ₁ (Intergroup Trust)	-.34 (.19) [-.72, .04]	-.14 (.21) [-.55, .27]	.11 (.20) [-.28, .50]	.39 (.26) [-.11, .90]	.06 (.17) [-.27, .39]
M ₁ * W	.39 (.12) [.17, .62]*	.14 (.13) [-.10, .40]	-.14 (.12) [-.38, .09]	-.13 (.15) [-.49, .12]	-.08 (.10) [-.28, .12]
M ₂ (Rec. Government)	-.40 (.18) [-.76, -.04]*	-.10 (.20) [-.49, .29]	-.22 (.19) [-.59, .14]	-.69 (.24) [-1.17, -.22]*	-.29 (.16) [-.60, .03]
M ₂ * W	.17 (.11) [-.04, .39]	.10 (.12) [-.13, .33]	.08 (.11) [-.14, .30]	.36 (.14) [.08, .64]*	.13 (.09) [-.06, .31]
Conditional Effects					
M ₁ as Predictor					
Indigenous	.05 (.09) [-.12, .23]	-	-	-	-
Non-Indigenous	.45 (.08) [.30, .60]	-	-	-	-
M ₂ as Predictor					
Indigenous	-	-	-	-.33 (.11) [-.55, -.11]*	-
Non-Indigenous	-	-	-	.03 (.09) [-.15, .21]	-
X as Predictor (Direct)					
Indigenous	.05 (.09) [-.13, .22]	.30 (.10) [.11, .50]*	-.13 (.09) [-.31, .05]	.15 (.12) [-.09, .39]	-.09 (.08) [-.25, .06]
Non-Indigenous	.07 (.10) [-.12, .27]	.23 (.11) [.02, .44]*	.23 (.10) [.03, .43]*	.02 (.13) [-.23, .27]	-.05 (.08) [-.21, .12]
Indirect Effects					
X > M ₁ > Y					
Indigenous	.03 (.03) [-.03, .11] ^a	.004 (.05) [-.10, .10]	-.02 (.04) [-.10, .06]	.10 (.06) [.002, .24]*	-.01 (.05) [-.13, .06]
Non-Indigenous	.16 (.06) [.05, .28] ^a	.06 (.04) [-.01, .16]	-.06 (.04) [-.16, .002]	.01 (.04) [-.07, .10]	-.04 (.04) [-.12, .02]
X > M ₂ > Y					
Indigenous	-.07 (.04) [-.17, -.004]*	.001 (.03) [-.05, .07]	-.04 (.03) [-.12, .001]	-.11 (.06) [-.24, -.02] ^a	-.05 (.03) [-.13, -.002]*
Non-Indigenous	-.02 (.02) [-.08, .02]	.04 (.03) [-.02, .11]	-.02 (.03) [-.09, .04]	.01 (.03) [-.06, .08] ^a	-.01 (.02) [-.06, .03]
X > M ₁ > M ₂ > Y					
Indigenous	-.05 (.03) [-.13, -.004] ^a	.001 (.02) [-.03, .05]	-.03 (.02) [-.08, -.0001]*	-.08 (.04) [-.16, -.02] ^a	-.04 (.02) [-.08, -.004] ^a
Non-Indigenous	.004 (.01) [-.004, .02] ^a	-.01 (.01) [-.03, .003]	.005 (.01) [-.01, .02]*	-.002 (.01) [-.02, .02] ^a	.003 (.005) [-.01, .02] ^a

Note. Cultural Respect was entered as predictor *X*, Intergroup Trust as *M₁*, Reconciliation Progress with the Government was entered as *M₂*, and either Reconciliation Attitudes, Perceived Success, Psychological Distress, Positive Affect, or Negative Affect were entered as *Y*. Ethnicity was entered as moderator *W* at all pathways (coded Indigenous = 1, non-Indigenous = 2). *Significant, $p < .05$, or indicated by a 95% CI that does not include 0. ^aIndex of moderated mediation is significant, as indicated by the 95% CI.

[Table 15](#)*Participant Characteristics*

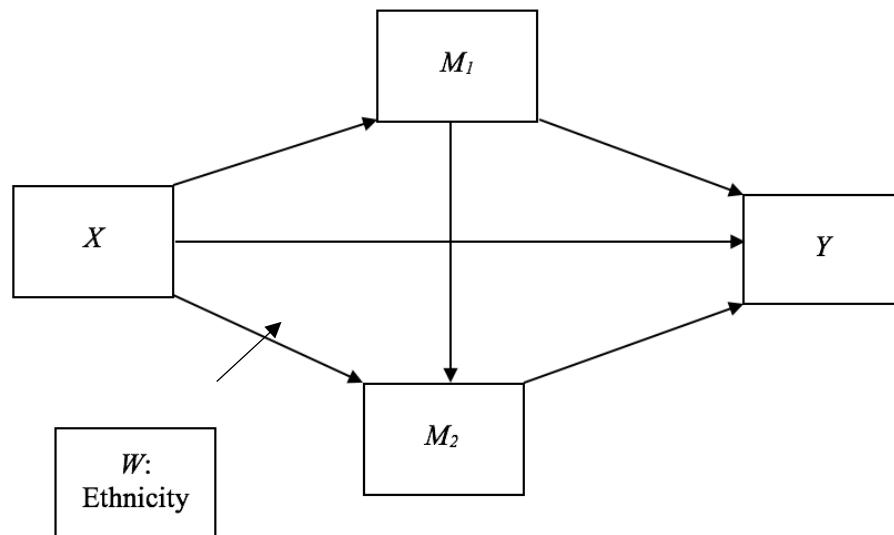
Name	Gender	Age	Ethnic/Cultural Background
Michelle	Woman	20	Métis, Ukrainian
Alicia	Woman	18	Ukrainian, Norwegian, Polish, American
Joe	Man	19	Cree
Mike	Man	20	Scottish, Polish, Welsh, Ukrainian
Laura	Woman	19	Métis, British
Rachel	Woman	19	Scottish
John	Man	20	First Nations, Swedish, & Trinidadian
Adrian	Man	19	Russian, German
Kayla	Woman	21	Swampy Cree
Jake	Man	22	Canadian, Russian Mennonite, French
Mitchell	Man	18	Cree
Casey	Woman	18	Finnish
Karen	Woman	18	French Canadian, Hungarian

Note. The ethnic/cultural backgrounds presented are those that the student self-identified with.

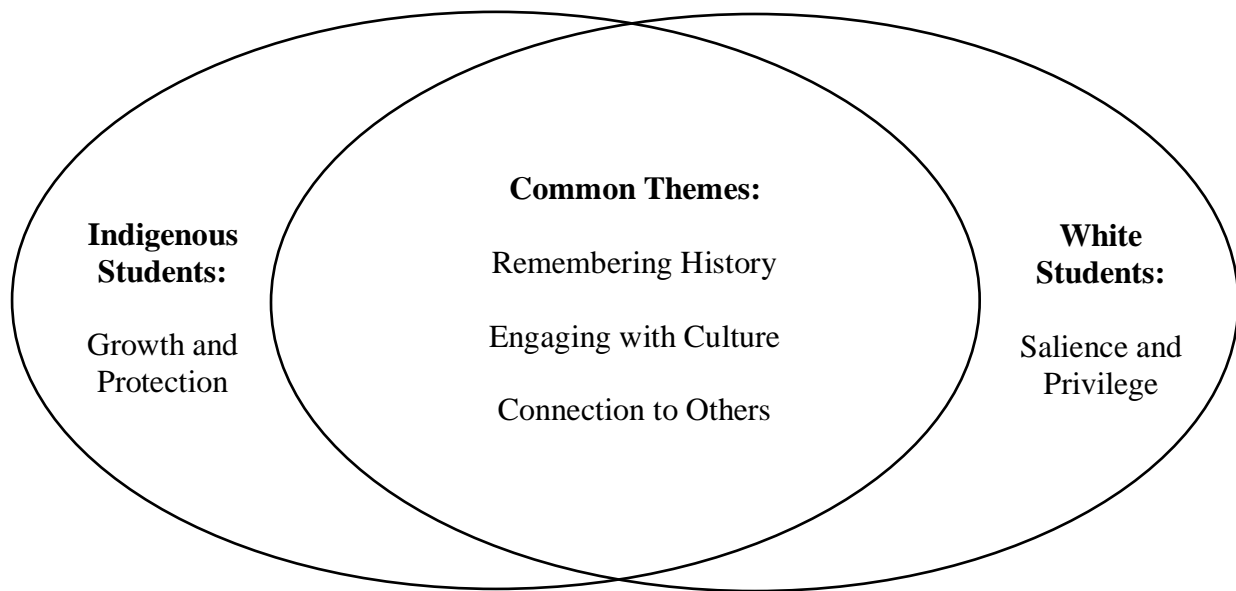
[Table 16](#)*Participants' Views on Reconciliation Over Time Graph*

Participant	10 Years Ago	5 Years Ago	Today	5 Years From Today	10 Years From Today	Past Progress	Future Progress	Change (Overall)
1: Michelle	1.0	1.6	2.8	3.2	3.8	+1.8	+1.0	+2.8
2: Alicia	2.0	2.6	3.3	3.9	4.2	+1.3	+0.9	+2.2
3: Joe	1.0	1.1	2.3	3.6	4.4	+1.3	+2.1	+3.4
4: Mike	1.0	1.5	2.3	3.7	4.1	+1.3	+1.8	+3.1
5: Laura	2.1	3.3	4.2	5.0	5.4	+2.1	+1.2	+3.3
6: Rachel	1.0	2.1	3.1	4.0	4.1	+2.1	+1.0	+3.1
7: John	2.0	2.9	3.5	4.2	4.4	+1.5	+0.9	+2.4
8: Adrian	2.0	2.4	2.9	3.4	3.9	+0.9	+1.0	+1.9
9: Kayla	1.0	1.3	2.1	2.9	3.5	+1.1	+1.4	+2.5
10: Jake	1.0	2.0	2.4	2.6	3.6	+1.4	+1.2	+2.6
11: Mitchell	1.9	2.5	2.8	3.1	3.6	+0.9	+0.8	+1.7
12: Casey	1.5	2.3	3.3	3.6	4.8	+1.8	+1.5	+3.3
13: Karen	1.0	1.6	2.0	2.4	2.8	+1.0	+0.8	+1.8
<i>M</i> (Indigenous)	1.5	2.1	3.0	3.7	4.2	+1.5	+1.2	+2.7
<i>M</i> (White)	1.4	2.1	2.8	3.4	3.9	+1.4	+1.2	+2.6
<i>M</i> (Women)	1.4	2.1	3.0	3.6	4.1	+1.6	+1.1	+2.7
<i>M</i> (Men)	1.5	2.1	2.7	3.4	4.0	+1.2	+1.3	+2.5

Note. Values range from 1-Extremely Negative to 5-Extremely Positive. Values are approximate, as some participants drew dots (rather than a line) that did not perfectly line up with each axis point. The Past Progress score was calculated by subtracting the participants "10 Years Ago" score from their "Today" score. The Future Progress prediction score was calculated by subtracting "Today" from "10 Years From Today." Change (Overall) was calculated by subtracting participants' "10 Years Ago" score from "10 Years From Today."



[*Figure 1.*](#) Mediation/moderation diagram (Model 92; Hayes, 2018). In the hypothesized model, either perceptions of reconciliation progress with the public or government was entered as X , cultural respect as M_1 , intergroup trust as M_2 , and either attitudes toward reconciliation or psychological well-being was entered as Y . In the alternative model, cultural respect was entered as X , intergroup trust as M_1 , either perceptions of reconciliation progress with the public or government as M_2 , and either attitudes toward reconciliation or psychological well-being was entered as Y . Ethnicity was entered as a moderator at all pathways (coded Indigenous = 1, non-Indigenous = 2).



[*Figure 2.*](#) Main emergent themes for the meaning of cultural identity among students.

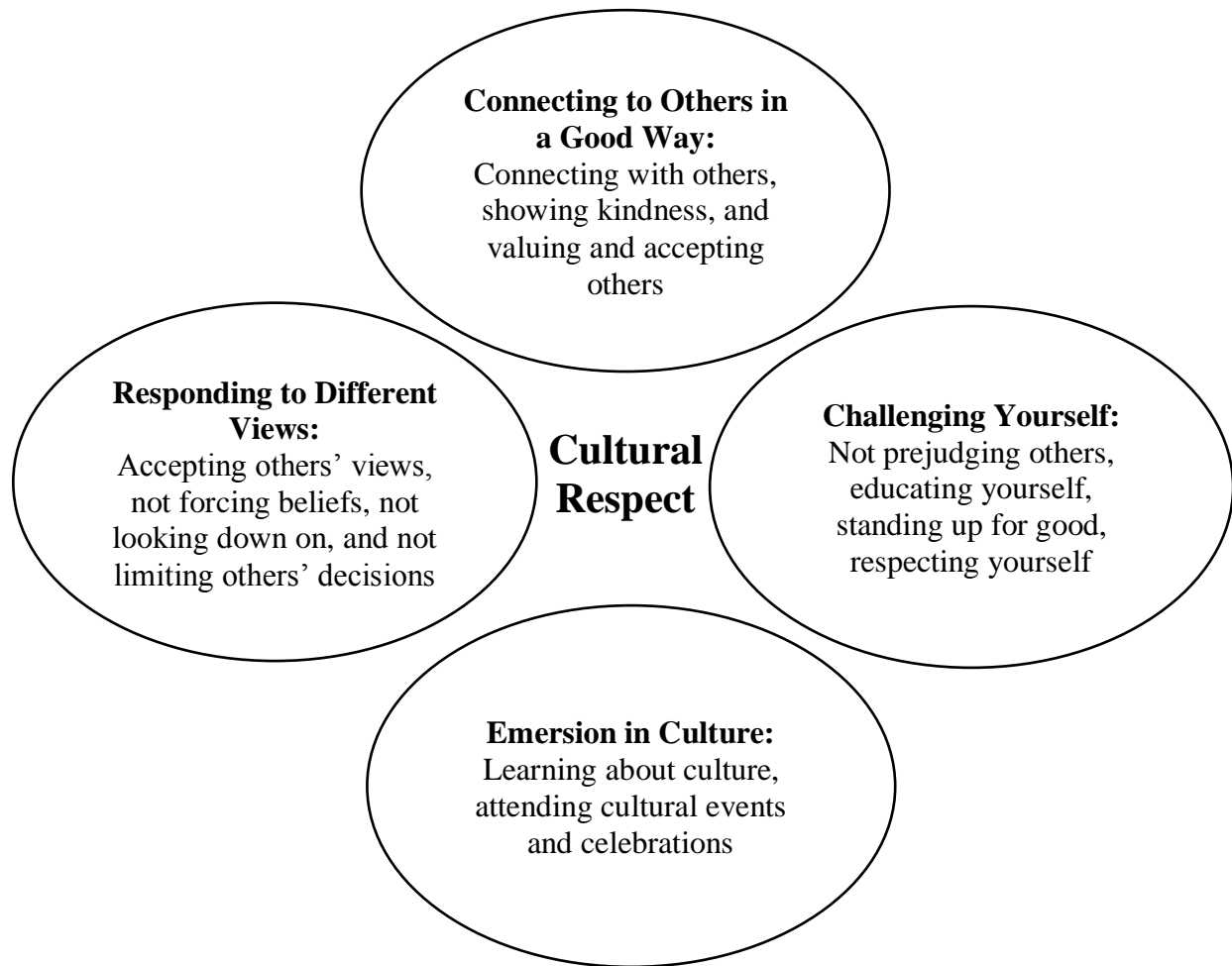


Figure 3. Main themes and subthemes for the meaning of cultural respect.

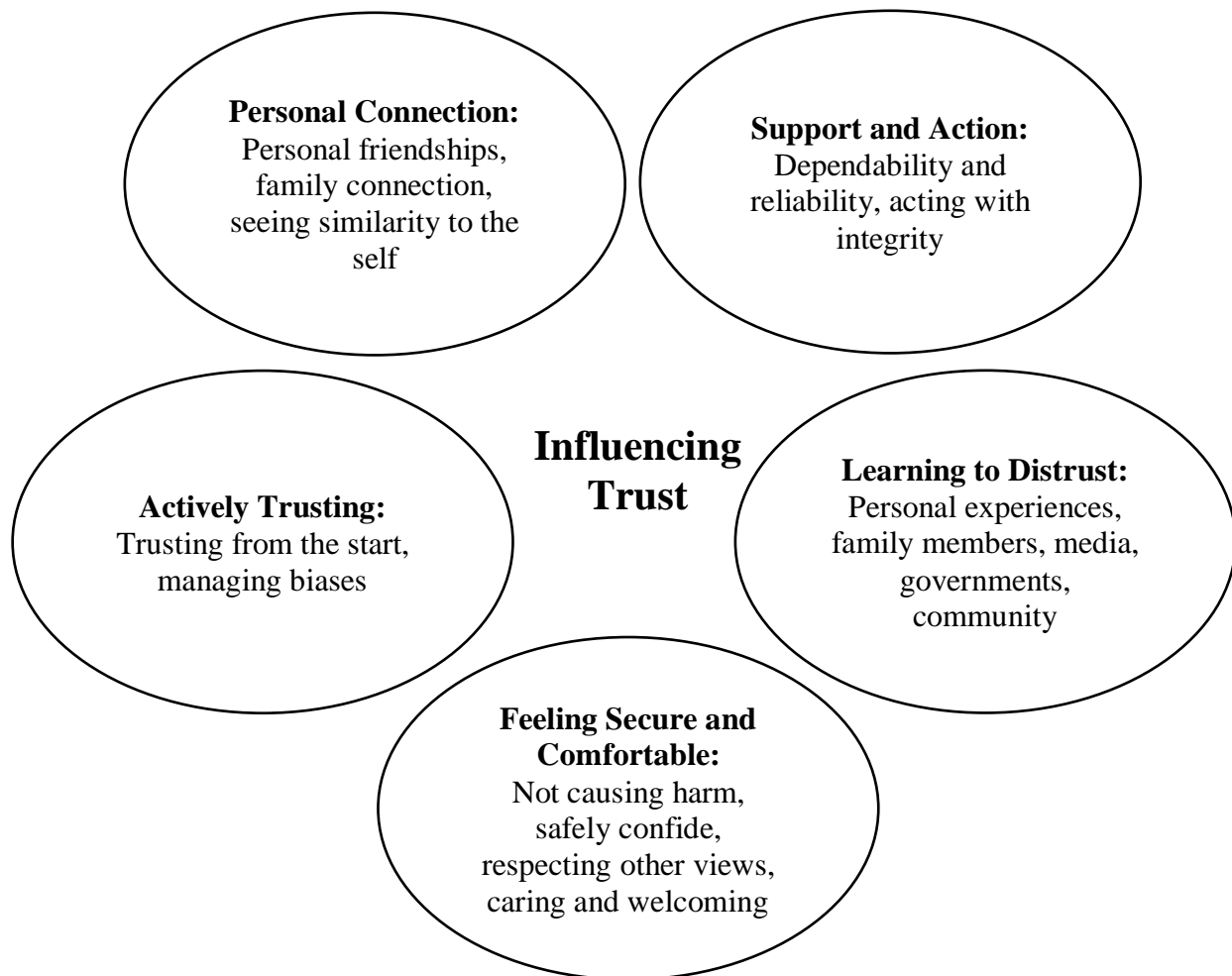


Figure 4. Main themes and subthemes for influencing trust.

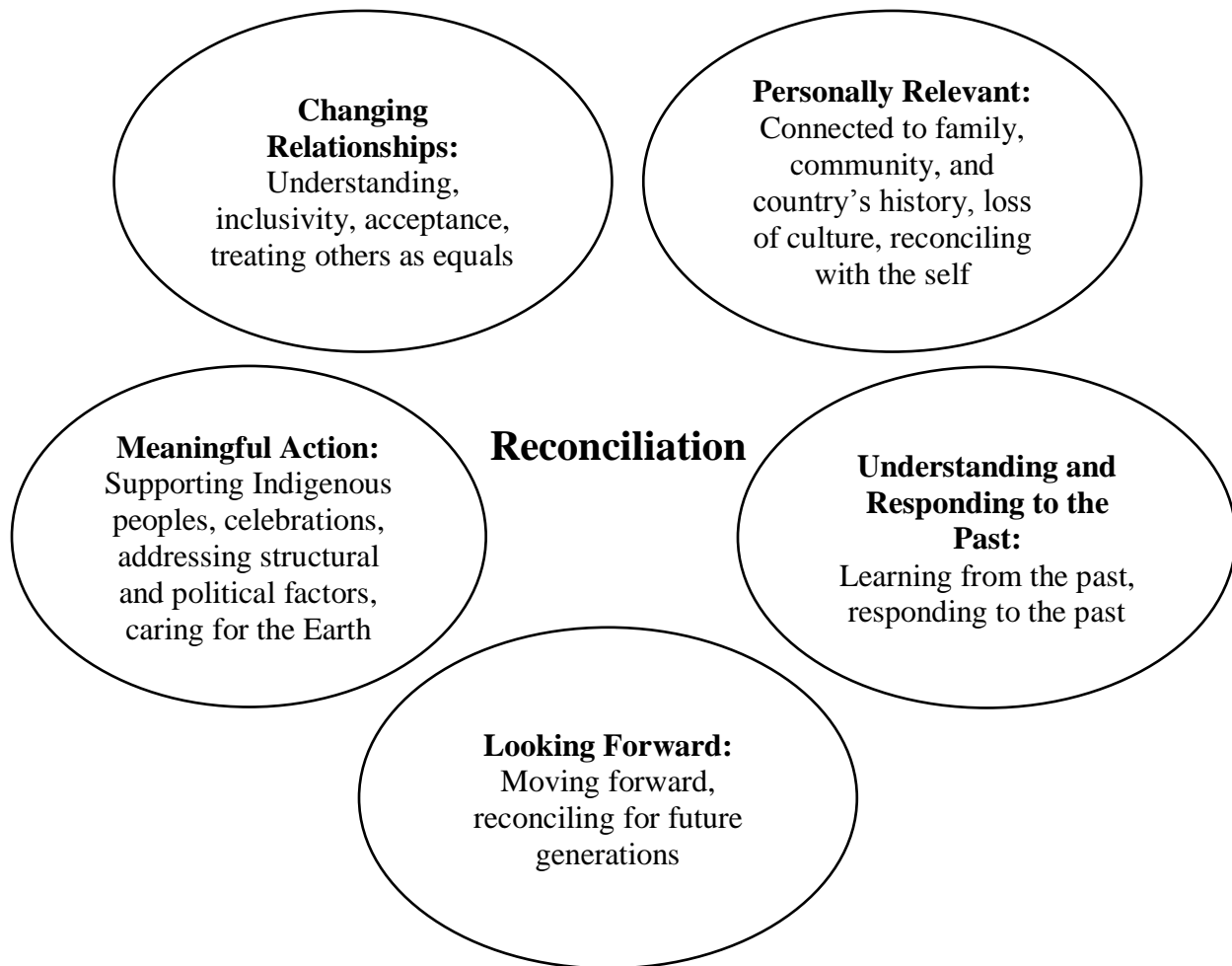


Figure 5. Main themes and subthemes for perspectives on reconciliation.

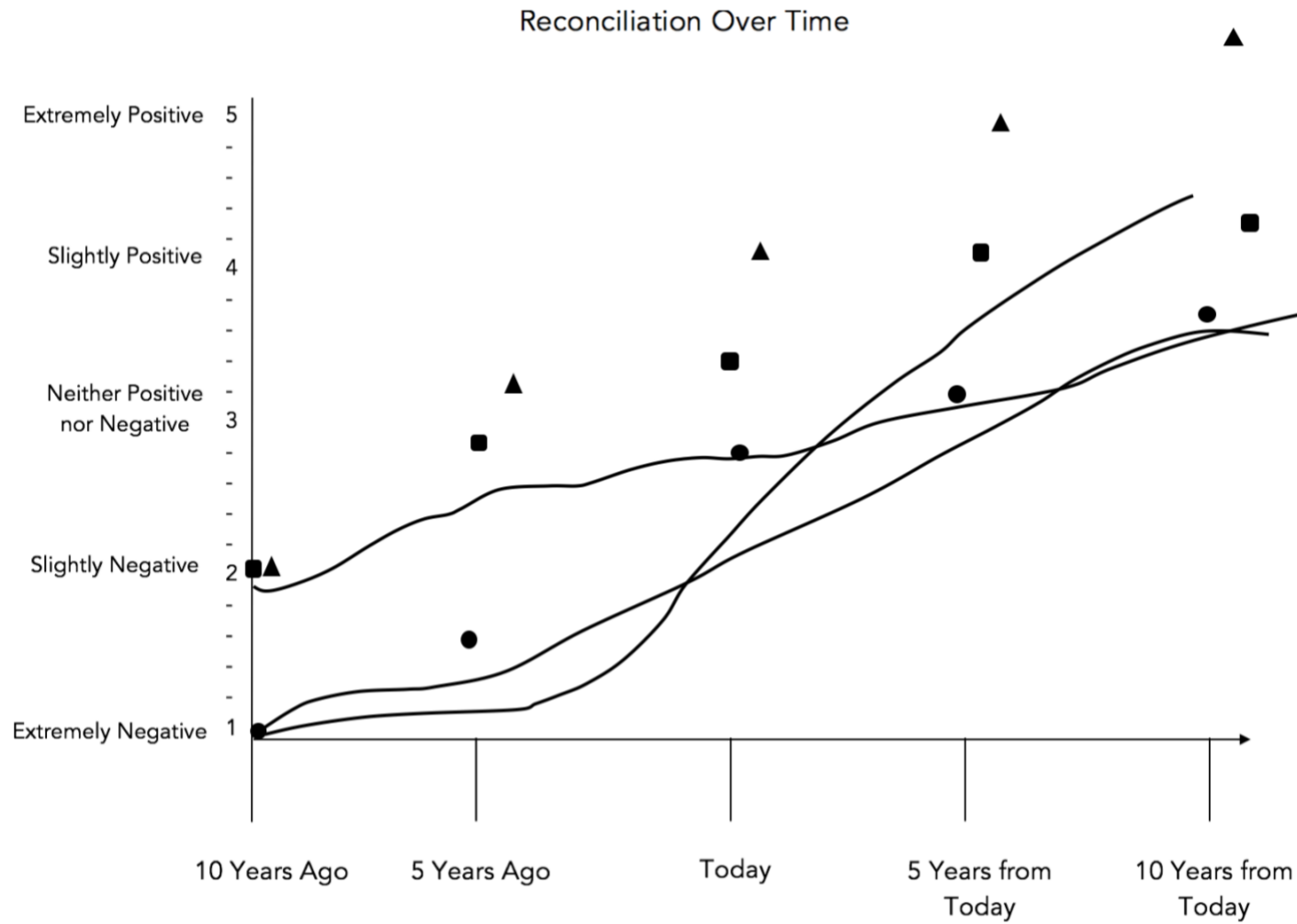
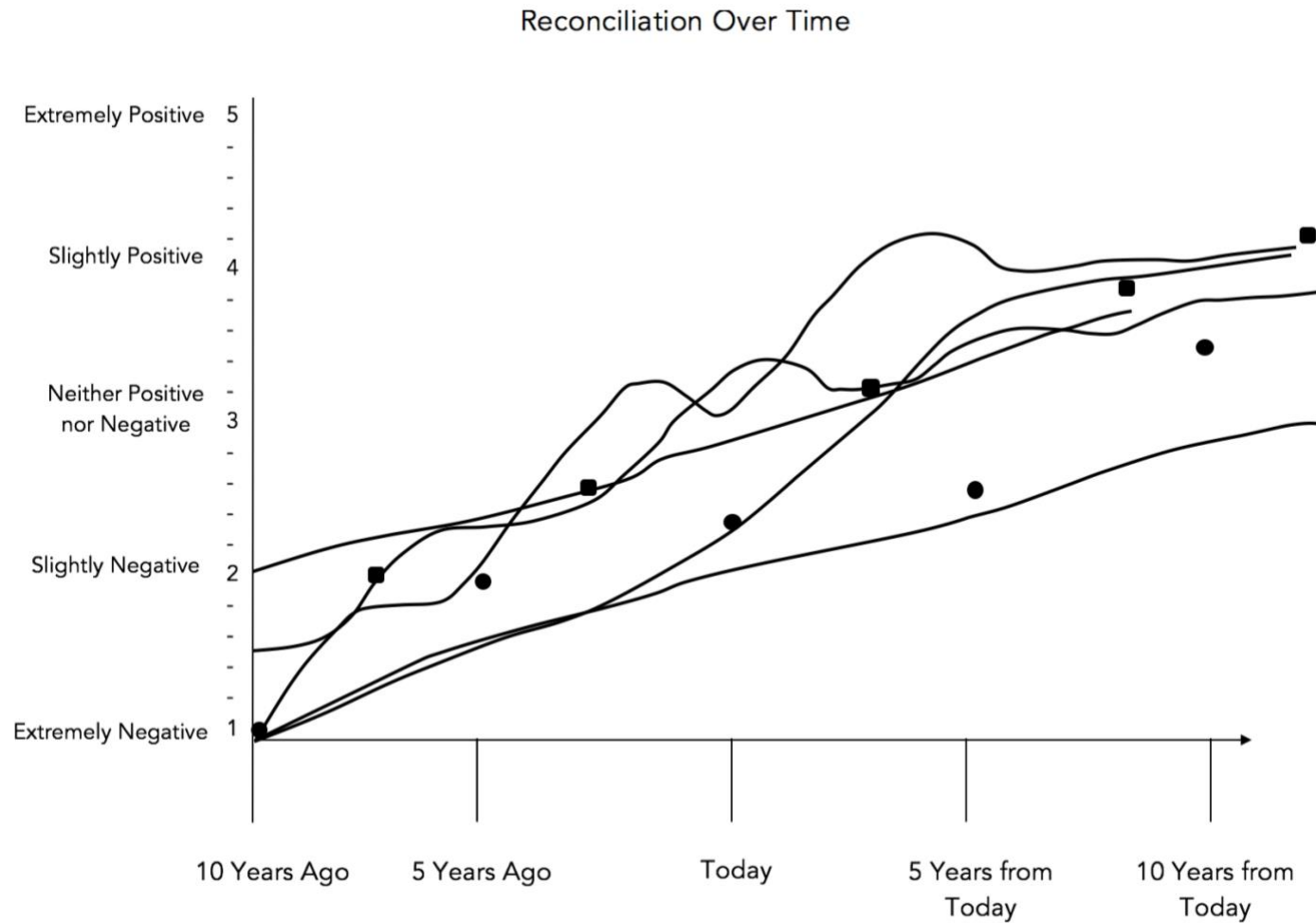
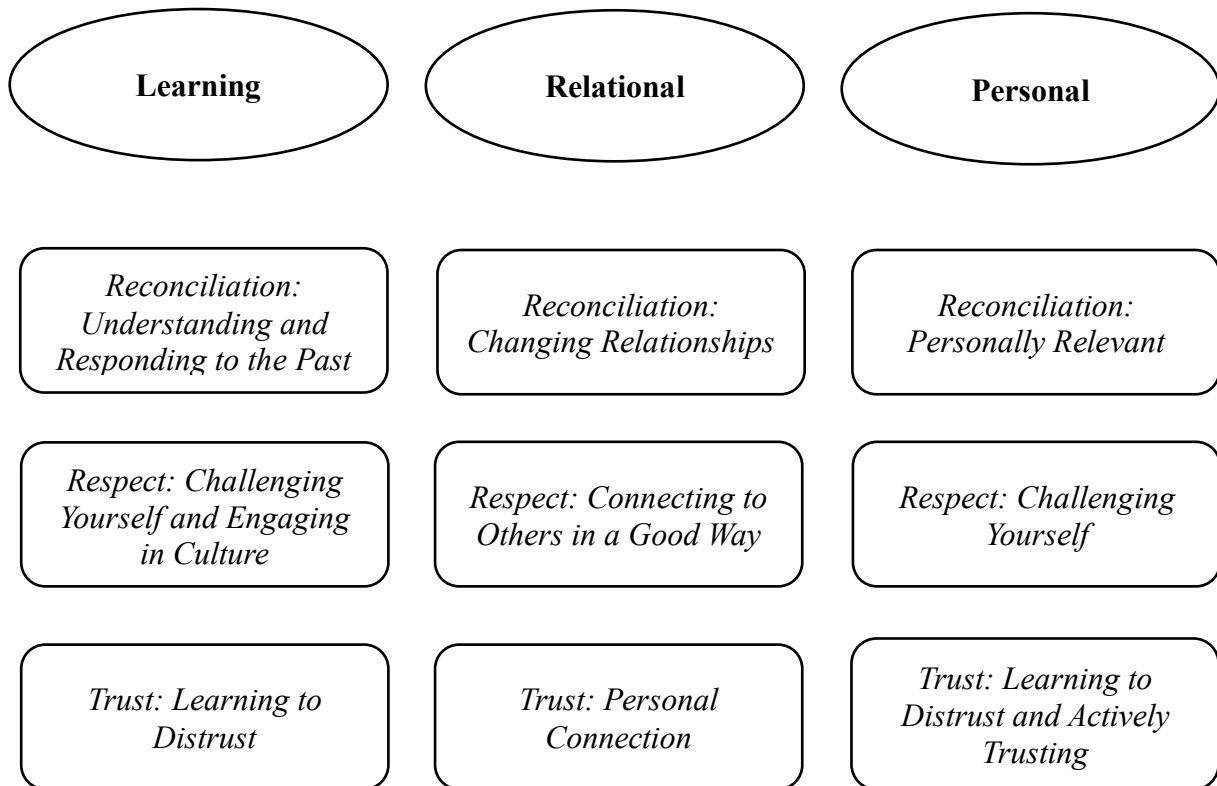


Figure 6. Reconciliation Over Time Graph (Indigenous participants). Some students drew dots (instead of lines), which have been replaced with shapes to distinguish between participants.



[Figure 7](#). Reconciliation Over Time (White participants). Some students drew dots (instead of lines), which have been replaced with shapes to distinguish between participants.



[Figure 8.](#) Main core themes across reconciliation, respect, and trust.

[Appendix A](#)**INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM**

Reconciliation, Cultural Respect, and Intergroup Trust Among University Students

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Thank you for your interest in this study! The purpose of this study is to learn about perceptions of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples in Canada, what influences intergroup trust, and what cultural respect means among students. This study is a part of Aleah Fontaine's master's thesis, and is supervised by Dr. Katherine Starzyk. In this study, you will be asked to provide demographic information (e.g., gender, ethnicity) and share your thoughts about perceptions of reconciliation, intergroup trust, and cultural respect in an interview. This interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed word-for-word. We expect the study to last less than 1 ½ hours.

Please read this consent form carefully, but understand that it is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to contact Aleah Fontaine or Dr. Starzyk.

Please take time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

All of the information we collect is completely confidential, meaning only members of the Social Justice Laboratory will normally have access to it. Aside from our laboratory, the University of Manitoba may also look at the research records to see that the research is done in a safe and proper way. We will remove all directly identifying information (i.e., name, contact information) from the data files (e.g., transcriptions) and assign a fictitious name to protect the identity of those who participate. We will keep the anonymous version of the data following the end of the study in password-protected files that are on password-protected computers in locked rooms, likely indefinitely.

We may present the findings of this study at academic conferences or submit a manuscript or other written work based on this study for publication. We may also draft publicly accessible summaries of our findings or report on our research to university organizations. In doing so, we will only report the summary statistics and themes. We will never publish quotations of any one person, unless you have given us permission to do so. We may also review the collected data to inform the direction of new studies.

There are a couple potential benefits to participating. First, if you consent to participate, you will receive compensation in the form of either 3 research participation credits (for the PSYC 1200 course requirement), or a \$15 gift card. If you withdraw partway during the study, you will still receive this compensation. You will also learn first-hand about research in Social and Personality Psychology at the

University of Manitoba.

For most participants, the potential risks of participating will likely be similar to discussing social issues with others in everyday life. For some, however, answering questions about reconciliation may cause them to reflect on negative experiences which may lead to feelings of distress. We apologize for any negative feelings you may experience, and emphasize that you may refrain from answering any questions or withdraw for any reason, without consequence.

We will provide information about resources you may access (e.g., information about the Student Counselling Centre, cultural resources, help-lines) at the end of the study.

The Psychology/Sociology Research Ethics Board has approved this research. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact Dr. Starzyk; alternatively, you may contact the Human Ethics Secretariat at +1 204 474-7122, or e-mail humanethics@umanitoba.ca.

Now it is time for you to decide whether you want to participate in this study. By providing your consent below you will indicate that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in this research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. You should only provide your consent if you agree to participate with full knowledge of the study presented to you in this information and consent form and of your own free will.

It is possible that we will want to quote some of what participants say in publications and presentations. How would you like us to treat your information? (*Please check one*)

I do not agree to be quoted: _____

I agree to be quoted, with general descriptors (e.g., 1st Year Métis woman, 23): _____

I would like **research participation credits / a gift card**. (*Please circle one*)

If you would like to participate in this study, please provide your name, the date, and your signature below:

Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature: _____

Would you like a copy of the interview transcription? **Yes / No**

If you would like a summary of the findings (available approximately 09/2019), please provide your email address: _____

Appendix B

Demographic Questionnaire

1.) What is your gender? (*Please circle*)

Male

Female

Nonbinary

2.) What is your age? _

3.) What is your ethnic identity? 'Ethnicity' refers to the ethnic or cultural origins of your ancestors (e.g., Cree, English). An ancestor is usually more distant than a grandparent.

4.) What city or community are you originally from?

5.) How long have you lived in Winnipeg for?

6.) What year are you in your studies? _

7.) What program are you in (or considering entering)?

Appendix C

Interview Protocol:

Reconciliation Progress

Thank you again for agreeing to share your thoughts with me today! One of the topics that we will start off with discussing is reconciliation with Indigenous peoples in Canada. Now talk about reconciliation has increased over the last several years, particularly in response to increased awareness of the Residential School System and the harmful impact this has had on Indigenous peoples, families, and communities. For over 100 years and until as recently as the mid 1990s, Indigenous children had been removed from their families and sent to institutions called Residential Schools. These schools were government-funded and primarily run by churches, and were created for the purpose of eliminating parental involvement in the spiritual, cultural, and intellectual development of Indigenous children. In this chapter in Canadian history, more than 150, 000 First Nations, Métis, and Inuit children were forced to attend these schools, some of which were hundreds of miles from their home. The cumulative impact of Residential Schools has been a legacy of unresolved trauma passed from generation to generation. This has had a profound effect on the relationship between Indigenous peoples and other Canadians.

1. The concept of ‘reconciliation’ may mean different things to different people, because we all come from different backgrounds and have had a range of life experiences. When you think about reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, what are some of the things that first come to mind? *Prompts if needed:*
 - a. What does reconciliation mean to you?
 - b. Can you tell me more about that?
 - c. Why is this part of reconciliation important to you?

(for graph)

I am also interested in how people feel the state of reconciliation has improved or worsened over time. I have a graph here: if you look on the vertical axis, some people might see the state of reconciliation as extremely or slightly positive, as being neither positive nor negative, or as slightly or extremely negative. The bottom axis is intended to measure how you perceive the state of reconciliation has changed over time, from 10 years ago, to 5, to the present day today, as well as your thoughts about what the state of reconciliation will be in the next 5 to 10 years.

2. Now when you think about reconciliation progress, how do you think it has changed over the last few years? You can use this pen to show me on the graph.
 - a. Why do you feel the state of reconciliation has gotten [better/worse/stayed the same]?
 - b. What do you think the state of reconciliation will be in the future? Why do you think it will get [better/worse/stay the same]?
 - c. When you think about the state of reconciliation [progressing/staying the same/getting worse], how does that make you feel?

(Extra prompting questions)

3. *How well do you think others in Canada understand the history of Residential Schools?*

- a. *Why do you think that?*
 - b. *Why do you think people are or are not aware?*
- 4. *Do you think the Government of Canada is making meaningful amends for what happened in Residential Schools?*
 - a. *Have you heard or seen any reconciliation efforts?*

Intergroup Trust

Now, I'd like to talk a bit about your own feelings and attitudes toward [Indigenous/non-Indigenous] peoples in Canada. Please remember that there are no right or wrong answers to these questions, as nearly everyone has good and bad things to say about people from other social groups. I am simply interested in people's personal opinions and attitudes.

1. First, when you think about feeling trust toward others, what does this mean to you?
 - a. Can you tell me more about that?
2. In general, how trustworthy do you see [Indigenous/non-Indigenous] leaders?
 - a. Why do you feel this way?
 - b. When [Indigenous/non-Indigenous] leaders talk about wanting to reconcile, how much do you believe them?
 - c. Can you tell me more about that?
3. Now thinking about people in Canada more generally, how have your own experiences influenced your feelings of trust toward [Indigenous/non-Indigenous] peoples?
 - a. Can you tell me more about that?
 - b. How did that experience make you feel?

Cultural Respect

In this last part of the interview, I'd like to learn a little more about you personally and your experiences in life. I am going to ask you questions about how you feel about yourself and your culture, your life, and your general well-being.

1. First, when you think about culture, which one or ones do you identify with? For example, I myself am both Indigenous (Anishinaabe) through my father's family, as well as White (English, Scottish, German, and Welch) through my mother's side.
 - a. What does your cultural identity mean to you?
 - b. In what ways do you feel (e.g., Cree)?
2. Now, I'd like to speak about what it means to feel like others respect your culture. First, when you think about respect, what comes to mind?
 - a. What does respect mean to you?
 - b. Do you feel others in Canada respect people from your culture?
 - c. Why do you feel this way?
3. Can you recall a time when you felt your culture was valued or respected by others?
 - a. Can you tell me more about that?
 - b. How did that make you feel?
 - c. How do you think this may affect your well-being?
4. When you think about showing respect for peoples' culture, what other things come to mind?
 - a. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

Appendix D

Reconciliation Over Time

