

Dän K'e: Resiliency in Male Southern Tutchone Youth

by

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Bachelor of Sport & Fitness Leadership, Camosun College, 2015.

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Abstract

It is commonly understood that loss of lands, forced relocation, residential schools as well as, an over-representation of Indigenous peoples in the child welfare and justice system due to the past 150 years of colonization has adversely affected the mental health and wellbeing of Indigenous peoples across Canada. As a result, the link between intergenerational trauma, colonization, and its impact on Indigenous peoples suggests that conducting research in this area may reveal several experiences, reflections and insights about the resilience of Indigenous peoples. Research about the inclusion of tribal Indigenous practices and land-based practices have been found to support positive mental health and build resilience. This study explored the concept of resilience as it pertained to the lived experiences of different generations of Southern Tutchone males living within a Yukon community. This study employed a case study approach underpinned by an Indigenous heuristic framework and informed by Indigenous ways of doing, knowing and being. Semi-structured interviews were used with Elders and youth to consider the relationship between land-based practices (LBP) and how to build resilient Southern Tutchone men. This study highlighted the importance of land as a teacher, and the need for Southern Tutchone male youth to reconnect with Elders on the land and to learn what it means to thrive as a Southern Tutchone man. Moreover, resilience was seen through a community lens rather than an individual one by these Southern Tutchone peoples.

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Sháw Nithán

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this research to those who came before us and those who will come after us. This work would not be possible without the knowledge of our Elders and our youth. I dedicate this work to my mother and father, who provided me with the strength of past knowledge and for teaching me to live a tribal lifestyle. Although, you walk in spirit world, mom, your impact is still being felt and your memory will continue to be with me along with your many teachings.

Chapter 1 – Introduction

The disruption of Indigenous peoples' mental health is a consequence of a number of socially traumatic events since the time of colonization. Loss of land, forced relocation, residential schooling resulting in the loss of language and culture, as well as, an over-representation of Indigenous people in the child welfare and justice system have all negatively impacted Indigenous peoples' mental health (Duran, Duran, Brave Heart, & Yellow Horse-Davis, 1998). Furthermore, the forced removal of 150,000 Indigenous children from their homes into residential schools by the Canadian Government was a *civilising process* based on a policy of assimilation to integrate Indigenous peoples into a colonial society (Jones 2010). Residential schooling has had an adverse effect on Indigenous peoples, in that the survivors were deprived of healthy parenting role models, and these children became parents that suffered from a weakened ability to care for their children (Shangreaux, 2004). In 2016, half of all children in foster care in Canada were Indigenous (approx. 14,200) (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Connected to this crisis of care has been an epidemic of Indigenous youth suicide (Wexler, 2014). In Canada, Indigenous peoples have tremendously high rates of suicide compared to other populations. This disparity is found among young men (aged 15-25), who have a rate of suicide five times higher than the non-Indigenous population (Health Canada, 2010). The loss of culture and language, exposure to trauma and other forms of micro-aggressions, as well as the loss of family connection, have all been linked to the increased suicide risk factor (Isaak et al., 2010). A study by Chandler and Lalonde revealed, however, that “cultural continuity”, which is the learning of tribal identity and

creating connections to past knowledge, can be a protective factor against suicide (2008, p. 4). More recently, culturally-based interventions have suggested that increasing levels of resilience can have a positive affect on the mental health of individuals (Ritchie et al., 2014; Wexler et al., 2014). These culturally-based interventions not only integrate cultural teachings and land-based activity to formulate culturally relevant mental health interventions, they also promote the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples by moving from a position of languishing mental health to one of flourishing mental health. For example, land-based practices (LBP) represent the cultural connection to lands and place because Indigenous people with stronger cultural identities have been shown to have a stronger and more secure mental health (Chandler & Lalonde, 2008).

Resilience is also seen as an important social and cultural attribute for maintaining and promoting youth mental health, acting as a protective buffer to potential threats to wellbeing over time and during periods of transition (Khanlou & Wray, 2014). Ritchie et al. (2014) explored resilience among youth and found that a ten day tribal journey positively increased resiliency among Indigenous youth for a short period of time (three-months post intervention). While the findings were short-term, the implications of this study highlighted land-based cultural teachings as promising practices for enhancing resilience (Ritchie et al., 2014). Interestingly enough, although many Indigenous communities integrate cultural teachings within culture based-camps, many have not framed or interpreted these camps as a means to building resilience. The primary emphasis of culture-based camps is to include LBP as a medium for cultural teachings, and as a way to educate youth in tribal ways of doing, knowing and being. Although, resilience has been defined as “adaptations in response to challenges that leave the

individual or system stronger than before” (Khanlou & Wray, 2014, p. 47) the experiences associated with LBP complement this definition, and is one that Indigenous communities appear open to exploring how Indigenous families and communities prosper (Nystad, Spein, & Ingstad, 2014).

Presently there is an emerging, but rather small literature base, related to Indigenous teachings associated with resilience (Isaak et al., 2015; Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, & Williamson, 2011; Wexler, 2014). For example, there appears to be only one study that has explored resiliency and LBP through outdoor adventure (Ritchie et al., 2015). Indigenous male youth are often disproportionately represented across many mental health statistics, suggesting that research of this nature is necessary. Today, the debilitating legacy of colonization and intergenerational trauma has left many Indigenous male youth confused about their roles as men, community members and providers (Antone, 2015).

Most of the Canadian research to date has been conducted in Southern Canadian communities, with very little research making any mention of the Northern communities, namely Yukon. Yukon Indigenous peoples have a more recent history of colonization that does not stem as far back as other parts of Southern Canada; therefore it may be suggested that tribal knowledge pertaining to Yukon First Nations should be more intact. The Yukon is home to eleven self-governing First Nation communities (Franklin, 2008), but similar to the paucity of research exploring the relationship between culture-based camps and resilience through the lens of Indigenous male youth.

Over the past 15-20 years cultural pathways, interventions, initiatives, and programs aimed at enhancing resiliency and positive mental health among youth have

emerged through a process of revitalizing Indigenous peoples' identity, culture, and languages (Isaak et al., 2016; Ritchie et al., 2015; Wexler et al., 2014,). Aligned with this development, cultural meanings, symbols, and representations of resilience within the context of current cultural practices, such as LBP, provide an opportunity to align the mental health of Indigenous youth more holistically as well as relationally.

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to explore resilience through an Indigenous lens, by engaging community stakeholders involved in cultural LBP. The overarching aim was to understand how to use cultural LBP (cultural revitalization) to increase resilience. The following specific research questions were explored from the male Indigenous youth perspective.

Research Questions

- 1) What is the concept of resilience in Southern Tutchone culture from a Male perspective?
- 2) How does LBP contribute to resiliency and build positive mental health?

Operational Definitions

Indigenous represents the overarching term that encompasses Indian, Metis, Inuit, Native or Aboriginal which is considered inclusive enough to encompass a growing resurgence of knowledge that encompasses the underlying systemic knowledge bases of the original peoples of the world (Wilson, 2008).

Land-based practice (LBP) includes a variety of activities (e.g., hunting, fishing, gathering, and spiritual ceremony) that engage Indigenous peoples on land and water for sustenance and spirituality (King & Furgal, 2014).

Outdoor Education is defined in traditional terms as observing natural processes, adapting modes of survival, obtaining sustenance from the plant and animal world, and using natural materials to make tools and implements. All of this is made understandable through demonstration and observation accompanied by thoughtful stories in which the lessons were imbedded (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005, p. 3).

Mental health one aspect of the holistic representation of health in the Indigenous perspective; others include physical, emotional, and spiritual (Lavallée & Levesque, 2007).

Resiliency is a fluid and dynamic process dependant on social, cultural, and familial factors (Khanlou & Wray, 2014).

Holistic is defined as all aspects of health that are intertwined, which includes mental, physical, spiritual, and emotional (Lavallée & Levesque, 2007).

Tribal incorporates the knowledge specific to this particular First Nation group opposed to traditional, which insinuates a colonial perspective on Indigenous knowledge.

Youth - Indigenous peoples typically define youth as ages 14-29 and thus this age range was adopted to define youth in this study (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2011).

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review explores notions of resilience through LBP and its relationship to youth mental health. Resilience has been identified as a critical aspect of mental health (Khanzlou & Wray, 2014). Four views have been highlighted as contributing to the resilience of Indigenous youth in the literature, the first is the importance of strengthening Indigenous languages and culture. Over the past nine years, a reduction in Indigenous youth suicide rates has been attributed to an increase in the uptake of Indigenous language and culture (Chandler & Lalonde, 2008). Second, the use of LBP to help strengthen one's identity as an Indigenous man has been around since time immemorial (Antone, 2015; Healey, Noah, & Mearns, 2016). LBPs such as hunting, and paddling trips also allow Indigenous male youth to reconnect with their tribal ways, and to embody what it means to be Indigenous. Third, Elders, as knowledge keepers, play an important role in teaching youth how to respect what the land provides and to understand their unique role of being a man within their own families and community (Antone, 2015). Finally, Indigenous approaches to healing suggest that the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual dimensions or attributes are all interconnected and inextricably linked to wellbeing (Lavallée & Levesque, 2007).

This review of literature also aims to critique what is known about the determinants of Indigenous youth mental health; identifying interventions that embody these views and what Indigenous youth in a variety of communities say about the need to be resilient. In addition, the review will provide useful information about how resilience is represented within Indigenous contexts and

the potential social mechanisms, through which cultural teachings and LBP could enhance resilience, contributing to positive mental health among young Indigenous males.

Resiliency and Indigenous Perspectives

Despite the Canadian government's assimilative policies and practises aimed at *civilising* Indigenous peoples, many Indigenous ways of doing, knowing, and being have been maintained through the self-determination and resiliency of Elder's commitment to building healthy, prosperous and thriving communities (Isaak et al., 2015; Wexler, 2009). Therefore, resilience from a community perspective, may well be considered as an important social marker, influence or driver in helping to support or strengthen Indigenous health from a collective, rather than individual standpoint. This approach also builds on the idea that an individual's health is stronger, or more resilient, within a community, and that early exposure to collective forms of resilience allows for a *health promoting step* that comes with lifelong benefits (Khanzlou & Wray, 2014).

Kirmayer, Dandeneau, Marshall, Phillips, & Williamson (2011) explored community understandings about resilience with several different Canadian First Nations. For example, in the Mik'maq nation, resilience was based on the foundations of forgiveness and reconciliation stemming from treaties and restorative justice. In Quebec, the Kahnawake Mohawk Nation indicated that cultural values from creation stories have provided resources for resiliency. Finally, the Inuit of the subarctic found resilience in the revitalization of their

language and lands. These cultural examples of resilience provide a basis for strengthening resiliency among Indigenous populations and that the value of resiliency has been recognized and included in cultural practises for many generations. This must be respected and acknowledged when working in Indigenous communities because cultural and historical backgrounds provide the identity that so urgently needs to be renewed in the youth of today.

A study by Allen et al. (2014) outlines a heuristic methodology, that positions youth and their perceptions of resiliency through culturally-informed pathways that attribute to ideas of resiliency. The methodology has contextual factors such as traditions, cultures, youth influence, colonial legacy, and social transition. These contextual factors are mediated by family, institutions, and community.

Similarly, this model provides a context to the ecological factors that create a resilience-based strategy for building mental health through resilience. Another model describing the influences of resilience, depicts a sliding scale of influences moving between resilience and vulnerability (Ulturgasheva et al., 2014, p. 745-748). The “sliding scale” model shows that resilience is adaptive and that positive or negative influences moves individuals along the continuum between vulnerability and resilience. These influences are based on adversity and resilience building through family and culture-based activity that promote resilience. Both models highlight contextual factors that influence resilience positively and negatively, and both take into consideration the cultural and family influences.

However, these models do not provide gendered contexts, which in Indigenous traditions are important to self-identity and purpose within the community.

The concept of resilience as seen through the eyes of different genders appears limited in previous research, however, articles that do exist point to the effects of colonialism in changing perceptions on genders. Antone (2015) suggested that the different roles that men and women played in their respective communities were distorted by colonial masculinity. With more contact, both men and women became disoriented and struggled to find their place amongst the oppressive forces. It has also been suggested that there was a difference in the roles that women played in community and as a consequence they were more resilient than men. The gender difference in male resilience stems from a pan-Indigenous view that women are the stronger of the two genders and are better equipped to deal with adversity (Isaak et al., 2015). In Canadian Indigenous culture, women are the nurturing and emotional value-based foundation of family and community, as well as the key cultural transmitters of beliefs and customs to upcoming generations (Guimond et al., 2008). Alternatively, men were seen as the main protectors and providers for their families and community (Antone, 2016). However, with the disruption of these identities, Indigenous males were, and are, now portrayed as aggressors, violent, and dangers to society (Antone, 2016). A study by Vinyeta, Whyte & Lynn (2016) revealed that gender vulnerability needs to be addressed to change the gender-based violence and oppression that Indigenous men have been associated with. This is done by re-establishing the

tribal gendered perspective and promotes resurgence of tribal and cultural knowledge (Vinyeta et al., 2017).

Indigenous language is an important aspect of maintaining cultural traditions through song and communication (McIvor, Napoleon, & Dickie, 2009). The resiliency of language is also essential to the survival of Indigenous peoples, and their cultural heritage. The collective accumulation of tribal knowledge is achieved through language, and if culture persists, it is due to the preservation of language (McIvor et al., 2009). Much of Indigenous history and song is expressed through language, and each Indigenous language gives meaning to their own unique places (Nystad et al., 2014; Rasmus, Allen, & Ford, 2014). The knowledge of tribal language also plays a critical role in the cultural continuity and resilience of community (Nystad et al., 2014). For the Sami, the Indigenous peoples of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, language is tied to the enculturation of resilience through wedding ceremonies, naming ceremonies, and kinship (Nystad, 2014). This cultural practice is also found among many other different Indigenous groups around the world. Indeed, resiliency is readily visible in many Indigenous communities and is consistently activated through a process of cultural encounter with the natural world (Kirmayer et al., 2011).

Culture-based Interventions for Mental Health

Indigenous peoples are diverse, and their cultures vary, therefore culturally tailored programs are important for program effectiveness and acceptance (Betancourt, Green, Carrillo, & Ananeh-Firempong, 2003; Whaley & Davis,

2007). The increasing demand for culture-based programming when dealing with mental health among youth has been a major development within Indigenous communities. Several studies have shown that an increase in cultural awareness has resulted in an increase in positive mental health (Chandler & Lalonde, 2008; Kral & Idlout, 2009). It has also been suggested that the culturally relevant activities like LBP enhance the connection to lands, spirit, and ancestors (Dylan & Smallboy, 2016). Connection to the land, spirit, and ancestors have not only been a cultural practice for generations, it was the way in which Indigenous peoples lived before colonization. Disconnection from LBP has had devastating effects on the mental and physical well-being of Indigenous peoples with the loss of lifestyle and autonomy bringing about increased sedentary behavior (Samson & Pretty, 2006). LBP, as a basis for health intervention through cultural based teaching, has been successful in increasing resiliency amongst youth through an outdoor adventure program (Ritchie et al., 2014).

Cultural teachings provide ways to understand what it means to be a youth, adult, or Elder; identifying each person's role within a community (Berger & Luckmann, 1990). Indigenous masculinity has recently become a focus for Indigenous research because of the increase in mental health issues and violence among Indigenous males (Vinteya et al., 2016). Teachings in the Haudenosaunee nation say that man was given a role in the universal family, and the role of man is a predator, dependant on other living beings to survive (Antone, 2015). This became the basis for an intervention for Indigenous males in Antone's research about reconnecting Indigenous men with their tribal masculinities (2015). This was

done by connecting to the tribal practices of hunting and providing. Reconnecting to the roots of tribal roles through LBP allows Indigenous male youth to rediscover the role of predator and creates a balance to the holistic view of health. This understanding of the role men played in Haudenosaunee traditions is present in other Indigenous groups as well (Vinyeta et al., 2016; Nystad et al., 2016).

Knowing the structure of the kinship system of tribal epistemologies allows an understanding of the roles Indigenous males have in relation to their tribes or nations (Adams, Mataira, Walker, Hart, Drew, & Fleay, 2011). Indigenous rituals, structure, and responsibilities offer Indigenous males cultural responsibilities; provide the values and beliefs that are essential to the male view in Indigenous societies and are important to the well-being of Indigenous male youth (Adams et al., 2017; Antone, 2015). Interventions to rediscover culture and language through LBP with the help of tribal knowledge of Elders has been explored and shown to be successful (Hackett et al., 2016; Healey et al., 2016; Ritchie et al., 2015). Elders have created a voice that is now being recognized within literature on successful aging and expands the prominent understandings of successful aging to include Indigenous life experiences (Pace & Grenier, 2017). Pace and Grenier (2017) reviewed successful aging practises among older Indigenous populations and postulated four elements in a development model including: health and wellness, empowerment and resilience, engagement and behaviour, and connectedness. These understandings can be used to create a more inclusive model for successful aging among Indigenous youth. In a study by Janelle, Laliberte & Ulric (2009), Indigenous youth were found to be eager, motivated, and proud after participating

in culturally-relevant activities. Development of a positive culture allows youth to create a sense of pride and provides an avenue to continue these teachings and pass on the knowledge. In a study by Ulturgasheva, Rasmus, Wexler, Nystad & Kral (2014), Indigenous youth from circumpolar communities engaged in tribal activities when they faced adversity. The youth accessed local resources and knowledge and practised cultural teachings such as sustenance activities, beading, and speaking their languages. These youths were also found to be drawing from the community strengths as a protective factor against hardships. This was possible due to the accessibility of resources that allowed the youth to practise their cultural activities which ultimately contributed to their resilience.

Indigenous culture is grounded in respect, family, and community; teaching the values embedded in Indigenous Culture, such as reverence for Elders, self-respect, gratitude, and avoidance of negativity, are necessary for sustaining a healthy life (Friesen et al., 2015). It is important to note that youth are more adept learners when opportunities to apply lessons from their culture, history, heritage, and tribal lifestyle are readily accessible and available (Grandbois & Sanders, 2009). The values that are present in Indigenous culture builds connection to community, nature, and self, which can increase self-worth and identity.

Outdoor Education Through the Indigenous Perspective

Outdoor education, from a Western perspective, is based on the idea that the wilderness is a place to escape, providing spaces for leisure or to unwind (Newbery, 2012). Living as part of nature is a divergent view that Indigenous

people share (Cohn, 2011). In some instances, the outdoor setting is not a place of escape or solitude, but rather a home where there is no hierarchy of living beings. Moreover, the idea of outdoor education has stemmed back thousands of years when Indigenous people lived in harmony with nature and where Indigenous youth were often educated in outdoor settings (Cohn, 2011). From these examples, Indigenous culture flourished and was developed through a deep connection to land. The land forms language, culture, and physical activity specific to each Indigenous Nation (Lowan, 2009). This connection is also a vital aspect in the translation of Indigenous knowledge and grounded in thousands of years of teaching. Lowan (2009) explains that if the intention is to impart cultural knowledge, then the most effective way to do so is to teach from where the culture lives and is being developed. In this way, Indigenous education becomes a mode of practising and embedding lessons into the practical component of the survival of everyday life (Crohn, 2011). Therefore, the ecology of the land becomes vitally important to the peoples who live off the land. Indigenous peoples must exemplify adaptation to climate and social changes to their lands and territory (Sakakibara, 2017).

There is a vast difference in learning about natural settings in the classroom than being out in it; being in it, and with it, allows for intimate knowledge to be gained by place (Kawagley, 2002). Indigenous knowledge transfer has been done through storytelling and narratives for generations before the written word (Wilson, 2008). Storytelling and song provide a way to connect with the past through the discourse told by our ancestors (Adams et al., 2017). Listening to the

stories of their past can create change in a person as well as create growth and development for the hardships of life (Johnson & Breamer, 2013). Life and tribal stories contain tribal knowledge through lived experiences and the lessons learned through the narratives can be used to identify resilience strategies and protective factors (Ore, 2016). Since these stories represent knowledge of the past, different perspectives are portrayed, depending on who is telling the story. Whitinui (2008) outlines the *Native Inquiry* where individuals co-construct knowledge through individual interpretations, this invokes an appreciation for multiple realities in different ways of knowing.

Through a process of sharing, listening, learning, and developing mutual understandings, a number of cultural insights, reflections, and learnings emerge as cultural sites of encounter or potential that may help to repair or heal personal hardships and challenges (Whitinui, 2014, p. 480).

If more LBP research is needed, a critical aspect of the research process to pay attention to is measurement; exploring the choices available to assess mental health and resilience. Instruments used in Indigenous research must be sensitive to cultural differences due to the complex systems that are interconnected. The measurement of mental health among Indigenous youth is difficult to achieve due to the complexities and nuances in cultures, however there are some models that have been modified and used that report adequate validity and reliability.

Mental health measures for Indigenous Youth

In Williamson et al.'s (2014) review of 10 years of mental health interventions for Indigenous youth, they found that many interventions used instruments specifically modified for use in Indigenous communities, however, adapting such instruments affected their validity and thus the findings could not be compared to existing data sources. The reliability and validity of the instruments were not reported and there was no further exploration of those instruments. Six instruments were identified to be reliable and valid for use in Indigenous communities: Flower of Two Soils (Beiser et al., 2000), Attention Deficit Disorder Module (Dion et al., 1998), Reynold's Adolescent Depression Scale (Walker et al., 2005), Tri-Ethnic Center for Prevention Research Depression Scale, The Achenbach Youth Self Report Internalizing Scale, Centre for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (Thrane, Whitbeck, Hoyt, & Shelley, 2004), and State-Trait Anxiety Inventory, Form X (Hishinuma et al., 2000). The review emphasized that more research needed to be done to find an instrument that was culturally sensitive to Indigenous cultures. In Ritchie's study of resilience, an overarching theme among youth participants became Anishnaabe Bimaadziwin, which loosely translates to "the good life" (2015). Anishinaabe Bimaadziwin is defined:

To have a good life one must have a goal. The goal is to be free from illness, to live to the fullest. Bimaadziwin is based on the concept of health and good living. One must work on prevention and not healing. It is Holy Life. One must eat well, act well, and live physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually well (cited in Rheault, 1998 p. xxv).

Views on mental health differ in perspective, in a non-Indigenous perspective, mental health has been defined as ‘a state of well-being in which in which the individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with normal stresses of life, and can contribute to his or her community’ (World Health Organization, 2007, para. 1). While, the Indigenous perspective is cyclical and is a balance of the social, emotional, physical, and spiritual aspects of health. A Pan-Indigenous rendition of this holistic view on well-being is the medicine wheel teachings (Lavallée & Levesque, 2007). Kawagley positions Indigenous well-being as a cyclical representation and posits that any disruption in that cycle creates a weakening of self (2002).

There is limited research in the use of measurement instruments for Indigenous mental health however, using Indigenous concepts like Anishinaabe Bimaadziwin along with generic instruments would yield an instrument that would be culturally sensitive and appropriate for the measurement of mental health. Macfarlane, Blampied, and Macfarlane (2011) conceived a blended model of clinical and cultural theory, using the Tō Tātou Waka (Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2009) model as an example of a culturally inclusive framework. Using Maori epistemology, the framework is culturally inclusive and supports the outcomes from practise.

Research Gaps

The studies discussed in this literature review acknowledged the use of resiliency as an effective strength-based approach to increasing positive mental

health. However, the literature largely presents qualitative data from mixed gender samples. The perspective of male youth is not well represented to date. Furthermore, most of the studies presented are geographically based in South-East Canada, where colonization has a much longer history. A perspective from a Northwestern point of view, namely Yukon, Canada, where colonization occurred more recently could yield alternatives not previously considered in the existing literature. Moreover, this area is home to a majority of First Nations that are self-governing and have the capacity to create and introduce policies that are tribally-informed and self-determining. This study aims to add depth to the understanding of resiliency in Indigenous male youth to strengthen the capacity to increase positive mental health outcomes.

Chapter 3 – Methods

Overview

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework and methods used to address the research questions proposed. The study employs a case study approach (Yin, 2009), underpinned by an Indigenous heuristic framework (Kahakalau, 2004) that will include a semi-structured interviewing process with Elders and youth. Triangulation will be achieved by collating the stories and experiences of the Elders, youth, and myself as an Indigenous person from this community. The reason for situating myself within the research is twofold. First, because I am accountable to my community to ensure the research is done in a good way and second because I am a Southern Tutchone male youth who has engaged in LBP with my father in my community. Providing a socio-historical background about my community is intended to provide a context as to why this research is of importance and for whom.

My home community supports the ethical principle of “nothing about us without us” (Herbert, para. 5, 2017). Wilson (2008) posits that Indigenous theorizing is relational and uses relational accountability as a culturally appropriate way of working with/in Indigenous communities. Similarly, storytelling aligns well with Indigenous ways of sharing what we know and will help to highlight more appropriately the cultural voices of resilience from the perspective of Southern Tutchone male youth and Elders. Finally, the methods used to collect, and analyse the data will be discussed regarding the ways to interpret voices, stories, and as well, my own personal experience.

Self-Location

Dànnch'e,

My name is Chris Gleason, I am Southern Tutchone from the Wolf Clan of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation in Yukon. Both of my parents have Indigenous ancestry from different locations in Northern British Columbia and Yukon. I was fortunate to experience the differing cultures from my grandparents and parents. My ancestry is of Tahltan (BC), Kaska (BC), Southern Tutchone (Yukon), and Ta'an Kwach'an (Yukon).

I identify as Southern Tutchone through my grandfather on my father's side who was born and raised in our tribal territory of the Southern Yukon. In the Southern Yukon, my family has a summer camping spot where I have learned to hunt and fish in our tribal territory. During my early childhood, I spent many summers at our family hunting camp learning from my uncles, father, and grandfather about harvesting from the land and water. They also shared many stories of their past and how much the landscape changed when the Alaska Highway was built. I have remained active in the culture of the Southern Tutchone First Nations through the traditional teachings passed down from my grandfather, who lived a traditional life until he attended residential School.

The teachings I received lead me to the traditional territory of the WSÁNEĆ and Legwungen area where I have now lived for 5 years. In 2015, I completed a Bachelor's Degree in Sport and Fitness Leadership at Camosun College in Victoria, BC. In 2016, I embarked on my graduate educational journey towards completing a Master's of Science in Kinesiology at the University of Victoria, BC. Education has been ever-present in my life; with teachings passed down to me through my grandparents, and parents. I believe

deeply in the strength those cultural teachings have had on my well-being. Land-based practice (LBP) has been present in my life for so long that it has allowed me to live a holistic lifestyle in ways, I believe, can help build resiliency in Indigenous male youth.

Community History and Context

Yukon Indigenous peoples lived in isolation from European Canadians except for fur traders until the 1890's, when the Klondike gold rush brought an influx of people to the Yukon, having a devastating effect on the way Indigenous people lived (Cruikshank, 1998). After the gold rush, many people left the Yukon and until the 1940's it remained largely populated by Indigenous peoples. The 1940's brought the second world war and the building of the Alaska highway by the US Army because of the fear of an attack on Alaska from the Japanese (Cruikshank, 1998). The highway was built through the Yukon and would again bring an influx of people, straining local resources and affecting the way Indigenous peoples would live for good (Cruikshank, 1998). In this time period, mission or residential schools began operating under the Federal department of Indian Affairs (Cruikshank, 1998).

The Yukon is home to fourteen Indigenous Nations of which eleven are self-governing Nations under the Umbrella Final Agreement and Land Claim agreements (Council of Yukon First Nations, 1993). The Land Claim agreement is a modern treaty that gives Indigenous communities rights over their tribal territories, such as hunting, fishing, resources, and self-government (Franklin, 2011).

In 2016, 23.3% of Yukoners identified as Aboriginal and that population is younger than the non-Indigenous population (Yukon Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Only

50.9% of youth aged 18-24 have excellent or very good self-rated mental health which is considerably lower than non-Indigenous populations at 88.1% (Arrigada, 2016).

The community where the research is taking place is home to the Southern Tutchone Peoples who speak a dialect of the Athabaskan language (Cruikshank, 1998). The Southern Tutchone peoples have a unique ancestry of coastal and interior peoples; our origins stem back to Tlingit and Tutchone ancestry (Cruikshank, 1998). In the worldview of the Southern Tutchone peoples, family is the heart of the culture and way of life. For families to survive harsh winter climates, they had to rely on the each other and other families. The Southern Tutchone Nations uses a clan system, which is made up of two clans: The Wolf and Crow Clans. This system provides a sense of identity as regalia bear the clan symbols (CAFN.ca, n.d.). The Southern Tutchone creation story is the story of a raven who brought light to the world and is an origin story that is prevalent across the Canadian Pacific Coastal Nations (Cruikshank, 1998). Much of our worldview stems from our tribal territories that have shaped our language, culture, and history. The connection to tribal lands is prominent, this is where we hunt, gather, and learn. “Tribal knowledge is pragmatic and ceremonial, physical and metaphysical” (Kovach, 2009, p. 56). Our ways of knowing are relational, and all aspects are understood from a vantage point that only creates a snapshot (Kovach, 2009). This tribal knowledge has been transferred through watching and doing; thus, the individuals perspectives are going to be relational (Wilson, 2008).

Case Study

A case study “is a form of descriptive research, where a single case is studied in depth to reach a greater understanding about similar cases” (Thomas, Nelson, Silverman, 2015, p. 309). The four aspects that characterize a case study are construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability (Lin, 2009). One limitation of conducting case studies is the transferability of findings resulting from limiting data collection to one case. This research was conducted within a particular tribal system whereby the findings are less transferable to other communities. However, it does offer opportunities for other communities to research resiliency using their own distinctive tribal ways of knowing.

Indigenous Heuristic Research

As mentioned in the literature review, bridging Western and Indigenous research methodologies allows for both perspectives to be heard in an authentic and meaningful way. Kahakalau (2004) posits the Indigenous heuristic action research methodology helps to establish a mix of both Western ideas and Indigenous worldviews. The heuristic inquiry developed by Moustakas (1990) is a methodology that explores a phenomenon through the interpretation of an experience with participants and includes the researcher’s perspective. The Heuristic Indigenous action research methodology includes phases of Moustakas’ heuristic inquiry processes but also combines community-based participatory action research guide lines to be inclusive of Indigenous ways of inquiry (e.g., songs, stories, and dreams) (Kahakalau, 2004). This methodology’s characteristics fit with this research study and aligned with the objectives. Combining the principles of Moustakas’

heuristics with Indigenous theorizing provides methodology that expands ways of knowing from the Western and Indigenous perspectives. The idea is not to reinvent and create new methodologies but to align current methodologies with research objectives and goals within Indigenous Research (Absolon, 2011; Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008). For the purposes of this study these methodologies allowed this work to be inclusive of Indigenous ideas and helped to expand the knowledge on Indigenous resiliency. Data was collected to represent a variety of perspectives to avoid a one-sided representation of the topic of resilience (Kleining & Witt, 2000) and align with the heuristics is the “research process is dialogue” and the topic should be discussed from many different perspectives and yield as many different answers (Kleining & Witt, 2000 para. 12).

Indigenous Theorizing

Qualitative methodologies “offers space for Indigenous ways of researching” (Kovach, 2009, p. 24). Typically, the transmission of tribal knowledge has been done through narratives and storytelling. “Story is a relational process that is accompanied by a particular protocol consistent with tribal knowledge identified as guiding the research” (Kovach, 2010, p. 42). The Southern Tutchone epistemology is based on the relationship between the physical and spiritual world and fits well within notions of Indigenous theorizing. “Qualitative research is interpretive, the stories of both researcher and participants are reflected in the meanings being made” (Kovach, 2009, p. 26). The qualitative approach “assumes the objective neutrality” and that “subjectivity within research is consistent which implies a relational approach” (Kovach, 2009, p. 32). Thus, as a researcher I am accountable for the words shared through the interviewing process

because they are not only personal stories, but stories passed down through generations and I am also accountable for those words. This approach also speaks to the concept of relational accountability that is described by Wilson (2008), where the researcher must be accountable to the stories, personal experiences, and lesson learned from Elders and youth because the intent is for the underlying message to stay true and consistent. Indigenous theorizing also aligns well with heuristic forms of inquiry and allows the researcher to become part of the phenomenon, thus creating a bridge of ideas between Indigenous and Western ways of knowing.

Participant Recruitment

In cooperation with the community, individuals were asked to participate. Since male youth perspectives are lacking in the literature on resilience, Southern Tutchone youth (aged 20-25) were targeted. In order to participate the youth had to be recognized within the community as being an active participant in culture-based camps. Another group recruited were Elders (ages 60+) who had practical knowledge of LBP. These participants provided an overall context as to what resiliency meant within the community and provided guidance about how the study should be conducted within the community.

Research Design and Data Gathering

This study used narrative interviews to gather data; storytelling and life experience stories of the participants were shared in their own words, highlighting their experiences with resilience. The interviews were semi-structured (Given, 2008) using

questions to explore resiliency, and what it meant to the participants. The questions explored:

1. Definitions of resiliency
2. Way of promoting resiliency
3. Barriers to resiliency
4. Characteristics of resiliency unique to Southern Tutchone

These question themes were adapted from the Te Puawaitanga o te Whānau: Flourishing Whānau project by Kingi et al. (2014, p. 6). The questions guiding the interviews were:

- Resilience has been defined as the adaptation that develops in response to challenges, and the person (or system) can become stronger than before (Khanlou and Wray, 2014). How do you define resiliency?
- In other Indigenous communities, resilience has varying meanings such as cultural revitalization etc. What defines your resilience?
- What does flourishing resilience look like?
- How do we promote Southern Tutchone resilience through Land-based activity?
- What are some barriers to promoting healthy resilience?
- How do we overcome those barriers?
- What are the unique characteristics to Southern Tutchone culture?

Procedures

After recruitment and consent, walk-along (Garcia, Eisenberg, Frerich, Lechner, & Lust, 2012) and or stationary one-on-one interviews (Ryan, Coughlan, & Cronin, 2009) were held. Interviews were digitally recorded (audio only), transcribed verbatim, and emailed to participants to ensure the discourse was interpreted as they intended. Once the themes were generated they were sent back a second time.

Data Analysis

The data collected were analysed using content analysis (Mayring, 2000) and by triangulating the data collected from interviews from Elders, youth, and myself. This analysis allowed for the discovery of themes and problem-solving meanings of resilience through the cyclical dialogue that revisited the individual meanings of resilience. Content analysis is the process where the researcher reviews the text to find categories and themes throughout the interviews that are prominent across the groups (Mayring, 2000). The participants were emailed copies of the transcriptions for their review to ensure that the proper context was applied to what they have said, commonly referred as member checking (Thomas, Nelson, & Silverman, 2015). Finally, the researcher was immersed within the culture of the community and able to understand the context of the participants and their meanings, which helped to yield trustworthy analysis. Triangulation also contributed to the trustworthiness and was achieved by comparing the three voices of the youth, Elders, and my own experiences. Transferability refers to the results having the potential to be transferred to another setting and was facilitated by providing rich

description of the community and participant context (Thomas, Nelson, & Silverman, 2015).

Chapter 4 - Findings

Analysis was based on three interviews; two with elders and one with a youth. The Elders that were interviewed were 64 and 75 years old, respectively, and both were members of the community, who had a history of participating in LBP. The youth interviewed was 28 years old and has served the community through youth programming and also had a history of participating in LBP. The following themes emerged from thematic coding and represented k'ánanaghwát (many bends in the river), dákeyi (our country), and kánádän (teacher) as key areas for Elders. The primary themes for youth were: k'éñathät (thinking), k'áshakwáda (returning trail), and kinghār äch'ì (having spirit helper).

Elders Themes

K'ánanaghwát (Many bends in the river)

A recurrent theme with the Elders in the discussion around resilience was adversity; how Elders have overcome many adversities through resistance by holding on to their tribal teachings. K'ánanaghwát translates to *many bends in the river* in Southern Tutchone and is a metaphor for the hardships that Elders have overcome in the face of assimilation through resistance. Rivers provide strong metaphors for resilience, they may bend or change direction, but they always complete their journey; I think this imagery provides a strong representation of what our Elders have experienced in their lifetime. One Elder discussed how residential schools, and land dispossession lead to a lack of trust in the government in saying:

After residential schools after all the people have done. It gets so you don't listen to them anymore. So you know we are a very strong race of people and what we

been through especially our family is something that no other family should go through and that's why I'm very protective about my grandchildren today because I don't want them to ever get into that type of problem that our Elders got into... You know my dad was sent to residential school... We were sent off to residential school and within our family we have four different churches so each one of our members our family members were in different schools... They wouldn't send us together. So, you know when you look at resilience to me is part of the way you are treated, and the trust is never going to be there as long as I am living... I just don't trust these people anymore.

The separation of this participant's family has created a disdain toward the government and has allowed him to be protective over his own family and his grandchildren. This Elder is resilient in the face of assimilation because he has lived it first hand and was able to hold on to his tribal teachings. Through his resistance he will not allow the same tribulations to occur to his grandchildren, which is a resilience factor that will be passed on to his grandchildren. Another Elder highlighted how actions, such as residential schools, impeded the way Southern Tutchone people lived before contact with European settlers and had skewed the tribal roles that each person played in their communities.

After residential schools, kids were taken away. This had been taken back to our villages as a big drunken mess. There was lots of alcohol and drinking all the time, fighting, people dying, freezing to death, all of those things. We came from a very, very healthy nation dragged through the dirt and we had to crawl back out

again. You have to watch your parents pass away. A lot to do with alcohol, a lot to do with drugs, a lot to do with not understanding your life.

This Elder describes the hardships that were the result of residential schools, and the other assimilative practises they experienced. As a result, they believed that the people had turned to alcoholism and drugs to cope with not understanding life within the context of this new worldview that had been forced upon them. Residential Schools had impacted the Southern Tutchone people immensely and they had to adapt to the change.

Our people were very adaptive people who have been through a lot since first contact with white people in the 1890's which isn't long ago. They were able to adapt to the immense change over that time period into what we are today.

People had to go through lots of grief; I myself have gone through lots of grief losing my father at a young age, my brother 20 years ago and my wife 10 years ago. We have to grieve properly and not pick up a bottle of whisky or wine to help us with the pain of grief, rather getting out, exercising and being on a mountain can allow you to think deeply and clear the mind.

As Southern Tutchone peoples, we had to adapt to the changing times and this is reflected through the words of this Elder. These Elders were able to adapt through their past teachings and connecting with the land. This Elder describes that connecting back with nature allowed him to reflect and clear his mind, which was needed to be resilient to the adversity that had been forced upon Indigenous youth at this time. Both Elders spoke to the effects of residential school and the substance abuse that occurred after, but the Elders also spoke of ways they had coped in the face of assimilation and adapted to

become resilient through tribal practises and stories. This alludes to the connection to place which stems back to cultural roles as shown in the theme of dákeyi (our country).

Dákeyi (Our country)

One theme that became prominent throughout the interviews is how Southern Tutchone men were as one Elder stated, “Stewards of the Land”. This is reflected in dákeyi which translates to *our country* because our tribal territory is a large part of our culture. The Southern Tutchone men’s role was to maintain tribal territory, so that the land would take care of the community. As a result, resilience was maintained through connection to tribal territory and animals that occupy those lands. Both Elders stated in the interviews that men were the protectors of the tribal territory:

I remember the chiefs a long time ago especially in the area they used to all the trappers would come in before the river broke open and people would be sitting idle for a couple months all the newborn babies would be brought in for the winter months and our people trapped lots, they looked after the land and comes the first salmon...Our people quit hunting after that there was no more hunting allowed among our community members from June right through to August because that the time when the women were having their young and that meant the birds were having their young, the moose were having their young, sheep all of that so we respected them. And our people lived off of salmon after that as the salmon migrated up the river that’s why most of our people were close to the area because that where the fish came up and then after the first salmon was caught everybody would be in circle and that salmon would be cooked...boiled up and

everybody had a sheep horn spoon that they would be drinking soup out of it. Then the chief would ask...He had two maybe three Elders behind him and that was my grandmother's brother and you'd ask the first one you were trapping up in my country the last winter what did you see up there and the guy would say maybe there were too many wolves up there. So, he says well we have wolf hunters here we're going to send them up to that country to clean out them wolves. To make better land for our people. The next person would say well there's a big infestation of beetles up that way. He would say that we have people here that know how to burn country out and he would send them up there and tell them you burn that valley out, get rid of all that beetles. And that continued all the way around as people went they told him about the whole country. That way the chief knew that and our reasoning for existing was that we needed to make better habitat for wildlife because our people we had to look after our country and that's why when you look at the old timers they looked after the country and it was up to the grandparents to raise the grandchildren our parents were out all the time. That's lacking now because we don't know what's happening out there.

This is a depiction of what the role of our men was, what our purpose was in protecting the ecology of the territory, and how we had a distinct connection to our tribal territory. This story also represents how we lived in season with the animals and respected their birthing seasons and lived off salmon which tested the resilience of the people because we had to adapt to the season and rely on what the land provided.

I'm not a song and dance person but I think that stories and the land portray our culture. I was driving one day with an Elder and he pointed to the mountain pass

and said there's a trail there that leads from Kathleen Lake to Canyon Creek. I told him that I knew the trail and had walked it years ago. It is beautiful country. It's things like that, connecting with the knowledge that the Elders have about our land and how we are stewards of this land.

This describes the connection to lands and how well known the country is by our Elders; they know every trail in the vast tribal territory without a map because they had such an close connection to this place and that this was a key to resilience. This area is home to the Elders and they rely heavily on their tribal territory because there is such a deep connection for them. It appears that our self-determination, cultural code of ethics, and practises stem from the land, and we need to uphold these lands because it is who we are. The Elders also spoke to how important it is for the youth of today to keep this connection present because of the tribal knowledge that comes with the land and how more youth were leaving home to pursue work in other areas.

I think when we look at land, we look at language, as our resources are taken off the land, pretty soon white people aren't going to come back to our land because we have nothing left. You know that is why I say language and land are tied together. If you have nothing left of the land what's going to be there to hold your children to this country? There's going to be no employment for them...There's going to be nothing for them. So, there just going to up and leave and as Elders we can't go anywhere...If we don't look after our land, we won't have anything.

The land is depicted as a vital aspect of the community; it is the life source of the Elders because of the tribal food sources that have been harvested from the area. The Elder alludes to the recent trend of mining in Yukon, which focuses on resource

extraction and can potentially harm the territory. When this happens, the Elders don't have anywhere to go because they don't know how to live any other way. Therefore, it is paramount that Elders teach youth the tribal ways and the tribal roles that men play in maintaining the ecology of the tribal territory and to care for the Elders who rely on youth to provide for them.

Kánádän (Teacher)

The final theme that was present with the Elders was the tribal roles that were explained through stories depicting how important it was to recognize those roles as a community, family, and individual. The quotes from the Elders suggested that understanding of our purpose and role as men through our cultural teachings provides us with the resilience from understanding meaning in life. For instance, they described how grandparents were the teachers and caretakers of the babies, and they passed on songs and language through the interaction they had with the young people. In describing his role as a grandparent and teaching his grandson what it means to be a man, this Elder has touched upon the roles of men and Elders.

You know my grandchildren are giving them rifles already and it's their duty now to go out and get themselves moose and become a man. Their fourteen years old and that's when you become a man and the first moose you get, you have to bring it in and you have to share it with the community. After that we put a big party on for them and those are things that our people are lacking so much.

The Elders highlighted the tradition as an important step in the life of young men in the community. This celebration allows young men to be recognized for their contribution to the community and their passing into manhood. This speaks to a tribal

role for the youth, but the Elders also had a tribal role in connection with the youth. Both Elders spoke to this issue highlighting that youth were not connecting with Elders anymore.

I think what really defines our community resilience is [pause] Our people aren't together like we used to be and the youth are not with the Elders and there's a bypass there right now and if you look at the First Nations government they are holding all the money now and so the kids view Elders as...you know. If you want money they just take it from them but most of the youth go to the First Nations office now and if you look at family groupings, I'm trying to keep my family together and affordability and in all of that. As a grandparent, it is my duty to be in charge of my grandchildren and a lot of Elders aren't doing that anymore because a lot of Elders have lost that connection with their youth. So, your youth are going to the band office, going to school to get their dollars they get their home they get so that there isn't any cutting wood for the Elders...No more helping the Elders.

This issue was highlighted by the other Elder as well and was very much the same from his perspective.

The knowledge is also being lost. Youth aren't connecting with Elders anymore and there is knowledge being lost because it isn't being shared. Today, the youth don't get to interact with Elders because the housing gives them a house and the Elders are not a part of the family unit anymore. The First Nation takes care of them instead of family and, so they don't go to them anymore for help. Knowledge is not being passed down.

Knowledge translation through Elders is important for youth to experience and it appears from these Elder's voices that this was not occurring due to the change in social and family structure. Tribally, the grandparents provided for the grandchildren and as both Elders have stated that is not occurring anymore because self-government is being sought after rather than Elders. This has created, in their minds, an interference in the way Elders and youth interact and a loss of tribal knowledge. Tribal knowledge was an important theme emerging from the Elder's stories; highlighted as a foundation of resilience in youth.

Youth Themes

K'énathät (Thinking)

The youth perspective was in juxtaposition to the Elders, as the Elders told of the effects of assimilation the youth was focused on decolonization. K'énathät translates to thinking in Southern Tutchone and in the context of this study relates to the theme of decolonizing our way of thinking and living as illustrated in this quote from the youth interview.

Society, society is a big one. Our society is based around obedience, based around selfish behavior, based around doing everything for yourself.

Materialistic gain our society as a whole, a lot of my main work has been on decolonization, being able to decolonize your mind, your body and understanding what you are doing in day to day life that's basically promoting the assimilation of our people are these things.

This youth was beginning to shift thinking toward decolonizing the way he thought and viewed the world and that reflected what Elders had explained in the theme of assimilation. The youth emphasized the need to start thinking of resilience in terms of the community and sustainability rather than the individual.

When I go to conferences and speak on my teachings. I went to a leadership and innovation conference and there was 500 youth from across Canada and I'm an entrepreneur and there were five other indigenous that I knew. They separated us and when they spoke of leadership and innovation they were like the Prime Minister is our leader and innovation is how do we make more money and I'm sitting there like that's messed up. Leadership is people who are doing good things in the community, doing good things for good reasons. With a heart that's helping change lives. It's my grandma telling me stories about the land those are my leaders.

This quote reflects the words of the Elders; the youth describes decolonizing through our understandings of community, ecology, and connection to Elders. While Elders spoke of the effects of assimilation, the youth speaks of the importance of the tribal thinking that resilience is not an individual or economic concept but related to community.

What are we doing now to make that our cultural and connection and our understanding of the land is going to be here in seven generations ahead. That's our job. How are we doing that? We are at that key point right now. The Yukon can pursue the cultural standard in terms of law and honor and respect rather

than power and control because we are going down a road of power and control right now.

In this excerpt the youth referred to the tribal way Indigenous peoples' pursuits as reflecting the standards of law and honour; standing for these values. He highlighted that the issue is how we are now viewing our lands and what we are really pursuing. He intimated the importance of reverting to law and honour if our people are to thrive once again. Therefore, resilience, in his mind was tied to the tribal principles; forming another foundation of resilience in the Tutchone community understanding.

K'áshakwáda (Returning trail)

The Yukon is in a unique situation because of the access to land and low population. This the youth felt was due to the actions of the Elders before us who had been resisting the development of tribal lands. K'áshakwáda means returning trail, this represents the return to the land that youth need to experience. The youth refers to the reclusiveness of the Yukon and how easy it was to access the "wilderness".

Travelling across Canada, the Yukon is extremely unique and doing a lot of work in the NWT our neighbors are different and with the Inuit in Nunavut they are so different. Down south and not even the line that is created by the government. There's a line there from north to south which land-based as soon as you hit that line where there is nothing but buildings and cities and towns and highways that's the line, that's truly the line. When you get into where there's land, there's more land and animals than there are people. There is a difference there and with the Yukon we are still able to get back. We can still live off the land. We can go back

to the land and go out there, two hours' drive and live out there for like five years without running into a couple people maybe a couple people during hunting season.

The access to land and animals created an eagerness for youth to learn the tribal practises and how they fit in with their surroundings. The youth interviewed felt that Yukon youth were eager to learn the tribal ways; the closeness to nature instilled a curiosity in youth and this could create some great opportunities for knowledge transfer. This eagerness to learn contributes to the theme of k'áshakwāda.

The thing that I love the most is, that I've been taught the most is curiosity. We need to be curious if we are ever going to learn and the Yukon breed curiosity. The young people here are curious and that is such a breeding ground for positive learning. The Yukon has that and its ability to transform in a split second is there and there's a lot of places that are stuck, you know they are stuck. We still have the ability to transform into something beautiful or something terrible.

K'áshakwāda provides the theme of returning to the land because of the work of Elders, the younger generations still had the ability to be out on the land. This has allowed youth to follow their tribal intuitions through the next theme.

Kinghār āch'į (Having a spirit helper)

In Southern Tutchone culture, there are spirit helpers that guide us in our journey. Kinghār āch'į or having a spirit helper is a metaphorical representation knowing self because we are guided by these spirits who know who we are and where we need to go. In many ways, this theme is similar to the Elder's theme, k'ánanaghwát but from the

youth perspective there is an intuition to follow our tribal teachings. This was a prevalent theme in the interview with the youth who emphasized that there were many ways knowing self helps youth to overcome adversities. Within tribal teachings there are many lessons and the youth mentioned many of them in relation to youth resilience.

My resilience based on my own person experience is being able to understand and respect in that understanding of the things we gone through in our life and being able to live with them every day. Resilience is being able to live with the understanding with of what has occurred. You're never going to heal from these things but with understanding them and knowing them you're able to move forward with making it apart of you which is becomes knowledge.

Today's youth must face and understand what has happened in the past and this youth refers to how male youth can move on in a good way. He intimated that this was done by understanding what parents and grandparents have gone through and accepting that the past cannot be changed. By making this a part of lived experiences, youth can move forward and use this knowledge to create a better life for themselves.

In my opinion as a professional in my work, I see it as the opposite, the onus is on the kids. Making them inherently resilient, giving them the truth, helping them being accountable for their own action, understanding where they came from so, they know where they are going. Whether that be indigenous or non-indigenous it comes from a self-place. We are always taught in our culture through our teachings that we cannot help anybody if we don't know ourselves. It is until we heal, help ourselves and understand who we are then we can actually give back.

We cannot respect our honor or anybody unless we respect and honor ourselves, that's called self-care, that's not being selfish.

Once a youth can come to terms with the adversities that have become a part of them then they can find themselves. For youth, this understanding allows for healing and in tribal teachings, once they have helped themselves they can help others. This speaks to the self-care of the individual but also embedded in that is giving back, which is similar to what the Elders speak of. And finally, the youth participant mentioned the importance of making their own decisions. This has always been an issue for youth as they are turning into adults and seek independence.

As soon as you give them their power of choice they're inherently going to follow the positive and promoting resilience is empowering in my opinion.

Empowerment is promoting resilience because right now a lot of these programs and a lot of government's organizations are speaking on behalf of youth. This is what youth need, this is what youth want or else they are creating programs that have been done in years before and they are not extending it or they are not utilizing it for the future or they are not in the fact that in our business as youth service providers, every year is different.

Self-determination is another theme tied to *kinghār äch'ì* because we can choose to follow the guidance of our spirit helpers. Youth need to be present and have their voices heard because too often they are silenced, and adults speak on behalf of the youth. Autonomy and the power of choice is a strong category attached to the theme of self-determination. This youth felt that youth needed to make their own choices because it

empowers them and allows them to begin to make decision for themselves which becomes important at that stage in life.

Kinghrū kù'ì (Self-reflection)

As I reflect on the purpose and process of this research study, I am reminded of a story I would like to share that relates to my experience of LBP and of this educational journey. This past fall I was fortunate enough to stay home during the harvest season and was able to hunt with my father. One day we went up a trail nearby our house to find Dall Sheep, while going up the mountain on our ATV's we periodically stop at various lookouts to see if we can spot any game on the mountain with our field glasses. We stopped at the first lookout that is still in the tree line which overlooks a creek valley with plenty of shrubbery and I just happened to see a flash of white looking down toward the bottom of the valley. I told my dad, "there's a moose down there", so we tried to find it, but the willows and shrubbery were too thick, and we couldn't see it again with the field glasses. So, my dad let out a female moose call, fall is moose mating season and male moose will call back, we stood there quietly listening. Then in the distance we heard a grunt and then more grunts, the male was calling back to let it be known that he was there. This moose was very intelligent, he didn't come out in the open where he could be seen in plain sight, but we were able to catch glimpses of him coming in and out of the willows as he made his way toward us; grunting and scraping his antlers along the way. We sat on the ridge of the valley for hours watching this big moose come toward us but being quite diligent about his surroundings, until finally he emerged out of the willows in plain sight but across a creek which would have made it hard to access if we chose to take

it. And then just as fast as it made its way towards us, it left going back toward the treeline. We sat and watched it leave our area and just as we were about to lose hope, another moose came walking out of the trees. There were two, and the large male that was near us was protecting his territory from another smaller, younger male. The two moose met each other, and locked antlers and the battle ensued. They locked antlers and pushed until one gave up, the younger male was smaller than the older male and it wasn't much of a contest for him. Then my father let out another call and they both stopped and started making their way back toward our direction. Just as they were about to cross the creek, there was a vehicle coming in the distance, another hunter coming up the trail. They had seen the two moose and let out a call, but it didn't interest the moose and they ran back into the trees. They were gone.

When I look back at that experience, I am not disappointed or angry for the missed opportunity, rather grateful for the learning experience that I witnessed. What was happening was a research process, and my dad, who was a traditional hunter was teaching me how to call a moose. This was something that he learned from his grandfather, which he passed on to me, and this will be something I will never forget. We were learning from the moose too, their movements, the caution they showed, and how they grunted back. I have learned from Elders that we also learn lessons by watching animals, and that is what we were doing. As Indigenous peoples' we draw upon the knowledge from our Elders, when we need to be taught lessons because they are the ones that have been there and have experience. We watched the big male come toward us for hours, and now I know how moose react to calls and how much patience is needed when hunting. Even though we were unsuccessful in our attempt, I learned many lessons just watching and waiting;

this is also how I have viewed this research process. There were many barriers that were difficult to overcome in this research process, ones that may have been oversights but there were still some great lessons learned from the participants that were interviewed. Lessons from past tribal knowledge that can become a starting place for creating policy or programming for strength-based wellness. This experience relates to the words that both the youth and Elders shared through the interviews; I experienced all these tribal teachings in one day of hunting. Important lessons tied to the themes that the Elders and youth have highlighted in this study, such as the importance of knowledge transfer, living with nature and having a deep connection to place. Indigenous knowledge transfer is done implicitly, which has been reflected in the interviews with the Elders. The Elders tell stories and life experiences, and we must make meaning of what we learn through our own ways. When I was with my father watching the moose, my father did not explicitly tell me to watch the moose and its actions, but I learned a lot from just watching and listening. We have a deep connection to the place where we were watching the moose because it is close to where we live, and we know every trail in the area. This is also a place where I have learned many lessons and had many failures trying to hunt. I have built resilience through those lessons by learning the tribal teachings and values that are also tied to community. In our traditions, when a boy becomes a man by shooting his first moose (as one Elder stated) they must give the whole moose away to family or community members; this teaches lessons of selflessness, giving back, and humility. The youth also brought up the theme of self-care which is another teaching that I have come to learn. As a youth I was given plenty of opportunities through my community and now that I can give back, I do, any chance I get. I have worked with youth of all ages through

sport, recreation, and through land-based activities. I believe it is important for these youths to experience sport and recreation but to also learn their tribal teachings because they do build resilience and provide positive lessons.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

This paper adds to the growing literature around Indigenous resilience by providing another perspective from a circumpolar community, Southern Tutchone and by focusing on male perspectives. The themes highlighted by the youth and Elders reflected the different generations and highlighted similar concepts in many ways. While Elders focused on their role in, and the importance of, maintaining the ecology of the tribal territory and tribal knowledge, the youth spoke of trying to find their place in the community and their role as a man. There were several possible resilience sources identified through the interview process that includes: k'ánanaghwát and k'éñathät (self-knowledge), dákeyi (connection to land), kinghār äch'į and kánádän (self-determination), and k'áshakwäda (eagerness to learn).

The primary finding in the data shown across both the Elder and youth interviews was the connection to tribal lands and how the role of men was to maintain the ecology of the land. The idea that respect for the land and all of it's creation is well documented from Indigenous peoples around the world (Cohn, 2011; Nystad et al., 2014; Tobias & Richmond, 2014). Elders in this study revealed their experiences with assimilation and perseverance through their connection to their lands and community. The strength of the elders in the face of losing their culture, language, and tribal territory provided them resilience as did their connection to the past teachings that allowed Southern Tutchone people to live holistically healthy lifestyles. The Elders needed to pass those teachings along for the next generation, so that the youth could maintain these lands for the Elders and themselves. These teachings were embedded in the protection of the lands and maintaining the ecology of the land and its utmost importance to the Southern Tutchone.

Elders emphasized the need to know the land because the community relied on the plants and animals for harvest season. Therefore, similar to previous literature, resilience was tied to the land and the role as men was to provide for the community and family but also to protect the lands (Liebenberg & Wood, 2015; Nystad et al., 2014; Sakaibara, 2017). The stories of the past also created a source of resilience on their own. Yukon Elders have witnessed a lot of change in the last 50 years and an influx of people to their territories which for many centuries remained relatively untouched by outsiders. The stories that they carried became a source of resilience because they lived through so much. Their lifetime encompassed the tribal Southern Tutchone way of living to the building of the Alaska highway which led to more people entering their tribal territories. These Elders also lived through the era of cultural assimilation and discrimination during their adolescence, and yet carried with them their tribal knowledge because they knew why the preservation of those ways were so important (Braun, Browne, Ka'Opua, Kim, & Mokuau, 2014; Cloud Ramirez & Hammack, 2014; Hansen & Antsenan, 2016; Hatala, Desjardins, & Bombay, 2016; Reinschmidt, Attakai, Kahn, Whitewater, & Teufel-Shone, 2016). The Elders in this study highlighted stories of sacrifice, standing up to the government, and fighting for their tribal territories, so that they can pass on the land and knowledge they have accrued through their experiences to the youth. Other studies have also highlighted that the Elders carry with them a lifetime of experiences and are happy to share stories of the past and with that come the stories of resilience (Adams et al., 2017; Johnson, 2013; Ore, 2016). Lastly, the way Elders present their teachings is different in comparison to the youth. The Elders shared their experiences implicitly through stories and life experience, and that way of teaching allows for individual

interpretation. Whereas, youth were more explicit in their experiences around resilience and shared direct dialogue in terms of resilience.

The second finding was about the growing disconnect between youth and elder; Elders highlighted being less involved in the upbringing of children, which has led to what others have also highlighted as the disconnect of knowledge transfer (Kahn et al., 2016; Wexler, Jernigan, Mazzotti, Baldwin, & Griffin, 2014). This resonates with Adams et al.'s "Lost Generation" where Indigenous men are unable to fulfil their tribal roles due to stress brought on by the disruption of Indigenous masculinity (2017). This issue has been brought up by the Elders in this study because of the changes in community and family structure; they viewed it as less tribal, thus the role of the Elder was less prominent than it should be. This may be a reason Indigenous youth are confused as to what their purpose or role is within their communities as the youth participant highlighted the recurrent theme of finding self. Indigenous youth are confused as to what their purpose in the community, family and as a man was. Knowing these roles has been highlighted by others as a vital aspect of mental health for Indigenous youth (Antone, 2016; Kahn et al., 2016). However, there are tribal teachings still found in the youth narratives. The youth explains the importance of giving back to the community when one can and that is when youth are healed and in a good mind. Also, the youth interviewed in this study highlighted the need for independence and their perspective needing to be heard and respected which aligns with the findings of Wexler et al., (2014). This independence allows the youth to explore themselves through their own means, which subsequently allows them to find the path which eventually leads to the tribal ways. Elder and youth engagement is an important aspect in both transfer of knowledge and

resilience, highlighted in this study and previously (Kahn et al., 2016). For youth to fulfil their tribal roles they must learn what those roles are from Elders who have lived experience and know what those roles are. Through the emerging Southern Tutchone perspective, the narratives in this study show the role of men in the community are to be a protector and provider for family and community thorough LBP. This adds to the literature that resilience is not only an individual trait but also shared amongst the community. Community was an important aspect of getting through harsh winters and the community had to rely on each other to be resilient.

As the researcher and a member within the community my experience falls in between the youth and Elder perspective. As a youth I was exposed to the tribal knowledge and never knew the strength of LBP until I was away from home for college and university. While living in Victoria, I realized how I was able access the land at ease in the Yukon compared to Victoria. At home I can get on my ATV and go anywhere to escape to the “wilderness” and clear my mind but in the city that access isn’t available. I could hunt for game, which allowed me the independence of providing for myself and my family. When I would go back to the Yukon for the summers, I began to see how my tribal knowledge and territory is so special. My dad and I could go fishing until 1 am because of the sunlight in the summer and provides an escape for me because of the beauty and solitude of sitting on a boat surrounded in nature. The longer I spent away from my home territory, the more I realize how special the Yukon really is and how it has shaped my resilience as an adult. I know that my tribal territory will always be there for me to escape and allow me to learn the many lessons it provides. The land has shaped us as people to be resilient with the seasons and the ability to adapt to the adversities we

might face. This is a reflection of how the Elders in this study view resilience, that it is tied to land and our exposure to the land which builds resilience through lessons learned on the land. Comparatively, as a youth, I was living in two different worlds which influenced my mental well-being because I was lacking that connection to place while I lived in the city and that left a piece of my holistic health missing. As an older youth, I have found the strength in our tribal knowledge which has allowed me to help others because I have been able to make myself well.

Limitations

The findings in this study must be viewed in light of several limitations. The selection of youth participants was limited due to the small number of youth that have been actively participating in land-based activity and tribal teachings and their availability during the period of the study. The small sample sized limits the transferability of the findings to other communities and may have created biases. The participants were not a homogenous group that represent the Southern Tutchone Peoples. They had varying knowledge, engagement, and backgrounds in tribal land-based activity. Moreover, the participants were from different home communities originally and this may also have contributed to differing perspectives. However, all participants held leadership positions in varying communities. The youth participant was on the older end of the spectrum of youth and likely had more life experience than a younger youth would, which may result in a different perspective than other youth. The Southern Tutchone people make up a vast portion of the Yukon which covers much of the Southern Yukon and this perspective is only from one region of a vast territory. Therefore, the data

generated may not be transferable to other communities with differing cultures and worldviews. This study was conducted using primarily Western methodologies that aligned with the Indigenous world view but may not have yielded rich data compared to a study with primarily Indigenous methodologies. The interviews were done in English and an Indigenous language may have provided a richer experience and different narratives.

Conclusions

By integrating Indigenous ways of knowing, doing, and being within heuristic methods of inquiry the study was able to proceed in a more culturally appropriate and reasoned way. As a community member I was provided the access and privilege to explore the definition of resilience within the lived experiences of three tribal individuals associated with the Southern Tutchone community. The stories and experiences present issues that reflected the different generations, the tribulations, and the changes that each have faced over time since colonization. These adversities are much the same and reflected the changing social circumstance that the Southern Tutchone People have faced. The Elders reflected living tribally, historical trauma, and standing their ground to defend their land as key proponents associated with defining what constituted notions of resiliency.

The level of cultural oppression Elders endured as well as their will and resolve to maintain their culture appeared to be a source of resilience all in its own, but also a clear example of how living holistically results in a positive view of health. Similarly, resilience was tied to the land, which Southern Tutchone men must take care of because the land provides sustenance, shelter, and teachings. The Elders shared stories of sacrifice

for this land as well, through their tireless efforts at maintaining the knowledge of their tribal teachings. Although, youth didn't share this view, they highlighted the importance of access to nature. The sacrifices Elders have made to help sustain the integrity of the tribal territory was instilled in the youth. Youth reported still being able to access lands and tribal knowledge at ease; however, the barrier of knowledge transfer became evident across both the Elders and youth interview. Elders were able to be resilient to the many acts that were perpetrated against them because of their cultural knowledge. They knew what their roles were as protectors, providers, and stewards of the land. Those strengths need to be drawn upon for youth, but that knowledge is highlighted as lacking in Southern Tutchone youth. The narratives showed a lack of purpose and searching for self because youth lacked the guidance that Elders possessed. The Elders emphasized that resilience was tied to the passing of tribal knowledge through land-based activities, stories and song. This thesis also highlights the importance of the land as it provides so many different teachings, as well as the need to reconnect with or Elders on the land and learn from them what it means to be a Southern Tutchone man. This study adds to the literature by showing that resilience, from a Southern Tutchone perspective, is not just an individual mental health concept but is found within the strength of community. Moreover, LBP is a vital component to the holistic health of Southern Tutchone people because it provides education, sustenance, and spirituality. Elders can transfer knowledge to youth through LBP and continue to allow the future generations to experience these teachings in connection to the tribal territory and the animals. However, more research exploring Elder and youth engagement needs to be done to bridge the gap of knowledge transfer.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Phone Script

- Hello, my name is Chris Gleason and I am a master's student conducting a study under the supervision of Dr. PJ Naylor of the school of Kinesiology.
- I am exploring how the Southern Tutchone define resiliency.
- This research will hopefully define how male Southern Tutchone youth define resiliency within this community and provide a basis for stronger mental health.
- If you volunteer as a participant in this study and each session should take approximately 60-90 minutes of your time.
- You will be compensated for your time through an honorarium of \$50 for both sessions.
- I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Victoria Office of Research Ethics.
- If you are interested in participating, you can give oral consent or fill out a consent form that will be available to you through email. If verbal consent is given a recording will be made to keep record of the agreement and the script will be available to you. Thank you.

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

Consent Reminder/Preamble before the interview

- Your participation in this study is voluntary.
- You can decide to stop at any time, even part-way through the interview for whatever reason.
- If you decide to stop participating, there will be no consequences to you.
- If you decide to stop we will ask you how you would like us to handle the data collected up to that point.
- This could include returning it to you, destroying it or using the data collected up to that point.
- If you do not want to answer some of the questions you do not have to, but you can still be in the study.

Consent questions:

- Do you have any questions or would like any additional details? *[Answer questions.]*
- Do you agree to participate in this study knowing that you can withdraw at any point with no consequences to you?
[If yes, begin the interview.]
[If no, thank the participant for his/her time.]

The Interviews will be guided by these themes:

5. Definitions of Flourishing Resiliency
6. Way of Promoting Resiliency
7. Barriers of Resiliency
8. Characteristics of Resiliency unique to Southern Tutchone

These question themes have been developed from Te Puawaitanga o te Whānau: Flourishing Whānau project by Kingi et al. (2014).

Resilience is defined as the adaptation that develops in response to challenges, and the person (or system) can become stronger than before (Khanlou and Wray, 2014).

- How do you define resiliency?
- In other Indigenous Communities, resilience has varying meanings such as cultural revitalization etc. What defines your resilience?
- What does flourishing resilience look like?
- How do we promote Southern Tutchone resilience? Through Land-based activity?
- What are some barriers to promoting healthy resilience?
- How do we overcome those barriers?
- What are the unique characteristic to the Southern Tutchone?

After the individual interviews, a new set of questions will be developed from the findings generated from these questions.

All participants will be asked to participate in the talking circle to create a discourse (conversation) about resiliency.

- Would you agree to participate in the second phase of this research study with the other participant in creating a conversation over our definition of resiliency?
 - (If yes) you will be contacted once the themes have been reviewed

(If no) Thank you for participating in the first phase of the study.

Appendix C: Participant Consent Form



**University
of Victoria**

Participant Consent Form

Dan'ke: An Exploration of Resilience in Male Southern Tutchone Youth

You are invited to participate in a study called Dan'ke: An Exploration of Resilience in Male Southern Tutchone Youth that is being conducted by Chris Gleason.

Chris Gleason is a Kinesiology Graduate Student in the School of Exercise, Physical & Health Education at the University of Victoria and you may contact him if you have further questions by phone: (1) 867-689-2556 or email: cgleason19@gmail.com.

As a Graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for a degree in Master of Science in Kinesiology. It is being conducted under the supervision of Patti-Jean Naylor. You may contact my supervisor at (1) 250-721-7844 or email: pjnaylor@uvic.ca.

Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this research project is to explore resilience through the Southern Tutchone view, by engaging the community involved in cultural land-based activities. The aim is to understand how cultural land-based activities (cultural revitalization) builds resilience in male Southern Tutchone youth. The research questions I would like to explore are.

1. What does the concept of resilience from a Southern Tutchone male perspective look and feel like?
2. How does land-based practice(s) contribute to our understanding about resiliency, and as it relates to building positive mental health for (or working with) Southern Tutchone men?

Importance of this Research

Research of this type is important because the findings can contribute to the broader understanding of Indigenous resiliency and how it can be used to build strong mental well-being in Indigenous communities.

Participation

You are being asked to participate in this study because you have been identified in the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation as being active in Land-Based practice. Participants will be asked for consent prior to each session. If participants choose to withdraw at any point of the study their digital data will be erased and any papers will be shredded.

What is involved

If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include an individual Walk Along interview in a natural setting. The questions will explore how resilience is defined in this Indigenous community through Land-Based activity.

Audio-tapes and-written notes, observations will be taken. A transcription will be made.

Inconvenience

Participation in this study may cause some inconvenience to you, including time commitments and group discussions.

Risks

The potential risks to you by participating in this research and they include the potential for falling during the walk and emotional stress as issues of resilience and mental health are discussed. To prevent or to deal with these risks the following steps will be taken: The participants will not be asked to participate if they are not comfortable with the context and the Go Along interview will only take place in an area of the participants choosing.

Benefits

The potential benefits of your participation in this research include creating a strength-based approach for mental health in Southern Tutchone youth and other Indigenous youth.

Compensation

As a way to compensate you for any inconvenience related to your participation, you will be given an honorarium of \$50 for your participation in this study. If you consent to participate in this study, this form of compensation to you must not be coercive. It is unethical to provide undue compensation or incentives to research participants. If you withdraw throughout the study you will still be compensated the \$50.

Anonymity

There are limits to your anonymity due to the nature of the recommendations made by community members for you to participate and by the nature of group activities. It is possible that community members will know you are participating. In terms of protecting your anonymity through full confidentiality, participant's names will not be disclosed. Through the group discussion the participants names will be protected and false names will be generated for the data.

Confidentiality

The confidentiality of the data will be protected by storing the data on a password protected and encrypted local area network drive at the University of Victoria. Any written documents will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the CAFN until moved to a locked cabinet in a locked research lab at the University of Victoria. All specific references/quotes that identify individuals will be suppressed in the analysis and reporting.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others through written documents (a report for participants, a thesis and an academic journal article) and shared with all the participants and oral presentations in the community, at the University and at academic conferences. This information will be made accessible to all the participants in the final written manuscript.

Disposal of Data

Data from this study will be disposed of by erasing all electronic files shredding paper copies, and erasing all of the voice recordings from the cell phone recorder after 10 years.

Contacts

You may contact the individuals involved in carrying out the study at any time. The primary researcher is Chris Gleason email: cgleason@uvic.ca or phone: 867-689-2556.

In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix D: Elder and Youth Theme Table

Table 1. Elder and Youth Theme Table

Elders Themes	
Theme	Quotes
<i>K'ánanaghwát (many bends in the river),</i>	<p>After residential schools after all the people have done. It gets so you don't listen to them anymore. So you know we are a very strong race of people and what we been thorough especially our family is something that uh no other family should go through and that's why I'm very protective about my grandchildren today because I don't want them to ever get into that type of problem that our elders got into... You know my dad was sent to residential school... We were sent off to residential school and within our family we have four different churches so each one of our members our family members were in different schools... They wouldn't send us together. So, you know when you look at resilience to me is part of the way you are treated, and the trust is never going to be there as long as I am living... I just don't trust these people anymore. - Elder 1</p> <p>It's hard, you know it's a structure that when the government looked after us they wanted us to be white people not the Indian Person... They wanted to take the Indian out of us and that's all happening today even with our First Nations now their forgetting that there's a youth and there's the Elders and in the center we have the middle aged people who are employed all the time and the grandparents are the ones that are doing the looking after the grandchildren... - Elder 1</p> <p>After residential schools, kids were taken away. This had been taken back to our villages as a big drunken mess. There was lots of alcohol and drinking all the time, fighting, people dying, freezing to death, all of those things. We came from a very, very healthy nation drugged through the dirt and we had to crawl back out again. You have to watch your parents pass away. A lot to do with alcohol, a lot to do with drugs, a lot to do with not understanding your life. – Elder 1</p> <p>Our people were very adaptive people who have been through a lot since first contact with white people in the 1890's which isn't long ago. They were able adapt to the immense change over that time period into what we are today. People had to go through lots of grief; I myself have gone through lots of grief losing my father at a young age, my brother 20 years ago and my wife 10 years ago. We have to grieve properly and not pick up a bottle of whisky or wine to help us with the pain of grief, rather getting out, exercising and being on a mountain can allow you to think deeply and clear the mind. – Elder 2</p>
<i>Dakeyi (our country),</i>	<p>I remember the chiefs a long time ago especially in the Dalton Post area they used to all the trappers would come in before the river broke open and people would be sitting idle for a couple months all the newborn babies would be brought in for the winter months and our people trapped heavy they looked after the land and comes the First Salmon... Our people quit hunting after that there was no more hunting allowed among our community members from June right through to August because that the time when the women were having their young and that meant the birds were having their young, the moose were having their young, sheep all of that so we respected them. And our people lived off of salmon after that as the salmon migrated up the river that's why most of our people were close to the Dalton Post area because that where the fish came up and then after the first salmon was caught everybody would be in circle and that salmon would be cooked... boiled up and everybody had a sheep horn spoon that they would be drinking soup out of it. Then the chief would ask... He had two maybe three</p>

	<p>elder behind him and that was my grandmother's brother Patty Duncan and you'd ask the first one you were trapping up in my country the last winter what did you see up there and the guy would say maybe there were too many wolves up there. So, he says well we have wolf hunters here we're going to send them up to that country to clean out them wolves. To make better land for our people. The next person would say well there's a big infestation of beetles up that way. He would say that we have people here that know how to burn country out and he would send them up there and tell them you burn that valley out, get rid of all that beetles. And that continued all the way around as people went they told him about the whole country. That way the chief knew that and our reasoning for existing was that we needed to make better habitat for wildlife because our people we had to look after our country and that's why when you look at the old timers they looked after the country and it was up to the grandparents to raise the grandchildren our parents were out all the time. That's lacking now because we don't know what's happening out there. – Elder 1</p> <p>I think when we look at land we look at language as our resources are taken off the land, pretty soon white people aren't going to come back to our land because we have nothing left. You know that is why I say language and land are tied together. If you have nothing left of the land what's going to be there to hold your children to this country? There's going to be no employment for them... There's going to be nothing for them. So, there just going to up and leave and as elders we can't go anywhere... If we don't look after our land, we won't have anything. – Elder 1</p> <p>I'm not a song and dance person but I think that stories and the land portray our culture. I was driving one day with Paddy Jim and he pointed to the mountain pass and said there's a trail there that leads from Kathleen Lake to Canyon Creek. I told him that I knew the trail and had walked it years ago. It is beautiful country. Its things like that, connecting with the knowledge that the elders have about our land and how we are stewards of this land. – Elder 2</p> <p>We need to promote land-based activity and to teach out youth how to respect and use the land and animals. I've heard stories of people shooting a moose and leaving it to rot because the hunter couldn't get to it and its thing like that that needs to be addressed. Youth need to learn how to properly respect animals and the land because we are the stewards. - Elder 2</p>
<p><i>Kánádän</i> (teacher)</p>	<p>I think what really defines our community resilience is [Pause] Our people aren't together like we used to be and the youth are not with the elders and there's a bypass there right now and if you look at the First Nations government they are holding all the money now and so the kids view elders as...you know If you want money they just take it from them but most of the youth go to the First Nations office now and if you look at family groupings, I'm trying to keep my family together and affordability and in all of that. As a grandparent, it is my duty to be in charge of my grandchildren. And a lot of elders aren't doing that anymore because a lot of elders have lost that connection with their youth. So, your youth are going to the band office, going to school to get their dollars they get their home they get so that there isn't any cutting wood for the elders...No more helping the elders. Elder 1</p> <p>The knowledge is also being lost. Youth aren't connecting with elders anymore and there is knowledge being lost because it isn't being shared. Today the youth don't get to interact with elders because the housing gives them a house and the elders are not a part of the family unit anymore. The First Nation takes care of them instead of family and so they don't go to them anymore for help Knowledge is not being passed down. - Elder 2</p> <p>You know my grandchildren are giving them rifles already and it's their duty now to go out and get themselves moose and become a man. Their fourteen years old and that's when you become a man and the first moose you get, you have to bring it in and you</p>

	have to share it with the community. After that we put a big party on for them and those are things that our people are lacking so much. – Elder 1
Youth Themes	
<i>Kinghār āch'ī</i> (having spirit helper)	<p>My resilience based on my own person experience is being able to understand and respect in that understanding of the things we gone through in our life and being able to live with them every day. Resilience is being able to live with the understanding with of what has occurred. You're never going to heal from these things but with understanding them and knowing them you're able to move forward with making it apart of you which is becomes knowledge. - Youth</p> <p>So, if they are tortured, hurt, beaten, you know all these things that we go through coming from parents from residential school that if you help build them up build that resilience within themselves as individuals they will eventually help themselves in the future and going in a positive way. That there's no excuses, they are held accountable for their actions and they have the power to make their own choice. When you ask about resilience in communities my perspective is based on self, yeah communities can do a lot with revitalizing language, revitalizing cultural initiatives on the land but until these young people understand themselves of who they really are and where they come from, that's going to mean nothing. - Youth</p> <p>As soon as you give them their power of choice they're inherently going to follow the positive and promoting resilience is empowering in my opinion. Empowerment is promoting resilience because right now a lot of these programs and a lot of government's organizations are speaking on behalf of youth. This is what youth need, this is what youth want or else they are creating programs that have been done in years before and they are not extending it or they are not utilizing it for the future or they are not in the fact that in our business as youth service providers, every year is different. - Youth</p>
<i>K'āshakwāda</i> (returning trail)	<p>The thing that I love the most is, that I've been taught the most is curiosity. We need to be curious if we are ever going to learn and the Yukon breed curiosity. The young people here are curious and that is such a breeding ground for positive learning. The Yukon has that and it ability to transform in a split second is there and there's a lot of places that are stuck, you know they are stuck. We still have the ability to transform into something beautiful or something terrible. - Youth</p> <p>Innovation is finding a way to get young people back to the land and back to the way we've lost. - Youth</p> <p>Travelling across Canada, the Yukon is extremely unique and doing a lot of work in the NWT our neighbors are different and with the Inuit in Nunavut they are so different. Down south and not even the line that is created by the government. There's a line there from north to south which land-based as soon as you hit that line where there is nothing but buildings and cities and towns and highways that's the line, that's truly the line. When you get into where there's land, there's more land and animals than there are people. There is a difference there and with the Yukon we are still able to get back. We can still live off the land. We can go back to the land and go out there, two hours' drive and live out there for like five years without running to a couple people maybe a couple people during hunting season. - Youth</p>
<i>K'énathāt</i> (thinking)	<p>Society, society is a big one. Our society is based around obedience, based around selfish behavior, based around doing everything for yourself. Materialistic gain our society as a whole, a lot of my main work has been on decolonization, being able to decolonize your mind, your body and understanding what you are doing in day to day life that's basically promoting the assimilation of our people are these things. - Youth</p>

When I go to conferences and speak on my teachings. I went to a leadership and innovation conference and there was 500 youth from across Canada and I'm an entrepreneur and there were five other indigenous that I knew. They separated us and when they spoke of leadership and innovation they were like the prime minister is our leader and innovation is how do we make more money and I'm sitting there like that's messed up. Leadership is people like you who are doing good things in the community, doing good things for good reasons. With a heart that's helping change lives. It's my grandma telling me stories about the land those are my leaders. - Youth

What are we doing now to make that our cultural and connection and our understanding of the land is going to be here in seven generations ahead. That's our job. How are we doing that? We are at that key point right now. The Yukon can pursue the cultural standard in terms of law and honor and respect rather than power and control because we are going down a road of power and control right now. - Youth

Appendix E: Elder and Youth Word Counts

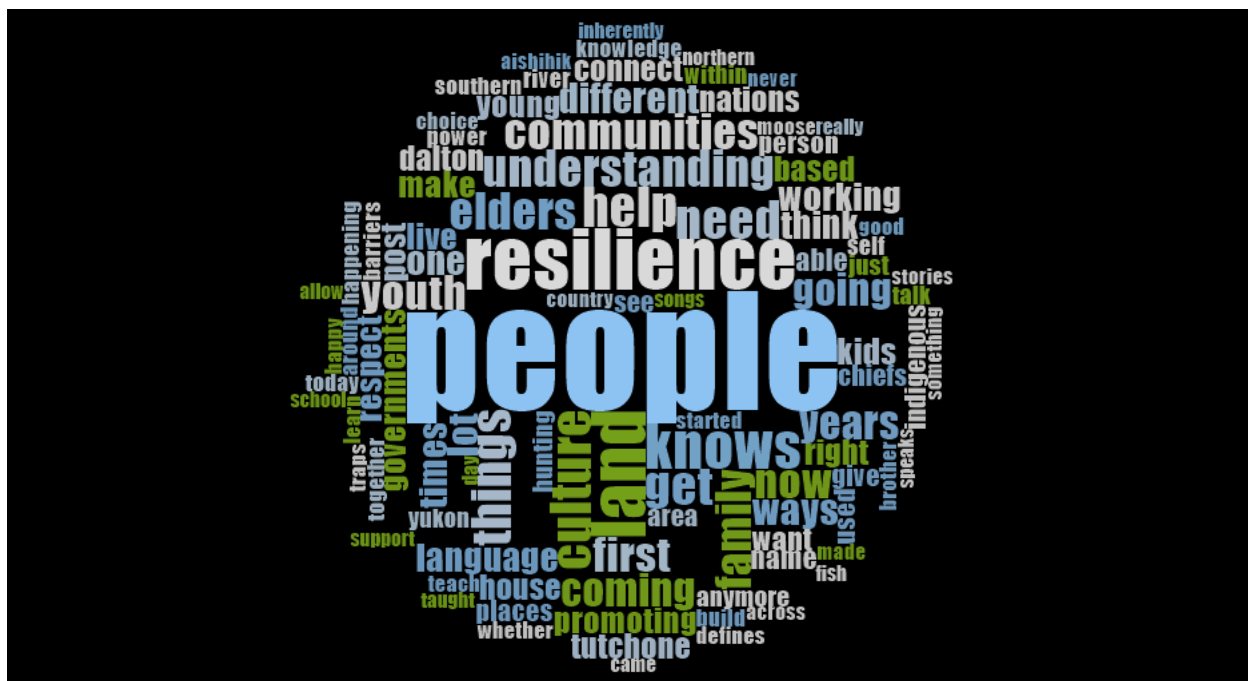


Figure 1. Elder Word Map

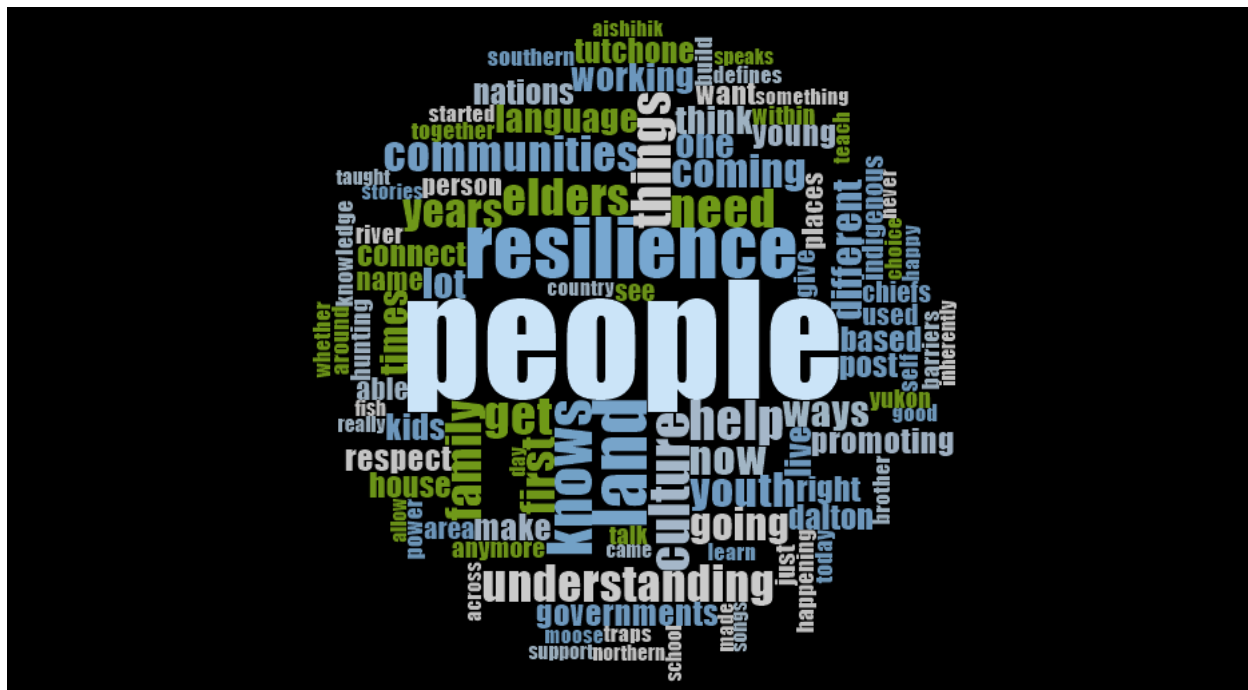


Figure 2. Youth Word Map

Appendix F: Elder Themes and Categories Web

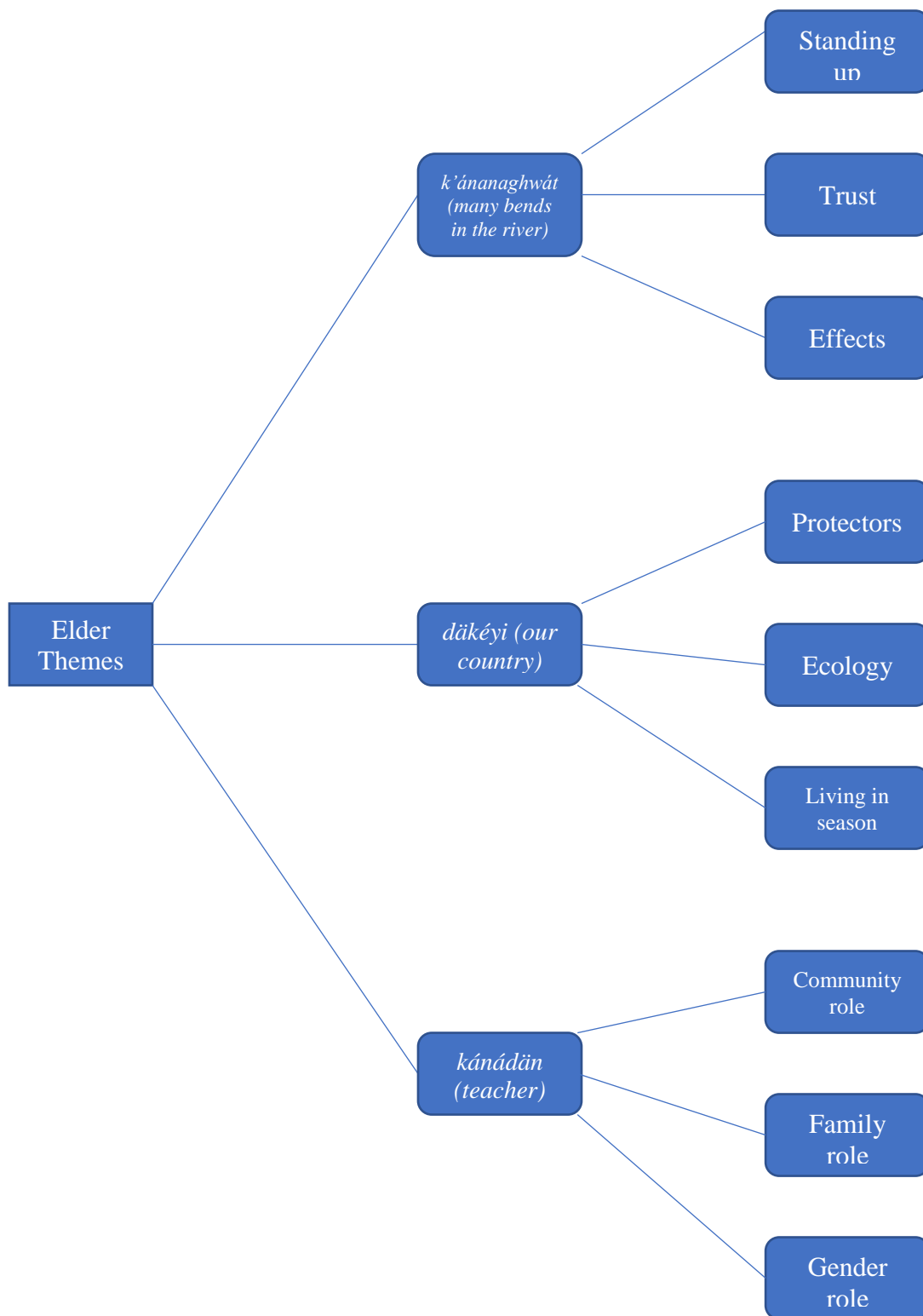


Figure 3. Elder Theme map

Appendix G: Youth Themes and Categories Web.

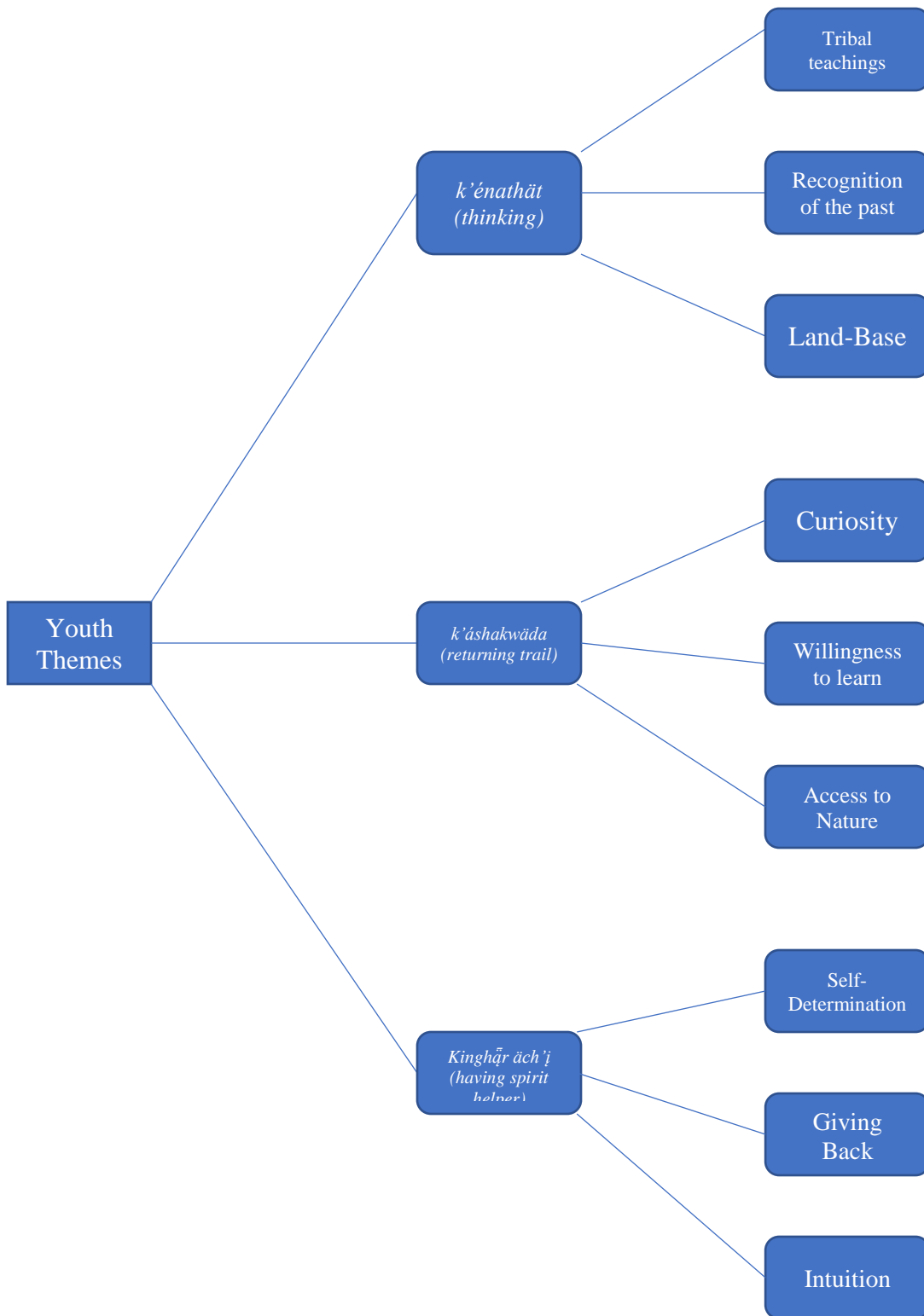


Figure 4. Youth Theme map