"A great general once said the only good Indian is a dead one," and "I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man" (Kliewer 2021). Under the guise of civilizing and assimilating, the goal was to strip their native identities to leave a shell of a man to be molded to fit the white man's society.

Part of this process of "killing the Indian" in many schools included assigning Anglo-style names to the students and imposing English as the only language of instruction, in which the linguistic connection Native children had to their ancestry and lineage was destroyed, preventing cultures and languages from being passed down through future generations. Because punishment that ranged in severity was also often given out for speaking native languages, survivors were "so traumatized that they would not allow future generations to learn the language" (Newland 2024, 87). Forced contact with children from other tribes was another method to promote the English language by the Haskell Institute in Kansas, for example, in which children from 31 different tribes were mixed to prevent the use of their native language and necessitate the use of English. This method was also used to ensure the offspring of young graduates only spoke English (Department of the Interior 2022, 40). The intrinsic racism in this settler project is reflected in the erasure of Indigenous language because the belief in inferior Indigenous races and their epistemology was legitimized by the idea of those who are seen in the "mythical, inferior, pre-modern, and pre-scientific stage of human knowledge" (Gomez 2011, 20). This act of epistemic genocide, severing the ties between indigenous peoples and their ancestral knowledge, parallels the curriculum enforced in the Native boarding school system.

The dominance of the Eurocentric education structure is reflected in both school curricula and the segregated structure of education. School curricula in boarding schools often focused on gendered trades, such as housekeeping for girls and carpentry for boys, while some curricula didn't even teach basic subjects, such as math, for example (McAllister and Krawczewski 2023). Because Natives were not considered equal to whites, much of their education focused on manual labor that benefited the white majority. Rather than allowing careers such as doctors and lawyers, boarding schools were another form of segregated schools (Waxman 2022). Frederick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920, highlights the 1898 superintendent, Estelle Reel, in Spokane, Washington, who created a curriculum for the Natives that was low-level with low expectations and "extremely gendered classes" (Oregonedu 2025). Men were limited to farming, such as "light chores... fix broken tools...in the fifth year, students learned to plow," while women were limited to household work, such as baking, as "every girl should learn to bake bread and 'must be taught how to cut bread into dainty, thin slices" (Hoxie 1947, 196). He further contended that these educational institutions "would do nothing to alter the Indians' marginal economic existence or to equip tribesmen with skills that might enable them to challenge the political power of their non-Indian neighbors" (Hoxie 1947, 209). The structure of education offered to the Natives would only lead them to low-paying jobs and subordinate positions in society, reinforcing the white domination of Native Americans.

Other abuses included cutting off their traditionally long hair (Kliewer 2021), bathing students in kerosene, and more extreme "physical, sexual, cultural, and spiritual abuse and neglect" (TNNABSCH 2025). As part of the Road to Healing initiative under the Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative,

a nationwide tour was launched in 2022 to listen to the stories of survivors. An Alaska participant recalled some of the sexual abuse as their school "attracted pedophiles... many matrons, men and women, perpetrated themselves upon little boys and girls... matrons were sodomizing boys... We saw girls going home in the middle of the school year pregnant, and a lot of these children were like 11, 12, or 13 years old" (Newland 2024, 82). This testimony exposes some of the patterns of abuse common within the boarding school system and underscores much of the intergenerational trauma inflicted on Native communities. Punishments were also similar in severity, as some schools also allowed "flogging, withholding food, and solitary confinement" (Lambert 2022). About 973 child deaths were also recorded between 1819 and 1969 based on the Department of the Interior (Newland 2024, 15). Many native children were killed due to "abuse, neglect, malnourishment, or disease" and were buried "in unmarked graves or under tombstones that misidentified or ascribed to them Anglicized names" (H. Con. Res. 53, 2021, 3). Even after death, native children were not given respect or recognition. Although this is one devastating consequence of the settler colonial boarding schools and systematic epistemic genocide, their graves represent the lasting legacy of colonialism, where culture, knowledge, and identities were disregarded and destroyed.

Among these devastating and violent acts was the separation of families, an integral part of the Federal Indian policy and the broader project of territorial dispossession, as exemplified in the previous section. To carry out the tasks laid out by the U.S. government, the military was often called in, such as the devastating removal of 104 children from the Third Mesa of Hopi in 1890. Four years later, two armed U.S. cavalry returned to the Hopi tribe to arrest 19 Hopi leaders and send them to Alcatraz, 1000 miles away from their homes and families, because they refused to send any more children away (Newland 2024, 4). The separation of Native families resulted in intergenerational trauma, a loss of heritage, and remains one of the most tragic aspects of Native American life today.

Section 2: The Classic Colonial Project:

Similar to the settler colonial project, the use of education as a tool for epistemic genocide in this classic colonial project is rooted in racist ideology. This project, however, took on a different philosophy of "education for democracy," which heavily influenced American education policy in the Philippines. This idea was based on equal educational opportunity in the archipelago; although similarly, it focused on enlightening and civilizing the Filipinos (Koh 1965, 141). President McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation proclamation emphasized the American goal to "take them all and to educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and, by God's grace, do the very best we could by them" (McKinley 1900). From the very beginning, American policy was rooted in a similar notion to that of the settler project: an inferior group in need of uplifting and civilizing.

This belief reflects the Euro-American supremacist ideology of their ways of knowing as inherently superior, later justifying the erasure or replacement of Filipino identities. Education was a central priority during the U.S. occupation, as outlined by William Taft, the first governor of the Philippines. In his article, American Education in the Philippines, he writes that under American guidance and control, American policy aimed at preparing the Filipinos "for popular self-government" through the use of "primary and secondary education offered freely to all the Filipino people;

and, second, by extending to the Filipinos wider and wider practice in self-government (Taft 1905, 264). To begin this endeavor, the centralized public school system was established by the Philippine Commission in 1901. After which, 600 Christian teachers known as Thomasites were recruited from the U.S. (Mendoza 2021, 96). The public school system was developed under the direction of Frederick W. Atkinson; however, because the earlier school system provided by the Spanish, although poorly distributed, the Filipino population was more familiar with Western-style education (Francisco 2015, 16). He believed that "as soon as possible, the people of these Islands shall become Americanized... You cannot make Americans of the adult Filipino... we may make of the child what we choose" (McMahon 2011, 50). Because schools were also the main "contact zones" between the colonizer and the colonized, education was similarly used to shape Filipinos according to their image (McMahon 2011, 49) and was therefore the central tool of Americanization, paralleling that of the settler colonial project.

Gramsci's notion of hegemony illustrates when "a ruling social group exercises its hold over society by means of the sociocultural institutions...hegemony entails consensus acquired through the free acceptance of a particular worldview and its related values" (McMahon 2011, 50). While the United States maintained control militarily and economically in the archipelago, by controlling education, the colonizers maintained the power to control the worldviews and ideals of students based on Western culture, even at the expense of indigenous knowledge. American policies were also "based on the conviction that American political, economic, and social institutions were capable of solving Filipino problems" (Koh 1965, 39). Similar to the settler project, the goal of American education was to turn Filipinos into "versions of the idealized American citizen—democratic and Protestant" (Dawe 2014, 66). By prioritizing American history and Eurocentric perspectives, which will be evident in the following section on methods, this education system was an example of "systematically downgraded Filipino nationalism, prioritizing American history and culture over local knowledge and tradition" (Paniza 2024). This legacy of racism and cultural erasure bled into the structure of education and the curriculum of American colonial education in the Philippines.

Methods of Erasure and Genocide:

In 1900, after the Taft Commission established civil government in the islands, Atkinsons recommendations as superintendent led to the 1901 Taft Philippine Commission's educational act that established a Bureau of Public Instruction, the use of English as the language of instruction, the separation of religious instruction from the regular curriculum, normal, agricultural, and trade schools, and the recruitment of American teachers to serve (Francisco 2015, 19) In alignment with President William McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation, a central goal was to make English the basis of all public school instruction. Replacement of the native language began when English became the official language and the only "medium of instruction in all public educational institutions" (Koh 1965, 139). This was justified by William Howard Taft, the first governor of the Philippines, who declared the hope of the United States Government "to give them a common language and that language is English...they will breathe in the spirit of Anglo-Saxon individualism" (Dawe 2014, 66). Although the United States never overtly banned the Philippine language, "it's easy to see how this English-only ideology was transferred to the overseas territory" (Dawe 2014, 67).

This linguistic imperialism, similar to that in Native boarding schools, was central to the process of epistemic genocide and Americanization by slowly separating Filipinos from their native languages.

This also reflects the colonial disregard of the Filipino language, as Leonard Wood, the first governor of the Moro Province, called local languages “crude, devoid of literature, and limited in range” (Milligan 2005). As a result, students were “virtually illiterate in English” (Paniza 2024) because of the added challenge of learning a second language but it also “left many illiterate in their national and local languages” (Paniza 2024), as illustrated by Salvador P. Lopez, a prominent Filipino diplomat and former president of the University of the Philippines.

The establishment of English as the official language of instruction also created extra obstacles, as exemplified by Alfonso Felix Jr., president of the Historical Conservation Society. His 1976 American Institutions in the Philippines contends that “the United States could have accepted this linguistic situation here; this was not done” (Hunt 1988, 354) about Spanish as the official language of the Philippines, as well as numerous local languages such as Tagalog. He further contended that, “it led to our present linguistic anarchy… English is slowly vanishing as Spanish was once made to vanish” (Hunt 1988, 354). Not only was there the added burden of learning English that slowed students and lowered educational achievement, but many Filipinos felt that nationalism “demands an indigenous language” (Hunt 1988, 355). Despite how native Filipinos felt about any step of the educational development, the United States continued to develop a flawed system that contributed to the loss of knowledge of indigenous languages.

The structure of the curriculum was also designed, as stated in Taft's American Education in the Philippines, “to prepare the people under our guidance and control for popular self-government. First, we are attempting to do this by offering primary and secondary education freely to all the Filipino people” (McMahon 2011, 51). Because a primary goal of education was self-government, the new civil government demanded better academic instruction (Koh 1965, 141). Vocational education was, however, strongly emphasized and heavily inspired by the theories of Booker T. Washington, who influenced educators such as Fred Atkinson (Hunt 1988, 356). Atkinson was wary of “overdoing the matter of higher education and unfitting the Filipinos for practical work… The education of the masses must be an agricultural and industrial one, after the pattern of our Tuskegee one at home” (Hunt 1988, 357). He references the Tuskegee Institute of the late 19th century, which promoted economic independence through self-help and hard work, focusing on vocational and industrial training (National Park Service 2024). However, aside from the lack of resources, there was heavy pushback from Filipinos who did not accept manual labor as true education. Although Washington used industrial training to help his fellow African Americans gain economic independence, his ideology reflects the way colonial America viewed Filipinos.

Implementing this model in the Philippines reinforces the racial hierarchy that parallels that of the United States, where marginalized groups seen as inferior were denied equal access to higher education and instead were steered toward manual labor. This type of education system parallels the gendered and low-level education of the Native boarding schools. However, data from the Monroe Commission revealed the rejection of blue-collar careers through analysis of 16 graduating classes over a decade, as a majority of students used their trade

school credentials as a "roundabout route" (Hunt 1988, 359) for white-collar careers. Similar to the Native boarding schools, Filipinos were also trained in segregated trades in many instances. Filipino boys were taught manual work and encouraged to learn agriculture and farming, while the girls received training in the domestic arts (Koh 1965, 141), preventing students from learning skills they might succeed in due to traditional gender roles.

Numerous problems also arose throughout the development of public schools, such as schools closing during times of financial depression and poor attendance. Overall, schools could not accommodate all students of schooling age, and aside from the high dropout rate, inadequate funding, and language issues, it took most students seven years to graduate, and many of those who did "had the reading competence of American students in grade five" (Hunt 1988, 356). While the goal of universal education was never reached, the American education system succeeded in raising literacy and expanding schools, although much of the educational development came at the cost of Indigenous epistemology and knowledge, which was overshadowed by Western ideology.

Specific literature in the high school curriculum, chosen by the Bureau of Education, further perpetuated American exceptionalism, such as Up From Slavery by Booker T. Washington. Although this book describes the incredible journey from slavery to educator and leader, his writing on race in America emphasizes "the individual and gives little heed to the effects of systemic racism" and similarly emphasizes "hard work and acceptance of racial distinctions" (McMahon 2011, 61). This message was appealing to colonial educators, as exemplified in the magazine Philippine Education, which stated that Washington's idea "is not to give the negroes a fancy book education" (McMahon 2011, 60), but rather to teach them that practical, industrious hard work is what the world needs. His emphasis on education as the key to success, rather than addressing racial discrimination and systemic inequalities, parallels the colonial U.S. government's approach, which used education as a "civilizing" tool for the so-called racially inferior and reinforced their dominance through it.

Harrie Cole, one of the first Thomasites, illustrated the racist ideology through letters written in 1902 where he stated, "The more I see of these lazy, dirty, indolent people, the more I come to despise them. I came here with the desire to help them…and to try to uplift them. But it seems to me a useless task" (McMahon 2011, 54). American colonizers justified their presence in the archipelago through a superiority complex like that of Cole, framing Filipinos as inferior and therefore in need of civilizing intervention. His correspondence from November 7, 1902, further reflects the colonial ideology that Anglo-Saxons have "struggled for hundreds of years to attain the present imperfect standard of government. How can we expect a colored race, with the baser natures and the natural tendencies to evil, to attain…even to a crude imitation of a good form of government?" (McMahon 2011, 54). The prejudice evident in Cole's letters bled into the very foundations of the colonial education system, leading to the erasure of Filipino epistemologies.

Though separated geographically, this vision, as explained by British administrator Lord Macaulay, echoes the ideology that served as the foundation for the boarding school educational system. He illustrated the use of education as a mechanism to bridge the gap between the colonizer and the colonized by forming a "class of persons, Indian in look and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (McMahon 2011, 51).

By using education as a tool to strip Indigenous peoples of their identities and culture to manufacture them into Americanized colonial subjects, it is evident that the "Kill the Indian, save the man" ideology served as the foundation not only for the Native boarding school system but also for the Filipino colonial education. Many even denied that there was "any Philippine culture at all, including Theodore Roosevelt, who dismissed the entire archipelago's population as a "jumble of savage tribes" (Ells 1995, 612). A similar characterization by a United States senator who described Filipinos as "inferior but akin to the Negro" (Ells 1995, 612) reflected the entrenched racial hierarchies by comparing Filipinos to black Americans who were also subjected to extreme racism and segregation based on the notion of an inferior race.

This rhetoric is prevalent as it was utilized to justify colonialism in the name of progress. While epistemic genocide manifested differently in both colonial projects, both served the same purpose of erasing indigenous knowledge. Despite the different logistical aspects, both forms of epistemic violence succeeded in devaluing and suppressing native epistemology. This research in this chapter demonstrates how, within both U.S. colonial projects, education was a primary tool of epistemic genocide. Though the methods differed, from violent assimilation and family separation to cultural displacement and Americanization, the justification for eradicating Indigenous forms of knowledge was constant. As they were built to uphold colonial dominance by reshaping identity, culture, and knowledge, these systems of knowledge destruction were not just educational but also truly political. As I move to chapter four, I change my focus to one aspect of the long-term consequences of epistemic genocide and colonialism: identity formation.

Chapter Four: Colonial Identity Formation:

In this chapter, I will explore how identity formation was shaped through both settler colonial and classical colonial frameworks, focusing on the experiences of Native American and Filipino communities. I argue that colonialism not only dispossessed land and people but also disrupted native identity formation, which continues to manifest today. A central concept of decolonial theory is attention to identity formation, which highlights how colonial legacies continue to affect how marginalized peoples view themselves and are viewed by others. I will use a decolonial lens in this chapter by centering indigenous voices as a method of elevating and reclaiming knowledge and history, drawing from personal narratives and lived experiences. In this chapter, I will present two case studies: William Carson's Exploring the Historical Complexities of Native Identity Formation, Blood Quantum and Modern Tribal Enrolment Criteria and David Perley's Reflecting on Colonial Education Experiences, both of which share different perspectives of Indigenous identity formation. These personal narratives illustrate how colonial ideologies are embedded in the identity of indigenous peoples, and through the use of scholars such as Franz Fanon, Anibal Quijano, and Glen Coulthard, I will examine ideas such as recognition, the colonial gaze, internalized inferiority, and racialized identity. As a part of my comparative analysis, I will also look at both case studies, the settler and classic colonial projects, separately, and focus on identity formation during the moment of contact and identity formation in the contemporary setting. Together, these scholars demonstrate that colonial, racialized, and inferior identities are examples of continued experiences of oppression.

The work of Fanon, Coulthard, and Quijano all demonstrates how colonialism surpasses material domination but also deeply shapes the psychological and community identities of colonized peoples. Their concepts, such as the colonial gaze, internalized inferiority, recognition politics, and the coloniality of power, reveal how Indigenous identities have been constructed through colonial domination and erasure. Colonialism has ultimately disrupted and distorted Indigenous identity through psychological internalization, legal classifications, and racialized social structures. In this chapter, I examine how understanding identity formation requires critical analysis, epistemic de-linking, and resistance as I move to Chapter Four.

Identity Formation within the Settler Colonial Project: Racialization and Internalized Inferiority of Native Identity:

William Carson's Exploring the Historical Complexities of Native Identity Formation, Blood Quantum, and Modern Tribal Enrollment Criteria illustrates the complexities of Native identity formation in connection with Quijano's imposition of racialized categories, which strip away indigenous identity and reconstruct it within colonial frameworks. As a biracial member of one of the 19 Pueblo Tribal Nations of New Mexico, Ohkay Owingeh, Carson illustrates the struggles of dual classifications of indigenous peoples (Carson 2024). Carson's work draws on B. M. J. Brayboy's Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education, which highlights indigenous peoples can be both "citizens of self-governed nations and part of a unique racial classification" (Brayboy, 2005); however, despite diverse indigenous culture and identity, the non-indigenous world often sees them only in terms of race. Native identity is often challenged through complicated political and racial environments with "non-Native people who have been conditioned to racialize Indigenous identity and by settler colonial influences on Tribal membership criteria" (Brayboy, 2005). Carson reflects not only on the personal experiences of racialization of indigenous identity but also on cultural identity and well-being. While he addresses the gaps in research on critical examination of blood quantum (BQ) laws and Native identity formation, he aims to address the racialization of indigenous peoples and how that affects tribal enrollment and personal identity.

The BQ laws, as insisted upon by the federal government, are a series of laws from the 19th and 20th centuries that determine if an Indigenous individual is eligible for enrollment in their tribe and are based on racial purity (Carsons 2024). Reducing indigenous peoples to these racial classifications has historically been used to restrict the civil and property rights of Indigenous individuals, such as the 1924 Racial Integrity Act that established strict racial codifying where one could identify only as white or non-white, leading to the state of Virginia's erasure of Indigenous peoples from public record (Feller, 2022). BQ policies have also systematically decreased the native populations throughout generations as the percentage of "Indian blood" (Carson 2024) decreases over time until, legally, there is no one left eligible to be enrolled. These blood quantum levels were also weaponized simultaneously with land dispossession as the Dawes Act of 1887 used BQ:

"*To allocate land to individual Tribal members…with more than or equal to one-fourth blood. The Dawes Act resulted in the loss of almost ninety million acres of Tribal land. Via bookkeeping, the US government confiscated land that was previously under Tribal control, citing that populations were too small to possess larger territories*" (Merjian, 2010).

Through the dispossession of land based on imposed racial categories, it is evident that indigenous peoples in the U.S. were viewed solely as racial beings whose use of "fractions to determine Tribal Nation citizenship represents a clear attack on human dignity" (Pearson, 2017).

Although there is a gap in meaningful research on BQ laws and identity conflicts, there is research on the relationship between tribal membership, cultural belonging, and identity. As emphasized in Tribal Disenrollment Demands a Tribal Answer, "Tribal membership "is more than mere citizenship in an Indian Tribe. It is the essence of one's identity, belonging to a community, connection to one's heritage and an affirmation of their human place in this life and world" (Norman et al., 2017). This strongly connects with some of Carson's other findings as he reveals that "strong cultural identity is positively correlated with healthy psychosocial outcomes...participation in cultural events, community, and identity with mental health" (Hoffman et al., 2021; Whitesell et al., 2009) and "positive cultural identity can help an individual have a stronger sense of belonging, purpose, social support, and self-worth" (Berry, 1994). BQ and settler colonial laws, however, not only limit legal enrollment into tribes but also prevent indigenous peoples from having a strong cultural indigenous identity.

Although currently, tribal nations are free to choose how enrollment is determined, the legacies, which quantified Indigenous identity through fractions, represent the ways indigenous identities were constructed through colonial frameworks. A central focus of this chapter is the impact of epistemicide and epistemic genocide on identity formation, specifically, in this section, how settler colonial frameworks imposed and replaced Indigenous cultural identities with mathematical and racialized logic.

The use of BQ levels, in itself, represents a form of epistemic genocide. The BQ classifications and racialized colonial identity dominated and disrupted Indigenous determinations of tribal membership and their views of identity and belonging. They reduced indigenous peoples to numbers while simultaneously dispossessing them of their land.

The American Colonial Education Experience:

David Perley's narrative, Reflecting on Colonial Education Experiences, reflects on the effects of colonial educational institutions in the U.S. on shaping indigenous identity through his accounts of his time at the Tobique Indian Day School and later at other provincial schools. In his book, Perley argues what I have argued in my previous chapter, that one of the primary goals of colonial education was assimilation into the societies that had established themselves within the countries of the colonized. However, not only are languages, worldviews, beliefs, traditions, and ancestral teachings suppressed or devalued, but "colonial education attacks the core of one's identity...therefore, such an education causes emotional pain, misery, and agony for students who are exposed to an assimilation philosophy and process" (Perley 2019, 259). An important aspect of his indigenous community was their language, which tied them together. In his community, everyone spoke Wolastoqey except in their local church and the Indian day school, where the ancestral language was allowed. However, language remained one of the binding elements of their community, and their elders emphasized this importance to their native identity as it was what made them "Wolastoqew" (Perley 2019, 265). He emphasizes the pride in his identity and ancestral background as he wrote:

"I loved my language, my culture, and the teachings of our Elders. I was immersed in the cultural foundation of my community. The relationships that evolved within the community reinforced my identity. They placed me in a safe, respectful, and nourishing environment. The community provided a source of strength for all community members. Consequently, I developed a positive self-esteem and I felt secure in my Wolastoqey identity" (Perley 2019, 267).

However, his attendance at Tobique rearranged his identity as he recalls how the "education" attacked every aspect of his culture and identity. He recalled that "it was not a community school... it was a colonial school...imposing a foreign language, values, beliefs, and worldviews resulting in the separation of children from the values and belief system held by our family, elders, and community members" (Perley 2019, 268). As expanded in chapter 2, this school reflects common themes throughout colonial schools in not only the U.S. during the boarding school era but also the Philippines, whose main goals reflect assimilation and Americanization. Fanon's theories of internalized inferiority and the colonial gaze reflect strongly in Perley's testimony as he further recalls the early years of his colonial education when he first adopted:

"*Negative feelings towards my own identity as an 'Indian.' In school, I learned that 'Indians' were despised and that to be an 'Indian' was considered by mainstream society to be uncivilized, savage, ignorant, stupid, slow...and backward. We were made to believe that everything about being 'Indian' was negative, and we were therefore forced to reject our identity as Indians and adopt the ways of the non-Natives. The racist attitudes exhibited by the nuns had a devastating impact on my self-esteem. By the end of grade six, I was so ashamed of being 'Indian' that it placed me on a personal path of rejection and denial*" (Perley 2019, 271).

His experience demonstrates how colonial education functions as a tool that imposes a negative, colonial view on Indigenous peoples so heavily that not only do they become disconnected from their cultural roots, but they internalize the external inferiority imposed on them and experience that they are forced to see themselves as colonial subjects or lesser than objects. The use of curriculum also had damaging effects on identity, as their books either ignored native peoples, or if the "indians" were mentioned, they were "described as 'uncivilized, savage, primitive people.' The images portrayed in the textbooks were negative, degrading, and dehumanizing... the primary message from the nuns was that we were inferior to 'non-Natives'." (Perley 2019, 272). The framing of indigenous existence was intentional and central to the colonial education systems, which used curricula and degrading narratives to chip away at indigenous self-worth, ancestral pride, and individual identity. By the time Perley made it to high school, he had low self-esteem, and he recalls that he was

"*Ashamed of my 'Indian' identity. My spirit was broken. I was conditioned to believe that we were inferior to the non-Natives... I was a target of racist, derogatory terms... it seemed that a few teachers enjoyed reading passages that described "Indians" as savage, primitive, and uncivilized people. The spotlight was extremely uncomfortable when these stereotypes and misconceptions surfaced in the classrooms*" (Perley 2010, 283).

Throughout his writing, he often recalls feelings of pain, bitterness, anger, and resentment that resurfaced as he wrote this. His story reflects the psychological scars that remain with him today. His story reveals the broader process of epistemic genocide, deliberately destroying or devaluing indigenous culture, language, ways of being, or identity as exemplified in Exploring

the Historical Complexities of Native Identity Formation, Blood Quantum and Modern Tribal Enrolment Criteria. Not only was knowledge reconstructed through the colonial system, but indigenous identity and self-worth were reconstructed through shame, racism, inferiority, etc. In my next section, I will focus on identity formation within the classic colonial context in the Philippines, and although individual and collective experiences and stories differ, they will reflect the broader impact of colonialism on indigenous identity and how that leads to the delinking and undoing of epistemic violence.

Identity Formation within the Classical Colonial Project: Filipino Identity and Nationality

Resil B. Mojares's The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule analyzes the formation of Filipino nationality and identity as it was shaped during the U.S. colonial period. As America consolidated its rule in the Philippines, cultural work was stimulated because of the drive for "social and cultural self-assertion that had been building up in the late nineteenth century, suppressed…created by the transition from one colonial order to another" (Mojare 2006, 12). At the same time, the U.S. "carried out knowledge-building projects… material and mental infrastructures were built" (Majore 2006, 12), which provoked cultural work and self-assertion of their identity. Although, as argued in the previous chapter, educational institutions worked to suppress Filipino identity and epistemology to replace it with Americanism, the new resources and infrastructure were utilized "in resisting a foreign invasion.

This is evident in the examples of patriotic kundimans, "seditious" plays, and political novels" (Mojare 2006, 14), which reflect the feelings of loss of identity due to "rapid Americanization" (Mojare 2006, 14). Filipino nationalists, including author Jorge Bocobo, voiced concerns over the "winds of custom that flow from across the Pacific are beginning to rock the edifice of Filipino virtues… qualities of the Filipino race are in danger" (Majore 2006, 14). Others echoed these feelings, calling for the preservation and fostering of their filipinismo or "the true genius and spirit that make for a distinctive Filipino personality and nationality" (Majore 2006, 14). Although some Filipinos or "americanistas" encouraged American assimilation as they criticized their inheritance of a "backwards" culture in need of Americanization and education. This mirrors Fanon's argument of a fractured sense of self and internalized inferiority as the colonized internalize the imposed colonial viewpoints of superiority of the colonizer and shape their views to reflect the colonial values. Quijano's coloniality of power similarly illustrates how colonialism doesn't end with political and economic control or exploitation but with the imposed epistemologies that bleed into the culture and identity of the colonized.

This view, however, was a minority view and Filipinonismo heavily triumphed over Americanismo (Majore 2006, 15). It is important to note that while educational institutions and early laws such as the Sedition Law and Flag Law (Majore 2006, 16) suppressed Filipino identity and culture, Filipinism was tolerated and eventually encouraged by the U.S., and although their imposition still left lasting effects on Filipino identity. Music, language, and art were tools used to preserve tradition and Filipino identity under American occupation. Artists like Francisco Santiago, whose sentiments were recorded as he held public recitals in Chicago in 1924, reflect the need to be recognized as civilized… as he wrote, "I should do my part for propaganda for our country. I wanted the American public to perceive that we are not savages..." (Majore 2006, 21). Similarly, Filipino novelist N.V.M.

Gonzalez, who calls it the "Jones Law syndrome," a desire to impress the world (mostly the Americans, of course) that Filipinos are not as uncivilized as they had been represented" (Majore 2006, 21). Fanon's arguments are again reflected in the attempts of the colonized to gain recognition and humanity in the eyes of the colonizer, although, like Coulthard argues, the reliance on this recognition and the desire to impress entrenches the colonial hierarchies in which the worth of the colonized is measured by the oppressor.

While American influence inspired some cultural and educational development in the Philippines, the economic, political and cultural dependency on the U.S. that the" Filipino could find out where he stood he or she had to deal with a veritable flood of ideas, images, and goods from the West" (Majore 2006, 22) and "National histories were conventionalized; national symbols decreed; arts-and-crafts museumized;...The process of national identity-formation was hierarchical, selective, and biased" (Majore 2006, 22). The hierarchical identity construction as harmful and reinforced through education was further critiqued by Bocobo as he critiques Americanization further and Filipinos educated within U.S. colonial education, as he stated, do not:

"Possess that higher culture that the older Filipinos have... nor the power of "profound and original thinking" (because of this education's bias for the technical and utilitarian). Bocobo concluded: "America has been able to help the Filipinos only in things material, but morally and spiritually, its influence has been unwittingly harmful" (Majore 2006, 24).

Ultimately, Filipino identity under U.S. colonial rule was shaped by more than assimilation but also growth, resistance, and internalized colonial logic. Beyond political and economic control, the imposition of Western knowledge systems and cultural hierarchies shaped how Filipinos saw themselves, their culture, and history. However, Filipino nationalism remained resilient, and although there should be value put on the transformation of Filipino society under U.S. control, it is vital to be aware of what was "stratified, excluded, or left unfinished" (Majore 2006, 27). In the next section, I turn to Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales and Edward R. Curammeng, who examine the legacy of U.S. colonial education in shaping Filipino identity by imposing Western values.

Filipino identity against the American inheritance of schooling

Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales and Edward R. Curammeng's Education at War: The Fight for Students of Color in America's Public Schools, focusing on chapter 10: Pedagogies of Resistance: Filipina/o "Gestures of Rebellion" against the Inheritance of American Schooling examines how U.S. colonial education in the Philippines imposed Western and Eurocentric values on Filipino communities, which marginalized Filipino cultural identities. This chapter draws on critiques from critical race theory and ethnic studies to expose how colonialism maintains white supremacy and imperialism (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng, 2018, 230). The use of colonial education as a tool of subjugation was reflected in the words of a Filipino historian, Renato Constantino, who declared that "the most effective means of subjugating a people is to capture their minds" (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng 2018, 230), which was achieved through efforts such as "English-only instruction, deference to American customs and values, and the installment of a white teaching force" (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng 2018,

230). This chapter also draws on legal scholar Sora Han's powerful statement that situates schooling as a battlefield. As U.S. involvement is often downplayed, this perspective creates "an intentional interrogation of schooling as a mechanism ensuring the maintenance of American imperialism" (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng 2018, 230). By shifting the perspective, using these scholars, I can analyze the effects of epistemicide on identity formation in a way that focuses on how delegitimizing indigenous knowledge systems instills identity and cultural inferiority among young Filipinos.

Part of this chapter also focuses on the experiences of Filipino Americans and the idea of split selves, "that highlights the painful effects of colonialism on identity while also shedding light on the hopefulness of decolonization" (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng 2018, 232), which is vital in allowing others to tell their stories and understand how U.S. colonial logic was imposed through education. The authors also use the words of Lina M. Pierce, whose experience examining identity through colonialism helped her:

> *"To understand the narratives of community and nation critical to colonization (and subsequently, decolonization). The politics of my identity are meaningful when understood as belonging to more than just me or my family and extending beyond the life histories of my grandparents and great-grandparents into a colonial history spanning four hundred years"* (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng 2018, 234).

Understanding identity as not just individual or familial but historical illustrates how you cannot separate identity formation from the broader legacies of colonization. Personal identity remains situated within a national and cultural history, which in this case is marked by domination, erasure, and resistance. Drawing on Quijano's coloniality of power, colonial narratives and structures also remain embedded in what defines nations and communities.

This chapter also draws on Filipino scholar and professor Leny Strobel, who explains how "the educational institutions during this period became an instrument for instilling the idea that American ideas, culture, and educational system were superior to the cultural and educational legacies of Spanish colonization and the Indigenous Filipino culture" (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng 2018, 232). The use of educational institutions rather than direct violence or other forms of colonialism allows for U.S. imperialism to be less easily recognized. As a result of U.S. imperialism, Filipinos have "suffered from a colonial mentality, a psychosocial state of war resulting in a deeply rooted inferiority that has affected them regardless of geography or generation" (David 2013, Enriquez 1992, Nadal 2011). Although much of this chapter focuses on Filipinos in the U.S., its relevance to Filipino identity formation is still critical because, as stated above, colonial mentality and psychological impacts stem from the same U.S. colonial education system implemented in the Philippines, and it further represents the lasting effects despite geography or generation.

It is vital to understand how colonialism is embedded in "the institutional, interpersonal,
and internalized levels" because it is "embedded in our 'common sense' that we are often unaware of how it has been 'constructed, legitimized, and perpetuated to maintain social control through the privileging of more powerful social groups" (Tintiangco-Cubales, Curammeng 2018, 235). Colonial education was not only a tool of instruction but a tool of domination that bled into the self-perceptions and identities of generations of Filipinos. As Tintiangco-Cubales and Curammeng argue,

the internalization of inferiority reflecting colonial logic became a part of our 'common sense,' which allowed colonial ideologies to persist. The legacy of U.S. colonial education in the Philippines is not merely a part of history; but it continues to shape cultural identity and community consciousness.

Overall, this chapter reveals how colonialism affected Indigenous identity formation through the imposition of racial hierarchies, assimilation, and the internalization of inferiority. Through blood quantum laws, colonial education, or cultural displacement, both colonial projects worked to disrupt and fracture Indigenous self-perceptions and community identity. Through the work of Fanon, Coulthard, and Quijano, I have illustrated how identity formation is not just inherited but intentionally constructed. As I move into Chapter Four, I will focus on colonial identity and education in shaping how Indigenous peoples resist colonialism and reclaim their epistemologies, culture, and agency on their terms.

Chapter Five: Indigenous Resistance:

In Chapters Two and Three, I analyzed the role of epistemic violence in shaping US settler colonialism and US classic colonialism in the Philippines and how that shaped identity formation for indigenous peoples and nations. This chapter will examine scholars such as Linda Smith and Filipino scholar Renato Constantino, whose work provides essential frameworks for decolonial resistance. They focus on reclaiming indigenous history and community-based research and other methods, such as focusing on Filipino-centered education. I will also draw on scholars from chapter two, such as..., who provide important alternative decolonial and resistance methods. In this chapter, I will return to the theory provided in chapter one to provide the foundation for resistance and decolonial theory, focusing on Glen Coulthard's *Red Skin White Masks*, whose advocacy for grounded normativity, resurgence, and a rejection of liberal frameworks of colonialism provides the foundation for real steps towards decolonialism...I will then focus on indigenous methods of resistance within the context of the settler colonial project in the U.S. and, in the next section, the classic colonial framework of the Philippines. I will also analyze which methods work in each context and why and what indigenous peoples from different communities can learn from each other. Overall, I will emphasize how resistance is ongoing and focus on how indigenous resistance must not come from colonial recognition but from indigenous frameworks, resurgence, and education.

As outlined in chapter 1, Indigenous resistance is a key aspect not only to my analytical framework but also to decolonial theory. I will begin by revisiting key theory, drawing on Glen Coulthard and Renato Constantino, who offer two distinct frameworks for decolonial resistance. Coulthard's theory of grounded normativity, rooted in the settler colonial context, critiques the politics of recognition and rejects colonial dependence. Constantino, however, focuses on Philippine colonialism, and he argues that because knowledge and culture erasure was a central tool of colonialism, he calls for education as a strong tool of resistance. Both theorists underscore resistance rooted in Indigenous knowledge and self-determination, in defiance of colonial structures.

Section 1: Settler Colonial Resistance - The Wampanoag Language Reclamation Project and The Chinook Indian Nation

As I have outlined important political theorists who provide a solid foundation for decolonial resistance in chapter one and at the beginning of this chapter, I will now focus on specific examples of indigenous resistance within the U.S. settler colonial context. These will illustrate the possibilities and the limitations of decolonial resistance and

the limitations of decolonial resistance and how they align with Coulthard's theory of founded normativity. By examining these cases, I aim to analyze which strategies work to overturn colonial structures and legacies and which work to sustain them.

The Wampanoag Language Reclamation Project highlights the reclamation and reawakening of the Wampanoag language after numerous generations without first-language speakers. The Wampanoag Nation includes the Mashpee and Aquinnah Wampanoag Tribes, Herring Pond, and Assonet Wampanoag communities and smaller family bands (Weston and Sorensen 2011). Jessie Baird of the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe helped initiate this project by implementing a master-apprentice program as she took the role of master speaker to three apprentices who shared her commitment to opening a tribal charter school, which would teach all subjects in Wampanoag (Weston, Sorensen 2011). This article highlights the:

"Importance and significance of all Indigenous languages... Languages encompass historical, linguistic, cultural, environmental, and spiritual distinctions that are valuable to all peoples. The decline of Indigenous languages is tragic in that important observations concerning biodiversity—and other human wisdom accrued over millennia—are lost as well" (Weston, Sorensen 2011).

Not only is language revitalization part of cultural preservation and decolonial resistance, but it also helps connect communities to tradition and history. Part of Coulthard's advocacy for grounded normativity emphasizes practices such as this language project in reclaiming cultural and knowledge systems and focusing on internal revitalization rather than colonial recognition.This master-apprentice model is one of the various methods used to address the disappearance of Indigenous languages.

Another method developed by the Maori and Native Hawaiians, the language nest, utilizes adults "speaking the endangered language to preschool-age children in daycare classrooms and at home, even before reading and writing skills are taught" or other methods such as "immersion or medium schools" (Weston, Sorensen, 2011). While many of these have been successful, reclamation remains an obstacle, as many languages are not well documented. Luckily for the Wampanoag language, it has been studied by scholars for centuries, and therefore important rules of grammar and pronunciation, for example, have been implemented into the teachings of this program.

As recorded in this article, Simon Ortiz of the Acoma Pueblo said, "When we speak, we use language conceptually. We can't be glib with our language. We cannot throw the beloved away" (Weston & Sorensen, 2011). Indigenous language, therefore, is not only an important tool of communication, but it is sacred, and its survival holds the memory, history, and identity of Indigenous peoples. As there are over 300 language revitalization programs in the U.S., this method, reflecting an aspect of Coulthard's grounded normativity, allows Indigenous groups to reclaim parts of their culture and epistemology despite the existence of the settler state.

The Chinook Indian Nation's attempts at federal recognition, however, expose not only the government systems that fail Indigenous communities, as sovereignty may be granted at a state level but not a federal level, and how Indigenous sovereignty that relies on settler state approval undermines their attempts at autonomy and agency. The Chinook Nation has "been fighting for federal recognition for over 120 years. Yet, in recent decades, the U.S. government has continually failed to recognize us as a sovereign nation. As a result, we have been denied access to healthcare, housing, and educational opportunities" (White 2021).

Their denial of recognition not only hurts their community by denying them important resources, but it also allows the perpetuation of colonial structures to continue. The original Anson Dart Treaties of 1851, which allowed the Indigenous tribes to remain on their territory and maintain access to resources, were never formally ratified by Congress (White 2021). Their first lawyers were hired in the 1890s "to address the fact that our lands were taken from us and we were never compensated for them" (White 2021), which resulted in congressional acts in the early 1900s; however, logistical disagreements resulted in money settlements that were never dispersed (White 2021). While the tribe later received quarterly statements on their trust fund, which grew significantly, the BIA stopped the statements in 2012 "without explanation or notification," and when statements were later requested in 2015, they were denied because "the Chinook Indian Nation is not federally acknowledged; the trust funds now did not belong to the Tribe" (White 2021). The reliance on funds based on government recognition again proves to be unstable and reflects the lack of true sovereignty for indigenous communities.

While there were further petitions for federal acknowledgment in 1982, leading to federal acknowledgment in 2001, this was reversed during the Bush administration. Although the previous head of the BIA, Kevin Gover, argued for their previous Lower Chinook Anson Dart treaty of 1912, which was ratified (White 2021), their efforts remain ongoing. A lawsuit was filed in 2017 against the Department of the Interior challenging the long-standing denial of federal status. This ongoing legal battle reflects the limitations of colonial recognition and "granting" of legitimacy and sovereignty, as argued by Coulthard. While recognition is important so that the Indigenous tribes may rightfully receive it, this relationship and reliance on the U.S. government's recognition continue to uphold dominating colonial structures. The Chinook Nation's case reveals how recognition without redistribution of land, autonomy, or justice is not liberation—it is a continuation of dispossession under the guise of bureaucratic process. Without a material change, recognition only reinforces colonial structures.

Section 2: Classic colonial resistance - The 1919 Independence Mission and a Decolonized STEM curriculum

Chuckie Calsado's Decolonizing STEM Curriculum: Citizen Science and the Lumad STEM Curriculum highlights indigenous efforts to decolonize STEM education for the Lumad people, which collectively refers to 18 indigenous tribes in Mindanao, Philippines (Calsado 2020). This study of the Lumad community, through scientific fieldwork, revealed the efforts of numerous groups, such as the AGHAM (Advocates of Science and Technology for the People) and the Educators' Development Institute, to gain a "deeper understanding of the Lumad students' situation to reflect their identity more accurately in the curriculum" (Calsado 2020). The Lumad people, like many others in the Philippines, "are affected by the underfunding of public services... With the lack of education services available to them, Lumad community schools became the primary institution to provide education for the Lumad" (Calsado 2020). However, in 2019, over 50 schools were forcibly closed by the government, resulting in the displacement of Lumad students (Calsado 2020). The Lumad ancestral lands have suffered at the hands of "bureaucrat-capitalists and imperialists" (Calsado 2020) who try to exploit them for natural resources along with other forms of structural oppression and intrusion.

This article highlights how, although dominant colonial frameworks position indigenous culture and knowledge as backwards, "To be indigenous is not to be primitive; to be scientific is not to be modern.

The knowledge systems of the Lumad and dominant science can coexist" (Calsado 2020), which is central to understanding decolonial efforts. Part of their decolonial curriculum, specifically their STEM curriculum, focuses on subjects such as food security and self-sufficiency, health and medicine, environmental protection, transportation, defense of ancestral domains, etc. (Calsado). Overall, the curriculum focuses on the "collective rather than the individual" and is "the outcome of the Lumad's struggle in defending their ancestral land and their right to self-determination" (Calsado 2020). In this way, education is used as a tool to help individuals improve their communities and liberate themselves through education. This contrasts with the dominant, liberal school curriculum, which focuses on industry and owning land, formulated by the ruling class, which leads to "the miseducation of oppressed communities like the Lumad" (Calsado 2020). While land dispossession is not at the heart of classic colonial projects and decolonization, protection of ancestral land remains critical within these projects. At the heart of this curriculum framework is the defense of Lumad ancestral lands, which is also a defense of their very future as a community. Thus, the Lumad school curriculum is a critical method of decolonization (Calsado 2020). Educating students to tackle real-world problems, especially about their communities, gives them the power to make change, challenge oppressive governments and capitalist interests, and overall help their communities.

Their methods focus on the rehumanization of education beyond basic standards and respecting cultural backgrounds. This curriculum works to confront neoliberal capitalism and colonialism head-on, to directly tackle issues within oppressed communities. (Calsado 2020). Their methods are unique in that the decolonized STEM teaches students to tackle their communities' realities and provides the tools to resist them. It encourages realizing "the value of local and indigenous knowledge systems and to meld those systems with mainstream knowledge" (Calsado 2020). Their struggle for assertion of their identity and against capitalism reflects a real step towards changing their future and the future of their communities as they confront the dominant education structure and work to preserve their ways of knowing and living.

The Independence Mission 1919: Independence Lies Ahead - A decolonial lens

Honesto Villanueva's The Independence Mission 1919: Independence Lies Ahead
illustrates the Filipino struggle for independence through the first Filipino independence mission to the U.S. Although this article highlights the groundwork laid out for future independence and stronger relations with the U.S., through a decolonial lens, this article reflects the shortcomings of recognition-based politics and how Filipino loyalty to the U.S. maintained the colonial power structure. The demand for independence led to the creation of the Commission of Independence in 1918, whose duty was to make recommendations for the proper steps towards Filipino independence (Villanueva 1971, 282). As a strong trend during the Wilson administration was the principle of self-determination, a commission was sent to the U.S. in 1918, although postponement was requested by the U.S. Secretary of War due to post-WWI negotiations. During this time, Governor-General Harrison sent his sentiments to President Wilson to support Filipino independence as "the Filipinos had now fulfilled the requirements for independence as set by the Jones Law in 1916" (Villanueva 1971, 283). His letter details the success of Filipino governance, such as the:

"*New Legislature was organized... for more ·than two years past, the executive offices, known as the Cabinet, have been in operation under Filipino direction... forty-five provinces are almost entirely under Filipino Governors... and so are the eight hundred municipalities... It is, therefore, in my opinion, entirely proper to state that the stable government now existing in the Philippine Islands is for the most part, a stable government of Filipinos by Filipinos... The people of the Islands are prepared to qualify for independence under the terms prescribed in the preamble of the Jones Law*" (Villanueva 1971, 284).

His letter is important because he illustrates the criteria for independence under the previous Jones Law, which the Filipinos have successfully met. He also highlights that little may have been heard from the Filipinos about independence, "but this in no way indicates a lessening of their ambition and desires in that respect" (Villanueva 1971, 184). Although the Filipinos met the criteria for independence, their independence was still subject to U.S. decision. He concluded his letter by agreeing to "the most severe scrutiny without any fear of the judgment of any impartial observer as to their general integrity, patriotism, self-control, and wisdom" (Villanueva 1971, 285) as his confidence in their ability to govern was strong. Overall, his letter reflects their ability to self-govern through his close association and work in the Philippines, which allowed him to observe their competence firsthand.

Part of the mission, however, emphasized Filipino loyalty and gratefulness to the U.S. despite occupation and colonization. A letter sent to the U.S. Secretary of War in November of 1918 on behalf of the Philippine legislature stated, "The Filipino people are profoundly grateful to the United States for her encouraging promises of independence and for the assurances. Now reiterated all, confirming our faith that the interests of the Filipino people are safe in the hands of President Wilson (Villanueva 1971, 287). While these sentiments reflect sincere or politically strategic views, they underscore a core aspect of colonial relationships in which Filipino hopes for independence are framed through gratitude and dependence. After their independence was later postponed, as stated by Erving Winslow, the Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, "Careful language is used because the desire for independence cannot be swallowed whole at once " (Villanueva 1971, 296). U.S. dominance was maintained despite kind words and the actual sovereignty of the Filipino people.

The independence mission was ultimately delayed until 1919, and "the Filipinos expected that independence was near at hand" (Villanueva 1971, 292), although based on their feelings towards the fulfillment of the American promise of independence in the Philippines, a representative of the project stated, "You owe it to yourselves, to us, and to humanity at large" (Villanueva 1971, 292). However, despite their pleas, President Wilson responded, stating, "I think of the patient labor, with the end almost in sight, undertaken by the American and Filipino people for their permanent benefit" (Villanueva 1971, 293). Wilson did not see Philippine independence as something that would be realized shortly, although he expressed sentiments of plans for independence with which President Manuel L. Quezon of the Philippine Senate viewed as "a frank and explicit declaration of the stand of the administration on the question of independence (Villanueva 1971, 295). However, while it seemed to him that independence was so near, that independence lies clear ahead as envisioned by President Wilson. But both men were wrong, as:

The Republican Party was then in the helm of power… it was next to impossible to convince them that a stable government had been established… The Republicans reverted once again to their earlier slogan that Filipinos were incapable of ruling themselves or of self-government. It had succeeded so that independence was postponed until a later period in 1946" (Villanueva 1971, 295).

The independence mission of 1919 demonstrates the limitations of recognition-based diplomacy as a decolonial strategy. While this mission may have helped maintain strong relations and was grounded in strong evidence of Filipino self-governance, it failed to secure independence because it relied on U.S. benevolence. Scholars like Glen Coulthard and Renato Constantino argue against resistance framed within colonial structures because, as exemplified in this case, they maintain the colonial structures that Indigenous peoples aim to overturn. While it was a repeated promise of the U.S. to grant Filipino independence, U.S. imperial interests dominated their commitments to Filipino sovereignty as it was delayed for three more decades.

Ultimately, the case studies in this chapter demonstrate that Indigenous resistance can take on many forms, such as language recollection, alternative education, or directly challenging dominant powers. Although colonial frameworks aimed to erase Indigenous knowledge and ways of life, Indigenous communities continue to assert their agency and sovereignty on their terms. Based on the theoretical foundations of Coulthard and Constantino, I illustrated that decolonial resistance cannot rely on the validation and recognition of colonial powers but instead must center Indigenous frameworks, land-based practices, and community goals. As we move forward, these strategies offer crucial pathways to confront and dismantle the epistemic colonial legacies.

Conclusion:

This thesis has examined how epistemic genocide has influenced U.S. colonial relationships through both the settler colonial project in the United States and the classic colonial project in the Philippines. The question driving this thesis remains: How has epistemic genocide shaped U.S. colonial relations through the classic colonial project in the Philippines and the settler colonial project in the U.S.? How have these projects shaped Indigenous identity, and if they parallel one another, how might they inform contemporary resistance methods? To answer this question, this thesis has explored how epistemic genocide shaped U.S. colonial relations by analyzing the U.S.-Philippines colonial project and the U.S.-Native American settler-colonial project through a decolonial lens. By comparing both colonial projects, this thesis examines the role of racist ideologies and epistemic genocide in these civilizing missions, as the U.S.-Philippines classic colonial project echoed the ideology and methods behind the U.S. settler colonial project.

Throughout each chapter, I have argued that the erasure of Indigenous epistemologies, through forced assimilation, suppression of languages, racialization, and colonial education, was intentional and central to the structure of U.S. colonialism. By using a decolonial analytical lens to compare both colonial projects, I have revealed the parallel logics of colonialism that underscored both projects, while also acknowledging their unique cultural, political, and historical contexts. In Chapter Three, I examined identity formation, drawing on the theories of Fanon, Quijano, and Coulthard. I analyzed how colonialism influenced the psychological and social identities of Indigenous peoples through case studies like that of William Carson and David Perley, for example. I demonstrated how internalized inferiority, the colonial gaze, and racialization

distorted Indigenous identity formation. Finally, in chapter four, I examined Indigenous resistance within both colonial projects, analyzing how Indigenous communities have resisted colonial frameworks and worked to reclaim their cultural and epistemological sovereignty. Drawing on the ideas of Glen Coulthard and Renato Constantino to examine how resistance can center Indigenous traditions and epistemologies instead of the recognition from colonial powers, I analyzed different case studies such as the Wampanoag Language Reclamation Project and the 1919 Philippine Independence Mission to investigate different forms of resistance, both inside and outside of colonial structures.

Although I provide a critical examination of epistemic genocide within two U.S. colonial projects, it does have its limitations. While the comparative analysis is useful for exposing common logics and mechanisms of colonialism, it risks overlooking more explicit cultural and historical narratives of Indigenous communities, as I focus on two projects rather than one. Similarly, while this thesis highlights education as a central site of epistemic violence, other research might uncover the important role of other institutions in the erasure of Indigenous knowledge. Ultimately, I argue that addressing the impact of U.S. colonialism requires a thorough analysis of the politics of knowledge. True decolonization cannot occur through modifications within colonial structures, but it requires epistemic defiance, the reclaiming of Indigenous knowledge, and the centering of Indigenous-centered resistance.

The narratives, theories, and case studies in this thesis each demonstrate how Indigenous peoples are not just subjects of historical events but active participants in the reclamation of their epistemologies, self-determination, and freedom. While I analyzed the settler and classic colonial projects as distinct, their comparison reveals important opportunities for mutual learning. Indigenous peoples in the U.S. settler colonial context have utilized land-based methods of resistance, such as grounded normativity. These strategies could provide Filipino communities with a framework for reclaiming territory and culture for cultural and political reclaiming. Contrarily, Filipino resistance demonstrates how changing colonial institutions from within can be powerful. These different methods, rooted in community and Indigenous epistemologies, offer important tools for Indigenous communities to reclaim their knowledge while navigating colonial frameworks. Both projects reveal how solidarity and shared struggles can strengthen the work of decolonization. This thesis serves as a call to recognize and uplift those efforts while acknowledging how knowledge can act not only as an instrument of erasure and domination but also as a powerful tool of resistance.

References:

Agreement Concerning Military Bases, Manila, 14 March. Agreement Concerning Military Bases Manila 14, March 1947, Department of State Press, 14 Mar. 1947.

Berry, J. W. Aboriginal Cultural Identity. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994.

Brown, Daniel E. "Physiological Stress and Culture Change in a Group of Filipino-Americans: A Preliminary Investigation." Annals of Human Biology, vol. 9, no. 6, 1982.

Bulotano, P. "The Filipina and Post-Colonial Feminism: Decolonization of the Female Body." Medium, 13 Aug. 2021.

Calsado, Chuckie. "Decolonizing STEM Curriculum: Citizen Science and the Lumad STEM Curriculum." Science for the People Magazine, 14 June 2020.

Camus, Michael. "My Filipino Identity: A Complex and Evolving Story." SinaunangPanahon, 9 Jan. 2025.

Carson, William O., et al. "Exploring the Historical Complexities of Native Identity Formation, Blood Quantum, and Modern Tribal Enrolment Criteria." Journal of Global Indigeneity, 23 Apr. 2024.

Castro-Gómez, Santiago. "El Giro Decolonial." Centroafrobogota, 2007.

Chapman, Abraham. "American Policy in the Philippines." Far Eastern Survey, vol. 15, no. 11, 1946, pp. 164–69. JSTOR.

Constantino, Renato. "The Miseducation of the Filipino." THE MISEDUCATION OF THE FILIPINO , 2021

Cooper, Henry. "The Philippine Bill of 1902." Senate Electoral Tribunal, 1902

Cossa, Jose. Reflecting on Extractivismo, Epistemic Genocide, And ..., Beijing International Review of Education, 2024

Coulthard, Glen Sean, and Taiaiake Alfred. "The Politics of Recognition in Colonial Contexts." Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition, University of Minnesota Press, (201)

Crofutt, George. "American Progress - Digital File from Original Print, Recto | Library of Congress." Library of Congress, 1873

De Leon, Natalia. "The Postcolonial Identity." FUS, 2022.

Dodge, Robert. "Racism as Justification for Exploitation of Native Americans." Journal of Indigenous Research, Utah State University, 2022.

Du Bois, W.E.B. "The Strivings of the Negro People." The Souls of Black Folk, A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903.

Fanon, Frantz. Black Skin, White Masks. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann, Grove Press, 1986.

Fanon, Frantz. The Wretched of the Earth. Translated by Constance Farrington, Grove Press, 1963.

Feller, L. J. Being Indigenous in Jim Crow Virginia: Powhatan People and the Color Line. University of Oklahoma Press, 2022.

Fixico, Donald. "When Native Americans Were Slaughtered in the Name of 'Civilization.'" History.com, A&E Television Networks, 11 July 2023.

Gomez, Santro Castro. "El Giro Decolonial, Castro Gomez, 2007.PDF." El Giro Decolonial,
2007,

Gomez, Santro Castro. "El Giro Decolonial, Castro Gomez, 2007.PDF." El Giro Decolonial,
2007,

Henry, Atkinson. "The Philippine Bill of 1902." Senate Electoral Tribunal, 1902.

Hung, Alvin. Deconstructing the Decolonizing Plot of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Penn Carey Law, 2023. "Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines: Continuing Struggle." HURIGHTS OSAKA, Dec. 2010.

Javier, J. R., Supan, J., Lansang, A., Beyer, W., Kubicek, K., & Palinkas, L. A. "Preventing Filipino Mental Health Disparities: Perspectives from Adolescents, Caregivers, Providers, and Advocates." Asian American Journal of Psychology, 2014.

Javier, Joyce R., Lynne C. Huffman, and Fernando S. Mendoza. "Filipino Child Health in the United States: Do Health and Health Care Disparities Exist?" Preventing Chronic Disease, vol. 4, no. 2, 2007.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Declaration of Independence: A Transcription." National Archives and Records Administration, 1776.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Founders Online: From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 20 December 1787." National Archives and Records Administration, 1787.

Jefferson, Thomas. "Jefferson's Secret Message to Congress Regarding the Lewis & Clark Expedition (1803)." National Archives and Records Administration.

Jones, William Atkinson. "The Jones Law of 1916." Senate Electoral Tribunal, 1916.

Jose, Ricardo. "July 4, 1946: The Philippines Gained Independence from the United States." The National WWII Museum, New Orleans.

Kliewer, Addison, et al. "'Kill the Indian, Save the Man': Remembering the Stories of Indian Boarding Schools." The University of Oklahoma,

Koh, Eng Kiat. "American Educational Policy in the Philippines and the British Policy in Malaya, 1898–1935." Comparative Education Review, vol. 9, no. 2, 1965, pp. 139–46. JSTOR.

Linnaeus, Carolus. Systema Naturae. Leiden: Johann Wilhelm de Groot for Theodor Haak, 1735.

Locke, John. Property: John Locke, Second Treatise, §§ 25–51, 123–26. The University of Chicago Press.

Madley, Benjamin. "Reexamining the American Genocide Debate: Meaning, Historiography, and New Methods." The American Historical Review, vol. 120, no. 1, 2015, pp. 98–139. JSTOR.

McMahon, Jennifer M. "Excerpt from Dead Stars: American and Philippine Literary Perspectives on the American Colonization of the Philippines." Journal of Transnational American Studies, 17 Dec. 2011

McKinley, William. "Decision on the Philippines." Digital History, 1990.

McKinley, William. "Executive Order." Executive Order | The American Presidency Project, 21 Dec. 1898,

McKinley, William. "Settler Colonialism, Race, and the Law: Why Structural Racism Persists 0814723942, 9780814723944." Dokumen. Pub, 1900.

Mignolo, Walter. "Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and Decolonial Freedom - Walter D. Mignolo, 2009." Theory, Culture and Society, Sage Journals, 2009.

Mojares, Resil B. "The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under U.S. Colonial Rule." Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society, vol. 34, no. 1, 2006, pp. 11–32. JSTOR.

Mossakowski, K. N. "Are Immigrants Healthier? The Case of Depression among Filipino Americans." Social Psychology Quarterly, vol. 70, no. 3, 2007.

Mulder, Niels. "Filipino Identity: The Haunting Question - Niels Mulder, 2013." Sage Journals, 2013.

Norman, W. R., Jr., Kickingbird, K., & Bailey, A. P. "Tribal Disenrollment Demands a Tribal Answer." Human Rights, vol. 43, no. 1, 2017.

Paniza, Marc. "The Legacy of American Imperialism in the Philippines: From Colonisation to Modern-Day Neocolonialism." Honi Soit, 1 Sept. 2024.

Pearson, E. M. "Native American Injustice and the Mathematics of Blood Quantum." In Human Dignity, 2017.

Perley, David. "Reflecting on Colonial Education Experiences: Sharing My Story." Antistasis, vol. 9, no. 1, Aug. 2019, pp. 256–88.

Sailiata, Kirisitina. "Decolonization." Native Studies Keywords, edited by STEPHANIE NOHELANI TEVES et al., University of Arizona Press, 2015, pp. 301–08. JSTOR,

Saito, Natsu Taylor. Settler Colonialism, Race, and the Law: Why Structural Racism Persists. New York University Press, 2020.

Sagall, Sabby. "Native American Genocide." Final Solutions: Human Nature, Capitalism and Genocide, Pluto Press, 2013, pp. 111–57. JSTOR,

Sanchez, F., & Gaw, A. "Mental Health Care of Filipino Americans." Psychiatric Services, vol. 58, no. 6, 2007.

Saranillio, Dean Itsuji. "Settler Colonialism." Native Studies Keywords, edited by STEPHANIE NOHELANI TEVES et al., University of Arizona Press, 2015, pp. 284–300. JSTOR,

Smithsonian. "Chapter 3: Boarding Schools: Native Words, Native Warriors." Native Words, Native Warriors - National Museum of the American Indian, 2025

Scott, James. "Full Article: Special Section Introduction: Epistemic Politics in International and Comparative Political Economy." Taylor and Francis Online, 2024,

Sonkqayi, Gift. "Revisiting the Debates on 'Epistemicide': Insights from the South African School Curriculum: Educational Review: Vol 76 , No 5 - Get Access." Taylor and Francis Online, 2022

Shaffer, Robert. "'Partly Disguised Imperialism': American Critical Internationalists and Philippine Independence." The Journal of American-East Asian Relations, vol.. 19, no. 3/4, 2012, pp. 235–62. JSTOR,

Sleeter, Christine, and Miguel Zavala. Transformative Ethnic Studies in Schools. Google Books, 2020.

Smithsonian Institution. “Different Views of Land: Native New York.” Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2025

Sobritchea, Carolyn. American Colonial Education and Its Impact on the Status of Filipino Women, 1990.

Straiton, M.L., Ledesma, H.M.L., & Donnelly, T.T. “A Qualitative Study of Filipina Immigrants’ Stress, Distress and Coping: The Impact of Their Multiple, Transnational Roles as Women.”

"The Philippines, 1898–1946.” US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives, US House of Representatives, 2025

Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain; December 10, 1898

Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang. Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor, 2012

UAB. “Indian Removal Act: The Genocide of Native Americans.” UAB Institute for Human Rights Blog, 21 Jan. 2020,

“University of Central Arkansas: UCA.” Government, Public Service and International Studies, University of Central Arkansas, 2025

Van Ells, Mark D. “Assuming the White Man’s Burden: The Seizure of the Philippines, 1898-1902.” Philippine Studies, vol. 43, no. 4, 1995, pp. 607–22. JSTOR,

Villanueva, Honesto. “The Independence Mission 1919.” THE INDEPENDENCE MISSION 1919: INDEPENDENCE LIES AHEAD , 1971

Waziyatawin, and Michael Yellowbird. “Introduction - Decolonizing Our Minds and Actions.” INTRODUCTION DECOLONIZING OUR MINDS AND ACTIONS, Sar Press, 2012

Weston , Jennifer, and Barbara Sorensen. “Awakening a Sleeping Language on Cape Cod: The Wampanoag Language Reclamation Project.” Cultural Survival, 2025,

“What Happened on the Trail of Tears?” National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2023

White, Amiran. “Recognition.” Chinook Indian Nation Chinook Tribe, 2021