

**Mestrado em História, Relações Internacionais e Cooperação**

Problemáticas de Educação Comparada e Cooperação

Ano letivo 2025/2026

**To what extent was Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence enacted in Indian boarding schools in the USA between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries?**

Rosa Vidal da Silva (up202508959)

## Introduction

The invasion by European powers of what we now know as the USA led to the appropriation of indigenous land to create plantations and establish settler colonies (Madeira and Grosso Correia, 2019:413). In the beginning, this appropriation was done through brutal methods, such as relocations and genocides, causing a great decrease in the number of indigenous communities (Cooper, 2024). Nevertheless, throughout time, indigenous populations still existed, so the coloniser state decided to make efforts rather to culturally assimilate the indigenous peoples that were left (Gram, 2021:35) in order to incorporate them into the "(...) colonial enterprise." (Madeira and Grosso Correia, 2019:414). Therefore, this physical violence shifted towards a systematic process of forced assimilation through the education system: since 1819, with the Indian Civilization Fund Act, and until as late as the 1960s, there were several networks of Indian boarding schools in the USA to assimilate the upcoming generations of indigenous youth (Haaland, 2021:1).

Indigenous peoples constitute an immensely diverse demographic group, however, they are also a minor percentage of the world's population and have a disproportionate inaccessibility to formal education systems and to systems adapted to their cultural specificities because of "(...) decades of assimilation policies that do not take into account their cultural heritage, knowledge, traditional cultural expressions and languages." (UNESCO, 2019:1). This can be seen as a process of symbolic violence, a concept greatly developed by Pierre Bourdieu, who defines it as a subtle kind of violence that is normalised by society (von Holdt, 2012:115) through the system's institutional tools to dominate certain groups (Schubert, 2010:184). Bourdieu sees education as one of the most efficient ways through which symbolic violence can be enacted and successfully perpetuated (Burawoy, 2019:23).

Through an analysis of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of symbolic violence, this essay argues that Indian boarding schools in the USA, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, were, to a great extent, a very potent institutional weapon in normalising racism and colonial domination based on the duality between the 'civilised' white and the 'savage' Indian (Kalman, 2010:3), thus alienating and assimilating generations of indigenous peoples during this time (Cote, 2024). Firstly, this essay aims to show the correlation between the assimilationist education policies of Indian boarding schools in the USA and the theorisation of Bourdieu's symbolic violence, specifically through the concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*. Secondly, it analyses the case study of Carlisle Indian

School as the materialised demonstration of this correlation. This essay aims to demonstrate that Indian boarding schools, both through its curriculum and administration, remain brutal evidence of how symbolic violence can be extremely effective in erasing communities and cultures without necessarily erasing its people (Brawdy and Fisher, 2016:299).

Nonetheless, before analysing the symbolic violence present in Indian boarding schools, it is important to acknowledge that these were also places heavily defined by the physical violence perpetrated against indigenous children across the USA (Haynes *et al.*, 2024:1). Cases of sexual abuse (Gregg, 2018:20), “(...) getting locked up in basements (...), solitary confinement (...), beatings and withholding of food.” (Alaska Public Media, 2023:14th paragraph) were all prevalent. Additionally, Indian boarding schools were notorious for having several systematic and structural problems characterised by the lack of hygiene, absence of nutritious meals (Haynes *et al.*, 2024:2) and overcrowding, a combination primarily responsible for the number of student deaths during the school years (Gregg, 2018:19).

### **Symbolic violence in Indian boarding schools**

The year of 1803 marked the first official reference made, by the then-USA president Thomas Jefferson, about the need to assimilate the indigenous communities that still existed in the country, emphasising the cost-efficiency in absorbing them into the societal and agricultural colonial practices observed at the time (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022:21). These social and economic interests demonstrated by the state were later reflected in the Civilization Fund Act of 1819, which was specifically set to structure a school system, co-administrated by religious institutions (Alaska Public Media, 2023), that could assimilate indigenous youth through the teaching of the English language (Cote, 2024). Symbolic violence could already be discernible within this proposal, which focused on introducing indigenous communities to “(...) the habits and arts of civilization.” (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022:27). Consequently, in the beginning of the 20th century, most of indigenous children living in the USA were attending Indian boarding schools and being forced to assimilate and leave behind their original cultural traits (Sabwenna-Painter *et al.*, 2023:2).

This colonial project shows how to distance indigenous peoples from their cultures (UNESCO, 2019:1) through “(...) the quotidian construction of a dominant discourse and the inculcation of inferiority promulgated by the education system (...).” (Kalman, 2010:2). Thus, it is possible to recognize

that school can be used as a powerful tool to imprint certain beliefs and behaviours in communities (Hughes, 2020:27), subject them to the violence of essentialism and stereotyping, and convince them that they are in need of “saving” (Madeira and Grosso Correia, 2019:414). According to Bourdieu, this symbolic violence is a form of domination “(...) that is thrust on the curriculum” (Hughes, 2020:25), as learning about some cultures in the detriment of others conveys the message that some cultures are more “valuable” than others or more “worthy” of maintaining, which has been useful in the neglecting of non-Eurocentric and indigenous knowledge productions (Hughes, 2020:28) and in the normalisation of only certain cultural traits (Dlamini *et al.*, 2018:3). These strategies have been historically used by colonial powers to dominate indigenous groups and disenfranchise them from the ability to fight the colonization process (Madeira and Grosso Correia, 2019:421). In Indian boarding schools, symbolic violence was accomplished through the normalisation of racist practices intertwined with paternalist discourses (Ibrahim, 2011:626), which were imposed in three main ways: by controlling social practices; by dominating space and a group’s mobility; and by overseeing the dominant narrative (teaching historic narratives in a specific way and/or hindering certain communities’ history) (Piquard, 2016:71). These three conceptions can be respectively connected to the concepts of *habitus*, *field* and *capital*, which are vital for class domination within Bourdieu’s theorisation of symbolic violence (Schubert, 2010:183).

Bourdieu classifies *habitus* as a process of misrecognition that compels the dominated classes to have certain behaviours (Burawoy, 2019:48) which will be determinant “(...) to shape one’s present and future practices.” (Maton, 2010:51). Therefore, during the schooling process, these disadvantaged classes learn how to be productive for the economy by learning the dominant “correct” *habitus* (Burawoy, 2019:98). The imposition of this dominant *habitus* is heavily reflected in Indian boarding schools, where indigenous children would be given new English names, Western clothes and new haircuts (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022:7). Furthermore, they were forbidden from speaking their original languages to each other (National Museum of the American Indian, 2020) and from celebrating their culture and traditions (instead, they were forced to celebrate Christian ones) (Cooper, 2024). The state believed that this change would ‘guide’ them along the ‘right’ direction (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2024:46). All these actions imposed onto students showed them, through acts of symbolic violence, how society ‘should’ be structured and what were the ‘right ways’ to act within it (Burawoy, 2019:91). Further, students had a military-like routine and practical activities revolved mainly around manual work (Alaska Public Media, 2023), such as agriculture and construction

(U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022:8). The set of skills taught in Indian boarding schools can be seen as a tool for symbolic violence through *habitus*, where minority groups are pushed to the margins and kept in an endless cycle of precarious functions, all while convinced that this was their innate role in society (Bourdieu, 2003:25). All in all, the homogenisation process present in USA Indian boarding schools portrayed a deliberate process of symbolic violence towards indigenous communities that could not 'fit' into the dominant *habitus* (Burawoy, 2019:97), thus making this education system a tool for the creation and preservation of social inequalities (Burawoy, 2019:95).

The concept of *field* also played an important role in the symbolic violence perpetrated against indigenous youth in USA Indian boarding schools, largely due to the fact that children were moved to a different social space of the one of their families (Weininger, 2005:95). Curiously, this separation to another symbolic *field* also comprised the physical and geographical factor, which served as a barrier between the children and their cultures (Alaska Public Media, 2023). According to Bourdieu, some social spaces are considered to have the 'right' culture while others do not (Weininger, 2005:96); hence the reason for moving generations of indigenous children to distant locations and keeping them in a boarding school for consecutive years in order for them to learn new rules and rituals - a new *habitus* - without the interference of the families (Weininger, 2005:96). Since *field* is defined by the symbolic space where interactions between people happen (Thomson, 2010:67), it was considered essential to separate families so that indigenous children could later be absorbed into colonial society and stay in the dominant *field* presented to them as legitimate (Gram, 2021:36). Alternatively, they could return to their original lands, yet to be the new perpetrators of the same assimilationist actions they were also a target of (Gram, 2021:36). This last aspect is what causes symbolic violence so hard to be recognised: symbolic violence structures are perpetuated not only by the ones applying them, but also by the ones being oppressed by them, making it a self-sustained practice very likely to persevere throughout time (von Holdt, 2012:115). This tactic was applied, for instance, when "(...) students were asked to carry out the whipping on their fellow peers, a practice that was not part of traditional parenting styles (...)" (Haynes *et al.*, 2024:2). Within Bourdieu's theorisation of *field*, these strategies served to reward the most assimilated subjects by the increased approval of their existence within the dominant *field* (Thomson, 2010:69). Thus, the main goal with the exposure of an 'acceptable' *field* to indigenous youths was "(...) the regulation of Indigenous identity." (Maddison, 2013:289).

Finally, the conceptualisation of *capital* within symbolic violence is also very important and very prevalently seen in Indian boarding schools in the USA during this time. Bourdieu's view of *capital*

is heavily centred in the fact that “(...) the values, tastes and lifestyles of some social groups (...) are, in an arbitrary manner, elevated above those of others in a way that confers social advantage.” (Moore, 2010:102). This makes *capital* a utility that can be acquired through education (Moore, 2010:106). At Indian boarding schools, this process was done, for example, when teachers publicly shamed students whenever they tried to act on their indigenous practices or speak their native languages, consequently making them embarrassed of their own identities (National Museum of the American Indian, 2020). Therefore, indigenous children were shamed for their original *capital*, which was not considered of any value to the state and had to be replaced by a colonial-centred one. Especially in regard to language, this replacement of *capital* was vital, since language can unite populations while homogenising them within colonial sets (Bourdieu, 1991:48). Hence, it was essential to apply this homogenisation process and dictate the way that students would “(...) communicate, but also how they think, and that uniformity is vital to state-building.” (Bourdieu, 1991:49). Further, the perpetuation of the idea of a dominant *capital* as the only legitimate one has, not only, greatly contributed to the structural social inequalities seen in the USA (Moore, 2010:104), but also to the perpetuation of stereotypes about indigenous peoples (Cooper, 2024). Consequently, this caused indigenous peoples’ alienation with their own land, a common feeling amongst colonised communities all around the world (Bhabha, 1986:x). Since the formation of *capital* is intertwined with one’s *habitus* (Moore, 2010:110), another example from the Indian boarding school system to have into consideration is the ‘outing system’, which was an initiative to make indigenous students socialize and work for white families during their summer breaks (Whalen, 2012:152). There, they would learn from the family’s ways of living and consolidate what was learnt during the school year (Whalen, 2012:152). This process of socialisation was seen as vital to assimilate indigenous youth into the “(...) hallmarks of American “civilization”—Christianity, the English language, and a love of manual labor.” (Whalen, 2012:153). This experience allowed indigenous students to gain the necessary *capital*, since the accomplishment of these activities would give them recognition by white society as working towards being a legitimate member (Bourdieu, 1989:17). Altogether, the combination of school curriculum and the ‘outing system’ became a pillar to “(...) reproduce and to reinforce the power relations that constitute the structure of social space.” (Bourdieu, 1989:21).

### **Symbolic violence at Carlisle Indian School (1879-1918)**

Carlisle Indian School was the first Indian boarding school to be funded and administered by the USA government (Cote, 2024) and remains, until this day, one of the main images of state-funded indigenous cultural erasure (Gram, 2021:46). Opened in 1879, this school was considered an innovative example for others because of its educational model: students attended the school for several years in a row, all while distanced from their cultures, families and lands (Cote, 2024). Carlisle's goal was to assimilate indigenous youths into white society through its curriculum, "(...) as a part of a deliberate, government supported effort to assimilate and control a minority group." (Brawdy and Fisher, 2016:296) and to 'civilise' them (Gram, 2021:46). Thus, Carlisle shows how an educational system can be successfully used in the perpetuation of certain ideas and social hierarchies (Brawdy and Fisher, 2016:296). This perspective was greatly fostered by Carlisle's founder, Captain Pratt, a military man who envisioned this school based on his experiences "(...) working with adult Indian prisoners of war (...)" (Gram, 2021:36). Pratt's most famous statement, "kill the Indian, save the man" (Cote, 2024:3rd subchapter) can be analysed as the embodiment of misrecognition, in which an indigenous person would be subjugated to the colonial *habitus* and portrayed as an inherent part of the colonial structure (Burawoy, 2019:24). It is thus apparent, using the lens of Bourdieu's symbolic violence, that Carlisle's objective was to force indigenous peoples to obey certain rules in order to turn them into 'recognised' and 'accepted' members of white society, subsequently determining their social and economic roles within it (Weininger, 2005:105).

Symbolic violence was present from the very beginning of a student's experience at Carlisle, as students were promptly assigned a new (English) name, had their hair cut and their cultural attires taken from them (Gram, 2021:37-38). In many indigenous cultures, a person's name is as important as its own existence, thus renaming indigenous children was equivalent to taking their own essence and individuality (Momaday, 2016:45). Further, students would start learning about Christianity and attend church on Sundays (Gram, 2021:41). Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools in the beginning of the 20th century, attempted to homogenise the schooling structure, defending that indigenous children should adopt Christian beliefs and patriotic morals "(...) to produce "useful" Indians." (Gram, 2021:42). After these first visual modifications, students were put under a militarised-like routine (Gram, 2021:36). Thus, they were given military uniforms and had a daily school routine similar to one of military training camps (Gram, 2021:38) with the main goal of preparing these children to contribute with their labour force to the country's growing economy (Cote, 2024). These educational practices at Carlisle can be directly linked to the imposition of *capital* and display the manners in which state institutions can 'justify' the existence of unwanted members through these

changes that gave them ‘humanity’ and a sense of ‘purpose’ (Bourdieu, 1991:126). This renewed symbolic *capital* assimilated by indigenous youth would, at the eyes of white society, ‘save’ them from “(...) insignificance, the absence of importance and of meaning.” (Bourdieu, 2000:242). Hence, the way curriculum was implemented at Carlisle translates the wishes of the dominant classes to perpetuate the asymmetrical distribution of power and the role of the dominated classes in the keeping of this perpetuation (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990:11).

Moreover, symbolic violence at Carlisle could be clearly seen through “the outing system” in which the students would spend “(...) their summers with local white families, where Pratt thought the added exposure would complement what they learned during the school year.” (White, 2016:108). In reality, this program aimed for children not to go back to their homelands during summer and deter them from having contact with their traditions and families (White, 2016:108). In regards to this, the concept of *field* elucidates the prevalence in the violence perpetrated by these actions since it works to solidify the social structures imposed to indigenous children during the school year, as a “(...) network of positions which are systematically related to one another in terms of the distribution of cultural and economic capital across occupational locations.” (Weininger, 2005:95). The reinforcement of these colonial social structures during the ‘outings’, could be seen for instance, in the gendered roles, where the girls would be the ones to have housework activities like childcare, cooking and cleaning (Whalen, 2012:154).

Another, more particular aspect of symbolic violence these ‘outings’ exhibited revolved around the fact that most of the money that students earned for their services in the family houses was held by the school, therefore only a minor amount was actually owned by the students (White, 2016:111). The aim of this practice was to not let students buy things that would be considered ‘useless’ by the school administration, which implied that indigenous peoples were inherently unable to make choices by themselves without being tempted by superfluous items (White, 2016:111). These children, despite having lived consecutive years at Carlisle and having been in constant contact with the ways of the coloniser, would still never be a trusted and completely accepted part of the dominant class; rather they were predestined to stay at the social and economic margins of society (White, 2016:111). Indian boarding schools’ projects were indeed not intended for inclusion and social ascension of indigenous peoples, rather for the maintenance of a class status quo (White, 2016:111). The *field* that the ‘outings’ provided was a model of the foreseeable future of these students, as it showed them the position which they would fill in society and the social role they would occupy after leaving school, hence contributing to “(...) the reproduction of the power relations of which they are

product (...)" (Bourdieu, 1995:164). This reproduction was further seen in the fact that, even though students were supposed to progress in education, the majority was kept at primary school levels (Gram, 2021:36) because they were never meant to ascend in the first place, but rather provide for the state's need for manual labour that kept indigenous people at the margins of society (Gram, 2021:43). In sum, symbolic violence was demonstrated as a tremendously productive way of societal domination enabled by social structures that are successful in creating social interdependence (Bourdieu, 1995:191).

One of the most unequivocal expressions of the success of symbolic violence through the imposition of a colonial *habitus, field* and *capital* by Carlisle Indian School is shown through its school newspaper, with articles written by the students themselves. An example of this is the article written by Henry Roman Nose, in 1881, titled 'Experiences of H. C. Roman Nose':

"(...) we saw the Sioux boys and girls had to wear Indian clothes (...) it looked like wild Indian people who has learned nothing but just play every day and night (...) but Capt. Pratt threw away old Indian clothes and he gave them new white man's clothes and assisted them very patiently to make the boys and girls of different tribes go (...) the right way the white man's way. Now we are following the white man's way and endeavouring to get education and do something useful and teach the red men avoid temptation. First I did not know anything about the white man's ways. I am very happy now that I can be useful polite and love God (...) God will keep us from sin and he will aid us in the right way and I pray that he will Bless all the Benighted Race and show them their error and at last lead us with the white man's good way is the prayer of Henry C. Roman Nose." (Nose, 1881).

Based on this excerpt, it can be argued how symbolic violence reaches its peak in success when the dominated group/class accepts and assumes the social hierarchies created by the powerful, and even help maintain them and conform to their subservient roles in society (Piquard, 2016:71). The mission of 'helping' indigenous communities by "(...) teach the red man to avoid temptations (...) be useful polite and love God (...)" (Nose, 1881) is the facade for the true goals of symbolic violence, which are to include these groups into a structure where they can be dominated and used for the dominant class's economic and social desires (Bourdieu, 2000:205). It can be clearly discerned that "Symbolic power is exerted only with the collaboration of those who undergo it because they help it construct it as such." (Bourdieu, 2000:171). Nevertheless, Bourdieu argues that this apparently accepted subservience should not be seen as a consensual act, but rather as the proof of success of the power

“(…) inscribed in the bodies of the dominated, in the form of schemes of perception and dispositions (…)” (Bourdieu, 2000:171). These dispositions mentioned by Bourdieu are seen through the apparent sentiment of happiness that Henry Roman Nose feels by being part of white society and sharing with his coloniser the same religion, behaviours and practises (Nose, 1881). Nose’s news article effectively displays how difficult it can be to tear down structures of symbolic violence, since they are fixed even in the social relations of care and affection, as one can see by the reverence shown towards Captain Pratt (Nose, 1881). The loyalty and commitment to the dominant class is typical of successfully inscribed symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2000:180). Thus, Nose’s article shows that the apex of symbolic violence is reached when it is perpetrated by dominated members of society to the peers who have not been dominated yet (Piquard, 2016:171).

As a result of all these processes, the majority of Carlisle alumni felt dislocated from their cultures and distanced from their families (Fear-Segal and Rose, 2016:20). This was the case, for instance, of Mark Penoi:

“(…) who arrived at Carlisle at age fourteen and stayed at the school eleven years. Graduating with a group of twenty-five in 1896, Mark Penoi experienced the full force of the Carlisle program, including seven summers spent away from home, working on Outings in local Pennsylvania communities. Eventually returning home to Oklahoma, he married a Cherokee woman and had a family. But Chuck Penoi described his grandfather’s Carlisle years as an emotionally scarring time that rendered his grandfather ill-prepared for parenthood” (Fear-Segal, 2016:178-179).

Mark Penoi’s trauma reflects the success of symbolic violence in perpetuating the domination of the colonial *habitus* as a consequence of systematic institutional policies of forced assimilation, which are then carried throughout subsequent generations through the prevalent manifestations of mental health problems and suicide rates amongst the Native American demographic group (American Psychiatric Association 2021). In this context, intergenerational trauma appears as the product of the deterioration of original cultures (Walters *et al.*, 2011:182), which, according to Bourdieu, “(…) people thereby internalize, through a protracted process of conditioning, the objective chances they face - they come to “read” the future and to choose the fate that is also statistically the most likely for them.” (Maton, 2010:58).

Lastly, due to a combination of several types of abuse and lack of conditions within school grounds, many children died at Carlisle (Fear-Segal, 2016:167). Death, even though a consequence of

literal violent practices, was filled with symbolic violence itself (Fear-Segal, 2016:167). The children's bodies were buried with tombstones carved with their colonial names, in a military-like cemetery where everyone is standardised, hence showing that, at Carlisle, there was even a 'right' and 'wrong' way to rest (Fear-Segal, 2016:167). Symbolic violence is ultimately able to manage the field of memory and how Carlisle Indian School students were remembered, perceived and classified by the future generations of society (Bourdieu, 2000:175).

## Conclusion

The 1819 Indian Civilization Fund Act marked the beginning of a long history of symbolic violence perpetrated against indigenous communities in the USA through the creation of the Indian boarding school system and its application in civilizational missions of indigenous assimilation into colonial society (Haaland, 2021:1). The analysis of this process through Bourdieu's theorisation of symbolic violence, especially the concepts of *habitus*, *capital* and *field*, facilitates the understanding of how the imposition of dominant social practices (Piquard, 2016:71) was weaponised by the USA state to shape indigenous generations into the economic and social desires of the colonial order at that time (Weininger, 2005:105). The symbolic acts of violence Indian boarding schools enacted such as cutting hair, switching clothes and renaming indigenous children (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2022:7) constitute the imposition of the dominant *habitus* as a deliberate measure to shape these youths to act like 'good' citizens (Burawoy, 2019:91). Additionally, the *field* encouraged by Indian boarding schools through the distancing of their students from their families for several consecutive years clearly shows that this "(...) regulation of indigenous identity" (Maddison, 2013:289) was heavily dependent on their engagement with colonial social spaces (Thomson, 2010:67). Further, the construction of a dominant *capital* focused on the building of certain ideals and habits (Moore, 2010:102) was reflected in the rejection of the student's own original culture (National Museum of the American Indian, 2020) and further encouraged in activities such as the 'outing system' (Whalen, 2012:152).

The case study of Carlisle Indian school is a testimony to this panoply of symbolic violent processes (Brawdy and Fisher, 2016:296). Carlisle's founder Captain Pratt famous statement "kill the Indian, save the man" (Cote, 2024:3<sup>rd</sup> subchapter) exposes the commitment of this school to forcibly 'fit' the future indigenous generations into their model of order (Weininger, 2005:105). The imposition of religion (Gram, 2021:36) as vital for the creation of a 'purpose' in society (Bourdieu, 2000:242) and the teachers and administration's efforts to distance their students from their families for years on

end (White, 2016:108) while inculcating new social organisations and bonds (Bourdieu, 1995:191) made Carlisle Indian school become a reference for the assimilationist practices done towards indigenous communities in the USA between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Gram, 2021:46). Thus, this school practices became undeniable evidence that indigenous children were being shaped to admire colonial society while accepting their subservience within a system that would never welcome them as equals citizens nor as a respected class (Bourdieu, 1995:164). The article written by Henry C. Roman Nose on the Carlisle school newspaper shows the ultimate success of symbolic violence with the application of these practices by the dominated class onto their equals (Piquard, 2016:171). Nevertheless, the outcomes of these life-altering experiences were mostly negative and have heavily contribute to today's most critical issues amongst the Native American community, mainly related to poor mental health (American Psychiatric Association 2021). Bourdieu's conceptualisation of symbolic violence has been fundamental in understanding the nuanced and sophisticated ways, present in every aspect of life, through which colonial, racial and class structures are strengthened and sustained in time and place (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990:11).

## **Bibliography**

Alaska Public Media (2023) 'Survivors say trauma from abusive Native American boarding schools stretches across generations by Alaska Public Media', Alaska Public Media, 6 November, <https://alaskapublic.org/news/2023-11-06/survivors-say-trauma-from-abusive-native-american-boarding-schools-stretches-across-generations> [17.nov.2025]

American Psychiatric Association (2021) How Historical Trauma Impacts Native Americans Today, 15th November. <https://www.psychiatry.org/news-room/apa-blogs/how-historical-trauma-impacts-native-americans> [12.dec.2025]

Bhabha, H. (1986) Foreword in: Fanon, F., Black Skin, White Mask, London:Pluto Press, pp. vii-xxv.

Bourdieu, P. (1989) 'Social Space and Symbolic Power', Sociological Theory, vol. 7, n. 1, pp. 14-25. [https://discovery.up.pt/permalink/351PUCS\\_INST/1ltjbh4/cdi\\_proquest\\_miscellaneous\\_60973975](https://discovery.up.pt/permalink/351PUCS_INST/1ltjbh4/cdi_proquest_miscellaneous_60973975) [18.nov.2025]

Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge:Polity Press  
[https://monoskop.org/images/4/43/Bourdieu\\_Pierre\\_Language\\_and\\_Symbolic\\_Power\\_1991.pdf](https://monoskop.org/images/4/43/Bourdieu_Pierre_Language_and_Symbolic_Power_1991.pdf)  
[18.nov.2025]

Bourdieu, P. (1995) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge:Cambridge University Press  
<https://dl.icdst.org/pdfs/files/16d74e62535ad64955d945986fd0109a.pdf> [18.nov.2025]

Bourdieu, P. (2000) *Pascalian Meditations*, Stanford, California:Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2003) 'Symbolic Violence', in Célestin, R.; Courtivron, I. and DalMolin, E. (eds) *Beyond French Feminisms*. New York:Palgrave Macmillan.  
<https://www.scribd.com/document/603130515/Bourdieu-Symbolic-Violence-in-Beyond-French-Feminisms> [17.nov.2026]

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. C. (1990) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, London:SAGE Publications  
[https://monoskop.org/images/8/82/Bourdieu\\_Pierre\\_Passeron\\_Jean\\_Claude\\_Reproduction\\_in\\_Education\\_Society\\_and\\_Culture\\_1990.pdf](https://monoskop.org/images/8/82/Bourdieu_Pierre_Passeron_Jean_Claude_Reproduction_in_Education_Society_and_Culture_1990.pdf) [18.nov.2025]

Brawdy, P. and Fisher, A. (2016) 'Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Projects for Teaching', in Fear-Segal, J. and Rose, S. D. *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, USA: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 296-314.

Burawoy, M. (2019) *Symbolic Violence: Conversations with Bourdieu* By Michael Burawoy, USA:Duke University Press.

Cooper, A. (2024) *Reckoning with the Devastating Legacy of Federal Indian Boarding School Policies*, Mellon Foundation, 14 August. <https://www.mellon.org/grant-story/reckoning-with-the-devastating-legacy-of-federal-indian-boarding-school-policies> [17.nov.2025]

Cote, S, (2024) 'Boarding Schools and Western Education-Related Trauma', NEFE, 1st february.  
<https://www.nefe.org/news/2024/02/boarding-schools-and-western-education-related-trauma.aspx>  
[18.nov.2026]

Dlamini, S., Helman, R., & Malherbe, N. (2018) 'Symbolic violence: Enactments, articulations and resistances in research and beyond', *African Safety Promotion: A Journal of Injury and Violence Prevention*, vol. 16, n. 2, pp. 2–8.  
<https://unisapressjournals.co.za/index.php/SaHS/article/view/13206> [19.nov.2025]

Fear-Segal, J. (2016) 'The History and Reclamation of a sacred Space: The Indian School Cemetery' in Fear-Segal, J. and Rose, S. D. Carlisle Indian Industrial School, USA: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 152-184.

Fear-Segal, J. And Rose, S. (2016) 'Introduction' in Fear-Segal, J. and Rose, S. D. Carlisle Indian Industrial School, USA: University of Nebraska Press, pp.1-34.

Gram, J. (2021) 'Designed for Destruction: The Carlisle Design Model and the Effort to Assimilate American Indian Children (1887-1918)' in Boling, E., Gray, C., Howard, C. and Baaki, J. (eds.) Historical Instructional Design Cases: ID Knowledge in Context and Practice, New York, London:Routledge, pp. 35-49.

Gregg, M. T. (2018) 'The long-term effects of American Indian Boarding schools', Journal of Development Economics, vol. 130, pp. 17-32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdeveco.2017.09.003> [27.jan.2026].

Haaland, D. (2021) Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative, U.S. Department of the Interior:Washington, DC, 22 June. [https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/secint-memo-esb46-01914-federal-indian-boarding-school-t\\_ruth-initiative-2021-06-22-final508-1.pdf](https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/secint-memo-esb46-01914-federal-indian-boarding-school-t_ruth-initiative-2021-06-22-final508-1.pdf) [17.nov.2025]

Haynes, H., McCarthy, T., Abrams, C., Lewis, M. E. and Haring, R. C. (2024) 'Revisiting One of the Oldest Orphanages, Asylums, and Indigenous Residential Boarding Schools: The Thomas Indian Schools at Seneca Nation', International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, vol. 21, no. 9, pp. 1-14. [doi.org/10.3390/ijerph21091120](https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph21091120) [27.jan.2026]

Hughes, C. (2020) 'Addressing violence in education: From policy to practice', Prospects, vol. 48, n. 1–2, pp. 23-38  
[https://discovery.up.pt/permalink/351PUCS\\_INST/1ltj4/cdi\\_proquest\\_journals\\_2239444711](https://discovery.up.pt/permalink/351PUCS_INST/1ltj4/cdi_proquest_journals_2239444711)  
[18.nov.2025]

Ibrahim, A. (2011) 'Will They Ever Speak with Authority? Race, post-coloniality and the symbolic violence of language', Educational Philosophy and Theory, vol. 43, n. 6, pp. 619–635.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2010.00644.x> [20.nov.2025]

Kalman, S. (2010) 'Introduction: Colonial Violence', Historical Reflections, vol. 36, n. 2, pp. 1-6.  
<https://doi.org/10.3167/hrrh.2010.360201> [19.nov.2025]

Maddison, S. (2013) 'Indigenous identity, 'authenticity' and the structural violence Madison', Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, voll. 20, n. 3, pp. 288–303,  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.806267> [19.nov.2025]

Madeira, A.I. and Grosso Correia, L. (2019) 'Colonial Education and Anticolonial Struggles', in Fury, J.L. and Tamara, E.H. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Education*, New York:Oxford University Press, pp. 413-426.

Maton, K. (2010) 'Habitus' in Grenfell, M. (ed) *Pierre Bourdieu - Key concepts*, Durham: ACUMEN, pp. 49-65.

<http://www.michaelgrenfell.co.uk/pierre-bourdieu-key-concepts-2nd-edition-full-text/>

[20.nov.2025]

Momaday, S. (2016) 'The Stones at Carlisle' in Fear-Segal, J. and Rose, S. D. *Carlisle Indian Industrial School, USA: University of Nebraska Press*, pp. 43-53.

National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution (2020) Chapter 3: Boarding Schools - Struggling with Cultural Repression [americanindian.si.edu/nk360/code-talkers/boarding-schools/#:~:text=The%20boarding%20schools%20had%20a,and%20made%20friends%20for%20life](http://americanindian.si.edu/nk360/code-talkers/boarding-schools/#:~:text=The%20boarding%20schools%20had%20a,and%20made%20friends%20for%20life) [17.nov.2025]

Nose, R. (1881) 'Experiences of H. C. Roman Nose', *The School News, Carlisle Barracks, PA, March*, vol. 1, no. 10. <https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/publications/school-news-vol-1-no-10> [27.jan.2026]

Piquard, B. (2016) 'From Symbolic Violence to Symbolic Reparation. Strengthening Resilience and Reparation in Conflict-Affected Areas through Place-(re)making. Examples from the West Bank and Colombia', *DEARQ - Revista de Arquitectura / Journal of Architecture*, no. 18, pp. 68-79. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=341649737008> [19.nov.2025]

Schubert, J. D. (2010) 'Suffering/symbolic violence' in Grenfell, M. (ed) *Pierre Bourdieu - Key concepts*, Durham: ACUMEN, pp. 183-198.

<http://www.michaelgrenfell.co.uk/pierre-bourdieu-key-concepts-2nd-edition-full-text/>

[20.nov.2025]

Sebwenna-Painter, K., Beckstein, A. and Kraus, S (2023) 'Psychological Impacts of Historic Loss and Current Events Surrounding American Indian Boarding Schools', *American Indian and Alaskan Native Mental Health Research*, vol. 30, n. 2, pp. 1-21.

<https://coloradosph.cuanschutz.edu/research-and-practice/centers-programs/caianh/journal/past-volumes/volume-30#Issue-2> [18.nov.2025]

Thomson, P (2010) 'Field' in Grenfell, M. (ed) *Pierre Bourdieu - Key concepts*, Durham: ACUMEN, pp. 67-81.

<http://www.michaelgrenfell.co.uk/pierre-bourdieu-key-concepts-2nd-edition-full-text/>

[12.dec.2025]

U.S. Department of the Interior (2022) Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report Vol. I. [https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/inline-files/bsi\\_investigative\\_report\\_may\\_2022\\_508.pdf](https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/inline-files/bsi_investigative_report_may_2022_508.pdf) [12.dec.2025]

U.S. Department of the Interior (2024) Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report Vol. II [https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/media\\_document/doi\\_federal\\_indian\\_boarding\\_school\\_initiative\\_investigative\\_report\\_vii\\_final\\_508\\_compliant.pdf](https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/media_document/doi_federal_indian_boarding_school_initiative_investigative_report_vii_final_508_compliant.pdf) [12.dec.2025]

UNESCO (2019) Indigenous peoples' right to education, France:United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000369698> [17.nov.2025]

von Holdt, K. (2012) 'The violence of order, orders of violence: Between Fanon and Bourdieu', *Current Sociology*, vol. 61, n. 2, pp. 112-131. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392112456492> [19.nov.2025]

Walters, K. L., Mohammed, S. A., Evans-Campbell, T., Beltrán, R. E., Chae, D. H. and Duran, B. (2011) 'BODIES DON'T JUST TELL STORIES, THEY TELL HISTORIES: Embodiment of Historical Trauma among American Indians and Alaska Natives', *Du Bois Review*, vol. 8, n. 1, pp. 179-189. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X1100018X> [12.dec.2025]

Weininger, E. B. (2005) 'Foundations of Pierre Bourdieu's class analysis' in Wright, E. O. (ed) *Approaches to Class Analysis*, Cambridge, New York:Cambridge University Press, pp. 82-118. <https://pages.nyu.edu/jackson/class.analysis/readings/Wright--AltFoundationsClassAnalysis.pdf#page=118> [19.nov.2025]

Whalen, K. (2012) 'Laboured Learning: The outing System at Sherman Institute, 1902-1930', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, vol. 36, no. 1, pp. 151-175. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7qz6h62p> [27.jan.2026].

White, L. (2016) 'White Power and the Performance of Assimilation: Lincoln Institute and Carlisle Indian School', in Fear-Segal, J. and Rose, S. D. *Carlisle Indian Industrial School, USA: University of Nebraska Press*, pp. 106-123.