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American Indians in higher education: one student's story

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UMI
American Indians in higher education: One student’s story

By

Laura Deanne Browne

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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DEDICATION

For guidance, support, understanding and patience during our journeys to cultural competence, we give thanks to the Creator.

This story is dedicated to Jeanne Smith (July, 1943 – October, 1996). ”Jeanne was one white person who came on our reservation and ended up spending her life there. And while she was there she saw the college grow from nothing to what you saw today. She worked with the elders from the very beginning.”

She was the “bridge” between two worlds—higher education and Oglala culture and beliefs. We are grateful for her example.
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PREFACE

First of all, I would like to give thanks to the Creator, the four directions, and Mother Earth for their guidance and assistance on this journey. These (or words like these) were taught to me by an American Indian shaman. These words have been constant companions during this research/writing process. Aho, mitakuye oyasin.

Susan has graduated and moved on. We spoke recently when I called to ask her to review the first draft. My excitement was not reflected in her voice and I remembered something the shaman said: “Words on paper are dead. They are nothing until given the breathe of life.” Even this ethical research protocol illustrated the differences between traditional Indian and modern Euro-American education.

There are two stories in the pages of this document, both about the journey to cultural competency. Cultural competency is defined in the helping professions as the internalized awareness of specific cultures and the ability work within a culture given that awareness. It does not mean that an individual considers or conducts herself as a member of that culture, (Green, 1995, Sue and Sue, 1999). It simply means that she is able to do what she needs to do without changing who she is and what she feels to be important.

The first story is about my respondent’s journey to cultural competency within the culture of higher education, in this case, a community college. This community college is an open door institution offering both transfer and vocational education programs to a predominantly rural, six county district. The American Indian students in this district were attending this community college because it was located near their homes, inexpensive, and offered developmental (college-preparation) and academic course work
at a variety of times. The students came to my area, the Student Success Center to study or obtain a tutor. Once we became acquainted, we sometimes talked about their classes and the struggles they were having academically. Sometimes we talked about how education might be done differently to better meet their needs. During one of these visits, I met the individual who became my respondent.

Susan and I met when she came into the Success Center where I work and asked for assistance with a paper she was writing for one of her nursing classes. Desiring to become a healthcare provider in her home community, Susan had moved to the district due to her husband’s employment. She had started her nursing education at a tribal college on a reservation in the Dakotas and decided to continue those studies at this community college. She was concerned about her ability to do well in this, the white educational system, but she was determined to help her people.

The other story is my own journey. I undertook this journey to cultural competency in order to gain insight into the reasons why higher education fails to retain individuals of American Indian descent. I know that I can never BE Indian because I was not born into that cultural group. However, I can “systematically learn and test [my] awareness of the prescribed and proscribed values and behaviors of a specific community...and carry out professional activities consistent with that awareness” (Green, 1995, p. 90).

So our discussions began. We learned a great deal through those discussions. She, an American Indian student, could tell of her experiences at a tribal college and compare/contrast them with the frustrations and barriers that she encountered in the non-Indian educational system’s institutions. While I, a member of the dominant educational
system, could learn about Indian education and help her understand how to communicate her knowledge and thoughts in ways that would/could be heard. In the process, we learned to appreciate the uniqueness of what we both brought to the interaction. Together, we hoped we might offer some suggestions about how the educational system could be improved to meet the needs of all human beings, red, white, yellow and black.

The reader should not presume that this one individual of American Indian descent represents "all" American Indians. According to Chief Hawk Pope, "There are hundreds of tribes and they don't necessarily have all that much in common, in spite of what non-native people think..." (Holmes à Court et al. 1998). According to Utter (1993), "anthropologists, archaeologists, and ethnologists have developed a broad system of 10 culture areas to classify many Native cultures of America's past: Northeast, Southeast, Great Plains, Plateau, Northwest Coast, California, Great Basin, Southwest, Arctic and Sub-Arctic" (p. 77). These areas were identified on the basis of such things as geographical influence, family and kinship systems, seasonal life, economic structures, and other factors (O'Brien, 1989, qtd. in Utter, 1993, p. 77). Therefore, generalizations about American Indians in higher education gathered from these conversations can not, and should not, be made to any other American Indian student in higher education. The words and ideas in the pages that follow are the product of a uniquely special interaction between two human beings who thought that sharing their conversations might make a difference.

This document is proof to the educational community of my ability to design, develop, conduct, analyze and disseminate knowledge. Yet it is much more. First, it is a demonstration of my journey to cultural competency. Secondly and more importantly, it is
an attempt to provide members of the higher education (professors and students alike) with a sensitivity to and an awareness of aspects of American Indian culture related to education. The intention is to build a bridge between the two cultures/systems that facilitates respect, discussion, and ultimately, understanding and acceptance. Perhaps this may be the starting point of another’s journey to cultural or ethnic competence.

Likewise, the conception and presentation of information in this document is a reflection of these two journeys. During my own journey to cultural competency, I learned that one needs to spend time in the culture to understand its nuances. Gifted with numerous opportunities to spend time with Susan and other Indian teachers, I felt it necessary to share the essence of these learning experiences with you, the reader. Consequently, the information in the first four chapters of this document will be presented in ways that may seem somewhat odd and hard to read and possibly raise questions about the quality of the research. This was purposeful so that you, the reader, might develop awareness of how our educational culture may be experienced by American Indian students. For example, Chapter 1 begins with a quote from the American Indian narrator in the video *Spirit: A Journey in Dance, Drum and Song*. Then multiple American Indian voices present general information about American Indian students in higher education and introduce the reader to tribal colleges, a relative newcomer in the educational arena. Chapter 2 is a piece of fiction (based on historical fact) narrated by a “typical tribal college student”. Chapter 3 contrasts basic aspects of Indian and non-Indian knowledge, specifically culture, world view and values. The polyvocality of Chapter 1 returns in Chapter 4’s discussion of stereotypes. The remaining chapters will return to a more conventional presentation format and provide
additional information to the reader's synthesis of implications for higher education's continued journey to diversity and multiculturalism.

The nouns American Indian, Native American, Indian, non-Indian, Euro-American and white(s) are used throughout this document, sometimes interchangeably.

Early in this research process, my concern for respect and political correctness prompted me to speak with Paul Boyer, then editor of *Tribal College: American Indian Journal of Higher Education*. He called my concern a "white problem" and explained that these nouns were used in a number of ways in different circumstances. Since "American Indian" is the preferred term in the field of education, it will be the noun of choice for this author. No effort was made to standardize this noun's usage among the numerous quotations by American Indian sources because the "voice" of the author was preferred.

Mr. Boyer added that, whenever possible, the tribal affiliation of the individual should be used instead (personal conversation, 1995). Therefore, the tribal affiliation of American Indian sources quoted in this document are noted. For example, "McKinney (Pottawatamie)," author of the American Indian Studies 210 exam found in the appendix.

**Overview of the Chapters**

Each chapter of this dissertation will be introduced by a confessional tale that shares an insight or point of discussion during the collaboration that later became the theme of a chapter. Chapter 1 provides an overview of American Indian participation in higher education, both in Euro-American and tribal institutions. Chapter 2 is a story told by a fictitious American Indian storyteller. Its purpose is to recount the history of American Indian education in the United States. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the use of
stories in qualitative research. Chapter 3 presents a comparison and contrast of Indian and non-Indian culture, world view and values, hereafter referred to as traditional knowledge and modern knowledge, respectively. In addition, a discussion of a holistic approach to education is offered. Chapter 4 explores how stereotypes, held by both Indians and non-Indians, continue to perpetuate ignorance, fear and inequality. Chapter 5 presents the theoretical and methodological framework for this research project, paying particular attention to the non-Indian researcher's responsibilities. Chapter 6 offers a comparison and contrast of attitudes and beliefs regarding knowledge and the role of education for Indian and non-Indian people. Finally, a discussion of the implications of the contrasting perspectives of education and some recommendations about how the contrasts might inform educational change for future generations.

One important clarification remains. Ron Tooivetsie Anquoe, the performer who represents the eagle in *Spirit: A Journey in Dance, Drum and Song* (Holmes a Court, Holmes a Court and Cilento, 1998) says, "Before I like to speak, I'd like to excuse myself in front of my elders because I am not an expert. I am still learning and I would like that to be known to my Indian people." I am not of American Indian descent and I do not consider myself to be an expert about American Indians in higher education or about the qualitative research process. The writing of this dissertation represents my journey toward cultural competence and, like Mr. Anquoe, I am still learning.
CHAPTER 1

THE STORY BEGINS - AMERICAN INDIANS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

"Behold, a man on his journey. He leaves his old world behind and he looks
to the eagle for the power to sacrifice familiar ways. The old stories guide
him and he listens with a child's wonder to the heroes of the past. He enters
the ancient world of young warriors, searching for answers to old questions
in a new world. The shadows of history fall heavy on the shoulders of he
who takes this journey."

This is the story represented in the 1998 PBS video *Spirit: Journey in Dance*,
*Drums and Song* (Holmes a Court, et al. 1998), a collaboration between Hawk Pope, Chief
of the Shawnee Remnant Band in Ohio and recording artist Peter Buffet. Now, let us start
this journey at the beginning.

The seeds for this research were planted in a college class in 1990. I read a great
deal that semester, but one article remained in my memory. While I cannot remember the
title or author, I can remember one of the points it made: the number of American Indians in
higher education is so statistically insignificant, their numbers are included in the "Other"
category. I pondered this statement for a while and then filed it for later consideration while
researching my master's thesis about higher education's non-traditional students. Yet, the
statistics about American Indians in higher education kept reappearing. This statement was
reiterated by O'Brien (1992) in the American Council on Education's research brief titled
*American Indians in Higher Education*:

Very little is known about the contemporary educational experiences of American
Indians, who often are ignored or placed in the category of "other" in most national educational research. Although American Indians have a longer history in American education than any other minority group, not much is known about their participation rates and achievement levels, and what is known often is not encouraging. (p. 1)

Eventually, I decided to try and understand the "whys" behind the statistics. A good place to begin this understanding was with current enrollment statistics. In 1990, American Indians represented 0.8 percent of the total U.S. population (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1994, p. 118). O'Brien (1992), reported that in 1990:

The American Indian population was 1.9 million and a total of 103,000 enrolled in higher education, an increase of 11 percent from 1988. However, they accounted for less than one percent of all higher education students and they earn less than one percent of all associates, bachelor's, master's, first professional, and doctoral degree awarded. More than half (53 percent) were enrolled in two year colleges, and were more likely to attend college on a part-time basis and women outnumber men. (p. 1)

Statistics for subsequent years led one to believe that more American Indians than ever were participating in higher education. The Chronicle of Higher Education (May 24, 1996) reported a total of 122,000 and 127,000 American Indians in higher education in the years 1993 and 1994 respectively, with the 1994 numbers representing a 4.7 percent increase in enrollments (p. A32).

Still far from setting any records, these statistics may be, in truth, over-exaggerated.

In an *Indian Country Today* article (October 28-November 11, 1996) addressing the issue
of American Indian enrollments in California institutions of higher education. Dr. Dean Chavers (Lumbee), president of the Native American Scholarship Program, wrote:

There are more untruths, half-truths, misstatements of fact and misunderstandings about Indian college enrollments than anything else except about Indian gaming. These lies and distortions hurt. The fact is Native people have always been underrepresented in the colleges of California...[because] the data which includes anyone claiming to be Indian greatly distorts the "facts". (p. 14)

Referring to the O'Brien report (mentioned above), Dr. Chavers reported that "the truth is...only 55,000 Indians were enrolled in college. The rest of the 103,000 were wannabes (non-Indian people who want to be Indians, and pretend they are Indians)" (p. 15). Pavel (Skokomish) Sanchez (Jemez/San Felipe Pueblo) and Machamer (Chumash) (1994) add

This is because the current college application process encourages ethnic and racial self-identification, which...leads to increases in ethnic fraud-especially for Native peoples-in higher education. Ethnic fraud occurs when individuals who have no substantive claim to being a member of an American Indian or Alaska Native community indicate they are members. (p. 91)

Chavers continues

Only 17 percent of Indian high school graduates are going to college according to BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) figures, totals from other tribes and other sources. The BIA figures are more accurate than the census or education figures because the BIA only counts people who are one-quarter or more Indian and enrolled in a tribe.... I found that the data reported...through the Higher Education General
Information Survey (HEGIS) were on the average 100 percent too high. (p. 14)

This same article presents additional statistics comparing general U.S. population high school graduation and college entrance/matriculation rates with those for Indians:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General U.S. Population</th>
<th>American Indian Population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finish high school</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go on to college</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate in 6 years</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earn college degrees</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Thus, non-Indians are earning 10.8 degrees for every Indian who earns a degree. At this rate, Indians will continue to be underrepresented in the professions, in education, in the sciences and in all other fields forever [and] we will have non-Indians running our schools, our roads, our courts, our social services, our hospitals, our colleges, our casinos and our businesses forever. (p. 14)

These figures concern tribal leaders who recognize the "importance of education to the future of tribal operations which require skilled [Indian] manpower, and [Indian] participation in the professions to guide programs in education, child welfare and economic leadership" (Red Horse, 1986 p. 42).

It is no secret that statistics can be manipulated to tell a desired story but these data, no matter how it was manipulated, encouraged my continued research. At this point, I want to revisit a statement in the American Council on Education's brief (O'Brien, 1992, p. 1), that "American Indians have a longer history in American education than any other minority group." This history is only one theme in the story. I will not attempt to redo the
excellent work that has been done already, but will refer the reader to the works of Margaret Szasz and Norman Oppelt. Yet an awareness of significant aspects of this history helps us begin to understand why there are so few American Indians in higher education. A more thorough overview will be presented later in this document.

In the beginning, "the hundreds of tribes, bands, clans, and extended family groups of Native Americans which inhabited North America in the late 15th century had their own forms and concepts of education. The focus was to facilitate a child's acquisition of environmental and cultural knowledge necessary to (1) survive in a subsistence lifestyle and (2) contribute meaningfully to the overall socio-economic welfare of the group" (Bureau of Indian Affairs. 1988 qtd. in Utter, 1993, p. 194).

"From the beginning of permanent European settlement in the North American continent, Indians were encouraged to participate in the ritual of formal education. However, many early programs focused not on advancement of the individual, but on assimilation and control" (Boyer, 1989, p. 14). The Law of Burgos (1515), Richmond, Virginia's Henrico Proposal (1618), John Eliot's "praying Indians" (1649-1675), the colonial colleges (Harvard, William and Mary and Dartmouth), Carlisle Indian School (1879), and the boarding school system of the early 20th century were manifestations of those policies. As a result, "schooling has a negative connotation for many tribal members" (Hayes, 1989, p. 3). This negative connotation impacts American Indian efforts to obtain the education needed for political, economic and educational self-determination. While this century's tribal colleges and universities (1968-present) have counteracted a great deal of the negativity about education, much remains to be done. According to the American Indian
Higher Education Council (AIHEC),

tribal colleges were created over the last 30 years in response to the higher education needs of American Indians, and generally serve geographically isolated populations that have no other means of assessing education beyond the high school level. They have become increasingly important to educational opportunity for American Indian students, an importance they have achieved in a relatively brief period of time. Tribal Colleges are unique institutions that combine personal attention with cultural relevance, in such a way as to encourage American Indians—especially those living on reservations—to overcome the barriers they face to higher education. (AIHEC, February, 1999, p. A-1)

According to O’Brien (1992, qtd. in AIHEC, 1999), these institutions share some basic commonalities:

- Most are less than 25 years old;
- Most have relatively small student bodies that are predominantly American Indian;
- Most are located on remote reservations, with limited access to other colleges;
- Most were chartered by one or most tribes, but maintain their distance from tribal governments;
- All have open admission policies;
- All began as two-year institutions; and
- All are fully accredited by regional accrediting agencies, with the exception of three colleges that are candidates for accreditation. (p. A-3)
The Carnegie Foundation, (1989), offered this description of the unique mission of these colleges:

1) Provide comprehensive academic and occupational education which is culturally relevant to the tribal community.

2) Establish learning environments which encourage participation by and builds self confidence in students who have come to view failure as the norm.

3) Celebrate and help sustain/preserve rich Native American traditions through cultural values and tribal languages.

4) Provide essential services which enrich the surrounding community.

including: socio-economic programs, adult education literacy tutoring, GED, vocational programs and leadership/management. (p. 3-5)

The AIHEC report, quoting Tierney (1992), noted that

Tribal colleges are similar to mainstream community colleges. However, the trait that distinguishes them from other community colleges is their dual mission: (1) to rebuild, reinforce and explore traditional tribal cultures, using uniquely designed curricula and institutional settings; and at the same time (2) to address Western models of learning by providing traditional disciplinary courses that are transferable to four-year institutions. (A-3-4)

While similar to non-Indian community colleges, the mission of Tribal Colleges creates markedly unique methods for implementation of that mission. These methods
include:

- Individual courses reflect curricula designed from an American Indian perspective;
- Presence of American Indian role models (Approximately 30% of the full-time faculty and 79% of full-time staff members were American Indian/Alaska Native);
- Classes taught by tribal elders and other non-traditional faculty members:
- Function as centers of Indian research and scholarship;
- Function as essential repositories of tribal knowledge;
- Provide community access to computer labs and interactive television;
- Promote local economic development; and
- Provide services to the community and act as gathering points for tribal members. (AIHEC, 1999, p. B-2-3)

Funding a college education is very difficult for American Indian students. "Most Tribal Colleges must charge tuitions that are high given the poverty levels of the communities they serve" (AIHEC, 1999, pp. E-2-3). Unlike their community college counterparts, Tribal Colleges receive little or no funding from state governments, as states have no obligation to fund them due to their location on federal trust territory. [Yet] treaty obligations and trust responsibility …set Tribal Colleges apart in a specific way: the federal government is committed to providing funding for Indians for a variety of programs, including higher education. Tribal Colleges rely on funds distributed
through Titles I-IV of the Tribally Controlled College or University Assistance Act of 1978 (TCCUAA) and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. (AIHEC, 1999, p. E-1) In Fiscal Year 1999, total TCCUAA appropriations reached $30 million. Nevertheless, appropriations for Title I schools in particular never matched the authorized level. Compared to the estimated $4,743 per FTE for non-Indian community college students, the current funding per Indian Student, $2,964, is now less than half the authorized amount of $6,000 and has increased only slightly—by $133—since 1981. (AIHEC, 1999, p. E-2)

Additional funding is available to tribal colleges by virtue of their land-grant institution status (authorized in 1994), even though “total appropriations for programs authorized for all 29 eligible institutions are approximately equal to the amount given to just one land grant college each year” (Billy, 1998, qtd. in AIHEC, 1999, p. E-3). And, contrary to popular belief, only five Tribal Colleges receive income from gaming (AIHEC, 1999, p. E-4)

“Tribal Colleges provide access for local students who might not otherwise participate in higher education” (AIHEC, 1999, p. D-1). Other student characteristics include:

- First generation in family to attend college;
- Female;
- Non-traditional—average age of 31.5 years;
- Single parent (over half, according to the American Indian College Fund);
- Less access to financial aid resources. (AIHEC, 1999, pp. D-1-3)
Yet, these “students are earning degrees, transferring to four-year institutions and obtaining jobs” (AIHEC, 1999, p. D-3). While data regarding completion rates of tribal college students is limited due to paucity of research dollars, the 16 colleges [reporting] completion data for 1996-97, 936 degrees were awarded, including 409 associate’s degrees, 58 bachelor’s degrees, and two master’s degrees. Of all of these degrees, 84 percent were awarded to American Indian/Alaskan Native students and 67 percent were awarded to women. (NCES. 1990-1997, qtd. in AIHEC, 1999, p. D-3)

Tribal Colleges are making a difference for American Indian people despite the lack of government funding. The Carnegie Foundation, in an unprecedented return visit, noted that tribal colleges “were no longer curious experiments; their value was proven. They were not, as we wrote, ‘on the threshold of a new era.’ They were now, in many cases, mature, stable, and respected institutions of higher learning” (Carnegie Foundation. 1997, p. x).

This information was presented because so few in the field of higher education are familiar with the history and role of Tribal Colleges. Because these 28 institutions in the continental United States cannot serve all American Indian students, this information provides an important context for understanding my research. My research was conducted at a midwestern community college that serves a small American Indian community.
Conclusion

The history of American Indian education over the last several hundred years is one of compulsory Western methods of learning, recurring attempts to eradicate tribal culture, and high dropout rates by American Indian students in mainstream institutions. In reaction to this history, American Indian leaders built on the success of the “self-determination” movement of the 1960s to rethink tribal higher education. These leaders recognized the growing importance of postsecondary education, and became convinced that it could strengthen reservations and tribal culture without assimilation. (Boyer, 1997, qtd. in AIHEC, 1999, p. A-2)

The next chapter recounts this history in what Van Maanen (1988) would consider an experimental tale—a story told by a typical tribal college student.
CHAPTER 2

A STORY ABOUT INDIAN EDUCATION IN AMERICA

My name is Cynthia Cloud-Dancing and I am a 30 year old American Indian. I was asked to speak with you today because the members of my family, for such a long time, have been remembering and keeping alive the stories of our people. Few, if any, of these stories have been recorded because the federal government tried to rub out the languages and cultures of my relations on this land space. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 changed that and now some of the stories have been preserved for future generations. But first, let me tell you a little about myself.

I am the parent of two children and I have lived all my life on this reservation. I am the first one in my family to attend college. I started attending classes at Oglala Lakota College (OLC) on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota this semester. Two years ago, after a bad experience at the University of South Dakota in Vermilion, I dropped out. I was too far away from my family and community. While I was reluctant to return to school, I really wanted to improve my life and the lives of my children. When I learned that OLC offered a Bachelor's degree in elementary education, I saw an opportunity to go to school without leaving my community. For this I am grateful.

Now, I will begin this story at the beginning.

Before the boat people crossed the waters to our land, my people had always known how to teach that which was important. Within the clans and extended families of

\footnote{This story contains facts from numerous sources. These are placed in endnotes so as not to interfere with the "flow" of the story.}
our tribes, children were given the knowledge needed to survive on our Mother, the earth, and to contribute to the welfare of all their relations. For those individuals needing special skills beyond survival, our medicine men and shamans, the education continued. Apprenticed to an elder religious leader, these individuals learned the use of sacred objects, long, complicated chants, and symbols critical to our people's well-being. We depended upon our medicine men/shamans to placate and communicate with the supernatural forces controlling our lives. Thus, we lived our lives in harmony with all that was seen and unseen.

This would all change with the coming of the boats from across the water. The visions of our medicine men had told us there would be no way to stop you. The first to come were those we now know to be the Spaniards. They believed that their God was the only God and that they had a responsibility to introduce us. Their first efforts to civilize and convert my people were the Laws of Burgos in 1515. Under these laws, my people were given the opportunity to work their way into the grace of God. Fifty years later, on an island the Spaniards called Havana, the priests gave my people another opportunity to find the one God and learn some reading, writing and farming skills. These Jesuit priests hoped to civilize us according to their vision. They were unable to see who the uncivilized ones really were.

Soon others came from across the waters, also intent on helping my people learn how to live the RIGHT way. In the year you know as 1618, in an area later to be known as Richmond, Virginia, the first school to teach our children was established. Funded with English money, the Henrico Proposal was destroyed four years later when my
people rebelled and killed everyone. Your people were taking our land and expecting us to want to be like you. It was difficult for each of us to understand each other's WAYS.

In our desire to learn about you, some of my people became what history calls "praying Indians". One of your people, a John Eliot, seemed sincere in his efforts to bring about mutual understanding. In the years from 1649-1675, over one thousand of us accepted your God and tried to live your way, hoping to gain your support. This Eliot even translated your Holy Book into our language to help us better understand. But, as predicted, your people kept coming and did not seem to understand that it was possible for all of us to live in harmony on our Mother Earth. One of my relations, Ohiyese (known to you as Charles Eastman) described this lack of understanding in his book *The Soul of the Indian*:

"A missionary once undertook to instruct a group of Indians in the truths of his holy religion. He told them of the creation of the earth in six days, and of the fall of our first parents by eating an apple.

The courteous savages listened attentively, and, after thanking him, one related in his turn a very ancient tradition concerning the origin of the maize. But the missionary plainly showed his disgust and disbelief, indignantly saying:

'What I delivered to you were sacred truths, but this that you tell me is mere fable and falsehood!'

'My brother', gravely replied the offended Indian, 'it seems you have not been well grounded in the rules of civility. You saw that we,
who practice these rules, believed your stories; why, then, do you refuse to credit ours?"^^9

My people's attempts to protect themselves from your greediness caused King Philip's War in the year 1675. We were no match for your guns and, for the next 200 years, found ourselves powerless to combat your Eliotonain efforts at conversion/civilization.\textsuperscript{10}

Your efforts to civilize my people also included providing some of us with the opportunity to attend your colonial colleges. Harvard, William and Mary and Dartmouth were among the earliest to establish Indian Colleges proving Eleazor Wheelock's belief that conversion and civilization efforts were more effective if "selected young men were removed from the influence of family and home."\textsuperscript{11}

The story is told of one of my people, Canassatego, who spoke for the Iroquois following an offer from the Colonial Legislature to send six youths to be educated at the Williamsburg College of William and Mary:

We know you highly esteem the kind of learning in these Colleges, and the Maintenance of our young Men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are so wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things; and you will not therefore take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happens not to be the same with yours. We have had some experiences of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up
in the College of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors nor Counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged for your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia shall send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take great care of their Education instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them.¹²

Your efforts to convert and civilize my people will be recorded in history as failures due to your prejudice, the conflicting values of our two cultures and our resistance to your ways.¹³ Still, your ancestors continued to swell over the land east of the Mississippi. In 1830, the Great White Father Andrew Jackson made a law which moved my relations, the Five Civilized Tribes¹⁴ to a home (reservation) far away in Oklahoma, hereafter referred to as Indian Territory. The Great White Father also promised to provide educational opportunities for my people. These opportunities focused on teaching us how to be farmers, but the land of our "new" home was barren and inhospitable.¹⁵ As a result, the government, not missionaries, became responsible for the education (civilizing) of my people.

Recalling Eleazor Wheelock's success with Indian students educated away from their family and home, boarding schools were established both on and off the
reservations.\textsuperscript{16} Funded by government, church and Indian annuities, our children were taken to these schools and not allowed to return until they had graduated.

The most infamous of the off-reservation boarding schools was the Carlisle Indian School founded by Civil War veteran Capt. Richard Pratt in 1879. Pratt's objective was "kill the Indian and save the man." He believed Indians could be educated. His first students (200) were the children of chiefs and tribal leaders of the western Plains tribes. They were taken to Carlisle, Pennsylvania where their hair was cut and they were dressed in appropriate clothing. They were not allowed to speak their native languages, but were educated in academics, agriculture, manual arts and homemaking skills—the most education Indian children had yet received.\textsuperscript{17} This school was also known for its athletics and "outing" system. Its football team competed with some of the more elite college teams of the time. Jim Thorpe, the pentathlon and decathlon winner in the 1912 Olympic Games, was the school's most famous athlete.\textsuperscript{18}

The "outing" system allowed students to work in the homes of white people during the summer months. It also gave them an opportunity to experience white culture first-hand, hopefully leading to its acceptance over Indian ways.\textsuperscript{19} Upon graduation, these students returned to their reservations only to find they no longer fit in. The skills they learned were not needed and they could no longer understand the language and ways of their people and were often rejected by their own relations. Neither were they accepted in the white world; after all, they were still Indians.\textsuperscript{20}

The Carlisle Indian School (1879-1912) set the pattern for off-reservation boarding schools as the instrument of acculturation for the next fifty years, with some
heartbreaking modifications. Some of my relations tell of their children being taken and transported to far away schools in cattle cars. Many, too young to be away from their family, died of loneliness. Still others died of diseases for which they had no resistance (as was the case for most of my people). While there, others were beaten, handcuffed or placed in solitary confinement for minor infractions (such as speaking their tribal language or trying to run away). The off-reservation boarding school was really nothing more than a concentration camp for the forced assimilation of my people.  

The removal of my people from their ancestral lands and the undermining of tribal system (assimilation) was complete with the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887. Also known as the General Allotment Act, it provided an allotment of 160 acres of land to each family and 80 acres to every single person residing on a reservation. Our allotments were neither rich with natural resources nor fit for agriculture, the trade we were taught. All surplus land was purchased by the government at $1.25 per acre, the proceeds of which were placed in a trust to be used for education and supplies for my people. The government then sold this land to white homesteaders. Indian Territory was no longer home to just my people. During the years from 1887 until 1933, the land holdings of my people went from 150 million to 48 million acres.

The misuse of trust monies to provide for and educate (synonymous with acculturation/assimilation) my people changed little until 1928 when the Meriam Report, charged with studying conditions on the reservations, exposed a tragedy: high death rates (especially our infants and children), poor health, low income, substandard housing, and inadequate education. Critical of the boarding, private and mission schools, the Report
concluded that my people had the lowest educational level of any ethnic group at the
time.24

But, government policies regarding my people were about to change. In 1924, we
were granted U.S. citizenship. In 1934, the Wheeler-Howard Act was passed. Also
known as the Indian Reorganization Act, it established an Indian Bill of Rights and
dispensed with the allotment system. My people were now able to form constitutions,
organize for self-government, form tribal corporations and conduct business—first steps
toward restoration of our tribal self-sufficiency and identity.25 In other Congressional
action that same year, the Johnson-O'Malley Act provided for state and federal
cooperation in delivery of services, especially education, to my people.26

The Indian Reorganization Act was further championed by the leadership and
sensitivity of your President Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier.
Collier was a rare government official who attempted to reform an educational system
which could see no value in my people's rich cultural heritage.27 World War II delayed
these reforms and provided 25,000 of my people, including the Navajo Code Talkers and
one of the three soldiers memorialized for the flag raising at Iwo Jima, with the
opportunity to get off the reservations and serve this country with honor.28

The postwar economy was not kind to returning veterans, much less my people.
Even educational opportunities remained limited. My people were less tolerant of
prejudice and expected respect from the people and government they served so
honorably. We deserved and expected more, especially input into the education of our
children. What we got was a political backlash from our successful litigation seeking
compensation for the Dawes Act land swindles. In 1953, this backlash took the form of House Concurrent Resolution 108. The goal of HCR 108, another solution to the "Indian problem", was the end of the government's trust relationship with some of our tribes, otherwise known as "termination". As a result, one hundred tribes, bands and rancherias were terminated, including my brothers and sisters of the Klamath in Oregon and the Menomonee in Wisconsin. Concurrent with "termination" was "relocation" - the removal of my people to urban areas where there were supposed to be more opportunities for employment. Dismayed with the lack of jobs, many of my people returned to the reservations rather than live in slums rampant with alcoholism, drinking-related arrests and numerous social problems. Thirty years after the Johnson-O'Malley Act, education for my people remained far below national standards and higher educational opportunities were almost non-existent.

This country, in the 50's and 60's, saw the Civil Rights movement, Black activism, the American Indian Movement and my people's increasing resistance to termination and relocation. In 1954, the Supreme Court made school segregation illegal and my people began questioning the quality of the education being provided by the government, especially considering the fact we had little or no say regarding what was being taught. Title III of the Education Act of 1965 set aside funds to assist developing institutions of higher education. My people decided it was time to start making decisions "for the good of the people."

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson laid the foundation for self-determination which was legalized by President Nixon's "New Federalism" in 1968 with the passage of the
Indian Civil Rights Act. This act strengthened our tribal autonomy without jeopardizing our unique relationship with the federal government. In 1970, in essence, it finally terminated termination and relocation.

For my people, self-determination meant that we, not the federal government, should decide what was best for us. We knew that non-Indian institutions of higher education had proved inadequate in meeting our unique needs. In fact, only 18 percent of us in federal Indian schools went on to college compared with the national average of 50 percent. Only 3 percent of us enrolled in college matriculated, while the national average was 32 percent. We also knew that there was a need for new skills and knowledge to develop the natural and human resources on the reservations.

During the time my people were exploring ways to make education relevant to their communities, the community college was making itself known in higher education. The community college with its vocational training, general or transfer programs, remedial services, and flexible admission standards and delivery systems seemed ideally suited for my people on the reservations. And so the tribally controlled community college was created. It is located on a reservation and chartered/controlled by a federally recognized Indian tribe. It attempts to resolve the high Indian dropout rate in higher education with a curriculum developed from an Indian cultural perspective. It is truly an institution of, by, for and about my people!

Taking advantage of the Title III monies available in the 1965 Higher Education Act, we established the first tribally controlled community College in Shiprock, Arizona on the Navajo Reservation in 1968 (Navajo Community College). Oglala Sioux
Community College on the Pine Ridge Reservation followed in 1970 and Sinte Gleska on the Rosebud Reservation in 1971. At the present time, thirty-two tribal colleges in the United States and Canada are meeting the educational needs of The People. The federal government, through a series of legislative actions, remains supportive of our tribal colleges and our rights to self-determination. The Indian Education Act in 1972 was the first legislation to take steps to resolve the lack of Indian control and management of Indian education. In 1975, the Indian Self-determination and Assistance Act provided for transfer of control of American Indian education from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to local tribes. 1978 saw the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act and the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act. The 1990's saw the Native American Languages Act, the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force Report and the White House Conference on Indian Education. Designation as land-grant institutions by executive order in 1994 (a legacy of the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890), has added to the credibility of Tribal Colleges.

According to a 1992 research brief from the American Council on Education, 103,000 of the 2 million American Indians in the United States were enrolled in higher education. According to the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (an organization representing all tribal colleges in the U.S. and Canada), 16,000 are attending tribal colleges where the graduation rate in 1990 was 85%. I will close this story with a quote from one of your people-Ernest Boyer:

"More has been accomplished in the two decades since founding tribally
controlled colleges to meet the higher education needs of tribes and their members than in the 200 years since the first Indian graduated from Harvard."

It is my hope that you, the listener, will now have a clearer understanding of the relationship between higher education and my people. We all have a great deal of work to do before the teachings of the medicine wheel will be realized on this, our Mother Earth.

Ho, hetch etu aloh. Wakan Tanka k'chee mani!

Stories in Qualitative Research

This chapter is a story within the story of this research: the history of American Indian education in the United States. Glesne (1999), states that "the purpose of qualitative research in general is to increase the understanding" of the reader (p. 169). Glesne and Peshkin (1992) consider writing a "political act" that necessitates thoughtful consideration of intended and unintended reactions to content and form (p. 171). Glesne (1999) even goes so far as to posit that the "medium is part of the message" (p. 191). She continues

Through experimenting with form, researchers seek to be open to how the medium is at least a part of the message. Different mediums allow you to say (and to see) different things about the lives you seek to represent. Whatever the forms of writing you use, help your readers understand enough, in a way that engages them, that they want to know more. (p. 191)
Eisner (1997, qtd. in Glesne, 1999), notes five reasons for choosing alternative forms of re-presentation

- creating a sense of empathy for research participants;
- providing a sense of particularity and authenticity;
- generating insight and attention to complexity;
- increasing the kinds of questions researchers can ask as they think within new mediums; and
- making better use of the variety in researchers' representational abilities. (p. 180)

However, Eisner warns “not to substitute novelty and cleverness for substance” (qtd. in Glesne, 1999, p. 180).

Perhaps what Van Maanen (1988) refers to as an experimental tale, this chapter is a fictional creation. Among American Indian people, the dominant way of presenting (and preserving) information is in the form of a story. "Memory is a special part of our Native American Tradition," says Jamie Sams, author of Sacred Path Cards (1990). "Since our histories are passed down orally, the remembering is an art...[and everything] must be remembered for future generations" (p. 224). She continues:

Medicine Stories are told and retold year after year to keep the teachings of the People alive. Every story has many meanings and relates to life in a multitude of ways. Each time a story is retold, the level of understanding grows and expands with the maturity of the listener. The same events inside a story may be repeated many times in different ways to allow listeners to
discern how the story applies to them. The Red People's way of thinking is very different from that of other races. We do not tell others what is the true message of our Medicine Stories but rather allow people to use their individual gifts of intuition and observation to discern what the true meaning is for them. In this way, the teaching of the Red Race insists that everyone be allowed to learn at their [sic] own speed, in their own way, and to apply or not apply the teachings to their lives. (p. 224)

This history of American Indian education in the United States is presented in the way my respondent and I thought a native storyteller might recount the events in order to provide the reader with the opportunity to experience the richness of the native storytelling tradition. The facts were selected to present as accurate and detailed a recounting as possible. Even the persona of the narrator is a synthesis of the demographics and experiences of the typical tribal college student. Yet, this chapter may pose what Wolf (1992) calls a "threat to the believability of the text" (p. 54) despite its foundation in fact. Neither Susan nor I believe a "substitution of substance for novelty and cleverness" has occurred. Instead, the story provides a shift in perception that will be helpful as the reader attempts to understand the significant contrasts between American Indian and Euro-American knowledge.
Endnotes

1 Utter, 1993.
2 Oppelt, 1990.
3 Utter, 1993.
4 Utter, 1993.
5 Oppelt, 1990.
7 Oppelt, 1990.
8 Oppelt, 1990; The Natlick dialect of the Massachusetts language.
9 Eastman, 1993, p. 52-53
10 Oppelt, 1990.
11 Szasz, 1980.
13 Szasz, 1980.
14 Utter, 1993; Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Seminole.
15 Oppelt, 1990.
19 Oppelt, 1990.
20 Utter, 1993.
21 Utter, 1993.
26 Oppelt, 1990.
27 Utter, 1993.
28 Utter, 1993.
29 Oppelt, 1990.
30 Utter, 1993.
31 Oppelt, 1990.
33 Oppelt, 1990.
34 Utter, 1993.
38 Oppelt, 1990.
This is a term often used by American Indians to refer to themselves.
CHAPTER 3

TRADITIONAL (INDIAN) AND MODERN (EURO-AMERICAN) KNOWLEDGE

One day, while talking about her experiences in school, Susan said:

Laura, you need to understand what illness means to Indian people, to my people.

It means the individual is out of balance in some way, be it physical, mental, spiritual or emotional. This is not the concept of illness that is part of my nursing education. It is the part that none of my teachers understand. They cannot understand why an individual with diabetes would go see a medicine man before coming to the reservation hospital.

A parallel discussion of illness from the American Indian perspective is offered by Pepion (1995):

Several tribes believe that illness is caused by being out of balance with nature or the self. The medicine wheel can be used to show how one must take care of the four parts of our being in order to stay in balance or maintain wellness. This "relatedness" or "connectedness" is manifested through the idea of respect for all things as commonly known to most native people. The opposite of respect is abuse. Thus in using the medicine wheel circle, being out of balance (sickness) is usually because we have abused (dis-respected) one or more parts of our being. (p. 5)

Culture

What Susan and Pepion are talking about is a cultural view of the world and everything in it that is uniquely American Indian. "Culture provides the blueprint that
culture is a set of customs, beliefs, traditions, and values that provide patterns for human definition of life situations...a way of life, interrelated in its various facets, not inherited, but learned, that shares and defines the boundaries of different groups. (p. 199)
The medicine wheel is a representation of one of the most comprehensive and significant traditional teachings of American Indian culture. A basic understanding of these traditional teachings will facilitate an understanding of what Susan and Pepion are trying to say as well as offer some insight into the difficulties American Indian students encounter in education. Yet, the understanding I attempt to convey will be, by virtue of my non-Indianness, limited to what has been shared with me and what I have been able to learn through the years. Some of what I know and understand is the result of conversations with a shaman and his wife, Medicine Eagle and Blue Otter Woman (Ioway). First, a few words about the Anglo or non-Indian cultural perspective.

According to Lynne Crow, intercultural educator and instructor of Native American Studies in Wellpinit, WA, non-Indians think in three’s. This number represents the Christian Trinity: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. A visual representation of this cultural perspective is the three sides of a triangle. These three sides represent the important aspects of a human being—the physical, mental and emotional. (See Figure 1)
Because the number three represents balance and completion, they often are considered the primary foci of education (Personal communication, August, 1992).

A Native educator at Blackfeet Community College in Montana, Pepion suggests that "the simplicity of the circle represents the way of native thought" (p. 17) and the symbol of the medicine wheel might be useful in developing an educational program for Native American adult learners. He states:

The medicine wheel can be used to show a holistic approach to wellness and learning. As a symbol, the medicine wheel is a circle with no beginning or end and represents the connectedness of all things. The cross inside the circle represents the four powers of the universe (West, North, East and South). It also represents the four stages of life (infant, adolescent, adult and elder) (See Figure 2) and the four races of humankind. (p. 5)
Bopp, et al., the authors of *The Sacred Tree* (1982), add:

It [medicine wheel] is an ancient symbol used by almost all the Native people of North and South America. There are many different ways this concept can be expressed: the four grandfathers, the four winds, the four cardinal directions, and many other relationships that can be expressed in sets of four....[It] teaches us that the four symbolic races (red, yellow, black and white) are all part of the same human family. All are brothers and sisters living on the same Mother Earth....[It] teaches us that the four elements (earth, air, water and fire), each so distinctive and powerful, are all part of the physical world. [It] teaches us that we have four aspects to our nature: the physical, the mental, the emotional, and the spiritual.
Each of these aspects must be equally developed in a healthy, well-balanced individual through the use of volition. (pp. 9-12) (See Figure 3).

In addition,

The medicine wheel teaches us the cycles of human development from our birth toward our unity with the wholeness of creation: wholeness, growth, nourishment, and protection. [It] teaches us symbolic meaning of life: virtue, power, competence, and significance. Finally, [it] teaches us that in this global universe, “all things are connected and related”. (Peewewardy, 1999, p. 31)

![Medicine Wheel Diagram](image)

Figure 3: Medicine Wheel-Four Aspects of a Human Being

**World view**

Inherent in cultural beliefs are the “central assumptions, concepts, and premises that are assumed true and have never been questioned, reasoned, nor necessarily proved, and that permeate every aspect of life” (Crow, 1993, p. 199). These “basic assumption[s]
about the nature of reality” that permeate every aspect of life are known collectively as *worldview* (Galanti, 1991, qtd. in Crow, 1993, p. 199). Crow (1993) offers this comparison of Native American and Anglo American world views:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIVE AMERICAN</th>
<th>ANGLO-AMERICAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holistic</td>
<td>Compartmentalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural pluralism</td>
<td>Dualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event orientation</td>
<td>Time (clock) orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative</td>
<td>Competitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This culturally based world view is sometimes referred to as “oral, indigenous, or traditional knowledge” (Goody, 1982, qtd. in Kirkness and Barnhardt, 1991, p. 6). Traditional knowledge’s “holistic integration and internal consistency...is not easily reconciled with the compartmentalized world of bureaucratic institutions” (Kirkness and Barnhardt, 1991, p. 7). They continue

> When Native students enter higher education, they encounter a literate world in which only decontextualized literate knowledge counts, and that knowledge must be displayed in highly specialized forms...[and] survival often requires the acquisition and acceptance of a new form of consciousness (world view) that not only displaces, but often devalues their indigenous consciousness. (Kirkness and Barnhardt, 1991, p. 6, 7)
Crow (1993) offers a detailed discussion of Native American world view and its inconsistency with nursing education/academia. She notes that “the inability to write and speak in an acceptable academic manner often has been equated with lack of intelligence rather than the lack of learned skills.” She continues (quoting Mehan (1981, p. 5):

To be successful in [the] classroom...students must not only know the content of academic subjects, they must know the appropriate form in which to cast their academic knowledge. Although it is incumbent upon students to display what they know during lessons, they must also know how to display it. (p. 199)

Susan’s experience learning to write research papers provides an example of how her traditional knowledge, specifically holistic perceptions and spiral/circular thought processes, contributed to overwhelming anxiety and frustration:

*The way I wrote a paper was to put all my thoughts down and then tie them together and I was done with it. And I remember the first time I handed you one of those, you were just horrified! It was the structure and the outline and the linear process of tying the front to the back. It felt like it was a plot to control how someone felt about something or how they believed when they were done reading...it would change how they felt about something. When I research a topic, I put down everything that has meaning to me. It was all there and then the person could come and read that paper and they could go away and think about it and then they would know how they felt about it.*

*The Oglala people have a communication system that resembles the petals on a flower. The center of this flower would represent the questions, or what you*
call the thesis statement. And when one is communicating the way I have learned to communicate, someone will give all their thoughts and those thoughts are a petal on the daisy. But it never hits the question in the center: its part of the petals in the flower and then the listener or reader goes away and thinks about it and answers her own question. So my papers resembled the daisy and the thesis you wanted wasn’t there because I felt it should come from the reader. It’s all there but the daisy pattern allows each individual the freedom to pick from each petal that which will help her make sense of the question and come up with what is real for her. And this individual freedom is a cultural value, one of the values that holds my culture together. These values are the things we believe and the reason we do the things we do.

Values

According to Golnick and Chinn (1994), values, determined by one’s culture, “are perceptions of what is desirable and important for us or to the group. Our values influence prestige, status, pride, family loyalty, love of country, religious beliefs and honor” (p. 8). Oppelt (1989) believes that:

knowledge of the commonly held Indian values and behavior is important…because students holding them often experience difficulties in the white dominated environment of the college campus. The major objective is to facilitate the Indian’s development as a bicultural person, adaptable to both the traditional Indian and dominant cultures. (p. 168)

He adds that these values “are frequently exhibited in traditional or tribal Indians
who have been raised on reservations or in rural communities by elders who accept and exhibit the same values and behaviors" (p. 167). Yet, for some Indian students this is not the case. According to Barden, 1994 and French, 1987 (in Van Hamme, 1996) a continuum exists between a very traditional orientation to Indian cultural values and practices at one extreme to complete assimilation to Euro-American cultural orientation at the other extreme. Most American Indian people function somewhere between these two extremes and none have completely avoided being affected by the dominant American culture. (p. 25)

Schiller has described this acculturation continuum, (1987, qtd. in Benjamin, Chambers and Reiterman, 1993) as having four levels: 1) bicultural, 2) Anglicized, 3) American Indian oriented, and 4) marginal (p. 35). Susan spoke about information with reference to four levels of acculturation that she obtained at a workshop:

"According to this material the first level is traditional-the traditional person is neither accepting nor rejecting their Indian identity. They simply just are. The values, morals, artifacts, language, customs, beliefs and the tribal history is vested in these individuals; they are the carriers of the culture. The second level is culturally immersed. The culturally immersed Indian rejects the values of the White culture in favor of Indian values and beliefs. These individuals are usually politically active and assertive. The third level is bi-cultural. The bi-cultural Indian has some pride in their racial identity, its history and cultural traditions. They are adaptable in both the Indian and the non-Indian worlds. The bi-cultural Indian has a tendency to seek out racial diversity and is stimulated by it. They
value and tend to live and work in integrated settings. Often the bi-cultural person experiences emotional pain from what may be referred to as "cultural schizophrenia," that is, not feeling grounded in either the Indian or the non-Indian world. The fourth level is acculturated. The acculturated Indian has made either a conscious or unconscious decision to reject the general attitudes, behaviors, customs, rituals, and stereotypic behaviors associated with being Indian. They have a tendency to view Indian culture as inferior to that of the dominant culture. In view of this, I believe my family has valued both the Indian and non-Indian cultures ever since my grandmother's time and I consider myself to be bi-cultural.

Oppelt (1989) notes that the following values may be problematic for American Indian students: time perspective, sharing with others, cooperation and group membership, spiritual causes of illness and problems, spiritual needs, concern for family, consensus decision making, lack of financial resources, too poorly prepared in reading, writing and mathematics, to shy to ask for help, lack of Indian role models, lack of emphasis on planning for the future, and English as second language. (pp. 168-172)

Because this acculturation continuum exists, Oppelt offers this advice to student service professionals: "It is important to note that no one Indian will exhibit all of the characteristics...[and]...should be viewed as individuals, not caricatures" (1989, p. 172).
John Tippeconnic III in his book, *Collaboration the key: A model curriculum on Indian child welfare* (1989) adds these values to the list:

- Cooperation
- Group harmony
- Modesty
- Autonomy
- Placidity: the ability to wait is considered good.
- Generosity
- Indifference to ownership
- Indifference to saving
- Indifference to work ethic: adherence to rigid work schedule is not valued.
- Moderation in speech
- Careful listening
- Permissive child-rearing: traditional Indian child-rearing practices are self-exploratory rather than restrictive
- View of time as relative: time is flowing; things are done when they have to be done.
- Orientation to the present
- Pragmatism: deal with the concrete rather than abstract.
- Age: age is valued; elders are treated with respect.
- Respect for Nature
- Spirituality: religion is an integral part of each day; it is a way of life.
• Importance of family: the extended family is valued.

• Importance of cultural pluralism: assimilation is resisted; Indians want to retain as much of their culture as possible.

• Avoidance of contact: the avoidance of prolonged direct eye contact is a sign of respect.

• Holistic approach to health: Sickness implies imbalance within the individual; a medicine person may be preferred rather than a doctor.

• Importance of bilingualism: Indian languages are considered important and keep cultures alive.

• Caution: caution is used in personal encounters; usually not open with others.

(pp. 1-2)

Yet, according to Oppelt (1989), the following values may help the Indian student's adjustment to education: respect for elders, genuine humility and generosity, and sense of humor (p. 172). As Susan said: "Our culture and values determine who we are; they are the core of who we are".

Forbes, (Powhatan) (1990) offers these words of advice to this discussion of American Indian values: "The student can, in no way, acquire insight into the realities of Native American life without a thorough knowledge of values. It is the Europe-American's values which lead them to behave the way he does and it is the Indian's values which provide the mainspring for Native culture" (p. 189). There is yet another way of looking at how culture, world view and values contribute to what the student brings to the educational arena. Van Hamme (1996) notes that "cultural values and
practices are...important components contributing to the development of individual learning styles” (p. 28).

American Indian World view + Learning style

In his article, Pepion goes one step further and transposes Keefe's (1982) learning style theory for adults onto the medicine wheel. (See Figure 4 below.)

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Figure 4: Medicine Wheel plus Learning Style

“Learning styles are characteristic, cognitive, affective, and physiological behaviors that serve as relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with, and respond to the learning environment” (NASSP, 1979, qtd. in Keefe, 1987, p. 5).

Keefe continues: “These learning differences flow from variations in individual intelligence, drive, skills, and accomplishment, as well as personal and family predispositions and the cultural influences of the wider society” (p. 16).
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Gilliland in his book *Teaching the Native American* (1988), notes that the majority of Native Americans learn more easily when observation, artistic and spatial skills, and physical activity are emphasized. Many of them begin with a holistic view of a subject and are more concerned with feelings than with cold evidence. (p. 47)

This suggests what Ross (Dakota) (1989) considers a right brain hemispheric dominance, the opposite of what is stressed in the left-brained world of education. He states: “Our educational systems over-emphasize the functions of the left side of the brain (logic, linear, write, read, time and masculine)” (pp. 15 and 17). Pepion (1995) concurs: the scientific method of reasoning in the dominant society’s educational system has taught the student to break something down to its smallest component in order to obtain some meaning. This may be contrary to native thought which [uses] inductive rather than deductive reasoning. (p. 13)

Ross (1989) advocates for a “whole-brain approach to education” (p. 45).

At a more comprehensive level, More (1987) suggests, despite the paucity of research, the following as characteristic of an American Indian learning style:

- Higher frequency and relative strength in global processing on both verbal and non-verbal tasks;
- Relative strength in simultaneous processing, but a possibility that sequential processing abilities develop much slower than simultaneous skills because they are not used in the primary grades;
- The possibility of using strengths in simultaneous processing to develop sequential processing;
• Higher frequency and relative strength in processing visual/spatial information;
• Higher frequency and relative strength among Indian students in using imagery for coding and understanding;
• Lower frequency and relative weakness in verbal coding and understanding; and
• Reflective more than impulsive (or watch—then-do rather than trial-and-error). (p. 24)

Macias (1989), in a study designed to document both the difficulties and “...survival strategies of a small group of academically successful Indian graduate students” (p. 43), concluded:

While remedial help with reading and writing academic discourse may continue to be essential to American Indian achievement, it is imperative that higher education acknowledge that these grammatical and vocabulary deficits are superficial indicators of verbal ability which often camouflage the more fundamental skills of knowledge synthesization and analytic reflection characteristic of the Indian students we have studied. (p. 51)

What is missing from this discussion of learning style is the fourth part—the spiritual. Van Hamme (1996) points out that “spirituality is not an attribute that can really be separated from the entirety of Indian value systems” (p. 26). Pepion (1995), adds: "there are four dimensions to ‘true learning’ [and it] cannot be said that a person has totally learned in a whole and balanced manner unless all four dimensions of her being have been involved in the process" (p. 2). He notes that “contemporary educational theory and application is realizing that it must deal with the individual in their (sic) particular
environment (p. 7).

Joseph Bruhac (Abenaki), in his introduction to Dooling and Jordan-Smith’s book *I Become Part of It* (1989) suggests:

This world is more than just a physical thing. An awareness of its spiritual, sacred dimensions is vital not only for the survival of cultural life, but for the continuance of life itself on an earth now clearly threatened by forces which western cultures have set in motion. When the life of the intellect and the life of the spirit grow apart, terrible things become possible. (p. 5-6)

**Conclusion**

According to Pepion (1995)

From a Native point of view, the purpose of adult learning is to free humankind from the chains that bind them. Societal change to meet individual and tribal needs begin with awareness and education. Information is power. Ignorance is not stupidity, but it is lack of knowledge. Before personal and social change can take place, individuals must be able to see the world as it is-based upon their own values, norms, and beliefs. Freedom to choose one’s life path is critical to the nature of man. Education imposed from another culture, society or social structure is oppressive. (p. 16)

Benjamin, Chambers and Reiterman (1993) concur; and note that it seems rare, given cultural, world view, and cognitive obstacles, that any American Indians-especially those who strive to maintain their cultural identity-can succeed in a higher education system dominated by the powerful and persuasive influences of
the White majority culture. (p. 25).

Susan knew she would have to spend some time in an educational system whose knowledge and way of doing things was very different from her own in order to accomplish her goal. She found the assistance she needed to learn how to do what was expected of her. This, in some respects, is no different from what any other student in higher education does. However, Susan never forgot who she was. In fact, she viewed this opportunity to obtain an education as a gift that was also a responsibility. She endeavored both to learn what the educational system had to teach her while attempting to teach her instructors and peers about American Indian values, culture and world view. We can only speculate about how Susan’s educational experiences may have differed if Kirkness and Barnhardt’s (1991) proposal “for a higher educational system that respects them [First Nations/American Indian students] for who they are, that is relevant to their view of the world, that offers reciprocity in their relationships with others and helps them exercise responsibility over their own lives” (p. 1) was a reality.

Even as we endeavor to comprehend the culturally contexted nuances of traditional American Indian knowledge, we must confront and dispel the consequences of stereotypes, for both American Indians and non-Indians. Perhaps only then education will be truly multicultural and in balance for all students.
CHAPTER 4

STEREOTYPES - WE ALL HAVE THEM

A classmate shared this story with me in one of my graduate classes. She had the honor of teaching elementary students in a large urban school in the Midwest and was very conscientious about integrating multicultural education into her classroom.

She had invited an individual of American Indian descent to give a presentation to her class. He came dressed in his dance regalia. He danced and sang while playing the drum. When this part of his presentation was over, he changed out of his regalia and came back to the classroom dressed in blue jeans, tennis shoes and a tee shirt. He then asked the children if they had any questions.

One child was beside himself with excitement, waving his hand back and forth trying very hard to be selected. The teacher, on the other hand, was concerned because this child was very precocious and unpredictable. When selected, the boy stood up and asked: “What do you do when you are not an Indian?”

This story caused me to think about the impact of stereotyping on the next generation. A few months later, the following sequence of events began to unfold.

A young Indian student at the college stopped often to talk about/share what he had been learning about his people and himself. He would sometimes stop at my home and our visits continued. During one such visit, I spoke with him about helping with this research, but he was reluctant to sign a consent form. Rather than push the issue, I left the form on the table and continued our visit. He referred to it at different times as I explained the desired outcome (what was in it for him, as an Indian, and for me, a non-
Indian). I also explained why his signature was important, but he left without signing the paper. Hopeful he would agree, we visited again at school, but then I did not see him for some time. I was conscious of his absence and wondered if I had done/said something to offend/irritate him. He had no telephone and, while I knew his address, I really had no idea where he lived. I let the situation go knowing that if we were to visit again, it would all work out.

A couple of weeks later, the young man walked into the room and sat down at a nearby computer. He asked, “Have you noticed that I haven’t been around?” I replied affirmatively. He looked at me and asked, “Have you missed me?” I replied that I had missed our conversations and wondered if I had said or done something to irritate him. I also told him that I figured if we were to visit again, it would happen in its own time. He looked at me and said, “That wasn’t very white of you.”

Images and Stereotypes

According to Berkhofer (1978)

since the original inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere neither called themselves by a single term nor understood themselves as a collectivity, the idea and image of the Indian must be a White conception. Native Americans were and are real, but the term Indian was a White invention and still remains largely a White image, if not a stereotype...because it does not square with present-day conceptions of how those peoples called Indians lived and saw themselves. (p. 3) Stedman (1982) adds these observations:
The white man's historic images of the Indian have little or nothing to do with the reality of Indian life. Most of the dominant images are fictional creations of the white imagination and ignore what the Indian is truly like. (p. xi)

Stickland (1982), in his foreword to Stedman's *Shadows of the Indian*, notes that these images are "a historical attempt to define the Indian and Indian policy from a non-Indian perspective" (p. x). He continues:

Understanding the popular image is important...not only for the view it provides of the Indian but also for the view of the society that created the image. The Indian image was a reflection of the particular white neurosis of that age. We have seen the Indian taken, in the view of white society, from savage to savior; from the devil incarnate of Puritan sermon to the nonpolluting, horseback riding television Indian of the public-service announcement and to the mystical, drug-world Indian of Carlos Castenanda's people of power; from the last of the Mohicans to the end of the trail; from the good Indian who brought corn to the starving pilgrims to the stoic marine raising the flag on Iwo Jima. (p. x)

But, what are stereotypes and why is this discussion of their effects so important that they merit an entire chapter in this dissertation?

According to Utter (1993):

A stereotype may be defined loosely as a somewhat fixed or unvarying image which people have about something—be it an object, a set of beliefs or actions, or a group of people. The image can be uncomplimentary because it is frequently applied to all members of the same category, regardless of how true it is. Thus,
stereotyping is often associated with prejudice. Most stereotyping
overemphasizes one or more characteristics that may be partly true, and this often
results in distortions about those characteristics. (74)

Michael Dorris (Modoc), concerned about the images and stereotypes of Indians
in children's literature states:

I isn't for Indian...it is often for Ignorance. In the Never-Never Land of glib
stereotypes and caricatures, the rich histories, cultures, and the contemporary
complexities of the indigenous, diverse peoples of the Western Hemisphere are
obscured, misrepresented, and rendered trivial. Native American appear not as
human beings, but as whooping, silly, one-dimensional cartoons. On occasion
they are presented as marauding, blood-thirsty savages, bogeys from the
nightmares of "pioneers" who invaded their lands and feared for the
consequences. At other times they seem pre-concupiscent angels, pure of heart,
mindlessly ecological, brave and true. And worst of all, they are often merely
cute, the special property of small children. (qtd. Hirschfelder, 1982, p. vii)

According to Strickland (1982)
the Indian has neither faded nor died. The white inventor of Indian stereotypes is
coming to the realization that if the modern Indian is going to die it is white
society that must kill him; Indians have no intention of committing cultural or
economic suicide. (p. xii)

Given the above discussion about the images and stereotypes of American
Indians, I would like to explain the various proper nouns used in this paper. I learned
very early in this research that my desire for political correctness when referring to American Indian people was a concern only to me. Stedman (1982) adds

Semantic arguments aside, however, "Indian" prevails because it is the word still chosen by Indians themselves for collective purposes [individually, the nations often call themselves "The People"]. Yet, no truly self-generated move exists to embrace any other term. Being possessed of knowledge about their collective pre-Columbian heritage, Indians are less concerned about their collective designation than they are about their tribal or national identities. They can be called Indians or Native Americans or First Americans, but they are Oneidas, Kiowas, and Cherokees. Leaning upon a collective term for the Indian when greater precision is appropriate is not much different from using "European" when it is more appropriate to say "German." It may also be the surest path to burying completely the heritage and identity of the individual Indian groups. Then nothing would stand in the way of stereotypes. (xvii-xviii)

Susan confronted stereotypes, first as a parent and then as a student. She tells of the time she spoke with the husband of a friend, a math teacher new to the reservation, about her children.

_I said something about one of my kids and her art and he really got angry._

_He asked why everyone sold their kids short. He shared his observation that we could see our kids succeed only if it was through sports or art; that we never saw them as math teachers or other professionals, only artists or basketball players._

_He wondered why we didn't see that they can do anything._
did that to our children. He said it made him mad because he got it from everyone on the reservations, even the other instructors. He wondered if we did it subconsciously.

And I thought about it, I've been thinking about it a lot. Those are the natural talents we see in our children. But we've been told, either subconsciously or consciously, or through stereotyping...or through whatever through the generations that our kids aren't good in math. But we bought into it and never knew it; but a white person coming to the reservation noticed it immediately.

Common Stereotypes of Indian students

Specific stereotypes that some non-Indian educators may have of Indian students include:

- They are absent or tardy all the time.
- They don't know how to handle money.
- They have little or no commitment to the educational process.
- They are lazy and irresponsible.
- They are quiet and not articulate.
- They will not make eye contact.
- They are naïve.
- They lack motivation.
- They don't show emotions (are very stoic).
- They are improvident and wasteful.
- They are good "resource" persons about American Indian culture/history.
In truth, these stereotypes are white perceptions that demonstrate insensitivity and lack of awareness of American Indian culture, values and learning styles. They are not the behaviors teachers have been trained to expect and observe in their students. The danger is that internalized stereotypes often become self-fulfilling prophecies, as demonstrated in Susan's story.

According to a bulletin published by the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1996), “Teachers often reinforce stereotypes and prejudices in the way they present the culture and history of native peoples in the classroom”. The following is a list of the “what not to teach about Native Americans”:

- Don’t talk about Native Americans as though they belong in the past. There are about [2 million] native peoples in the United States today, yet many books and films have titles such as “How the Indians Lived.”
- Don’t talk about “them” and “us.” Native peoples are the only “original” Americans and actually are more “us” than anyone else.
- Don’t lump all Native American together. Study the Hopi, the Sioux or the Apache, not the “Indians.” There were no Indians until Europeans called them that. There are separate nations or native groups with different names, cultures, and languages.
- Don’t expect Native Americans to look like “movie Indians.” Since they come from different nations and often have intermarried with other nationalities, they don’t fit into a “western” stereotype.
• Don't let television stereotypes go unchallenged. Discuss with students the meaning of stereotypes and help them understand that Native Americans were no more "savage" than others who fought to defend their land. Watch out for portraits of native groups having few words (mostly "ugh").

• Don't let students think a few Europeans defeated millions of "Indians" in battle. Historians say the number killed in battle was small; what really defeated Native Americans were the diseases brought from Europe for which they had no immunity.

• Don't teach that Native Americans are just like other ethnic and racial minorities. Other minorities weren't dispossessed of their land. And only native groups have legal rights through laws and treaties (although often ignored) to the land they still have.

• Don't assume that Native American[s]...are acquainted with their heritage. Don't expect them to be a "good" resource persons for your class.

• Don't let students think native ways of life have no meaning today. Native arts have long been the subject of interest and respect. Most important in today's world is the Native American philosophy of life – respect for the land, every form of life, and for living in harmony with nature. (p. 1)

Susan's experiences with stereotyping permeated her interactions with her peers and instructors. She tells about the time she gave a cultural presentation to fellow nursing students and instructors:
They listened to the whole thing and the instructor's comment to me was

"I just think it is horrible for these people to be so torn by the values on the reservation and the values everywhere else. All the mixed messages they get, it must be a horrible experience." I looked at her and knew I had to respond, and I wanted to respond, but I didn't. I did say something about it depending on where the people were at in terms of the acculturation process. And she said, "No, I mean, the mixed messages that they're getting."

I was in a corner; I didn't know what to say, especially since she was my instructor and she was gonna give me a grade. I finally said, "I don't know what you need" and I left. I wanted to go back and talk to her later, but I knew she wouldn't hear what I wanted to say. She saw poor people, and mixed messages and assumed they were confused. She thought how horrible it must be to be Indian. The reality is not horrible and they're not confused at all. They are not confused at all!

I had just spent twenty minutes explaining to her and the class that they don't have to understand other people, they just have to respect them. They just have to respect the fact that there's more than one way to look at life. There's more than one way to communicate, more than one successful way to look at relationships. I don't think she heard anything I said during that presentation. I just hope some of the students did.

Shortly thereafter, Susan said: "You know, Laura, the dominant culture stereotypes Indians, but Indians also stereotype the dominant culture."
Stereotypes that Indians have of non-Indians

She shared this list of stereotypes that some Indian people have of non-Indians she
had obtained during a visit to the Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska. Attributed to
Robert Hallowell, the list stated that some whites:

- think they are superior to everyone else;
- are aggressive and sometimes over-bearing;
- have high expectations of Indian people to assimilate rapidly;
- force their religion on Indians;
- are insensitive and lack modesty;
- are prejudiced towards Indians;
- are two faced;
- are untrusting and suspicious;
- are stingy and penny-pinching;
- are materialistic, greedy and fixated on making money;
- are naïve about Indians and are always asking ridiculous questions; and
- think that Indian people get money from the government and that they receive
  special benefits.

Susan recalled that I thanked her for sharing this list and that I had read it and
filed it away for later. She also said, "Laura, I can tell by your voice that you're very
angry, but I am a bit surprised by your reaction. I thought you knew that stereotyping
was a cruel and painful thing."
She later realized that even though I understood about stereotyping, I didn't understand what it was like to have it done to me. I agreed. I could intellectually relate to the stereotypes, but felt angry that they even existed in the first place. I wondered about those white people who honestly tried not to stereotype or who tried to be aware of their prejudices and be open to seeing things differently, and still they were stereotyped. She said that was exactly the reason she gave me the list. So I could know how it felt to be stereotyped and lumped together with all white people.

She said, "It's true that alcoholism is a terrible disease to Indian people. But the idea that ALL Indians drink is ridiculous. And for those Indian people who never drank and never chose to drink or maybe drank but don't anymore, it's the same thing."

Stereotyping generalizes to a whole group of people and prevents us from seeing each unique individual.

If we all have them, what can we do about them?

Mihesuah (Choctaw) (1996) states that stereotyping American Indians is a form of racism that causes numerous problems; not only for those who are stigmatized, but also for those who perpetuate the myths. For the victims, false imagery most notably causes emotional distress, anger, insecurity, and feelings of helplessness. Those who stereotype suffer more subtly. Without attempting to learn about the people they misunderstand, they cheat themselves as well. They speak from ignorance and do not possess a well-rounded version of American history. They cannot appreciate what Indians have to offer because they refuse to believe real Indians may be
different from their images. Most of these people learn about Indians through hearsay and imagery, not from real Indians who could properly educate them.

Racial intolerance often prevents Indians from enjoying the same socio-economic opportunities as other peoples do, making it difficult for them to integrate into mainstream society. Negative stereotypes of Indians encourage discrimination at work, in the marketplace and in social settings. (p. 113)

Dorris (Modoc) concurs:

It's a shame. To deprive our children (who grow up to become no less deprived adults) access to the wealth and sophistication of traditional Native American societies is indefensible. It's no joke when a dominant group, with a sorry history of oppression towards its minorities, expropriates a shallow version of a subordinate, relatively powerless group and promulgates that imagery as valid.

(qtd. in Hirschfelder, 1982, p. vii)

Perhaps Mihesuah (1996) has an answer: "It is important for all of us to recognize and to combat stereotypes. All peoples deserve to have their histories and cultures properly placed in the scheme of things. Anything less does us all a disservice" (p. 17).
CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH AND AMERICAN INDIANS

An individual of Indian heritage told me I had no right to write about Indian experiences/culture because I was not Indian. According to Joseph Bruhac (Abenaki), in his introduction to the book, *I Become Part of It* (Dooling and Smith, 1989), "One has to be brought up in these [American Indian] cultures and traditions. One has to live the languages, in order to truly identify with the ethos of the American Indian people" (p. 10). Karen Gayton Swisher (Standing Rock Sioux) (1996) agrees: "...Indians ought to be conducting the research and writing about it" (p. 83). An American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES)-supported document: *Our voices, our vision: American Indians speak out for educational excellence* (qtd. in Swisher, 1996) explains why

Just as the exploitation of American Indian land and resources is of value to corporate America, research and publishing is valuable to non-Indian scholars. As a result of racism, greed, and distorted perceptions of native realities, Indian culture as an economic commodity has been exploited by the dominant society with considerable damage to Indian people. Tribal people need to safeguard the borders of their cultural domain against research and publishing incursions. (6)

The idea of only Indians doing research on/about Indians is further supported by the Research Proposal Checklist developed by the Association of Aboriginal Post-Secondary Institutes in British Columbia. It states that "As self-governing Indian nations, the band [tribe] council and cultural research committee have the right to make rules and laws to protect the integrity of their culture, language, and people" (Ambler, 1996, p. 10). Their
research proposal consent form, allowing research to be conducted within the boundaries of the reserve [reservation], requires at least the following:

- personal and professional data and references of the researcher,
- clear statement of all aspects of the research,
- details regarding the specific uses of the information,
- description of benefits to the people being studied,
- details of materials to be generated from the research, and
- provision for co-ownership of the data, information and copyright. (See Appendix for complete checklist) (Ambler, 1996, p. 11)

These guidelines were developed because, historically, research done on American Indian peoples has not always had their best interests in mind. According to Susan, "Indian people have been researched to death. There are stacks and stacks and stacks of research and Indian people aren't any better off. But, if the tribe clears it and if you work as a partner with the tribe, we're all for it." I would have followed the above guidelines had this research taken place on a reservation or in a tribal college. Susan agreed to participate in this research project because she hoped it would make a difference: "I hope, by telling my story, I might help non-Indian educators understand some of the difficulties American Indian students deal with in the classroom." Her agreement included the understanding that I would follow the above guidelines should I think about expanding this research.

About this same time, I was gifted with Paul's story. His curiosity about American Indian life and spirituality motivated his move to "Indian country". He found a
job and went about his business, always willing to stop and visit with people at the bar, restaurant, grocery store or gas station. Then one day he was invited to a ceremony. He was very happy for the opportunity and was a careful observer of all that happened, mostly to make sure he did not offend or embarrass those who had invited him. Time passed and brought with it more invitations. Then, one day he was invited to the most sacred of ceremonies. He went and participated in accordance with his heart's guidance and was given a place in the circle.

Later, while returning to the ceremony after a break, a young Indian man approached him. The Indian man seemed very upset when he saw Paul's blond hair and blue eyes. This individual stopped Paul and verbally challenged his presence at the sacred ceremony. Paul stood quietly for a long time and then reached out his hand to the Indian man and said, "I sure would like to shake your hand. You see, you are the only person I have met who seems to know exactly what it is the Creator has in mind for me and I am grateful for your sharing this information with me. I have always wondered and because of you, I know. Thank you." The Indian man looked at Paul in surprise, then slowly turned and walked away. Paul returned to his place in the ceremonial circle.

Despite the challenge to the perceived mismatch of subject matter and researcher, Susan's belief in the importance of this research project and Paul's story reminded me that my own understanding of what I was told, saw, or read preceded the presentation of my research to others (Wolf, 1992). My process of making sense included developing an understanding of the theoretical framework of science and research, objectivity-subjectivity and self-other relationships, content and form.
Science, Theory and Research

According to Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1990), "science is best described as a method of inquiry that permits investigators to examine the phenomenon of interest to them" (p. 13). Historically, scientific research has its roots in the natural sciences and a basic set of beliefs that assume there is a cause/effect relationship between all natural phenomena. Known as universal determinism or the scientific method, it also assumes that "truth can be found only in those instances where a phenomenon can be seen and directly observed" (Ary et al. 1990, p. 22). Called the "received view", this idea of an "apprehendable reality...assumed to exist, driven by immutable universal laws and mechanisms" (Ary, et al. 1990, p.22) has been the chosen paradigm for more than 400 years. In more recent years, critical theory, composed of poststructuralism, postmodernism and their hybrid constructivism (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), have resulted in epistemological and ontological refinements of the "received view".

The subjective, value-determined nature of critical theory and relative, multiple realities of constructivism (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) are the infrastructure of this research. This researcher's subjective interest in the topic and desire of both the researcher and respondent to use the information gained to inform/reform the American educational system acknowledges the existence of multiple realities. The "reality" which will be discovered in this case will be a unique construction of this relationship.

The theoretical framework of this project was grounded in the understanding that concepts and assumptions guide research goals, choice of variables, procedures, analyses, and the conclusions (Wicks-Nelson and Israel, 1997). These concepts and assumptions are
what Guba and Lincoln (1994) refer to as a paradigm: "a set of basic beliefs (metaphysics) that deal with ultimates or first principles" (p. 105). They continue:

It [paradigm] represents a (world view) that defines, for its holder, the nature of the "world", the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts. The beliefs are basic in the sense that they must be accepted simply on faith (however well argued); there is no way to establish their ultimate truth. (107)

Paradigms answer three basic, but interconnected questions: (1) What is real (reality) and what can we know about it? (ontological); (2) What is the relationship between the knower and what can be known? (epistemological); and (3) How can the knower discover that which s/he believes can be known? (methodological) (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Ontological, epistemological and methodological questions are interconnected in the sense that "the answer to any one in any order constrains how the others may be answered" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 108). The choice of a paradigm "represents...the most informed and sophisticated view that its proponents have been able to devise, given the way they have chosen to respond to the three defining questions" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, p. 105).

Ary et al. (1990), define research as "the application of the scientific approach to the study of a problem" (p. 22). They continue with the following description of the scientific approach: "a process in which investigators "move inductively from their observations to hypotheses and then deductively from the hypotheses to the logical implications of the hypotheses" (p. 10). Those who use the scientific approach in
Research, scientific investigators or researchers, are described as "objective doubters dealing with facts which they attempt to integrate and systematize into theory" (Ary et al. 1991, pp. 14-15).

Research method, according to Ary et al. (1994), "refers to the general strategy followed in gathering and analyzing the data necessary for answering the question at hand" (p. 32). According to Wicks-Nelson and Israel (1997), "research methods vary along several dimensions, but all aim to go beyond common sense speculation to objective, reliable knowledge" (p. 70). These methods can be categorized as experimental, causal-comparative, descriptive, qualitative, and historical" (p. 33). Glesne and Peshkin (1992) note that "the research methods we choose say something about our views on what qualifies as valuable knowledge and our perspective on the nature of reality..." (p. 5). Bloom (1999) notes that "the distinction between methods and methodology is critical because methodology is deeply rooted in and should be consistent with the epistemological beliefs that a researcher brings to her inquiry" (p. 138).

Since the phenomenon of interest to this researcher was the low enrollment and retention rates of American Indian students in higher education, the discovery of the "whys" was critical. Statistical analysis of the reasons would, primarily, depend upon the researcher's ability to gather the necessary information. This researcher's non-Indian heritage and the difficulty obtaining accurate information (the reader should recall the statements made by Dr. Chavez in Chapter 1). In addition, I believe the story that would be available to the reader would be very different and not the story I want to tell. I believe, like Fonow and Cook, 1991, qtd. in Bloom, 1998), the "questions the researcher
has about her own life based on her ‘situation at hand’ are valid questions for framing the research project” (p. 147). For these reasons, a qualitative approach was used. This approach is a "paradigm which portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex and ever-changing" (Glesne, 1999, p. 5). Tesch (1990, p.72-73, qtd. in Glesne, 1999) organizes and categorizes types of qualitative research by four areas of research interest:

- characteristics of language (i.e., discourse analysis, ethnoscience, symbolic interactionism, and others);
- discovery of regularities (grounded theory, critical research, ethnography, and others);
- discerning meaning (phenomenology, case study, life history, and hermeneutics); reflection (educational connoisseurship, reflective phenomenology, and heuristic research). (p. 8)

To gain a better understanding of what it means to be an American Indian in higher education, a case study design was used for this research project. Bogdan and Biklen (1992), quoting Merriam (1988) define a case study as a "detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event" (p. 62). This "detailed examination of a single subject", an American Indian student in higher education, will be facilitated by qualitative research methods. These methods, according to Marshall and Rossman (1995), facilitate interpretation by "describing...salient behaviors, events, beliefs, attitudes, structures and processes" (p. 41).
The use of the researcher as the key instrument for data collection is one characteristic of this method (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). According to Marshall and Rossman (1995), "the researcher becomes immersed in the everyday life of the setting chosen for study and seeks to discover participant perspectives on his/her world" (p. 79). In addition, inquiry is seen as an "interactive process between the researcher and the participant that results in the gathering of descriptive data that is primarily composed of people's words and observable behavior" (Marshall and Rossman, p. 4). In addition, the data includes the researcher's thoughts and feelings while conducting the research.

The qualitative researcher "observes persons or events in their natural settings, attempting to portray[s] a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex and ever-changing" (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992, p. 6). The major goal of this "fieldwork being the understanding of the influence of the particular context on the events" (Ary et al. 1991, p. 33). According to Glesne and Peshkin (1992), "face-to-face interactions are the...distinctive feature of qualitative research" (p. xi) and "the researcher becomes the main research instrument as she observes, asks questions, and interacts with research participants" (p. 6). Yet no discussion of qualitative research would be complete without an understanding of the intrinsic dichotomies: objectivity/subjectivity and self/other.

**Objectivity/Subjectivity**

The scientific paradigm dichotomizes the researcher and the researched, emphasizing the objectivity of the researcher (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 12). Objectivity—the plain and simple reporting of the facts of the research setting and its results—is required for subsequent replication and validation of the research results. Thus,
the goal of research is the non-biased reporting of the phenomenon of interest. What the researcher brings to the research setting: who she is, what she thinks, feels, and believes to be real and true—the lenses through which she views the research process—are variables to be ignored and excluded.

Social scientists (including qualitative researchers), on the other hand, maintain that it is impossible to separate the two and take the position that "there are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of the observer and the observed" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 12). This subjectivity, defined by Glesne and Peshkin (1992) as "the quality of our self-awareness to manage the impact of self on our research" (p. 93) is dependent upon "personal characteristics, such as gender, age, personality, temperament, and skill" (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992, p. xiii). This is the first intrinsic dichotomy in qualitative research. This dichotomy differentiates the social (soft) sciences from the natural (hard) sciences in two significant ways. First, "social scientists deal with the human subject" (Ary et al. 1994, pp. 19-20) who is unique, complex and constantly changing. Second, the social scientist's observation is "subjective because it frequently involves interpretation...influenced by her [the researcher's] own values and attitudes..." (pp. 20-21).

Lynne Crow, an intercultural educator from Montana who helped me understand some aspects of the Native perspective, shared some words of wisdom that I am only now beginning to understand and appreciate. She said, "Laura, who you are as a human being doing research with Indians is very important and must be clear to the reader" (Personal communication, April 17, 1996). I heard these words again in Bloom's statement (1999).
that "feminist methodology...encourages interpersonal and reciprocal relationships between researcher and the participants, and it breaks down traditional binary constructions between subjectivity/objectivity in the research relationship" (p. 138).

I anticipated the fact I was non-Indian might be controversial as I searched for ways to legitimize my research. Alcoff's article, "The Problem of Speaking for Others" (Roof and Weigman, 1995) helped me recognize my fear of criticism, especially from an American Indian perception that this research was another attempt at exploitation. The fear named and faced, I began the process of clarifying what I brought to this research.

The Researcher

I bring numerous experiences and perspectives to this research. From my childhood growing up in the military, I gained an appreciation for diversity and the ability to observe and maintain an open mind. Training and thirteen years' experience in human services in a small metropolitan community in the Midwest provided the theoretical knowledge and skills needed to empower individuals to deal with the barriers in their lives. These, coupled with student development and adult learning theory and practice, form the foundation of what I bring to the research setting. This foundation is further enhanced by my belief that there is something to be learned when we listen to the stories of others in our world. I am reminded of the children's story of the blind mice and the elephant. Each mouse carefully observed a different part of the elephant and steadfastly maintained that his description was THE description. They were surprised when Elephant told them he was ALL they experienced.
Later, while researching my Master’s thesis, I noted that students who differed from the stereotypical student profile encountered numerous formidable barriers to academic success. I learned why older adults, especially women who have not been part of the work force, have difficulty in higher education. I even discovered some innovative solutions designed to help women transfer and obtain educational credit for their life experiences. Awareness of and possible solutions to the educational barriers encountered by people of color became the focus of my Ph.D. research.

While the natural researcher's mastery of objectivity is preferable, Krieger (1991) proposes that "the self—the unique inner life of the observer—is not a contaminant, not something to be separated out, neutralized, minimized, standardized, and controlled" (p. 1). She argues "that when we discuss others, we are always talking about ourselves...[and]...understanding others actually requires us to project a great deal of ourselves onto others and taking others into the self in an encompassing way" (p. 5).

Self/Other

According to Ladner (1971), the "relationship between the researcher and her subjects, by definition, resembles that of the oppressor and the oppressed because it is the oppressor who defines the problem, the nature of the research and, to some extent, the quality of interaction between her and her subjects" (qtd. in Fine, 1994, p. 73). To control for this unconscious reality, the issue of whose "voice" would be heard in this presentation had to be addressed. According to Ary et al. (1994), "social scientists' own values and attitudes may influence both the observations and the assessments of the findings on which they base their conclusions" (pp. 20-21). This self/other discussion is
the second intrinsic dichotomy in qualitative research.

Trinh T. Minh-ha (qtd. in Alcoff, 1995) explains that anthropology is "mainly a conversation of 'us' with 'us' about 'them'; of the white man with the white man about the primitive-nature man...in which 'them' is silenced" (p. 98). Alcoff (1995) notes that "in anthropology there is discussion about whether it is possible to speak for others either adequately or justifiably" (p. 98). This, then, was the theme of the stories at the beginning of the chapter: Could I, a non-Indian woman, "justifiably and adequately" retell an American Indian woman's story? Alcoff (1995) recommends careful analysis of the impetus to speak:

The point is that the impetus to be always the speaker and to speak in all situations must be seen for what it is: a desire for mastery and domination. If our immediate impulse is to teach rather than listen to a less-privileged speaker, we should resist that impulse long enough to interrogate it carefully. Some of us have been taught that by right of having the dominant gender, class, race, letters after our name, or some other criterion, we are more likely to have the truth. Others have been taught the opposite and will speak haltingly, with apologies, if they speak at all. (pp. 111-112)

Opportunities to analyze my own impetus to speak have presented themselves. Not too long ago, I took a class that explored the foundations of adult education. In one session, the discussion focused on Benjamin Franklin's contribution to the development and growth of adult education. The textbook commended Franklin for his vision while I mumbled about his hypocrisy. The instructor facilitated an opportunity for a more
holistic examination of Franklin's "contributions", including his documented attitudes towards Indian people. After class, another student asked why I had felt it necessary to speak about this aspect of Franklin's life. She identified herself as an American Indian and said, "All the history stuff was old hat and Indian people just didn't talk about it anymore". My reply: "I understand what you are saying, but I do not think many of my people know the whole story and I have made it my responsibility to share accurate information with the hope people might re-think what they thought they knew."

This event clarified my impetus for speaking: to share with my own people some things they might not have learned anywhere else. Alcoff (1995) asks: "If I don't speak for those less privileged than myself, am I abandoning my political responsibility to speak out against oppression, a responsibility incurred by the very fact of my privilege?" (p. 100). But I, like Krieger (1991) "...thought, romantically, "that when I used other people's words, I was letting them speak through me" (p. 54) and speaking "through" certainly was preferable to speaking "for" or "about". Therefore, I have attempted to do what Fine (1994) calls "work[ing] the hyphen between self and other":

By working the hyphen, I mean to suggest that researchers probe how we are in relation with the contexts we study and with our informants, understanding that we are all multiple in those relations. I mean to invite researchers to see how these relations between get us better data, limit what we feel free to say, expand our minds and constrict our mouths, engage us in intimacy and seduce us into complicity, make us quick to interpret and hesitant to write. Working in the hyphen means creating
occasions for researchers and informants to discuss what is and is not
happening between and within the negotiated relations of whose story is
being told, why, to whom, with what interpretation and whose story is
being shadowed, why, for whom, and with what consequence. (p. 72)

In the end, Susan and I are human beings with stories to tell. We shared our
personal stories and learned what we needed to learn from them. We then committed to
telling "our" story in ways that we hoped would provide non-Indian educators with the
opportunity to learn what they needed to learn.

Content and Form

The content and form of this final presentation are the result of the inductive
analysis of pages of transcripted dialogue between Susan and I. The goal of this analysis
is what Glaser and Strauss (1967) call "grounded theory" (qtd. In Bogdan and Biklen,
1992, p. 32). This grounded theory is then connected (or at least related) to ideas and
theories found in the research literature. Susan and I made meaning from our experiences
and all we brought to the relationship. We shared our realities, both internal and external.
Then we found ways to create win-win situations without having to give up too much in
terms of who we were and what we knew to be the way to be successful in the
educational system. That is the content of this paper. Finally, decisions regarding the
ideal format for the presentation of the information revealed the researcher's embedded
motivations for this research.

In the "self/other" section of this chapter, Alcoff questioned whether or not
"privilege" included an implicit responsibility to speak for those less privileged. This
reminded me of the Lakota concept of *wounspe*, defined as a "privilege that is also a responsibility" (Crazy Bull, personal communication, November 10, 1995). By agreeing to share her story, Susan had presented me with a tremendous responsibility.

**Conclusion**

This researcher's intent to illuminate the barriers encountered by American Indian students in higher education is not unclear. In addition, the type of narration (stories and experimental writing), suggests a feminist theoretical paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p.13). On the other hand, specific suggestions for the removal of those barriers are vague or absent. From a postmodern perspective, this intentional omission facilitates the reader's discovery of her own solutions, based upon her unique situation and needs. The use of a specific paradigm or theory, while required to be considered "research" was not intentional. Sharing the story and allowing it to speak to each reader so that she might find his-her own lesson/truth, like an American Indian storyteller, was.
Benjamin, Chambers and Reitermann (1993) point out that "all students—Anglos, American Indians, and other minorities—approach college from a unique cultural base" (p. 37). This chapter will present a discussion of the unique cultural bases of both Indian (traditional) education and non-Indian (modern) education. As a result, the reader will have a clearer picture of the contrasts between the two and how these differences impact American Indian success in higher education. But first, Susan’s story of education in her family:

One day not too long ago I had lunch with one of the doctors who wrote the protocol for diabetes care among Native American people. As he was leaving he said, “So, what makes you different? I’ve been to Pine Ridge and I know about Indians leaving the reservation, particularly Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation. I would just like you to tell me why is it different with you?” I couldn’t answer the question; I said, “I don’t know.”

Maybe there’s something I want, I don’t know but I’ve thought about it. and thought about it a great deal because I’ve wondered about it. I’m not the first person in my family that this has happened to. I think it goes back to the first story of higher education in my family. It was in the late 1800’s and there was this French man living with the Indians. He had an Indian wife and they had three children. His wife died in the town of Luverne, near Fort Laramie.
Wyoming. So this man took his children, in a wagon, all the way across Wyoming and Nebraska and down to Highland, Kansas and put them in a boarding school.

It was a dangerous trip. They encountered several small war parties, but they weren't stopped, because they were Indian children from up near Fort Laramie. This boarding school was the only one that accepted Indian children. One of those children was my Grandma Susan. Once he put them in this school, he dropped out of their lives and they never saw him again, ever. I think, as a Frenchman, he saw what was coming during those turbulent times. Perhaps he thought he would give the children a chance by putting them in the boarding school, rather than letting them stay with his wife's family.

The children believed that their mother had died and then their father gave them away to white people. A minister raised Grandma Susan; took her into his home and actually raised her. As an adult, she returned to the reservation and everyone talked about her because she was very rare in her days. She was educated, had finished Highland University. I found some of her written records and her penmanship was beautiful. There were also some comments by government agents about "this educated Indian." But she returned to the reservation and raised 17 children in the traditional way.

But there have been some bad family experiences with education. Like the time the government agents loaded some children, including one of my relatives, into a cattle car and shipped them to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. He came back to the reservation after four years and did what he was trained to do—
he opened a business. But the business went belly-up because all of his family came and he gave them the things they needed. In the end, he also lost his land allotment. After that, he preferred to live pretty much an Indian life even though the focus of his education was to kill the Indian part of him and make him white and have white values. But, what they didn't realize was that when these young Indian people came home, they weren't going to be successful because those learned values didn't line up with the values they were raised with.

Higher education is not that unusual in my family and my life. It's been happening since Grandma went to Highland University in 1858, and even today I have cousins with Master's degrees. I remember my first day of college, at Oglala Community College. Basic Algebra was the first class I took. The first class since I was in high school. I sat and listened to the teacher do her thing for three hours and I was horrified. So just before I left, I looked at the teacher and asked her, "Do you think I can do this?" And she looked me in the eye and said, "I don't know." I just left: I don't know what I thought she would say, but that wasn't it. But I was overwhelmed and had I been anywhere but right there on the reservation, a few miles from where I lived, under any other circumstances, that would have been my first, and my LAST day of college.

Traditional education

According to Pepion (1995)

From a Native point of view, the purpose of adult learning is to free humankind from the chains that bind them. Societal changes to meet individual and tribal
needs begin with awareness and education. Information is power. Ignorance is not stupidity, but it is a lack of knowledge. Before personal and social change can take place, individuals must be able to see the world as it is--based upon their own values, norms, and beliefs. Freedom to choose one's life path is critical to the nature of man. Education imposed from another culture, society or social structure is oppressive. (p. 16)

As stated earlier in this chapter, early efforts to educate Indians were not designed to free them from the chains that bind them. According to Campbell, (1991), "the purpose of education had been cultural assimilation and the eradication of Indian culture, language and heritage" (p. 105). If this had not been the focus, what would an educational system based on Indian "values, norms and beliefs" (see Chapter 3 for review) look like? Perhaps it would look like what Deloria and Campbell refer to as "traditional education". Campbell (1991) continues:

Traditional education is a way of thinking about an individual. The way in which a community helps each individual to realize his or her purpose, develop his or her natural gifts, and gather the experiences he or she will need to fulfill that purpose. It is a way of life that respects individuals, nurtures each individual's talents, strengthens his/her weaknesses and enables the individual to fulfill his/her part by walking in beauty on whatever path the Great Mystery has set forth. (p. 102)

According to Vine Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux) (1991):

Traditional education gives us an orientation to the world around us, particularly
the people around us, so that we know who we are and have confidence when we do things. Traditional knowledge enables us to see our place and our responsibility within the movement of history. (p. 23)

Traditional education, therefore, emphasizes the growth of a secure, confident human being who then learns the skills of a profession that benefits all members of the community. Campbell (1991) notes that there are two major assumptions underlying traditional education: One is that education occurs best in a multi-age, multi-generational community where all members are integrated into community life [and the] second assumption is that there is no one absolute truth known to all. Truth is an individual understanding based on experience, observation, learning and shared membership within a larger community. (p. 102)

These assumptions are the foundation for Deloria’s (1991) basic principles of traditional education:

- Personality is the result of accepting the responsibility to be a contributing member of a society. Kinship and clans were built upon the idea that individuals owed each other certain kinds of behaviors and that if each individual performed his or her task properly, society as a whole would function.

- The family was...a multi-generational complex of people and clan and kinship responsibilities extended beyond the grave and far into the future.

- There is no such thing as isolation from the rest of creation and the fact of this
relatedness provides a basic context within which education in the growth of personality and the acquiring of technical skills can occur.

- Education in the traditional setting occurs by example and not as a process of indoctrination. Elders are the best living examples of what the end product and life experiences should be.

- The final ingredient of traditional education is that accomplishments are regarded as the accomplishments of the family and not the individual. Traditional knowledge enables us to see our place and our responsibility within the movement of history. (pp. 21-23)

These assumptions and principles, in turn, assist in the development of educational goals from an American Indian viewpoint. Those goals, according to Forbes (Powhatan) (1990) include

- The survival and development of the people (the tribe or nation) is generally a paramount goal.

- An individual is "successful" in life insofar as he acquires the respect and esteem of his people.

- Education should emphasize the perfection of individual character. That is the development of a person functioning in a harmonious way with nature and with people and one who seeks to perfect his own potential to the highest degree possible in the various spheres of life.

- The individual should be educated for personal strength and survival, that is, the ability to be alone for long periods of time, if necessary, without being
either bothered or fearful.

- The individual should develop a profound conception of the unity of life. From the fact of his belonging to a community of related people to which he owes his existence and definition for being, to the total web of natural life, to which he and his people also owe their existence.

- The individual should develop a realization that "success" in life stems from being able to contribute to the well-being of one's people and all life.

- The educational process must emphasize the development of an attitude of profound respect for the individuality and right to self-realization of all living creatures.

- The individual should be encouraged to share with others and to show hospitality.

- The individual must be helped to understand that material possessions are valuable primarily for the joy derived from sharing them with others, and that spiritual and character development are what is important.

- The individual should be helped to realize that the world of sense perception is not the only level of existence and that the external nature of the universe must be considered. (pp. 179-180)

These goals, predicated on American Indian values, assumptions, and principles, are often times in direct conflict with those Deloria (1991) refers to as "modern education".
Modern education

According to Boyer (1989)

From the beginning of permanent European settlement in the North American continent, Indians were encouraged to participate in the ritual of formal education. However, many early programs focused not on advancement of the individual, but on assimilation and control. In the academic curriculum, little effort was made to acknowledge the students' unique values and heritage. (p. 14)

Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux) (1991) agrees

Education in the English-American context resembles indoctrination more than it does other forms of teaching because it insists on implanting a particular body of knowledge and a specific view of the world which often does not correspond to the life experiences that people have or might encounter. (p. 21)

An example of this lack of correspondence comes from Susan's experiences with a nursing case study:

A baby was brought in; it was less than a year old and moderately dehydrated, with slightly sunken fontanels. What would I do? Well, hands down, if a baby came into the clinic at Pine Ridge slightly dehydrated, we would put it in the hospital. Hands down, there just wouldn't be any questions because the mother could live 30 miles off in some canyon without a telephone and she might not be back to Pine Ridge for three or four months. You know the baby needs to be re-hydrated, and it would just be dealt with.
So that's what I did in this case study. I made dehydration my major diagnosis. I conferred with the pediatrician and immediately started oral hydration. I referred the baby for dehydration and other problems were identified in the secondary diagnosis. Well, it was wrong. The instructor said "No, you would send the baby home on oral hydration and have the mother come back in four hours." But that's a cultural thing, because there's no place the mother and baby could go for four hours. That baby would be dead!

Yet Susan needed to do well on this case study in order to advance through her studies. Deloria (1991) notes that "formal American education...helps us to understand how things work and knowing how things work, and being able to make them work, is the mark of a professional person in this society" (p. 23), but it does not educate human beings who are part of a community (Campbell, 1991). "The academic world [of modern education] stresses rational thought and constant questioning of what constitutes 'truth'" (Kidwell, 1994, p. 250). Campbell (1991) suggests that

the assumption of universal knowledge and skills to be learned by all students, the belief in the linear ordering of that knowledge, and the hierarchical organization that has developed to ensure that all [people] receive the same education have influenced the way in which modern education programs have developed. (p. 104)

And it is these contrasting assumptions about the nature of education that are the root of the incongruity between traditional and modern education (Campbell, 1991).

Deloria (Standing Rock Sioux)(1991) notes that

Native people navigating American systems of higher education must absorb a
great deal of factual content, and they must place that knowledge into the context of their own tribal and community traditions. For American Indian students, the scientific method and the western world view co-exist with native spirituality and a deep connection with the earth. (p. 7)

Susan explains:

*What Indian students do in colleges and universities is listen; they listen and try to figure out what this person [the instructor] wants and then try to do it to the best of their ability. But when an instructor digs into a student and pulls from what's inside...when the reality and the life experience have been very different, they are not going to pull the same thing out. So she tries to figure out what she can give this person that will float because they couldn't handle what she knows, her reality.*

In essence, Susan's reality as an American Indian woman requires her to become either a translator or another statistic. The need to reconcile her "Indianness", her traditional knowledge and its world view with the assumptions, principles and practice of higher education is immense.

Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) advocate for "a higher educational system that respects them [American Indian/First Nations people] for who they are, that is relevant to their view of the world, that offers reciprocity in their relationships with others, and that helps them exercise responsibility over their own lives" (p. 1). They continue: "Through institutions of their own making and/or under their control [tribal colleges], First Nations [Indian] people are creating a more comprehensive definition of 'education' and
reaffirming their right to respect and self-determination” (Kirkness and Barnhardt, 1991, p. 13). As Boyer (1989) noted in the foreword to the Carnegie Foundation’s report on Tribal Colleges:

At the heart of the tribal college movement is a commitment by Native Americans to reclaim their cultural heritage. The commitment to reaffirm traditions is a driving force fed by a spirit based on shared history passed down through generations, and on common goals. Some tribes have lost much of their tradition, and feel, with a sense of urgency, that they must reclaim all they can from the past even as they confront problems of the present. The obstacles in this endeavor are enormous but, again, Indians are determined to reaffirm their heritage, and tribal colleges, through their curriculum and campus climate, are places of great promise. (xiii)

Conclusion

Susan developed her foundation in higher education at one of the first tribally controlled community colleges, Oglala Lakota College on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Yet she knew she would have to leave the college’s affirming climate to obtain the education she needed to help her people. And so she did. Last May she graduated from the Family Nurse Practitioner program from one of the largest medical teaching hospital/schools in the Midwest.

The next chapter will discuss the goals of and present a model for what could be referred to as indigenous education. It will contain suggestions about how modern education, by incorporating some of the values and assumption of traditional education,
might become the model of the future and the beginning of a holistic approach to education for all students.
CHAPTER 7

THE STORY CONTINUES –

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION AND BEYOND

This collection of words is the result of collaboration between two human beings—one Oglala Sioux, the other Euro-American. Susan, Blue Otter Woman and Medicine Eagle have taught me a great deal about the power of words. The breath of life gives power to the spoken word. The spoken word contains, teaches and preserves the culture of the people. This may explain why the loss of native languages has been so devastating for tribal peoples.

The words in this document tell the story of what was learned by the collaborators. Yet, Susan has one final story to tell:

*It begins with the relationship between traditional cultural values and writing style.* You may recall the daisy pattern. It's up to each individual to sort through all the petals; it allows the individual the freedom to pick from each petal that which will help him or her make sense of the question. This is a cultural value—individual freedom, but what I see as individual freedom is not what someone from the dominant culture sees. It is not a concept held together with laws and lawyers, the Constitution, the court system and all of those things that assure freedom.

*I have had white nurses working for the Indian Health Service say to me, “I didn’t get any help from the parents.”* The parents were told to go home and tell their kids to do this or that but they say, “Well, what if he doesn’t want to do
it?" This is individual freedom, where he is free to do what he wants and no one will berate him for what he is doing to his body...his wife or kids or anything else. It is not that the families, parents or relatives are not supporting the health of those members. It's just that they won't impinge on personal freedom by demanding they change their bandage every day, or that they take this medicine or that they stay off their foot. They don't do that because individual freedom is a very basic right.

Observations

Throughout my graduate course work, I was told that the goal of research is to add to the body of knowledge. I have since learned that it is much more. Reason (1996) proposes that “the central purpose of human inquiry is to develop knowledge that informs and guides” (p. 17). He continues

Quality human inquiry starts not with a concern for theory or knowledge, but from engagement with the reality of people’s lives and how they live and experience them. The quest for living knowledge is directly connected with working with people in their life situations, working with how people experience their worlds and how we might work together to change them. (pp. 20, 19)

My professional knowledge base, enhanced by this collaboration, heightened my sensitivity to and appreciation of the internal and external barriers American Indian students encounter in higher education. Suggesting that the purpose of human inquiry is less “the privileged pursuit of intellectuals but more a way of life and a form of service” Lincoln and Reason (1996, pp. 8-9) facilitated the awareness of my responsibilities and
empowered me to be a better educator. In addition, Susan was able to work her way
through an educational system whose culture, world view and values were antithetical to
what she knew to be real. She accomplished her goal of obtaining the education she
needed to go back to the reservation and help her people as a Family Nurse Practitioner.

Neither Susan nor I presume to know what in this document is of value to the
reader. We agree that “the central purpose of human inquiry is to develop knowledge that
informs and guides the way we and others live our lives” (Reason, 1996, p. 17). We
began with a desire to understand why so few American Indian students graduated from
this country’s institutions of higher education, but were amazingly successful in the tribal
colleges. The conversation continued with a history of Indian education in America,
followed by a comparison of Indian (traditional) and Euro-American (modern)
knowledge, each predicated on unique cultural, world view, and value contexts. A
discussion of stereotypical images and stereotypes completed the cultural contexting
necessary to help the reader understand the contrasts between Indian and non-Indian
educational philosophies, goals and objectives. The next chapter presented the
exploration of who should be seeking and how best to present the information/answers.
The implications of this research project precede our presentation of recommendations for
changes in the educational system, both for Susan’s and my grandchildren and great-
grandchildren. We, Susan and I agree that “qualitative research is about values and
choice: Where can I place myself to be of most use in articulating what I stand for?”
(Reason, 1996, p. 21).
Recommendations

Perhaps Eber Hampton's (Choctaw) (1988) Indian theory of education (qtd. in Kirkness and Barnhardt, 1991) might be considered the philosophy underlying indigenous education. Hampton's theory includes the following twelve "standards":

- **Spirituality** – an appreciation for spiritual relationships.
- **Service** – the purpose of education is to contribute to the people.
- **Diversity** – Indian education must meet the standards of diverse tribes and communities.
- **Culture** – the importance of culturally determined ways of thinking, communicating and living.
- ** Tradition** – continuity with tradition.
- **Respect** – the relationship between the individual and the group recognized as mutually empowering.
- **History** – appreciation of the facts of Indian history, including the loss of the continent and continuing racial and political oppression.
- **Relentlessness** – commitment to the struggle for good schools for Indian children.
- **Vitality** – recognition of the strength of Indian people and culture.
- **Conflict** – understanding the dynamics and consequences of oppression.
- **Place** – the importance of sense of place, land and territory.
- **Transformation** – commitment to personal and societal change. (p 8-9)

1995. is that province’s attempt to develop an indigenous post-secondary education model. Its objectives include:

- increase the participation and success rates of Aboriginal people through post-secondary training;
- support capacity building toward self-government for Aboriginal people through post-secondary education and training opportunities for Aboriginal people;
- establish a long-term plan to ensure that Aboriginal people can acquire the knowledge and skills required for effective self-government in the post-treaty environment; and
- secure Federal Government commitment to maintain financial contributions for post-secondary education and training for Aboriginal people. (1) (See Appendix D)

This research started with a desire to learn what might be done to make higher education more responsive to the needs of American Indian students? In the process, I learned that traditional (Indian) education has a completely different focus and outcome than has modern (Euro-American) education. Forbes (Powhatan) (1990) proposes the reorganization of American education to include the study of the basic values (and the socio-cultural, religio-philosophical, and political behavior styles resulting from them) of Native Americans. Native American philosophy and culture possess solutions for all the issues [facing] modern society: protecting the environment, crime, drugs, dishonesty in government, poverty, unrepresentative government, over-population, uncontrolled technology,
exploitation of other human beings, overseas imperialism, and growing militarism. (p. 178)

I cannot help but wonder what might happen to/in education if it followed Forbes’ suggestions. If education focused on developing and bringing into balance the whole student: the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects of a human being?

Susan and I do agree the education should be about developing a human being who knows who she is and what she has to offer her family, her community and her world. With this foundational understanding of self, she can then obtain the education required to develop her skills, talents and abilities for the well being of her family, community and world.

Earnest Boyer attempted to transform education with the above standards in mind when he developed the Basic School movement just before his death. His legacy lives on in this vision of education that emphasizes character development, human and natural community, human compassion and academic content (the three Rs) (Simonelli, 1996).

Simonelli continues by noting that the values behind the Basic School idea (building community and coherent curriculum) are built around eight commonalities we all share:

1. The life cycle
2. The use of symbols
3. Membership in groups
4. Sense of time and space
5. Response to the aesthetic
6. Connections to nature
7. Producing and consuming
8. Living with purpose (p. 26).

**Conclusion**

Experience has taught me that educational change occurs slowly. Susan and I can only hope to plant seeds that may germinate in the years to come. Where we encountered barriers to understanding, may the next generations encounter bridges.
APPENDIX A

RESEARCH PROPOSAL CHECKLIST

The following checklist was developed by the Association of Aboriginal Post-Secondary Institutes in British Columbia, Canada. The checklist has been requested by many First Nations bands since its publication in February, 1996. (In Canada, the term "reserve" is used instead of "reservation" and "band" or "First Nations" instead of "tribe".

As self-governing Indian nations, the band council and cultural research committee have the right to make rules and laws to protect the integrity of their culture, language, and people. A research proposal consent form, allowing the research to be conducted within the boundaries of the reserve, could contain the following information:

1. Researcher's full name, address (work and personal), phone, fax number and e-mail address. Education qualifications and where earned, i.e., BA, MA or Ph.D. i.e., University of British Columbia.

2. Familiarity and understanding of Native peoples' issues and with the specific Native band/group involved.

3. Personal and professional references.

4. It should have a clear statement or explanation of the purpose(s) of the research, such as a) expected duration, start and end date (be as specific as possible); b) extent of the band or individual participation; and c) description of the procedures that will be followed.

5. Description of any benefits to the band. You should ask the researcher: How is it advantageous to the band to allow you to conduct this research on the reserve? This area must be as specific as possible.

6. A description of the extent of confidentiality of the information and the specific purposes of the use.

7. What materials will be generated from this research. i.e., book, article, monograph.

8. If appropriate, the band should be given co-ownership of the data and the information generated from this endeavor.

9. The researcher must be willing to provide the ownership of the copyright to the band, if appropriate.
10. Who is sponsoring the research? (i.e., a college, university).

11. Are you being funded to conduct this research, the amount, and will any of this be allocated to the band?

12. Whom are you going to be interviewing, the records you will be using, and the topics you will research.

13. If interviewing persons such as elders or cultural and spiritual people, the researcher should get their written permission and the band's written permission to proceed.

14. There has to be an option for the band or the individual to decline participation if they desire.

15. Who will receive royalties from the publication of this material?

16. What are the specific uses of this research? How? Where? When? And by Whom?

17. Other information that is specific to your band.
APPENDIX B

FIRST EXAM

First Exam
American Indian Studies 210
McKinney

1. Quickly jot down the first ten (10) words that come to mind when you hear or see the word "Indian".

2. About how many Indian tribes exist in the United States? (circle one)
   a. 5
   b. 10
   c. 50
   d. 100
   e. 500
   f. 1000
   g. 5000

3. Draw a picture of a typical Indian. (If you can't draw, then describe).

4. What is required for a person to be recognized as an Indian?

5. What do Indians prefer to be called? (circle one)
   a. Indian
   b. American Indian
   c. Native Americans
   d. First Nations
   e. Indigenous People

6. Draw a picture of a typical Indian house. What is it called?
7. What is a totem?

8. Which one of the following is the correct beat for Indian drum music?
   a. ONE-two-ONE-two
   b. LONG-short-LONG-short-LONG-short
   c. ONE-two-three-four
   d. None of these

9. How many state names are derived from Indian languages?

10. About how much money does a tribally-enrolled Indian receive each year from the government?

11. If you bring together a Winnebago, a Cherokee, a Navajo, a Fox, a Cheyenne, a Comanche, a Dakota, and throw in a Thunderbird for good measure, what do you have?

12. What is Indian time?
First Exam
American Indian Studies 210
McKinney

1. Quickly jot down the first ten (10) words that come to mind when you hear or see the word “Indian”.

   Look at the words and their relationships. What stereotypes do they reveal?

2. About how many Indian tribes exist in the United States today? (circle one)

   (500) or (e)

3. Draw a picture of a typical Indian. (If you can’t draw, then describe).

   What does a “typical” Indian look like? What stereotypes are revealed?

4. What is required for a person to be recognized as an Indian?

   Who’s asking and who’s doing the recognizing? Blood quanta—1/4 by government standards for BIA enrollment card. Tribal standards or individual standards? Self-identification or connection with a culture or tradition?

5. What do Indians prefer to be called? (circle one)
   a. Indian
   b. American Indian—Education and academics
   c. Native Americans—Popular vernacular
   d. First Nations—Canadians
   e. Indigenous People—original people on all continents on the earth
   f. None of the above

   Is it really important? If so, they really prefer to be called by their name and then their tribal affiliation, i.e., S. McKinney (Pottawatamie).

6. Draw a picture of a typical Indian house. What is it called?
What does a “typical” Indian house look like? Stereotypes?

7. What is a totem?

Symbol for spiritual being and connectedness to culture. Totem animal or spirit? Totem pole?

8. Which one of the following is the correct beat for Indian drum music?
   a. ONE-two-ONE-two
   b. LONG-short-LONG-short-LONG-short
   c. ONE-two-three-four—definitely wrong!
   d. None of these—it is the heartbeat of the Earth Mother and of all living things.—(d).

9. How many state names are derived from Indian languages?

More than half.

10. About how much money does a tribally-enrolled Indian receive each year from the federal government?

   It depends: Indian welfare is not welfare. It is the result of, and built into, the treaty system.

11. If you bring together a Winnebago, a Cherokee, a Navajo, a Fox, a Cheyenne, a Comanche, a Dakota, and throw in a Thunderbird for good measure, what do you have?

   A used car lot.

12. What is Indian time?

   Part of the Indian world view in which things happen when they happen. For whites, a negative connotation: being or starting late.
I. OBJECTIVES

The Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training Policy Framework will achieve the following objectives:

- increase the participation and success rates of Aboriginal people in post-secondary education and training;
- support capacity building toward self-government for Aboriginal people through post-secondary education and training opportunities for Aboriginal people;
- establish a long-term plan to ensure that Aboriginal people can acquire the knowledge and skills required for effective self-government in the post-treaty environment; and
- secure Federal Government commitment to maintain financial contributions for post-secondary education and training for Aboriginal people.

II. GENERAL BACKGROUND AND PRINCIPLES

1.1 Government Strategic Priorities

The Government of British Columbia has placed great importance on addressing the concerns of Aboriginal people. In 1991, the Provincial Government recognized the inherent right of Aboriginal people to self-government, and subsequently endorsed the recommendations of the British Columbia Claims Task Force Report and established the British Columbia Treaty Commission to settle land claims. The following year, the Aboriginal Policy Framework defined pre-treaty and treaty policy linkages that build towards self-sufficiency and self-government.

In 1993, the Province established policy forums with Aboriginal political organizations, approved an interim or parallel measures approach that included social and economic issues, signed a cost-sharing agreement on treaty negotiations with the Federal Government, and approved a Strategic Planning Initiative which provides direction on treaty negotiations, interim measures implementation, and relationships with Aboriginal people.
Discussions are currently underway with off-reserve and non-status Aboriginal groups on the formation of other policy forums. In addition, two concurrent activities are taking place in regard to Interim and Parallel measures. These include broad measures of policy, legislative, and regulatory change, characterized as "pre-implementation of self-government in specific areas" negotiated at policy forums, and program delivery changes within Provincial policy developed by individual line ministries.

The strategic priorities of the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training supporting Provincial Government Aboriginal policy and program initiatives include increasing participation, retention, and success in post-secondary education and training for Aboriginal people through the development and implementation of a comprehensive policy framework.

1.2 Legal Context

Aboriginal people have unextinguished- Aboriginal rights and on-going treaty fights that are protected in section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. There are 197 First Nations in British Columbia whose powers and authorities are generally a matter of exclusive Federal jurisdiction [section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867 (Federal jurisdiction over 'Indians and Lands reserved for the Indians').

In the area of education, because the Indian Act, section 4(3) limits the application of the Act to Indians between the ages of 7 and 17 ordinarily residing on a reserve, the responsibility for post-secondary education has resided with the Province through legislation regarding public post-secondary education and training.

Provincial Legislation

The College and Institute Act, SBC 1979, c.53; the Private Post-Secondary Education Act, SBC 1990, c.64; the University Act, SBC 1979, c.419; the University Foundations Act, SBC 1997, c.50; and others governing the University of Northern British Columbia, the Open Learning Agency and the British Columbia Institute of Technology

Notwithstanding this, the Federal Government provides non-statutory post-secondary support to Status Indians and selected post-secondary education programs and services.

1.3. Principles

The development of the Ministry's Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training Policy Framework is based upon the following principles:
Overarching, the Province envisions a society in which:
• Relationships between Aboriginal people and all British Columbians are based on equality and respect;

• Aboriginal people can fulfill their aspirations for self-determining and self-sustaining communities; and

• All British Columbians enjoy the social and economic benefits of cooperation and certainty.

Any contracts, agreements, or policy changes agreed to by the Province and Aboriginal organizations, agencies, or Governments, prior to the conclusion of any Treaty, are without prejudice to the treaty negotiations.

Jurisdiction

The Federal Government is constitutionally responsible for 'Indians and lands reserved for Indians', the fulfillment of its statutory and fiduciary obligations, and, as part of its overall responsibility, for the well-being of the federation and of ensuring equity between all Canadians, for programs and services it delivers in fulfillment of that responsibility.

The Province is responsible for programs and services to British Columbians within its constitutional jurisdiction and for ensuring all British Columbians are treated equitably by Government.

Fiscal

The Federal Government shall meet its statutory and fiduciary obligations to Aboriginal people, and shall maintain its financial contributions in program areas in which it has been historically involved.

The Federal and Provincial Governments shall maintain current funding ratios for any additional expenditures associated with achieving Aboriginal equity.

Provincial contributions are subject to fiscal considerations including affordability, accountability, efficiency, and economies of scale.

The Province will meet its legal obligations to Aboriginal people, and will maintain its financial contributions for skills training and post-secondary education for Aboriginal people in program areas in which it has been historically involved.

III. POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Definition. Post-secondary education refers to the formal academic, vocational, and
career technical education delivered under provincial statute and regulation, and also includes adult basic education, upgrading, life skills, and pre-college courses taken to meet post-secondary requirements.

I. Background

1.2 Public Post-Secondary Education in British Columbia

During the past several years, Provincial Government strategies have focused on increasing the number of Aboriginal students in post-secondary education and improving retention rates through counseling supports at public institutions. Most universities, colleges and institutes include Aboriginal representation on Boards of Governors and employ an Aboriginal Education Coordinator to provide support services to Aboriginal students. In addition, a limited number of institutions have incorporated Aboriginal perspectives into selected regular courses and offer targeted courses and programs for Aboriginal people.

These programs include law, teacher training, adult education, First Nations Studies, health care and social services, trades, business, public administration, justice, and natural resources.

The K-12 system also has a substantial Aboriginal education program which provides language and culture and support services to Aboriginal students. Both the K-12 and post-secondary systems work closely together on programming which builds linkages that are critical in assisting Aboriginal students to make an effective transition between K-12 and post-secondary education and training.

Examples of successful post-secondary education and training initiatives include the following:

The University of British Columbia (UBC) has established the First Nations House of Learning to support Aboriginal students and to develop program enhancements throughout the University. UBC has set an enrollment target of 1,000 Aboriginal students by the year 2000, established a successful bridging program with high schools, and created a First Nations Law Program, a Health Care Professions Program, and a Native Teacher Training Program. In addition, UBC has First Nations education advisors/ coordinators in Forestry, Arts, Applied Sciences, Health Care Professions, and at the First Nations House of Learning. The Synala Honours Program at LJBC receives funding from the Ministry and Education, Skills and Training, and provides an example of an effective bridging program which brings Aboriginal students who have completed grade I to UBC for a summer of accredited academic study and orientation to the university.
Capilano College, in partnership with the Squamish Nation, has established a Transition Program consisting of college assessments, Aboriginal delivered upgrading, on-campus college preparation courses, and a mentoring program with senior students. These programs are designed to increase success in post-secondary education.

Malaspina University-College has established an integrated Arts-One First Nations Program at two locations, one on-reserve. This program is designed to provide a foundation for further college courses. The institution has addressed relevancy concerns in curriculum by employing Aboriginal instructors and involving the Aboriginal community.

Simon Fraser University, the North Coast Tribal Council, and School District #52, in Prince Rupert, have developed the First Nations Language Teacher Education Program leading to a Bachelor of Arts degree and a British Columbia Teaching Certificate.

Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training Organizations

The Association of Aboriginal Post-Secondary Institutions (AAPSI) plays a significant role in providing educational services for Aboriginal learners in British Columbia. The fifteen members of the Association are independent organizations, registered under the Society Act and the Private Post-Secondary Education Act, and provide a range of post-secondary education and training programs. The enrollment of member institutions is comprised of 1500 students from Aboriginal communities across Canada.

Many of these institutions have entered into partnership and/or affiliation agreements with public institutions as a prerequisite to Provincial funding and Provincial certification. These partnerships ensure that courses and programs are culturally relevant in both content and delivery and are under Aboriginal control and management. At the same time, the quality control mechanisms of public universities, colleges, and institutes, with respect to accreditation, articulation, and accountability, are provided. The courses and programs offered through affiliation agreements reflect Aboriginal training priorities and include justice, trades, teacher training, adult education, social services, natural resources, administration, and creative writing.

Examples of successful partnership or affiliation agreements between Aboriginal institutions and public institutions include:

The Native Education Centre in Vancouver has operated for 24 years, and offers a range of pre-college and college courses to approximately 250 students. The Centre works to combine modern education with traditional Aboriginal culture. It is affiliated with Vancouver Community College and Langara College for accreditation.

The En'owkin Centre, located in the interior of the Province, offers Adult Basic
Education, pre-college, university transfer programs, and Okanagan language and linguistic courses. It is affiliated with Okanagan University College for funding and accreditation purposes. A major program of the Centre is the self-financed International School of Writing and the En'owkin Visual Arts Program which lead to certification awarded jointly with the University of Victoria.

The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society/Simon Fraser University (SCES/SFU) Program, initiated in 1988, offers university level courses from twelve academic departments within SFUs faculties of Arts, Science, and Education. Students have access to first year through fourth year courses toward a Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in sociology and/or anthropology, and minors in linguistics, archaeology, First Nations Studies, or Criminology. A two year certificate program in Native Studies Research is also available.

Chemainus Native College, near Ladysmith, offers certificate level and Adult Basic Education programs, as well as a Community Economic Development Program funded through its affiliation with Malaspina University-College. Chemainus Native College is also affiliated with the Open Learning Agency, and collaborates with the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology for program delivery.

The College of New Caledonia and the Prince George Native Friendship Centre have developed an Adult Basic Education program which includes Aboriginal cultural components, and results in some advanced college credits.

Other Jurisdictions

Saskatchewan. There are several Aboriginal post-secondary institutions, one of which is the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (SIFC). This institution is affiliated on a fully integrated basis with the University of Regina, and is also fully accredited by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. The SIFC's mandate is to conduct research on Aboriginal education and to provide a centre of excellence for Aboriginal education. SIFC has an enrollment of approximately 1,000 students and has graduated over 1,000 students, many of whom have gone on to post-graduate education. Except for a small provincial grant, SIFC is funded by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and through tuition fees.

The Gabriel Dumont Institute focuses on Metis students, and is fully affiliated with the Saskatchewan Institute of Applied Science and Technology and with the University of Saskatchewan for teacher training and other programs. Funding is provided by the Province, as well as through courses purchased by Human Resources Development (HRD) Canada.
Manitoba. The Province has entered into agreements with the Federal Government and the public post-secondary system for the creation of Aboriginal post-secondary "Access" programs including social work, engineering, medicine, and teacher training. The unique features of these programs are strong community linkages; combinations of on-campus and community-based delivery systems; integrated upgrading which is built into the regular academic program without lengthening the four year time frame for a Bachelor of Education degree; and reliance on rigorous community-based selection processes.

1.3 Funding Sources For Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training

Registered status Indians are eligible for income support, tuition, and special allowances from DIAND under the Post-Secondary Student Support Program which is managed by Aboriginal people. However, the program's limited budget often results in wait lists of individuals seeking tuition support. In addition, a significant number of both status and non-status Aboriginal people are not eligible for financial support under this program.

Public institutions receive Federal project funds through DIAND and HRD through course purchases and research grants. Provincial funding through the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training is provided through annual operating and capital grants, in addition to special grants provided for Aboriginal Education Coordinators and targeted funds for selected Aboriginal programs in public universities, colleges, and institutes, and for programs offered through affiliation agreements with Aboriginal organizations.

Funding ratios for targeted project funding to both public institutions and Aboriginal organizations reflects 25 percent Federal funding through Indian Studies Support Program and 75 percent Provincial funding through the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training. The current Provincial position is that no more than 75 percent of funding provided to Aboriginal institutions in future years will come from the Province. As such, it will be important that the significant funding available through the Federal Government Pathways Program is maintained and allocated to accredited post-secondary education and training.

Aboriginal organizations and institutions may receive project funding through DIAND's Indian Studies Support Program and receive Provincial funding under the Ministry of Education, Skills and Training's post-secondary Aboriginal Programs budget, through affiliation agreements with public institutions.

Adult Basic Education programs, in addition to those available to Aboriginal adults in Provincial school districts through the K-12 system, are offered in both public and Aboriginal post-secondary institutions. These include a range of language, literacy, transition, and support initiatives funded through HRD and the Pathways Program.
The Federal Government has reached the final year of the five year Pathways strategy which was designed to increase Aboriginal control of training through the creation of Aboriginal Management Boards which set funding priorities and allocations according to Federal Canadian Jobs Strategy program guidelines. While Pathways has advanced Aboriginal involvement from advising to one of managing delivery, it does not include control of program design. Aboriginal post-secondary education organizations and institutions have expressed concerns regarding an inability to access fund management, an inability to take advantage of Province-wide opportunities, and limited control because of Federal program criteria.

The Federal Government has begun a national review of the Pathways Program which includes on and off-reserve access, self-government, Liberal Red Book statements, a devolution model, delivery costs, and linkages to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and "Social Reform" discussions.

2. CONSTRAINTS, BARRIERS

2.1 Systemic Barriers

Despite the recent initiatives of Federal, Provincial, and Aboriginal Governments, a large gap remains between the rates of post-secondary participation and completion for Aboriginal people and those for non-Aboriginal people. Based on 1991 Census data, non-Aboriginal people are three times more likely to attend university and seven times more likely to graduate. Of younger Aboriginal adults surveyed in the Province, 38 percent reported some post-secondary education, while 10 percent had less than Grade 9. Among older adults, 27 percent had some post-secondary and 43 percent had less than a Grade 9 education.

Major impediments influencing the participation and completion rates of Aboriginal learners in post-secondary education include lack of Aboriginal involvement in the decision-making process, overlapping Federal and Provincial jurisdictions, cultural variations, systemic bias, lack of relevant programming, financial limitations, and geographic distance from post-secondary centres. Participation and success rates for Aboriginal learners increase dramatically when support services are built into delivery methods.

New strategies, therefore, must provide for support systems which recognize, strengthen, and incorporate Aboriginal culture and tradition in the delivery of post-secondary education programs. The unique history, culture, values, and traditions of Aboriginal peoples and their learning needs must be reflected in strategies which allow the adult learner to incorporate individual experience into the process of learning.

Strategies must also provide for community-based development and delivery systems which enable the post-secondary system to respond to Aboriginal people as distinct
societies capable of identifying their unique learning needs. At the same time, emphasis must be given to education and training programs in areas where labour market opportunities exist, in order to increase autonomy and self-reliance within Aboriginal communities.

3. POLICY FRAMEWORK

3.1 Vision

Post-secondary education participation, retention, and success rates for Aboriginal peoples will at least equal that of non-Aboriginal people, and will be attained within a post-secondary education system in which both public institutions and Aboriginal organizations and institutions play appropriate roles and are supported by the combined resources of the Federal and Provincial Governments.

3.2 Goals

The Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training Policy Framework will be defined within four strategic goals: Relevance and Quality, Access, Affordability and Accountability.

Relevance and Quality. To ensure that high quality post-secondary education programming is responsive to the needs of Aboriginal learners, is linked to labour market opportunities within Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, and is sensitive to the cultures of Aboriginal people.

Access. To increase the number of Aboriginal people entering and completing post-secondary education to a rate at least equivalent to that of the non-Aboriginal population and to promote choice for Aboriginal students in location, method of delivery, and programming.

Affordability. To ensure that the Provincial fiscal framework and Federal-Provincial cost-sharing are considered in determining the delivery modes for Aboriginal post-secondary education.

Accountability. To ensure that post-secondary education governance structures are representative and sensitive to Aboriginal people needs, while maintaining educational quality and mobility of students, and demonstrating participation, retention, and success outcomes.

3.3 Mandate

Within the Provincial policy framework, the public post-secondary system will retain
responsibility for all its constituents, including Aboriginal learners, in achieving objectives for successful participation in post-secondary education and training. However, this framework also recognizes that the Aboriginal population constitutes diverse cultures and that the public post-secondary system, alone, cannot meet the needs of all Aboriginal learners.

Specifically, the policy framework is based upon assumptions that it will:

- Reside within the existing post-secondary education system and legislative framework;
- Recognize the role of both public institutions and Aboriginal institutions and organizations in achieving strategic priorities;
- Support an appropriate balance of Aboriginal post-secondary education and training opportunities based upon current number of students served, -geographic distribution of institutions, regional population and participation rates, appropriate configuration of educational programming, and fiscal considerations; and
- Utilize existing resources and maintain Federal contributions.

3.4 Strategies

This policy framework sets-out three fundamental strategies which will:

- Strengthen public post-secondary institutions in meeting the needs of Aboriginal people:
  - Stabilize partnership agreements between public and private deliverers of post secondary education for Aboriginal people; and
  - Provide for designation of public Aboriginally controlled institutions.

3.4.1 Public Post-Secondary Institutions

Two program elements are proposed:

Eliminating Barriers

Student support services are essential in public institutions if Aboriginal people are to successfully pursue developmental, applied, and academic programs. Provincial funding for student services provided by Aboriginal Education Coordinators improves retention rates and helps to eliminate the barriers facing the Aboriginal learner in an unfamiliar cultural setting. At the same time, it is important that awareness training be given so that
biased attitudes and behavior can be addressed. However, responsibility for eliminating barriers to successful participation should reside not just with the Coordinators, but with all institutional personnel. Institutional hiring practices must also reflect a sensitivity to employment equity for Aboriginal people within the institution. Funding provided to public institutions for Coordinators also includes outreach activities for those institutional regions with large Aboriginal populations or remote access problems.

Institutions will be required to demonstrate a commitment to increasing access for Aboriginal people by allocating resources within the institution's base budget. This will include submitting a strategic plan and annual report identifying measures and outcomes related to increased participation and success rates.

Aboriginal Advisory Committees will be required in all institutions in order to provide a liaison with the Aboriginal community. Committee responsibilities will include providing guidance regarding student recruitment, program promotion, curriculum design, cultural issues and content, and program evaluation including program relevance to employment in the region. AU Aboriginal program matters should be referred by an institution's internal Education Council or Senate to the Aboriginal Advisory Committee before recommendations are forwarded to the Board of Governors.

Criteria for Coordinator and Liaison funding to public institutions include:

- college region Aboriginal population and participation rates;
- geographic size of college region, distribution of Aboriginal population, and number of satellite campuses;
- allocation of base funding by the institution to Aboriginal student support services;
- institutional governance structures supporting Aboriginal student success; and a strategic plan and annual report identifying measures and results for increased participation and success rates.

Performance indicators for success include:

- increases in the number of Aboriginal students actively seeking counseling and developing education and career plans;
- increases in the number of Aboriginal students entering and successfully completing different levels of post-secondary education and training;
- data collection which ensures that participation and success rates for Aboriginal
learners are monitored and assessed and that employment placements are monitored and incorporated into program reviews;

- reviews of each institution's effective use of, and commitment to, an Aboriginal Advisory Committee;

- a demonstrated effort to link with local school districts to provide transition into academic programs and bridging between secondary and post-secondary career/vocational programs; and

- a demonstrated link between colleges and universities to provide transition into baccalaureate programs.

**Program Relevance - Skills for the Economy**

New programs are required in order to prepare Aboriginal people with the occupational competencies and skills needed for today's labour market. Programs offered in post-secondary institutions must extend beyond the traditional social science and public administration focus to areas such as technology and commerce, natural resources and environmental sciences, and rural health.

In addition, theme units relevant to the history, culture, and social experience of Aboriginal people should be integrated into programming that is flexibly structured and provides students with entry and exit options which lead from certificate, to diploma and baccalaureate degrees.

Funding for new programs and curriculum development will be allocated from the Ministry's Aboriginal Programs Budget, and will be subject to budget increases consistent with the Ministry's annual appropriation. Requests for new programs will be submitted in accordance with annual institutional budget request procedures.

**Criteria** for new program and curriculum approval include:

- Matching specific job opportunities within a college region to the introduction of a new program;

- Delineating the skills and competencies which result from the education or training program;

- Providing work experience, transition planning, and career exploration/job strategies;
• Providing a combination of library, study, and research skills appropriate to the student;

• Providing a combination of student success orientation skills and personal development skills appropriate to the learner; and

• Demonstrating collaboration with local school districts to ensure transition from secondary to post-secondary education and to eliminate overlap of services.

**Performance Indicators** for success include:

• Students experience career-related work placements;

• Students successfully upgrade to Grade 12; or

• Students complete transition, university, or career technical credit courses;

• Students are hired into a related field; and

• Increases in full and part-time students spaces in programs relevant to Aboriginal learners.

### 3.4.2 Partnerships through Affiliation Agreements

It is important that relationships between public institutions and community Aboriginal organizations and institutions be developed and reinforced in a manner which prevents what, in some cases, have been regarded by Aboriginal people as paternalistic relationships. Affiliation agreements have the potential to offer a flexible means of providing the accreditation and accountability standards of a public institution with the intrinsic and educational value of direct delivery by Aboriginal organizations.

Clear Provincial guidelines developed through collaboration between Aboriginal organizations, specifically the Association of Aboriginal Post-Secondary Institutions, and representatives of the Advanced Education Council of British Columbia, representing Boards of Governors and Presidents of public institutions, will set out both program and administrative guidelines upon which agreements will be based.

Existing affiliation agreements will be strengthened by requiring increased accountability on the part of public institutions for effective relationships with Aboriginal organizations, and increased accountability for quality and student outcomes measurement by Aboriginal organizations.

Within this context, innovative programs delivered by Aboriginal institutions will be encouraged. New program areas of articulation and credit transfer between public post-
secondary institutions and Aboriginally controlled post-secondary institutions will be identified and formalized through the British Columbia Council on Admissions and Transfer, the Provincial organization responsible for ensuring transfer credit between post-secondary programs and institutions.

Funding for new partnership programs will be provided on a consistent formula basis and allocated from the Ministry's Aboriginal Programs budget. Budget increases will be in accordance with the Ministry's annual operating level established by Treasury Board. Requests for new partnership programs will be submitted through annual institutional budget request procedures.

Criteria for partnerships between Aboriginal institutions and public post-secondary institutions include:

- the institution and Aboriginal organization demonstrate collaboration in providing career counseling and assessments for Aboriginal learners;
- curriculum is skills and competency based, focusing on theme units culturally relevant to Aboriginal learners;
- programs provide work experience, transition planning, and career exploration/job strategies;
- programs and courses provide appropriate accreditation and meet provincial articulation guidelines;
- programs include student success orientation skills and personal development skills, appropriate to the learner;
- provision is made for library, study, and research skills appropriate to the learner; and
- proposal indicates partnership arrangements for the use of library resources and equipment, such as computers.

Performance indicators for success include:

- students experience placement in relevant employment; increased numbers of students successfully complete a range of post-secondary education and training programs;
- students are hired into positions within the structure of their bands and tribal councils;
full and part-time learners have access to education and training through community based delivery; and

new entrepreneurial activities are undertaken in Aboriginal communities.

Curriculum Relevance. The potential for collaboration in the development of curriculum has been established through funding provided to the Association of Aboriginal Post-Secondary Institutions for the Education Resource Centre.

The Centre's mandate is to develop effective instructional materials and programs for Aboriginal adults in British Columbia. Consequently, the Centre offers services in program development suited to local communities, serves as a resource and clearing house for books, curriculum material, and videos, and delivers the Native Adult Instructor Diploma Program (NAID).

The Centre is administered by a Board comprised of six members from AAPSI, one member from the Ministry, and two representatives from the public post-secondary education system. An Advisory Council, comprised of one representative each from the First People's Cultural Foundation, the First Nations Education Steering Committee, and the Aboriginal Education Coordinators in the public post-secondary system, will play a supportive role for the Centre.

Aboriginal Post-Secondary Bridging Program. A large number of Aboriginal youth do not complete high school, with the result that access to post-secondary education increasingly depends upon the ability to complete bridging and transition programs to meet post-secondary entrance requirements. Many of these programs are delivered by Aboriginal organizations independently or though partnership and affiliation agreements with public post-secondary institutions. A newly defined bridging program will provide Aboriginal students with the upgrading required to access post-secondary training and assure entry into career programs following upgrading.

Funding will be provided to projects, on a matching dollar basis, that create opportunities for Aboriginal learners to participate in bridging or transition programs offered by Aboriginal institutions or organizations in partnership with public institutions.

Criteria for bridging programs include:

- appropriate assessment and career counseling processes and student support;

- programming which provides uninterrupted learning flow from bridging to regular courses, and work experience components;
• program relevancy with labour force opportunities and evidence of community support;
• identification of partnership/affiliation or institutional accreditation;
• identification of matching funds; and
• evaluation and results reporting.

Performance indicators for success include:

• increased utilization of post-secondary assessment and career counseling services;
• increased numbers of Aboriginal learners qualifying for entry into post-secondary training and career programs;
• increased number of Aboriginal learners successfully completing post-secondary programs;
• reduced unemployment rates for local Aboriginal youth; and continued community support and participation.

3.4. Establish Provincial Aboriginally Controlled Institutions

Under this initiative, the public post-secondary system will retain responsibility for increasing participation and success rates in public post-secondary education. At the same time, the important role of Aboriginally controlled institutions will be recognized by establishing a framework by which to designate an Aboriginal post-secondary institution as independent under the College and Institute Act.

Establishing an accredited, independent Aboriginal institution allows Aboriginal people to share in decision-making to a degree consistent with the Government-to-Government relationships currently being negotiated. At the same time, institutions will be accountable for achieving goals of increased participation, program relevance and quality, affordability, and accountability.

Designation under the Act will be determined in accordance with criteria established by the Province. The application of these criteria will ensure that Aboriginally controlled institutions achieve articulation and equivalent accreditation standards with public post-secondary institutions.

Funding to designated Aboriginal institutions will be provided through a formula consistent with public institutions which includes support and administrative services,
allocated according to established Ministry guidelines. Institutions will become eligible for capital funding after a five year period. Recognizing the responsibility of the Federal Government to maintain a 25 percent funding ratio, the Province will begin negotiations with the Federal Government toward the costs of publicly designated Aboriginal institutions. In addition, the Province will enter into discussions with Aboriginal people and the Federal government, regarding the establishment of a Provincial Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education Endowment Fund, to obtain corporate and other donations and investments for any Aboriginal institution designated under the *College and Institute Act*.

**Criteria** for designation as an independent accredited Aboriginal institution under the *College and Institute Act* require that the institution has:

- goals which provide the foundation for developing autonomy and self-reliance and have the support of Aboriginal leadership;

- appropriate governance structures to a degree consistent with that required of public institutions under the *College and Institute Act*;

- an established affiliation agreement with a public institution for a minimum period of 5 years;

- an established student population of 300 for a minimum period of five years;

- demonstrated standards required for articulation with public institutions and recognized levels of accreditation;

- an institutional evaluation demonstrating accountability to the learner through quality curriculum standards and teaching practice; and

- demonstrated educational practices and a statement of purpose with a formalized educational plan of programming to achieve its mandate, goals, and objectives and fiscal plans for achieving these purposes.

Requests for designation will also be assessed in the context of Province-wide criteria which include:

- geographic distribution of Aboriginally controlled institutions and numbers of students served and the extent to which programs for Aboriginal learners are available from public and private institutions;

- participation rates and the extent to which participation is being met by public post-secondary institutions or partnership agreements within college regions;
• fiscal considerations including available funds within a fiscal year; and Federal Provincial cost-sharing above current expenditures.

Through the guidelines and criteria, provision is made to allow smaller institutions, which are not eligible for a stand-alone designation, to form a consortium with a Provincially designated Aboriginal institution, under a common governance structure, subject to approval by the Lieutenant Governor In Council. Provincial recognition of the role of Aboriginal management of post-secondary education and training has been established by Cabinet approval in 1995, of two new public institutions, the Institute of Indigenous Government, located in Vancouver, and the Nicola Valley Institute of Technology in Merritt, British Columbia.

The Institute of Indigenous Government (IIG)

At the 23rd Annual Assembly of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), in October of 1991, a resolution was passed directing the UBCIC to develop an indigenous-controlled post-secondary institution, the Institute of Indigenous Government (IIG), to provide specialized education in self-government skills and knowledge for Aboriginal people. On June 11, 1993, the UBCIC and the British Columbia government established a Joint Policy Council, and adopted as an agenda item the development of the IIG as an accredited, indigenous-controlled post-secondary institution. As a result, on May 26, 1995, an Order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council was signed, designating the IIG as a Provincial Institute under the College and Institute Act, section 5 (1)(f).

The mission of the Institute of Indigenous Government is to provide an accredited specialized program of post-secondary education, skills-training, and research opportunities dedicated to empowering Indigenous people to exercise effectively their right of self-determination, in their territories, in ways which fully reflect Indigenous philosophy, values, and experience throughout the world.

Governance for the IIG is provided by a Board of Governors, with a minimum of 8 and a maximum of 23 representatives of the Aboriginal people in British Columbia, appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council upon nomination by the UBCIC. In addition, the LJBCIC Chief's Council appoints an Elders Senate "to advise the Board about the Indian way."

The IIG's overall program focus is Indigenous Government Studies, with four principal areas of specialization identified, including: Political Development and Leadership; Indigenous Government Administration; Economic and Social Development; and International Indigenous Relations. Plans anticipate the delivery of four distinct program streams, including a general community-based and delivered program of credit and non-
credit courses, a one-year certificate program, a two-year program leading to an Associate Degree in Indigenous Government Studies and a four-year program leading to a Baccalaureate in Indigenous Government Studies.

Nicola Valley Institute of Technology

NVIT was formed in 1983 by the Coldwater Band, Lower Nicola Band, Nooatich Band, Shackan Band, and Upper Nicola Band of the Nicola Valley in British Columbia, and has grown from 12 students in one program in 1983 to approximately 250 full-time and part-time students enrolled at the Merritt campus in 1995/96. An additional 350 full-time and part-time students are enrolled in community-based and extension courses across Canada. The student population is roughly 80 percent Aboriginal people.

NVIT was designated a Provincial institute under the College and Institute Act by order of the Lieutenant Governor in Council on September 1, 1995. As a Provincial institute, the Board of Governors will be appointed as elected as set out in the Act. NVIT will also elect an Education Council to advise the Board on matters of educational policy.

The mission of NVIT is to provide high-quality post-secondary education relevant to the diverse and evolving needs of Aboriginal communities, in an environment that fosters student success.

As a public post-secondary institution, NVIT will grant fully accredited certificates, diplomas and associate degrees in its own name. Courses previously accredited through other public institutions will continue to receive transfer credit as NVIT courses. A guide to course articulation with the College of New Caledonia, the University College of the Cariboo, and the University of Victoria is provided with NVIT's yearly program calendar, with over 150 courses listed. Several programs offered ladder into degree programs at Universities. Credentials available to NVIT students include: Academic Studies Diploma; Certificate or Diploma in Business Administration; Diplomas of First Nations Public Administration; Aboriginal Community Economic Development; Fine Art; Forestry; Fish, Wildlife, Grassland and Recreation; Social Work, Sexual Abuse Worker; and a Social Work Degree. Other programs include: Native ABE; College Preparation; Transition to College; and Sexual Abuse Training of Trainers.

IV. GOVERNMENT PRIORITIES:

The core values which guide Government planning reflected in this Framework include:

- Government is committed to ensuring that people and communities have the opportunity to shape their lives and issues affecting them: the Framework maximizes participation and decision-making, and emphasizes solutions initiated by Aboriginal people to post-secondary education barriers.
Government is committed to sustaining the environment and communities: Aboriginal people are equally committed to this goal: the Framework will provide the skills to accomplish this independently in Aboriginal communities.

Government is committed to openness, accountability and fiscal responsibility: the Framework ensures accountability in the expenditure of public funds for Aboriginal post-secondary education through provision of clear criteria for accreditation and funding of Aboriginally controlled institutions; for funding programs and services in public institutions; and for partnerships between public institutions and Aboriginally controlled organizations and institutions.

Government is committed to social equality: the Framework enhances equitable access for all Aboriginal people and will support education programs which address the unique issues affecting Aboriginal women and Aboriginal people with disabilities.

Government is committed to a fair distribution of economic growth: the Framework ensures a planned and equitable distribution of programming throughout the Province.

Government is committed to working with communities, business, and labour to meet our economic challenges: the Framework ensures new program proposals will be evaluated against labour market criteria, and partnerships with communities, business and labour will be encouraged and supported.

Government is committed to ensuring that British Columbians have access to the education and training they need to prepare them for full participation in the Province's economy: the Framework emphasizes and supports movement from economic dependence to independence and self-management for Aboriginal people.

NOTE: The Aboriginal Post-Secondary Education and Training Policy Framework was approved by Cabinet in April 1995

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REFERENCES


