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California Native American college students' experience : an ethnographic study

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**CALIFORNIAN NATIVE AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS'
EXPERIENCE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Social Science

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Linda Jane Christie

December 1997

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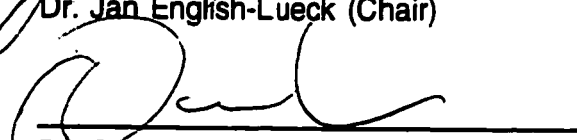
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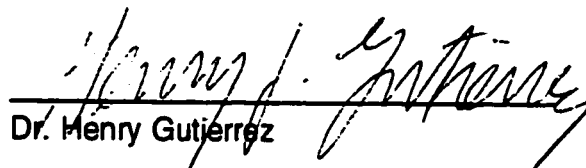
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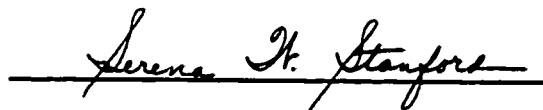


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Abstract

CALIFORNIAN NATIVE AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCE: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

by Linda Jane Christie

This thesis explores Californian Native American college students' self-perception at San Jose State University (SJSU), a urban, public institution and D-Q University (D-Q), a 2-year tribal school. This study examines the students' social and educational experiences and the constraining aspects of the institutions. The research design includes: interviews and classroom participant-observations of four Native American students from each university, and interviews of administration and faculty. The study found that culture was not always a key factor in students' experiences, who had overall goals and concerns similar to other university students. Cooperative learning styles did not have the presumed impact. Where culture was a key factor, social learning theory was salient and identity based social activities were important. Cultural isolation occurred at both universities but were constructed differently. Finally, the research revealed that the SJSU organization lacks curriculum flexibility while the D-Q organization provides support but has structural vulnerabilities.

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A "special" thanks to a close, personal friend, the late Edward D. Morton. The author will forever be grateful for his scholarship, support and inspiration for the thesis idea which breaks new ground in Californian Native American higher education research. I hope he would have been pleased with the research and final paper.

Finally, my parents, Bob and Marie to which I must give credit for everything I have accomplished, fulfilling my hopes and my dreams. Thanks for believing in me.

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Chapter	
1. Introduction	1
Studies of Native American Education	6
Research Methodology	12
Population and Sample	12
Design and Instrumentation	12
Data Analysis	14
Problems Related to Study.	15
Things to Come.	16
2. Historical Background	18
Synopsis of U.S. Indian Education	38
Synopsis of California Indian Education	38
3. Institutional Descriptions	57
San Jose State University.	57
Summary	71
D-Q University.	72
Summary	88

	Comparisons	88
	AISES.	98
	Summary	100
4.	Native American Students at San Jose State University	104
	Coming to SJSU	105
	The Classroom Experience	110
	Learning Styles	113
	Learning in Context.	115
	Social Life	128
	Supportive Relationships	137
	Positive Self-Perception and Goals	141
5.	Native American Students at D-Q University.	144
	Choosing D-Q	145
	Social Life	158
	Relations with Faculty	165
	Learning Styles.	167
	Positive Self-Perception and Goals.	173
	Postscript.	177
6.	When is an Indian an Indian.	179
	Where Culture Makes a Difference.	203

References.	209
Appendix	219

Chapter 1

Introduction

The thesis is centered around several anthropological research questions that have a direct application in higher educational settings. How do structural differences between distinct types of tertiary institutions translate into student learning experiences? How do those different learning experiences influence students' self-perceptions? What bearing does the cultural and social reality of being Native American¹ have on student experience and thus student self-perception? Native Americans have been a population at risk in higher education (see California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1996a) and their experiences have been little documented. This study is a preliminary examination of the issues that students themselves see as salient, as well as an analysis of institutional differences that shape student experiences. To examine that social organizational difference, I have selected two contrasting tertiary institutions—San Jose State University (SJSU) and D-Q University (D-Q).

SJSU is a 4-year urban, public institution that supports a bureaucratic-style structure, a large student population and a multicultural environment. Quite different from this type of institution is D-Q, a 2-year tribally controlled

¹The terms Native American, Indian, American Indian are used interchangeably in this study to refer to the indigenous people of North America.

community college specifically designed for Native Americans. This college supports a family-style structure, a small student population and an environment focused on Native American culture. The differences between these institutions and their constraints create quite different experiences for Native American students. Their individual experiences—academic, social, and cultural—are reflected in differences in Native American students' self-perception. Positive student self-perception is assumed to encourage retention and graduation but negative self-perception would presumably discourage Native American students from continuing their education.

This thesis uses ethnographic techniques to explore Native American college students' self-perception as experienced at SJSU and D-Q. This study examines the students' educational and social experiences and compares similarities and differences between the students regarding their self-perception at these two institutions. To do this, the researcher needs to establish the differences between the experiences of Native American students in a tribal college and in an urban, public university, and the differences in sources of identity for the Native American students. This data is ethnographic in origin and can reveal the academic and social experience of being a student in quite different contexts, illuminating both the perceptions of students and the constraining aspects of the institutions.

According to the preliminary 1990 U.S. Census, 242,164 Americans

identify themselves as Indians living in California² (Johnson, 1991, March 5). Compared with the 1980 figures of 201,369, the Native American population in California has increased 20% and is growing at a fast pace (p. A18). Most of the Native American population are young, 25 to 29 years old and reside in the urban areas. Los Angeles has the largest urban Indian population in the state (U.S. Census, 1992). Parallel to the population growth, the enrollment of Native Americans in postsecondary institutions is also increasing (Hillbrant, Romano & Stang, 1991).

In 1990, 103,000 Native Americans nationally were enrolled in higher education representing an 11% increase from 93,000 in 1988. Fifty-three percent of these students were enrolled in 2-year colleges. The National Center for Educational Statistics (1995) reports that the total enrollment figures for Native Americans, from 1991 through 1993, have steadily increased at 2-year community colleges rather than at 4-year public universities. The expanding enrollments of the Indian tribal colleges have added to the higher figure for community colleges (O'Brien, 1991 p. 8).

In California, there are 17,688 Native Americans currently enrolled in the state's public, higher education institutions. As an ethnic group, Native Americans have the lowest enrollment compared with other ethnic groups, i.e.,

²A distinction must be made between Indians in California, referring to any Native American residing in California and California Indians that designates only descendants of populations indigenous to California.

Asian Americans, African Americans, Latinos and Filipinos attending these colleges. Nevertheless, Native American enrollment has consistently increased in numbers for the period of 1991 through 1995 (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1996a). Longitudinal data on first time freshman indicates that in 1991 1,761 Native Americans enrolled in postsecondary state schools while in 1995 1,979 Native Americans enrolled (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1996b).

Twice as many Native American students were enrolled as incoming freshman in community colleges as in 4-year public institutions. For example, 1,404 incoming Native American freshman enrolled in community colleges with a total attendance of 12,832 Native American students. Yet, in the 4-year public universities 575 incoming Native American freshman enrolled with a total attendance of 4,856 Native American students (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1996b). Thus, data reported to the Commission by the state's 4-year public universities on Native Americans as incoming freshman appears to be quite low, suggesting that many contemporary Native American college students are not continuing their education.

Studying contemporary Native Americans is important because they are a distinct population in the state who is on the lowest rung of the educational ladder. Overall, Indians are economically poorer, experience more unemployment and are less formally educated. The majority never attend

college or receive a 4-year degree (Astin, 1982).

Historically, the 1950 Relocation Program sponsored by the U.S. government created massive migration of Indians from neighboring states into California, particularly in urban areas such as San Francisco, San Jose and Los Angeles. The majority of the migrant Indians were of the Southwestern and Plains tribes. These tribes made every attempt to replace the California Indian's traditional songs and dances at cultural events in the urban cities with their own. This created tension between the small minority of California Indians and the new Native American population residing in California, who supported the notion of pan-Indianism in the state. Thus, many California Indians moved back to the rural areas to keep their cultural traditions alive rather than risk cultural extinction (Kehoe, 1981).

California Indians reflect a global trend toward autonomy and cultural survival. Native American autonomy began as control of education shifted from U.S. government to Native American tribal councils. By founding of tribally controlled community colleges, for example, D-Q in California helps Native American students preserve their cultural identity and heritage in conjunction with other fields of study, largely along a pan-Indian model. In many areas of the curriculum, students learn traditional languages, history and the arts. In addition, the students develop their own Native American heritage as a valid source of academic inquiry. Thus, in these two areas the students become

active participants towards Native American cultural survival (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992).

Studies in Native American Education

Current educational research on the academic and social achievement of Native American college students has been conducted in states such as South Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, and Oklahoma where the Indian population is concentrated, and where the Native American enrollment is high at selected Euro-American³ universities. The institutional climate at these universities harbors racism and creates a distinct social and cultural dualistic dichotomy between the Indians and the Euro-Americans (see Huffman, 1991; Lin, LaCounte & Eder, 1988; Scott, 1986).. However, the Native American college students encounter problems on campus in this environment quite different from the Indian students who attend a university where a low population of Indians can be seen, as in the California urban colleges. There, Native Americans are one among a number of minorities representing a broad spectrum of tribes and non-Indian ethnicities. Thus, the Native American college experience in California is inconsistent with the South Dakota or Montana experience.

The literature concerning contemporary California Indians and education are scant. Even more scarce is research material addressing their specific

³The term Euro-American refers to Americans of European descent who are in the dominant sector of American society.

educational needs or progress in California's postsecondary institutions. The literature of the 1970s has produced some major works on California Indians with two limitations. First, these works are generally ethnohistorical with an emphasis on aboriginal history and culture. Second, little attention is devoted to contemporary Indian education or higher education.

Historical literature such as the work of E. D. Castillo (1978) in R. J. Heizer (Ed.) Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 8, California presents a descriptive review of California Indian education from the mission system to the 1970s. During the 1970s, the Indian students' experiences overall were viewed as a failure resulting from dismal state and federal Indian education programs. Also cited were the poverty rates among the rural and reservation areas and high unemployment. These factors fueled the high dropout rate and few were expected to attend college. Thus, little discussion is generated on higher education.

Similarly, the topic of education does not appear until the last chapter in The California Indians: A Source Book compiled by R. J. Heizer and M.A. Whipple (1971). According to California State Advisory Commission Report for 1966, the dropout rate for Indians tripled that of non-Indians. Barriers to getting an education as cited by the Commission included poverty, lack of academic preparation, and poor learning facilities. Educational statistics are even worse in higher education. Five percent of Indian students completed at least 3 years

of college and only 2% graduated or continued in advanced studies. The numbers were so low, they had little research value. Finally, L. J. Bean and T. C. Blackburn (1976) in their book Native Californians: A Theoretical Perspective focus on the social organization of various tribes in the state and the contemporary issue of education is not included.

The literature of the 1980s produced one major work in a great line of historical accounts called Indians of California: The Changing Image written by J. J. Rawl (1984). The author describes the mission system through the 19th century. Emphasis is on the images of the Californian Native Americans as constructed by the Euro-Americans and the relations they established with the Indians. The focus is on Euro-American attitudes. The author presents an epilogue of events involving Indians and Euro-Americans through the 1980s but education in the contemporary sense is not mentioned.

Voluminous research has been conducted on individual California tribes but much of it reflects the history, culture, and artifacts of a specific geographic area. Contemporary issues are not covered. Anthropological studies include: Indians of the Feather River: Tales and Legends of Concow Maidu of California by D. P. Jewell (1987), Salinan Indians of California and their Neighbors by B. W. Brusa (1975) and The Indians of Chico Rancheria by D. J. Hill (1978), just to name a few.

One unique 1967 study was the Report of the First All-Indian Statewide

Conference on California Indian Education compiled by the Ad Hoc Committee and (Ed.) J. D. Forbes. In response to the high dropout rate of Indian students at all educational levels, the focus of this report strongly recommended curriculum changes in schools to reflect Native American heritage so it would not be forgotten. At the higher education level, it recommended founding of Native American Studies Departments at the state universities. -

Since the 1970s, the literature does not contain any published studies regarding Indian education in California. No published studies have explored the Native American college experience on California campuses. This lack of empirical data handicaps educational anthropologists, policy makers, and tribal educators.

Demographically, California has the largest total population of Native Americans in the U.S. (Hillabrant, Romano & Stang, 1991) and yet overall, Native Americans are underrepresented in the state's 4-year public universities. Consequently, no studies have been published to date on the educational progress of Native American college students attending public universities in this state.

The problem of conducting quantitative educational studies on Native Americans is twofold. First, studies on minorities conducted at California colleges and public universities where Native American students enrollment is low, have included Indian students in the category of "other" (Fries, 1987, p. 31)

so the accuracy of the graduation rate is doubtful. Second, the statistical data that is generated on Native Americans who enter college and actually graduate is so low that the sample or estimate may be unreliable. In a national study of minorities in higher education, Astin (1982) stated that the sample of Native American college students "was often so small as to raise serious questions about the reliability of the results" (p. 23). Thus, the accuracy of small samples reflecting graduation rates becomes questionable and the educational progress of Native Americans is unclear.

The advantage of conducting an alternative to inadequate quantitative research would be to collect qualitative educational studies. Such studies, by going deeply in the experiences of existing Native American college students can amplify educator's understanding of the salient issues. While there is a gap between research in other states and California, the Native American college experience in the latter state must not be overlooked. Ethnographic studies conducted specifically with California public universities will give a clearer picture of how this small, but important, population of students is faring in this type of environment, which may provide insights that will increase student retention leading to graduation.

The focus of this present research study is to explore issues relating to Native American ethnicity and identity that emerge in the classroom setting at SJSU and at D-Q. Since this study is of an exploratory nature, the researcher

has broadly addressed the following questions within these two university contexts.

1. How does the student perceive him or herself in the classroom setting?
2. How does the student define positive sense of self?
3. How does the classroom curriculum influence individual self-perception?
4. How does the individual assess the impact of social interactions in the classroom on their self-perception?

From the data, two emic⁴ models were constructed. The first extracts the key elements from the student's educational and social experiences both in and out of the classroom setting. The second model reflects students' perception of problems in the classroom, including curriculum and learning styles. By articulating the student's perspective, anthropologists can aid educational policy makers in identifying strengths and weaknesses of existing curriculum and learning styles.

The potential contribution of this study is to provide the larger educational community with a sharper image of some contemporary Native American college students' educational needs and concerns derived from

⁴In anthropology the concept that each culture can be analyzed in terms of its own unique perspective is referred to an emic or insider's view.

student perceptions. Particularly important is that the study outlines the diversity of these college students' experiences.

Research Methodology

Population and Sample

Native Americans in California's higher education are the selected population for this study. The researcher selected four students, male and female, of various tribal backgrounds—Clayton, Amy, Jill and Larry—from D-Q. Four additional urban Indian students from SJSU—Marilyn, Alan, Penny and John—were also interviewed (pseudonyms). D-Q, located in rural Davis, was selected because it is the only tribally controlled college in California. SJSU, an urban branch of the California State University system, represented a structurally different alternative—a large public institution in a metropolitan area in a complex multicultural environment possessing a heterogenous Indian community.

Design and Instrumentation

The design of my study is ethnographic and consists of five parts. The first component was a semi-structured interview designed to elicit experiences from Native American students. Second, while the students were attending class, I conducted participant-observations. The students involved in this study were observed in different classes. I focused on two general categories: content of the material presented and the classroom environment. Third, I

conducted follow-up interviews after class with the same students on their perceptions of the classroom experience. Fourth, I interviewed an administrator and two faculty members from each school regarding institutional structure. Augmenting these institutional interviews, I conducted a second follow-up interview with two students from each school on their personal experiences within that institution. Fifth, after my initial contact, I revisited D-Q 10 months later to do follow-up interviews with two students in order to clarify some of the data. By combining reported and observed behavioral data, yielding multiple perspectives, a more thorough picture of Native American educational experiences could be garnered.

I used a set of related open-ended questions as an interview guide that probed the students' background and how they viewed their educational experience in college. These questions were refined after preliminary interviews with two Native American students at SJSU in order to get feedback on whether the questions were understandable and reflected Native American educational concerns (see Appendix).

Next, the students selected a class from their current semester schedule for the class session. In order to construct a common context for the follow-up interview, the classroom observations included the content of the material only to the extent that it adds to the discussions of student perceptions. After class, I used another set of protocols in order to better understand the students'

experiences in terms that were meaningful to them.

Data Analysis

In this study I have used two ethnographic research methods including participant-observation and personal interviews with Native American students, faculty and administrators at both universities. The data gathered from these diverse sources provides multiple viewpoints and serves to increase the overall scope of the research project as well as attempt to ensure triangulation of information (Bernard, 1988).

My thematic analysis consisted of coding topical categories within interviews and examining commonalities and differences across interviews. Within each person's interview I looked for the key points that were considered important to that person as well as salient to the three research questions that drive this study. The comparisons between interviewees yielded concerns and experiences as well as intriguing differences. Specifically, these patterns hinted at models of the world that students have about the way the university works, why and how they went to the university, and why and how they stayed. From this data, the multiple emic models were constructed that form the basis of this thesis.

As a researcher, I utilized an inductive approach to the collection and analysis of the data without preconceived notions or hypotheses. First, I completed a written summary of each student's interview and observation in

order to provide "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, p. 3) to try and understand the situation. Second, after completing data collection at each institution, I reviewed the data again noting the various themes discussed and searched for patterns and departures in the interviews. Some of the similarities and differences include: institutional structure and how students relate to their individual school, how students identify with others in the academic and social environment of each institution, and the emic categories students operate in to construct their own identity such as choice of identity and the development of that choice. Within these areas I searched for patterns and where differences was greater than similarities, I analyzed the scope of difference, the ways they are different and considered why they might be different using matrices as an analytical device.

Problems Related to Study

During the course of this study, I encountered several problems. First, I had significant trouble in locating prospective Native American students at SJSU as well as D-Q. At SJSU, the percentage of Native American students enrolled is less than 1% (Office of Institutional Research, 1997, p. 3). Accordingly, I recruited through the American Indian Science and Engineering Society which is an extracurricular club located on campus. At D-Q, most of the Native American students I tried to recruit said they were not interested in participating because they felt that any information given would affect their

standing with the school. Thus, I had to elicit help from the administrative staff to explain to the students the purpose of my visit and to assure them that the President of the university approved their participation in the study.

Second, conflicting schedules created constraints limiting selection and participation. The discourse of the interviews varied by the student's responses as well as the availability of their class schedule. The SJSU students were much more outspoken and receptive, while the D-Q students were careful and cautious, not volunteering extra detail. My attempts to probe their responses were met with defeat.

Things to Come

The present condition of Indian education can be best understood by looking at the past. Chapter 2 provides historical background in two parts. The first part is a synopsis of U.S. Indian education. The second part is a synopsis of California Indian education. The California experience is quite distinct from the experience in other states. Topics to be addressed include: Native Americans before contact; efforts toward the assimilation process; the role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the California Indian application of self-determination to education.

Chapter 3 compares the institutional organization of SJSU and D-Q and gives a thematic analysis of student experiences. Institutional descriptions contrast a student-centered environment and a bureaucratic-style structure.

Other topics include the campus social life and how the students interact with the schools. Two students from each university provide their insights from their personal experiences. Institutional and experiential comparisons reveal significant implications for student learning.

Chapter 4 presents a thematic analysis of responses given by four urban university Indian students of their academic and social experiences at SJSU. Highlights include why these students selected this particular university, their comments on the classes they have taken, including cooperative learning styles and the variability of social activity on campus.

In contrast, Chapter 5 is a thematic analysis of responses presented by four tribal college Indian students of their academic and social experiences at D-Q. Highlights include why they selected a Native American school, their comments on the classes they have taken, including such learning styles as visual perception and small group learning, and the social activities on campus.

Chapter 6 is a description of how Indian identity is constructed contextually, culturally and legalistically on both campuses. Next, the four urban and four tribal students talk about how other students identify them as well as how they identify themselves. Additionally, I will reexamine my research questions in light of the data and discuss the implications of this study in terms of student learning and suggest further avenues of research.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

Synopsis of U.S. Indian Education

Native Americans have lived in North America for thousands of years before contact with Europeans. Over time, they have developed "a diverse and tribally unique way of life with various worldviews, philosophies, spiritual belief systems and languages" (Whiteman, 1986, p. 28). Because Indian cultures are kinship-based, education was integrated into daily community affairs. Tribal knowledge was verbally passed down from generation to generation to ensure the strength and survival of the group. The community taught the young "how to process and store food crops; process meat and fish; anticipate the habits of prey animals; making clothing" (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993, p. 92) as well as ways to defend the group. Equally important, the tribal elders taught the cosmology of the Indians to the children through storytelling. For example, among many tribes, they taught them respect for animals as well as for the land. Survival depended on respect for the natural world and an understanding that humans must be in balance with nature, not superior to it (Mander, 1992). So, the education of Indian children within the community was the passing on of ancient knowledge that came from the "hearts and minds of the people" (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993, p. 92).

The last 500 years has brought the Native American an education of a

different kind, that of forced assimilation to European based cultures. Education was segregated into formal schools. Euro-Americans spent years attempting to civilize them, removing all traces of their Indianness. This term refers to "being an Indian in spirit and in blood—and a refusal to become extinct" (Cahn, 1969, p. 181). Euro-Americans established three powerful institutions of assimilation: missionaries, including independent church groups, U.S. government organizations, and the U.S. educational system (Whiteman, 1986). Hence, a new definition of Indian education was lurking on the horizon that meant that Indians would be forced to abandon their cultural values and traditional way of life in favor of Euro-American ones. It also meant that they would no longer be the primary educators of their own children. This pattern would be the rule until the late 1960s, when the Native Americans regained control over the education of their people.

Around 1611, Roman Catholic priests were the first missionaries to arrive in the New World and introduced both western education and formalized schooling to the Indians. The Jesuits, who were mainly French, became active in such regions as the St. Lawrence River area, the Great Lakes and in the area of the Mississippi River. Sent by Louis XIV, their mission was to teach a combination of Christianity and French culture with an emphasis on traditional academic subjects. As a first step toward fulfilling this goal, the Jesuits sought to remove children from their families, believing that isolation from their culture

would ensure them success (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972). According to the Jesuits, however, the Indians "loved their children above all things" (Szasz, 1988, p. 8) and could not bear to have their children punished or even scolded. Consequently, Indian parents resisted sending their children to be educated by the French missionaries in schools where their teachings conflicted with their cultural beliefs (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972).

In contrast, the Hispanic Franciscans were part of the Spanish land expeditions that moved into the interior of the southwest, influencing the peoples of Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and California. Their goal was to gather the Indian people into villages located around the missions. Education consisted of teaching the Indians Spanish; converting them to Christianity and training them in vocational arts such as carpentry, masonry, and agriculture. Unlike the Jesuits, the Franciscans did not emphasize academic subjects (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972).

The Protestants were a third group of missionaries who established schools located in the East. In 1617, King James issued a call for the education of the Indians and John Eliot, a Puritan clergyman responded. In 1631, he established a school in Roxbury, Massachusetts and developed a plan to bring Indians together in self-governing "Indian praying towns" (Gibson, 1980, p. 192). Education included instruction in Christian ethics and art, creating a cultural assault on their Indianness because that was the only way the Puritans

would accept them. Thus, it was in this manner that the Indians were eventually forced to cut their hair short and renounce their traditional way of life.

The Puritan missionaries were also diligent towards higher education. Three major Eastern universities were founded. Harvard (1650) and Dartmouth (1756) were established with the express purpose of providing higher education for both Euro-American and Indian youths. Dartmouth had an integrated campus. The Harvard trustees created an Indian college within the university. The College of William and Mary (1693) included a special house on the campus just for Indian students. Although many Indian students attended Harvard, only one Indian student graduated with a baccalaureate degree. One reason for this small number is that many Indian students died of various infectious diseases (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972; Gibson, 1980).

In summary, the education in the latter part of the colonial period offered a curriculum to both Indian and non-Indian youths with an emphasis on academic studies, Christianity, and western culture at three higher education institutions in the East. At that time, Indian languages, culture, or history were not integrated into their curriculum (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972).

Late in the 19th century, the federal government initiated the reservation policy. This policy was designed to confine Indians to a restricted area to make more land available for Euro-American settlement and to continue with the assimilation effort. The government continued to grant money to independent

religious groups to operate mission schools on the reservations. The curriculum of these church group schools ran parallel to the missionaries, dedicated to educating, Christianizing, and civilizing the Indians (Whiteman, 1986). While these assimilation schools were acknowledged as solving the Indian problem, the public began to question whether it was constitutional to use federal subsidies for Indian education (Gibson, 1980).

Nevertheless, the reformers agreed with the assimilationists that education was the solution to the Indian problem but their views differed on how to accomplish it. Then in 1865, the federal government became actively involved in Indian education. They supported the idea of a universal off-reservation government school system and thought it to be the only way to assimilate young Indian children effectively. Conversely, the reformers continued to debate the issue stating that the government should establish a system of reservation day and boarding schools to train and educate all Indian children. The non-reservation boarding schools could then be used for higher education by the best of the graduates of the reservation schools. The reformers, however, lost their case and in 1880, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) established dozens of off-reservation boarding schools (Olson & Wilson, 1984).

The history of the government agency known as the BIA begins back in 1789 when Congress created the Department of War and assigned the

responsibility for Indian affairs to the Secretary of War, Henry Knox. The government felt that collectively, the Indian nations possessed strong military power and thus, they would become a threat to the country (Gibson, 1980). President Andrew Jackson issued an executive order and in 1824 John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, created the BIA to be administered by a commissioner of Indian affairs. By 1832, President Jackson appointed Elbert Herring as the first commissioner to have "direction and management of all Indian affairs and all matters arising out of Indian relations" (p. 272). Regarding education, the agency was entrusted with the task of establishing schools and superintendents where the Indian could learn farming as a vocation. In 1849, Congress created the Department of the Interior and the BIA was transferred to that department where it remains today.

In answer to the BIA's push for off-reservation boarding schools in 1879, Richard Henry Pratt established the Carlisle Indian Industrial Training School in Pennsylvania. His philosophy was that Indians could be educated. Initially, this school was designed as an experiment to test this idea. Similar to Jesuit missionary efforts, he concluded Indian education could be successful if the boarding schools were located away from tribal and parental influence. Pratt developed the term "outing" (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993, p. 95) in which Indian students were allowed to return home for vacations provided they were placed as servants with Euro-American families. He hoped that the Indian

students in turn would adapt the Euro-American families' language, religion, and values while suppressing their Indianness. This was Pratt's solution to the Indian problem.

Furthermore, Carlisle became the model for future boarding schools for Indians located in areas where large Indian populations were located, such as the Indian Territory, Nebraska, Oregon, and Arizona. These schools were primarily vocational and the curriculum included primary subjects such as "reading, writing, arithmetic and spelling" (Gibson, 1980, p. 432). A typical day at the school for young men included half a day spent in vocational-manual labor in the shops and fields of the school, while the young women learned homemaking. They devoted the rest of the day to academic learning. Gibson (1980) describes military discipline that was strictly enforced:

Students dressed in cadet uniforms; they drilled in military formation each day, and they marched to class, to the mess hall, and to labor in the fields. Instructors applied harsh discipline in the dormitory, the classroom, and on the school grounds. They punished errant Indian children for speaking in their tribal language and for slips in rules with whippings and denial of food. (p. 432)

The school environment was only one part of the educational process. The other aspect included a forced transformation to change the image of the Indian into a Euro-American. L. Standing Bear (1933) a Sioux, attended Carlisle in 1879 and recalls his experience. He writes:

Our first resentment was in having our hair cut. It has ever been the custom of Lakota men to wear long hair and all tribal members still

wear the hair in this manner. On first hearing the rule, some of the older boys talked of resisting, but realizing the uselessness of doing so, submitted. But for days after being shorn we felt strange and uncomfortable. . . . The fact is that we were to be transformed. (p. 189)

This government program known only as "Americanizing the Indians" failed from "poor attendance, and lack of motivation by students" (Gibson, 1980, p. 435).

By 1902, the BIA had established 25 off-reservation boarding schools in 15 states including Haskell (1884) located in Lawrence, Kansas; Santa Fe, New Mexico (1890) and Phoenix, Arizona (1890) (Reyhner & Eder, 1992, p. 46). As with the Carlisle school, their curriculum was designed to teach special vocational skills that would prepare Indians for productive employment as well as in academic subjects (Gibson, 1980).

Off-reservation schools became more costly than beneficial. For example, these schools could only train a few at a great expense. Also, when the Indian students returned home to the reservations, they were subjected to mockery by those who did not attend. The idea of the reservation day schools was more feasible as transportation for students became cheaper. Similarly, the boarding schools on the reservation were less expensive to operate and Indian parents were more accepting of these schools. While mission schools were still operating, they too were beginning to fade out (Szasz, 1977).

Eventually, the Carlisle school closed, while Haskell Institute remained opened and has been converted to a junior college still operated by the BIA today

(Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993).

From 1887 to 1934, government policies toward assimilating the Indians involved transforming them into property owning farmers with the enactment of the Dawes Act, better known as the General Allotment Act. The Dawes Act provided for partitioning reservations and assigning each resident Indian an allotment of land. Definitively, each adult head of family received 160 acres. Adults who were single and over the age of 18 and orphans received 80 acres while those less than 18 received 40 acres (Gibson, 1980). Surplus lands that were not allotted were sold by the government to settlers with the profits to be used for their education and to civilize them. Under the guise of the Dawes Act, the government's intention was to break up tribal life in exchange for education. This promise was made but over time the commitment was not fulfilled.

In summary, the BIA was created to assume all responsibility and control over Indian education by the end of the 19th century. They were neither educators nor Indians but land administrators, at least until the Agency formed the Educational Division around the 1930s. The BIA was an institution that was characterized as "impersonal when dealing with the Indians; corrupt when it came to trusteeship with Indian property and impatient when it came to the task of assimilation" (Gibson, 1980, p. 428).

Many legislative policies shaped the future of Indian education. First,

there was the reservation policy that stripped Indian nations of their land and restricted them to colonized areas where detribalization could take place thus, integrating them into the dominant society. Next, the federal government provided funding for Indian schools such as the Carlisle school, an off-reservation boarding school. When this type of school did not achieve satisfactory results, the government began to fund day schools as well as boarding schools on the reservation (Gibson, 1980; Olson & Wilson, 1984).

By the 20th century, a new trend in Indian education began to unfold. Indian children were being placed in public schools and by 1912, more Indian students attended these public schools than the BIA government schools and the latter slowly faded (Reyhner & Eder, 1992). In 1924, all Indians became citizens with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act. The move to reform the paternalism of government policy would not come about until 1934 with the passage of the Johnson-O'Malley Act and the Indian Reorganization Act (Szasz, 1977).

Before the enactment of these two policies, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work approached the Board of Indian Commissioners recommending that a non-government organization undertake a field study of living conditions among Indian tribes. In 1926, Brookings Institute obtained a grant and appointed social scientist Lewis Meriam to conduct a survey of current conditions in education, health, economic and Indian affairs (Olson & Wilson,

1984). Known as the Meriam Commission, the report gave negative ratings to most of the Indian boarding schools. In their opinion, shocking conditions existed in every Indian settlement in the U.S. The Indian children were "taught in unsanitary classrooms and dormitories at government schools" (Gibson, 1980, p. 536). Moreover, most teachers were poorly trained and the curriculum did not meet the needs of the Indian students (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993). The commission report concluded that both the allotment and Americanization programs on the government's agenda were dismal failures and that policy reforms were needed. Furthermore, they recommended that Congress appropriate immediate relief for Indian health and education (Gibson, 1980).

The 1932 election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt brought the New Deal program to the nation. Roosevelt appointed Harold Ickes as the new Secretary of the Interior and John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. First, the Ickes and Collier team called for reforming Indian status by terminating both the allotment and Americanization programs (Olson & Wilson, 1984). Second, the Department of the Interior began contracting with individual school districts regarding the payment for Indian children in their community instead of giving one single payment to the state to cover all Indian children. Consequently, Indian programs were never subsidized and eventually canceled. According to Will Carson Ryan Jr., Director of the BIA Educational Division, this method

"violates every right principle of Federal-State relationship in education" (Szasz, 1977, p. 90) and promptly changed this procedure when he took office.

In 1934, Congress approved the Johnson-O'Malley Act that authorized the BIA to receive funds and in turn contracted with states and territories to provide educational, medical, and social welfare services for Indians (Olson & Wilson, 1984). However, in reality, according to Cahn (1969) "the states simply ignored the special needs of Indians while using Indian funds to subsidize the total state school system" (p. 52). The BIA strongly criticized public school instruction for its flaws. They reported: (a) Native American prejudice by teachers and administrators, (b) the curriculum reflected Euro-American mainstream content and lacked courses in tribal culture, and (c) bilingual instruction was inadequate. In addition, parents were not involved in their children's schooling because most never attended school themselves or had dropped out (Olson & Wilson, 1984; Szasz, 1977).

Even as late as 1950 when Public Law 874, 815 and the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 were passed providing special appropriations to public schools enrolling Indian children, the school districts still continued to use money to finance a general fund that would benefit the schools entire student population (Olson & Wilson, 1984). Federal and state officials were simply not working together to improve educational conditions for the Indians. Thus, the Johnson-O'Malley funds continued to support public schools while providing a

poor learning environment for the Indian students perpetuating a culturally irrelevant curriculum (Olson & Wilson, 1984; Szasz, 1977). Currently, Johnson-O'Malley funds are still being appropriated to public schools that educate Indian children but these funds can only support supplemental programs such as tutoring or a Native American culture program and must be approved by an Indian parent advisory committee (Reyhner & Eder, 1992).

In 1934 Congress adopted a series of laws that marked the beginning of the termination era for Native Americans. Termination, where Indians are concerned, is a term that means "an end to the special status of the Indian and the trusteeship and protection arrangement with the U.S. government" (Cahn, 1969, p. 16). The first policy carried out was the Indian Reorganization Act, better known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. On the surface, this policy ended government dependency and pushed the Indians into the mainstream. It also promoted cultural pluralism by guaranteeing Indians their right to traditional religion and life style free of government interference and providing for self-determination (Gibson, 1980). Title II of this Act provided training for Indians in "forest management, public health, law enforcement and record keeping and provided scholarship money for gifted students. Money was also allocated for courses in tribal culture in BIA boarding schools" (Olson & Wilson, 1984, p. 116).

The second policy passed was the Indian Claims Commission Act of

1946. Senator Arthur Watkins of Utah initiated the first step toward termination of federal authority over the tribes by settling all Indian claims filed against the U.S. before 1946. This meant that all valid claims by petitioning tribes would be paid in money and no land would be returned to a tribe (Olson & Wilson, 1984).

In 1953 the House Concurrent Resolution 108 called for the immediate termination of federal relations with Indians in California, Texas, Montana, Oregon, and North Dakota. The tribes in other states would be terminated on a more progressive basis. One phase of the termination process involved the relocation of Indian families from the reservations to the cities. Not all Indians were happy with this outcome. Some felt they could not survive without the government's help (Cahn, 1969). Now that federal relations had been severed, they were forced to establish a new life in urban employment. Furthermore, these tribes must now assume the rights and privileges as American citizens. Because of termination, this legislation policy also marked the beginning of unicultural orientation in the public school system (Gibson, 1980).

Contrary to the move of uniculturalism, the Native Americans who wanted self-determination as well as pan-Indian activists continually called for control over their own education. They wanted "their heritage retained and their languages taught" (Cahn, 1969, p. 181). With the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the establishment of the Office of Economic Opportunity, programs such as Head Start (early childhood education), Upward

Bound (a program to encourage students to finish high school and enter college) and Vista (volunteers working on projects in the Indian community developed by tribal leaders), their desires were about to become reality (Olson & Wilson, 1984).

In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson requested a report on the current educational conditions affecting Indians to make a case for Native American self-determination. Known as the Kennedy Report of 1969, it had all the earmarks of the Meriam Report 30 years earlier. This report echoed racism, poverty, absenteeism, and academic under achievement as the main issues that deterred Native Americans from fulfilling their hope for a meaningful education. As a result, Native Americans did not feel comfortable in either federal or public schools. Thus, the Kennedy Report called for the addition of Native American history, culture, and language to be included in the curriculum. Most of all, the report called for the direct involvement of parents and tribal leaders in the local educational process (Olson & Wilson, 1984).

Following on the heels of the Kennedy Report findings, Congress took action and passed the 1972 Indian Education Act that was eventually amended in 1975. The major benefits of this legislation included funding for Indian children in reservation schools and for the first time, urban Indian students in colleges and universities. In addition, it required Indian parents to become involved in these special programs and encouraged the establishment of

community run schools. Finally, funds were provided toward relevant Native American curriculum such as history, culture, and bilingual materials (Olson & Wilson, 1984; Reyhner & Eder, 1992).

At long last, the door was now open for Native American controlled schools to become a part of the U.S. educational system. In 1966, the Navajo Nation created the Rough Rock Demonstration School, the first all Indian elementary school, with Robert Roessel Jr. as first director. This school represented an active demonstration of Indian self-determination. The curriculum was now designed by the community. Tribal members served on the school board and initiated an open door policy with the parents to become involved in the educational process and encouraged them to participate in adult education classes during the summer. Roessel summarizes the school's effectiveness: "To me, it is a significant step in the right direction . . . for it places the responsibility and decision making in the hands of the Indian people and this is something I feel is so extremely important" (Szasz, 1977, p. 173). Considering the size of the Navajo reservation community control and pride in helping many Indian children get a better education, Rough Rock Demonstration School virtually became the model for other Native American schools of this kind (Olson & Wilson, 1984). As a result, "today there are 75 elementary and secondary schools controlled by tribes or tribal organizations" (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993, p. 99).

In state public schools where Indian population is the greatest, Native American students are affected by the learning environment and curriculum resulting in low student retention. For example, states like California, Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico combined represent just less than 50% of the total Indian population in the U.S. (Wright & Tierney, 1991, p. 17). While "the BIA educational programs serve approximately 10% of the total K-12 Indian student population attending U.S. schools, the remaining 90% of Indian students are served by public or private schools" (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993, p. 56).

Current Native American assessments of the public school system are a continuation of the past. The system continues to be problematic because these schools do not acknowledge the need for special programs for Indian students and those that do exist are underfunded. According to Hirschfelder and de Montaña (1993), the non-Indian teacher does not recognize Indian students as culturally different from Euro-American students. In addition, few Indian teachers serve as role models and most parents are not involved with their children's education.

Second, the curriculum lacks attention to different learning styles suggesting that Indian students respond better with learning styles that are more traditional. This style takes into account the visual perception approach of watching and doing and is in direct conflict with the standard school

environment of listening, reading, and writing. While there is no direct evidence of a link, cultural differences suggest a potential educational conflict. Finally, Indian values such as a strong sense of community and cooperation are not compatible with western cultural values of individualism and competition (Gilliland, 1988; Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993). These cultural factors may have contributed to the fact that "about 50% of the Native American population over 30 years old have not completed high school" (Wright & Tierney, 1991, p. 18).

As the demand for self-determination began to escalate among Native American groups, programs for higher education became the most important issue. In 1968, the Navajo established the first tribally controlled community junior college located in Tsaile, Arizona. As a measure of his success as director of the Rough Rock school, Roessel became president of the Navajo Community College. The curriculum at this school encompassed a Navajo Studies program, including history and culture, taught in two languages. The courses emphasized the Indian point of view. In addition, the curriculum was designed to prepare college students academically to transfer to 4-year institutions as well as improving on the BIA's vocational training programs. Thus, job training was matched with job opportunities on the reservation (Szasz, 1977).

The Navajo Community College not only became the model for other

postsecondary institutions, but primarily evolved in response to the unsuccessful experience of Indian students on mainstream campuses. Currently, 29 tribally controlled colleges are located in the U.S. on or near reservations representing the 300+ tribes (Wright & Tierney, 1991). In addition, two tribally controlled colleges are located in Canada and jointly they make up the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. The curriculum at these colleges emphasizes tribal culture and identity; the development of job skills, and General Education courses. However, tribal colleges are only minimally funded by the BIA, based on the number of Indian students enrolled and the American Indian College Fund (O'Brien, 1992).

On a national level, Native Americans are economically poorer than any other ethnic group. They are less formally educated and the greater percentage live in rural areas where there is little access to local postsecondary colleges. Furthermore, "the current U.S. population of Native Americans stands at slightly less than two million" and of this figure, youths in the age range of "18 to 24 years represent the majority" (Wright & Tierney, 1991, p. 17). In states like Montana and South Dakota, where there are the largest percentages of Indian college students enrolled in 4-year universities, there are many barriers that hinder Native American college student retention. These barriers include poor academic performance; racism among Indian and Euro-American students; inadequate financial and parental support; lack of Native American

role models, and little or no social integration with other students on campus. All of these barriers affect the Indian student's self-perception and continuance as cited by Huffman, (1991); Lin, LaCounte & Eder, (1988) and Scott, (1986). Hence, the Indian students will most likely become dropouts by the end of their freshman year (O'Brien, 1992).

Tribal colleges, on the other hand, are different from other tertiary - institutions. First, they are newly created and carry a small student body and staff. Second, they are found on or near reservations and serve a population that has not traditionally been enrolled in higher education (O'Brien, 1992). Since their inception, Native American enrollment and retention in these colleges have increased considerably. According to O'Brien (1992) "From 1991 to 1992 alone, the colleges recorded a 20-percent full-time equivalent enrollment increase in American Indian students . . ." (p. 8). The experience of Native Americans at the national level is partly echoed in California, although the unique configuration of the state poses some challenges.

In the next section of this chapter, I will give a synopsis of the historical background of education of Indians living in California and California Indians indigenous to the state. Both comprise the population which is sampled in this thesis. The background literature on education and Native Americans rarely deals with this quite distinct population.

Synopsis of California Indian Education

The educational experiences of Native Americans in California is far from homogenous. Both out-of-state Indians and California's native population are diverse. Aboriginal California was a heterogenous place that anthropologists divided into six culture areas based on precontact subsistence patterns. They are: (a) coastal fishing, (b) riverine fishing, (c) a combination of lakeshore fishing and hunting-gathering, (d) valley and foothill hunting-gathering, (e) desert hunting-gathering, and (f) agriculture (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980, p. 58). Most California Indians lived in small village communities of around 100 to 500 inhabitants, which were groups of kindred families. Their location was determined by the availability of food (Bean & Rawls, 1988). Educational knowledge was passed down from parent to child regarding the techniques of fishing, hunting, and food preparation. They learned to gather leaves, seeds, fruits, and nuts and were taught when the time was best for eating and preparing for storage. Finally, they learned a knowledge of a different kind, that of understanding nature and preserving the land (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980).

The California Indians were plagued by conquests starting with the mission system in 1769, followed by the Gold Rush era in 1848, reducing Indian population to less than half. Northern expeditions into California after the Mexican conquest were sponsored by the Spanish crown in an effort to find "another Mexico" (Castillo, 1978, p. 99). One such expedition was a military

and missionary effort under the command of Captain Gaspar De Portola and accompanied by Father Junipero Serra of the Franciscan Order. Their task was the founding of a presidio and mission at San Diego as a relief station while establishing a colony at Monterey. In 1769, they established the first of 21 California missions and the Spanish demonstrated their authority over the Indian people (Castillo, 1978). Other missions followed toward the north, the last being Sonoma Mission established in 1823 (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980).

The mission became the most important tool used by the Spanish to establish control of Indian territory and the Indians. In addition, it was used to force assimilation of Indians into a Hispanic mold and finally, conversion to Spanish Catholicism. Once the Indians joined the system as converts, they were not free to leave. Tales of horror in the mission system spread quickly to the untouched tribes of the interior and the military was called in to try to recruit these tribes for conversion (Castillo, 1978). From the Indian point of view, many converts found life in the missions intolerable. They felt their loss of freedom and self-expression and many became fugitives. Thus, missionization became another word for devastation and the social environment became far removed from their aboriginal village life (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980).

Depopulation left a legacy that is still felt. Two major causes contributed to the high death rate among the Indians. First, there was inadequate nutrition. Each mission was self-sufficient and had to grow their own food for the resident

group. The population of a mission was about 500 but sometimes as many as 1000 (Cook, 1976, p. 86). There were frequently times when food was short leading to starvation that left the converts' immunity low and more susceptible to sickness (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980).

Second, disease decimated the population. Three major epidemics occurred during the mission period, including smallpox, diphtheria, and measles. The living quarters had poor sanitation and little ventilation contributing to the spread of these diseases. In 1806, a measles epidemic dispatched Indian people from San Francisco to Santa Barbara. Castillo (1978) summarizes, "1600 natives died and in some missions children under the age of ten completely wiped out" (p. 102). Besides mortality rates due to disease, low birth rates caused by high female death rates contributed to population decline (Cook, 1940, p. 48). Thus, the magnitude of deaths due to European diseases cannot be underestimated.

The significance of the mission period is that when it ended there were probably slightly more than 100,000 California Indians still living. According to Heizer and Elsasser (1980), if one uses "a liberal estimate of 150,000 survivors that means that in the years of 1769 to 1834 the native population had been reduced by 50%" (p. 229) as a direct result of disease, sickness and disruption of their aboriginal way of life.

In the settlement of the Mexican War with the US, the 1848 Treaty of

Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded New Mexico and California to American control. The area untouched by missionization, where Indian societies were still living as the aboriginals did, included the desert areas, north of San Francisco and east of the Sierras (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980).

With the discovery of gold in 1848, a new wave of Euro-American immigrants entered California. They moved in huge numbers and both miners and Indians came into conflict over land, gold, and food, while diseases remained the hidden enemy (Heizer & Elsasser, 1980). Those who got in the way of the miners and settlers were exterminated. The U.S. Army came to the rescue of the immigrants and as a safety net, removed Indians from their villages to federally designated reservations. This march to the reservations was known as California's "trail of tears" (Eargle, 1986, p. 23) because the land selected was barren of any food or shelter.

No tribe escaped diseases brought by the miners and settlers such as smallpox, influenza, and tuberculosis. The Indians also found their food source devastated—their staple of acorns, fish, game, and seeds. The after effects of mining contaminated the fishing streams with silt and destroyed fish dams (Cook, 1943a). The Central Valley and northern California received the brunt of the invasion (Eargle, 1986). With depletion of food sources and the threat of starvation, the Indians used resistance. Warfare followed and the Indians were driven further back into the forests making it difficult for them to gain access to

any food sources they could utilize (Cook, 1943a).

From 1846 to 1860, the Army set up approximately 200 frontier posts in California. Indian resistance continued culminating in the Modoc War of 1872 (Eargle, 1986). The significance of the Gold Rush period was that the majority of the population decrease came as a result of warfare and genocide by non-Indians. Cook (1978) summarizes, "It is evident that by 1850, the Indian population of the entire state has been reduced to about 100,000. The decline during the worst decade, 1845 to 1855, was incredible—from approximately 150,000 to 50,000" (p. 93). By 1860, the Indian population had dropped to 35,000. The period between 1890 and 1900 represents the lowest population count of at least 20,000 but below 25,000. This trend remained constant until the 1920s (Thornton, 1984, p. 100).

By the turn of the 20th century, this process began to change and the California Indian population has been increasing. This increase occurred as a result of higher birth rates and lower mortality. The younger generation migrated from rural Indian communities to the urban centers seeking employment. The lack of jobs on the reservations and the demand for labor in the cities accelerated urbanization peaking in the 1950s (Cook, 1976).

In the beginning of the 1920s, a series of surveys was administered by the BIA, rather than the Census Bureau, compiling the number of California Indians who had ever applied or qualified for federal assistance. These surveys

were known as the Great Rolls of 1928, 1950, and 1970. In 1928, federal funds were appropriated conditionally to California Indians as retribution for loss of their land during the Mexican War. The Indians had to be able to prove that they were direct descendants from aboriginal Indians who lived in the state during the time when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. Furthermore, they had to acknowledge their Indianness in public and provide general information about themselves such as their "name, sex, age, tribal affiliation, degree of Indian blood, family relationship and post office address" (Cook, 1976, p. 72). Overall, 23,585 people applied with a median age of 20. Yet when the census was taken in 1930, the count was only 19,212 (p. 73). Hundreds of persons who claimed to be non-Indian had now added their names to the rolls. Most of those enrolled were young people as the older ones avoided any relations with federal officials.

In a study based on the 1928 Roll, Cook (1943b) discovered that 11% of the names recorded had street addresses. Furthermore, 40% of the Indian migrants within the state were living in the cities compared with 7.4% of the non-migrants. Thus, Cook concluded that Indian migration to the cities resulted in a rise of a new Indian urban class (p. 41). Cook (1943b) surveyed the type of people who made up the new Indian urban class and discovered a heavier migration of Indian women. Mixed-blood Indian women married men of other races as a means to live in the urban cities. Few pure-blood Indian men ever

marry outside their race. Thus, Cook concluded that one major characteristic of the new urbanite was their low degree of Indian blood as a result of inter-marriage (p. 42). Both urbanization and mixed-blood status would have an effect on Native American identity in the decades to come.

In the early 1950s, a new Roll was initiated in connection with the California Indians Claims Cases. Most of the same general information was requested but not the degree of blood. This time the applicants totaled 36,094 and the median age was 19. In contrast, the 1950 Census counted the same Indian population in the state but came up with a much lower figure, that of 19,947 (Cook, 1976, p. 73). This difference can be accounted for in the way the BIA and the Census Bureau categorically define and count Indian people. First, the census reports all persons claiming Indian descent while the BIA requires proof of Indian descent from their aboriginal ancestors. In addition, counting Indians of mixed-blood can be problematic. Children may be adopted out of their own tribe or born of a mixed tribal union or even born of a non-Indian parent. In the last case, if the father is Indian and his tribe recognizes patrilineal descent, the children are considered Indian, but still of mixed-blood. If the mother is Indian, these same children are not recognized by any tribe. Second, persons of mixed-blood identified themselves in the category of "all other races" (Thornton, 1984, p. 220) which increased the Indian population for the census, while undercounted Indians who lived off the reservations. Finally,

during the massive migration of Indians into California, which began in the 1950s, Indians from other states were counted by the census but not by the BIA because they were not aboriginal sons. This impact did not affect the population figures until the 1960s and continuing through the 1980s (Thornton, 1984, p. 162; see also Cook, 1978).

During the 1960 census, a major change took place in the way Indians defined themselves as Native Americans. A self-reporting questionnaire was used in the surveys. Population figures for California Indians rose from 39,014 in 1960 to 91,018 in 1970. The median age reported was from 16 to 19 years of age. By the 1980s, the census figure increased to 198,275+ which more than doubled from 1970. While this increase can be mostly attributed to natural increase and migration, there is a third factor, that of self-identification. Indians of mixed-blood, i.e., Indian and Euro-American who were not distinctly Euro-American or African American and those who were not recognized by the Indian community as Indians, selected identification with the race of their father (Thornton, 1984, p. 220).

The third and final Roll taken in 1970 provided compensation for California Indian descendants awarded in the Claims Cases. The BIA counted 69,911 while the census counted 91,018. This represents a difference of approximately 20,000 Indians. In contrast to the 1960 census, persons of mixed-blood reported the race with which they personally identify with or if they

were undecided, they designated themselves as belonging to their father's race. As for the enrollment figure, the BIA undercounted the Indians who were not living in Indian communities. Cook (1978) concluded that the increase trend in population is reflected by the young Indians who were beginning to emerge actively as part of the rise of a new ethnic consciousness in this country, as well as pan-Indianism and the possible material benefits of being Indian (p. 98).

The last census taken in California in 1990 recorded 242,164 Americans claiming to be Indian residing in the state. This is an increase of 20% over the 1980 figure. As society becomes more aware of the Indian culture and the many benefits and programs that are available for tribal members, many people are now claiming Indian identity. While this fact distorts the census statistics, the BIA does require legal proof of Indian recognition before any benefits are received (Johnson, 1991, March 5).

Most specifically, the Indian urban population in California has also increased measurably, from 67,202 to 161,192 between 1970 and 1980. These figures represent the highest percentage of increase among states that have a significant population of Indians (Thornton, 1984, p. 228). This increase is attributed to natural increase and migration and when combined can account for nearly 60,000 (Cook, 1976, p. 200), however, the remainder belongs to mass urbanization and the ensuing high rate of intermarriage resulting from it. The significance of this consequence is that as more children are born through

these intermarriages, tribal importance will begin to lose value while blood quantum will begin to fade (Thornton, 1984).

One major factor that promoted this large scale urbanization movement was the 1952 Voluntary Relocation Program which was a result of the federal Indian policy known as Termination. This program marked the U.S. government's final phase of responsibility for the Indians as mandated by the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Because Indian population was increasing at such a high rate on the reservations providing little job opportunities, most Indians were living in poverty. Thus, the government believed that the answer to the Indian problem would be for the Indians to assimilate into the mainstream by establishing a new life of urban employment (Thornton, 1984).

Relocation was the process by which federal agents transferred Indian families from the rural and reservation areas to the urban centers and provided them with job training and assistance in housing and employment. In addition, the Adult Vocational Training Program improved Indian education academically as well as producing marketable skills among Indian workers, ages 18 to 35 (Gibson, 1980). In California, Los Angeles and San Francisco-San Jose were the principal cities selected to relocate Indian families. Not all Indian families were assisted by the BIA, for there were at least 30,000 families who migrated to Los Angeles without government assistance (Weibel-Orlando, 1991, p. 18).

Before the Relocation Program, the Los Angeles Indian population was

dominated by such tribal groups as the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Seminole from Oklahoma. After the relocation process had begun, the Navajo and the Sioux became the dominant tribal groups with other Southwest and Plains Indians coming in as a close second which ultimately overshadowed the small minority of California Indians. This heavy influx of Southwestern and Plains Indians had inundated the cultural heritage of California Indians in the cities (Kehoe, 1980). California songs and dances became overpowered by the Oklahoma traditional style of a powwow (Weibel-Orlando, 1991). Consequently, only in the rural and reservation areas can the descendants of the aboriginal Californians play host to their heritage, thus, keeping their culture alive (Kehoe, 1980).

Whether the Indian migrants from other states were part of the Relocation Program or not, studies show that Indians continually migrated to the cities for economic reasons. Price (1968) found that Indians moved to the urban area because they were interested in higher wages, better jobs, and improved living conditions. Furthermore, Sorkin (1969) concluded in his study that the better-educated Indians are most likely to move to the city and remain there than the less-educated, because they have a greater chance at being more economically successful (p. 250). Thus, migration to the urban areas became necessary for the Indians to escape poverty and unemployment on the reservation. In addition, the higher the education that Indians possess, the

more likely they will survive economically in the city.

By 1960, 35,000 Indians had been relocated and at least one-third chose to return to the reservation, disillusioned by the lack of employment opportunities as well as the alienation they felt from the dominant Euro-American society. Other Indians returned to the reservation for a different reason, that of maintaining their political and economic interest in tribal affairs. Once or twice a week, they would commute back and forth, from the reservation to the city (Gibson, 1980).

Relocation in Los Angeles, culturally and socially, was not an easy transition for most Indians. For instance, their social relationships consisted of searching out other Indians in which to share language and heritage. In order for a successful transition to city life, a person would have to become a "urban neo-Indian type" (Ablon, 1965, p. 370), one who is able to take active control of their life by sustaining their own cultural identity, while learning on a day to day basis how to control their new environment. Specific to group affiliation, Price (1968) concluded in his study that involvement in pan-Indian enclaves and associations promoted adjustment to life in Los Angeles by both migrant and relocation Indians. One recreational activity sponsored by these local Indian associations is the traditional powwow attracting participants from every tribe, becoming a "visible token of common Indianness" (Wax, 1971, p. 135). Traditional powwow dancing and singing originated with the Plains culture,

especially the Sioux, and have become events that socially binds the full-blood Indian with the culturally marginal who want to experience their Indian heritage (Wax, 1971). Even the non-Indian will attend the powwow just to enjoy the arts, the entertainment, or the sociability of this event. Thus, "every Saturday night from September to June, a powwow is held somewhere in Los Angeles or Orange County" (Weibel-Orlando, 1991, p. 134).

Religious organizations are another social aspect of the Los Angeles Indian community. The Indian Christian Church, whose origin in Oklahoma survived relocation, has become a major sociocultural institution. Weibel-Orlando (1991) states that Los Angeles has 12 Christian Churches that provide Indians an opportunity to worship together the way they did back home. Thus, both the powwow and the church as social enclaves promote a certain psychological security in contrast to the impersonal environment of the city and a renewed identity with other Indians.

The urbanization and relocation experience of Native Americans in San Francisco-San Jose is quite similar to Los Angeles. According to Ablon (1964), most Indians prefer not to assimilate into Euro-American society and show it by only associating with other Indians. She concludes that Indians must connect with other Indians to keep their identity and values alive and thus, help the development of pan-Indianism in the city (p. 302). One way to promote such social interaction among the local Indians is the sponsorship of a monthly

powwow organized by the American Indian Council of the Bay Area. The Indians participate in song and dance defining themselves as the outsiders, or as being Indian. The audience will include as many as 200 persons consisting primarily of Indians who are enjoying the social aspects of the event (Wax, 1971). Thus, urban adaptation does not mean assimilation nor does it mean that all Indians want to relinquish their identity to gain social mobility and economic opportunities in a dominated Euro-American society (Ablon, 1964).

Other recreational facilities such as urban Indian centers and friendship houses in the Bay Area were particularly significant in preserving and expanding upon the Indian heritage while promoting pan-Indianism (Forbes, 1969). Many relocatees or migrants who patronized the Indian centers were educated and embittered toward the exploitation and deprivation that Indians had endured at the hands of the dominant Euro-American society. Thus, the young urban Indian became more sophisticated and unlike his rural brothers, sought an independent course toward a more militant activist role. Joining forces, the California rural and urban Indians pushed for improvements in education and the reduction of poverty on the reservations. These improvements came under the umbrella of self-determination (Gibson, 1980).

After more than a decade since relocation, California has two distinct Indian populations. They are: the heterogenous Indian migrants that became the new residents of the cities and are defined as Native Americans in

California. They are affiliated with political organizations and movements that will further the notion of pan-Indianism in the state. The California Indians, who depend on the reservation people for the preservation of their traditions and heritage, affiliate with state organizations on education to help develop a curriculum for schools that reflects and maintains Indian culture (Kehoe, 1980).

Critical issues regarding education came to the forefront in 1965 when a state report was issued confirming that California Indians were either not attending public schools or were significantly behind Euro-American students. The report stated that 5% of all rural reservation Indians had no schooling; 43% had not gone beyond the eighth grade and that 57% had only completed less than one year of high school. Some schools reported as much as 75% Indian student dropout (California Department of Industrial Relations, 1965, p. 10). Thus, the dropout rate among Indians in the state was as much as three times higher than their Euro-American counterparts. The California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs (1966) summarized educational conditions by stating that "few Indian students finish high school, few attend college, and many who have graduated from high school receive an inferior education because of a lack of teacher concern . . . to cope with students of differing cultural backgrounds" (p. 39). In addition, a national study reported that Native American students in the twelfth grade had the lowest self-esteem of all ethnic groups who participated (p. 40).

Similarly, public school libraries and classroom textbooks came under scrutiny by the state when California Indian activist groups began to address the inaccurate material in American history books, particularly their description and thematic depiction of California Indians. Those groups felt that the biased viewpoint presented in these books was contributing to the alienation of Indian schoolchildren. They not only expressed concern but questioned the impact effect the non-Indian approach toward the school curriculum would have on Indian children (Forbes, 1969).

Specific criticism of the textbooks ranged from the paternalistic attitude of Euro-Americans toward Indians to ignorance of cultural diversity. Within these parameters, Indians are depicted as being passive and dependent on the Euro-Americans making the Euro-American culture superior. Hence, the Euro-Americans should have dominance over Indian cultures.

As a move toward action, Rupert Costo director of the American Indian Historical Society, provided major testimony at the 1969 U.S. Senate Subcommittee hearings on Native American education. This pan-Indian organization reviewed 170 textbooks that were currently being used in the public school system and found them to be culturally biased leading to low self-esteem of Indian students. They reported to the subcommittee that according to their guidelines, they did not recommend the use of any of them (Reynolds & Reynolds, 1974).

The founding of the California Education Association was another significant development that provided an incentive for the rural and reservation Indians to become more involved with their children's education. Indian parents, teachers and administrators organized and called themselves the Ad Hoc Committee on California Indian education. With the help of the California Education Association, they conducted the first statewide, Indian-controlled conference on Indian education (Forbes, 1969).

The North Fork Conference brought together about 200 Indians whose focus was to analyze and make recommendations on the major educational problems from the Native American point of view. This conference was notable as an educational milestone among Native American people, since this one was the first of its kind ever conducted in the U.S. Also, it was the first time a representative group of Indian people came together dealing with issues in education (Ad Hoc Committee, 1967).

An important recommendation that came out of the Conference was to change textbooks in the state to reflect a more accurate description of the history and culture of the California Indians and the use of Indian heritage in the public schools to help Indian students develop a sense of identity and personal esteem. California colleges and universities must develop a stronger program in California Indian history and culture that would be state-financed. In conjunction with this program, the colleges should build centers exclusively for

Indian studies (Ad Hoc Committee, 1967). Thus, issues for equitable education for Native Americans were beginning to emerge.

Since the 1970s and continuing through the 1980s, there has been some significant changes in California colleges. Native American Studies Departments were created at University of California campuses as well as California State University campuses. These campuses were the University of California at Berkeley and Davis, and California State Universities at San Jose and Sacramento (Forbes, 1969). That program now exists as a minor at San Jose State University (SJSU).

Two Indian post-primary educational schools were established. They are Sherman Indian high school in Riverside and D-Q University outside of Davis. The former is a BIA boarding school established in 1901. The latter was founded in 1971 and 7 years later, the school became the first and only tribally controlled community college in California (Eargle, 1986). Finally, state-approved textbooks reflecting a more multicultural approach were adopted by the public school system on a progressive basis. In addition, teaching programs were also modified, supporting the state's ethnic diversity (Forbes, 1969).

After nearly 200 years of subordination, California Indians are becoming more self-liberating by developing educational choices so that their children will have the opportunity for a quality education in high school including those who

choose the college experience. As descendants of the aboriginal California Indians, they are again exercising some influence over the destiny of their children, as they did once so long ago in their natural environment (Forbes, 1969).

The most significant issue facing Native Americans today is self-determination. They want to regain their sovereignty and to cease to be the least powerful group of people in the state (Forbes, 1969). Costo (1968) summarizes "ONLY [sic] the Indian can solve their situation, only the INDIAN [sic] with his own leadership and in his own way, can make headway" (p. 8). Given this political goal of autonomy, what are the concerns of students as they actually pursue an education?

In the next chapter, the focus will be on institutional descriptions of SJSU and D-Q. These descriptions include the structure of the university, campus social life, and how the students interact with the college. In addition, two students from each university will give their personal comments on their experiences in getting information on available services on campus.

Chapter 3

Institutional Descriptions

San Jose State University

San Jose State University (SJSU) is in the heart of Silicon Valley, the home of high technology research and development. This urban university is in the downtown area of San Jose and is accessible to many cultures, including the local Hispanic, Vietnamese and Native American communities. The college also reflects the diversity of California's multicultural population. The student population represents 96 countries; 71% from the Bay Area alone (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992 p. 19). The total enrollment for the 1993 year was 27,057 students (Office of Institutional Research, 1995). Known as a commuter school, the majority of the students attending work part-time or have family responsibilities that they must balance in conjunction with their education (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992).

Housing on campus can accommodate 2,000 students in the eight residence halls on the main campus or south campus and 9,000 students in private housing within walking distance of the campus. In addition, 17 fraternity and 11 sorority houses surround the perimeter of the main campus (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992).

At the time of the study in the 1993-4 school year, 4,271 students graduated with a baccalaureate degree. More women graduated than men. A

total of 1,643 minority students (Hispanic, African American, Filipino, Native American and Pacific Islanders) graduated in comparison with 2,238 Euro-American students (Office of Educational Planning and Resources, 1994).

The mission statement at SJSU is "to enrich the lives of its students, to transmit knowledge to its students along with the necessary skills for applying it in the service of our society and to expand the base of knowledge through research and scholarship" (SJSU, n.d.). In essence, the mission of SJSU is to provide students with an education that is both knowledgeable and meaningful while developing their skills so that they may become the future workforce.

The new president of SJSU, R. L. Caret (1995, October 25) outlined his vision for the future of this campus in his inaugural speech. He stated, "We will continue to be interactive and to increase our efforts in developing partnerships with business, government and the educational sectors that work with us" (p. B7). Thus, the university's commitment is set in motion to maintain a favorable image in the environment; to reach out to all prospective students in the community and through education, produce skilled employees for the job market in Silicon Valley.

To pursue their mission, the university has set forth many student goals. These goals include in-depth knowledge of a major field of study and active participation in professional, artistic and ethnic communities. Furthermore, SJSU represents an institution committed to providing access to higher

education for all students who meet the admission requirements (SJSU, n.d.). One administrator was interviewed regarding functions of the institution. His goals reflected institutional ones. He noted that the institution provided job training programs to meet the community's need; increased access of disadvantaged students by educating citizens from the community, and made student class program changes flexible.

One goal of SJSU is to educate students to fill the needs of the community. The school provides a broad range of disciplines and majors to accommodate the students' wide interests including: business, social work, engineering, science and technology, social science, arts, and humanities. As a promoter of educational equity, the school develops outreach programs such as Upward Bound to encourage disadvantaged students to enroll. Also, they open the university to high school groups where recruiters work with the students to create an academic fit. They also offer programs during the summer for prospective students in math and science.

Students can enter SJSU by three means. First, they may come directly from high school. Second, they may transfer from a community college. Finally, some students are defined as "lifelong learners" (Elliott, 1994 p. 53). These students did not go on to college directly from high school and returned years later. Some continually return time and again to acquire new knowledge that might advance them in their workplace.

Educational institutions must also provide easy access to various kinds of general information that would help students such as financial aid packages, tutorial services, counselors, mentoring programs and other types of educational assistance. The schools should not assume that all students, new or transferred, already have this level of knowledge. If this type of information remains hidden, retention could be effected. Thus, I explored two aspects of the campus environment—accessibility to information at SJSU and student interactions with the school. An administrator and two faculty members were interviewed. Three themes emerged.

First, entrance and enrollment into the university can occur through the student's own initiative or through organizational bridges created by the university to high schools or community colleges. These routes include the use of university recruiters, special programs designed for disadvantaged students, the availability of SJSU Publications (e.g., the Student Handbook, Schedule of Classes, or the General Catalog), talking with other students, or with American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) student recruiters.

Second, once students are actively involved in academic work, they can learn more about curriculum choices and the campus social life. Students learn to use the system by initiating contact with the Counseling Services, the Career Planning and the Assessment Center, one or more clubs and by arranging faculty advisement. Finally, once the students have completed an academic

program and are ready for graduation and to continue their pursuit into higher education, they complete General Education and departmental major and minor graduation requirement forms using a computer accessible transcript.

Students must take General Education, major and elective courses. General Education classes, set by a faculty and administrator committee, are approved by the advisers in the Assessment Center according to committee generated guidelines. To achieve flexibility, the Office of Admissions and Records support recommendations made by department advisers on students' major and minor study plans. In this way, students and advisers can work together to achieve alternate solutions when a problem arises.

The Student Outreach and Recruitment staff located in the university has the main task of targeting underrepresented high school students in the local area. Their focus is to encourage these students' motivation to attend as well as preparing them academically. Many student outreach programs exist. Two specific programs are Upward Bound and the Equal Opportunity Program (EOP). The recruiters select or search for promising students in high schools that are educationally disadvantaged and are first generation college students with certain financial problems. In other words, these students are classified as non-traditional in higher education. Other outreach programs include Minority Ethnic Program (MEP) and Math, Engineering and Science Achievement (MESA) who work with the high schools in developing a pre-college program.

They prepare students to take math-based college courses. These programs bring many students to SJSU who would not ordinarily have the opportunity to enroll. Unfortunately, as one faculty member noted, "There are more students wanting to be reached than there are students being reached because of the lack of resources." In addition to these recruitment programs, the high schools post college bulletins containing information about various schools in the area.

Outreach recruitment is not as prevalent to community colleges because these schools are structured with their own active, outreach support groups on campus who work with the staff to prepare students academically and to provide motivation. Unlike the high schools, community college students have a recruitment day on their local campuses. SJSU recruiters work with the counselors to provide prospective students with materials from the school. "For economic reasons, students such as Native Americans and African Americans in higher education usually attend community college first, yet very few transfer to a 4-year institution", noted one faculty member. He postulated a possible explanation that students may lack motivation and academic fit, compared to the students who come directly from the outreach programs in high schools.

Students who are traditional, who do not fall into the categories listed above, must take the initiative to call on the phone to have forms mailed to them or come visit the university. Once this has been accomplished, the students will receive an orientation packet in the mail. Those who attend

receive a Student Handbook about services, e.g., Financial Aid Programs and Mentoring Programs provided by the university. They must pay for this session. According to a faculty member, barriers to orientation include cost, which discourages many students from attending, or scheduling, since the session might conflict with work. One student confirmed this by stating that cost kept her from attending. For EOP and other outreach students, attendance is mandatory and they can register at this time. In contrast, the MESA targeted group has a special orientation day for first-year students in the spring before they actually arrive in the fall. They receive information regarding rules, regulations, procedures, and math tests.

Institutional informants distinguish between non-traditional and traditional students. Non-traditional students are connected with an academic support group and are mentored. They have many avenues for information at their disposal. In addition, they are integrated academically and socially with other students like themselves. The university is omnipresent by requiring mandatory orientation, advisement every semester, and academic monitoring. All other traditional students not involved in a specific program must be aggressive and search out the information on their own.

Students register by using TOUCH-SJSU. They receive access materials in the mail but the literature is very impersonal. Students not in an outreach program would have to find out how to register by reading the

Schedule of Classes or looking through the General Catalog. For example, in the Schedule of Classes, students are advised to follow these important tips for using TOUCH-SJSU. It reads: "complete the TOUCH-SJSU Worksheet before calling the system. . . . Be sure your telephone and telephone system in your area are true touch tone. Check your appointment time. . . . The recorded voice will guide you through the process" (Office of Admissions and Records, 1994, p. 17). Students can also find out about financial aid in the same way. They must take the time to read about it and then go talk to the Financial Aid counselors for additional information. If they attended the orientation and received the Student Handbook, the information would also be there in a more detailed description. However, students can talk to other students about aid.

Next, many offices can provide advising such as the Assessment Center for General Education, Counseling Services for undeclared major advising, or individual departments for major advising. All students must attend the pre-scheduled advisement days. The campus policy is that all new students must be advised in the first semester. They become aware of this because an advisor must lift a flag from their record or they cannot register the following semester. If students are not part of an outreach program such as EOP, they would have to read this in the Schedule of Classes to know about it. As one faculty member described the campus climate, "We are a large impersonal bureaucratic institution for the average student. Those students that are not

connected with any academic support group can become lost." In other words, these free-floating students could just fall through the institutional cracks, never to be heard from again.

When students are ready to choose a major they can approach a teacher in class, talk to other students or go to the Career Planning Office to take a battery of self-paced aptitude tests. First-year students have a career exploratory class that sends out students to interview faculty in different departments about their fields. In most cases, the students must initiate action. The same is true if they wish to change their major. They must walk to the department office to sign out of the old major and to another office to get signed into the new one. In contrast, EOP students have their own specific advisers.

All students who have a complaint to make about affirmative action can see the campus officer or the Ombudsman. This information can be found in the Schedule of Classes, the Student Handbook, or the General Catalog. Traditional students however, must take the time to read it. If they need help they must go to an department adviser, Counseling Services, or turn to other students.

Social life on the campus is a mixed experience. Since SJSU is a commuter college, most of the students do not live at school. The students who live close by will patronize the campus pub or the local night spots

downtown. Students can also read the flyers posted around the Student Union or read about events advertised in the Spartan Daily, a campus newspaper. All official student organizations are registered with the Students Activities Office located on campus. If students are interested in a specific type of club, they could contact this office to get more information about joining. In addition, the kiosks on campus have current events listed on the main menu making it more accessible to all students on campus.

AISES is an exception to the rule. The Colleges of Science and Engineering receive a roster list, compiled by the Office of Admissions and Records, of all potential Native American students who have indicated an interest in these fields that are in transit to the university. These students are sent a personal welcoming letter and a special invitation to join AISES. While the primary goal of AISES is to assist Native American students in their career development at SJSU, the club also helps new Native American students to be socially integrated with the university.

Before graduating the students must initiate filing the paperwork a year before their propose graduation date. They can find this information in the Schedule of Classes or at the Office of Admissions and Records. They must arrange to have their General Education list signed off by the Assessment Center. In addition, they must see their academic advisor to have the major and minor forms signed. These papers are returned to the Office of

Admissions and Records for final review and confirmation that the students have fulfilled university requirements. Students must initiate this process by themselves. In this respect, whether the student is traditional or non-traditional, they are treated alike. Two Native American students, Alan and Penny, were interviewed providing some insights into their personal experiences in this bureaucratic maze.

Alan and Penny both had previous experience in higher education. Alan transferred to SJSU from University of California (UC) at Berkeley and Penny transferred from Cañada Community College. Gaining entrance into SJSU was just a matter of getting information, filling out the paperwork and being processed by the university as a matriculated student.

Alan came to SJSU in person and was able to find the Office of Admissions and Records using a campus map. He filled out the required forms and used a current copy of the Schedule of Classes in order to find the location of the Financial Aid Office to fill out an application. He received orientation information in the mail but elected not to attend. When he was ready to register, he followed the directions of TOUCH-SJSU from the printed material that was sent to him.

Penny already had a catalog from the school and called to have an application sent to her. She never received any information regarding

orientation. She had heard from a friend that the fee was \$70.00¹ and elected not to go. Penny registered for her classes by standing in line because TOUCH-SJSU was not available yet for that semester. In addition, she filled out an application for financial aid that she had read about in the Schedule of Classes.

Adjustment to a new campus environment includes getting academic information from department majors as well as finding out about student activities. Students often find over several semesters that perhaps they selected the wrong major and want to change it; they may just need help planning their program or they encounter problems in registering for those classes that are required, but are heavily impacted. Students must initiate action, visit a major department, and choose an adviser. Joining AISES points to a different kind of experience at SJSU.

Alan had received information in the mail regarding AISES from a faculty member. As mentioned earlier, AISES targets new Native American students in the fields of science and engineering that are incoming to SJSU. Alan contacted his advisor regarding his major. The teacher sent him to his major department for guidelines. In turn, the major department suggested he go over to the Assessment Center about upper General Education requirements. He

¹The university has recently reduced the orientation fee from \$70.00 to \$30.00.

noticed flyers posted all over the campus regarding social events but did not have time from his studies to attend or meet new friends.

Alan went to the EOP adviser for help and guidance about delaying graduation to take additional classes in business administration. He was interested in changing his major when he enters graduate school and wanted to be academically prepared. When he needed help with his undergraduate program, he went to the Office of Admissions and Records first for directions, then to the General Education advisers in the Assessment Center and finally, his departmental adviser. He knew where the Affirmative Action Office was located through talking with an EOP adviser but had no occasion to use their services.

Graduation is the pinnacle in a student's academic career. It represents a personal achievement and empowers students to continue in higher education. For this process, students must initiate action, get the appropriate forms signed and potentially make a transition to the new school.

Alan said he read in the Schedule of Classes when the appropriate time to apply for graduation and how to do it. He went to the Office of Admissions and Records to obtain the proper forms. He got his General Education requirements list signed off and went to his major department to sign off his major. He requested his current transcript and got the forms from the Office of Admissions and Records to apply for a graduate program at the University of

Madison in Wisconsin.

Penny had parallel experiences. She went to talk to the chairperson of her technical program for advisement and program requirements. Since SJSU was one of a few schools on the West coast at that time who offered this program, she was already familiar with the department's location. Like Alan, she had received a blanket invitation to join AISES, but acted on it only after she changed her major to a science field and talked to the faculty adviser about it.

Penny first went to her department regarding their curriculum and to get the appropriate forms for changing her major. Next, she went to her old department and signed herself out and returned all forms to the Office of Admissions and Records. Similar to Alan, she was familiar with the Affirmative Action Office through talking with an EOP adviser when she first entered the university.

Penny needed help with a biology statistics class as a requirement for graduation. This class was only offered one semester a year. First, she went to talk about her circumstances to the teacher who referred her to a department adviser. This person would help her petition for a priority class for graduation.

Penny went to the Office of Admissions and Records and got the major and minor forms and then took them to her departmental adviser to sign. She also got her General Education requirements list signed. She then took them

back to the Office of Admissions and Records for confirmation. In the meantime, she sent away for information regarding school guidelines about medical schools in different states.

The experiences as told by Alan and Penny show that although much of their information came from the EOP office and their major departmental advisers, they knew the culture of academia well enough to manipulate the system. AISES gave them an immediate source of help from other students about the way things are done at SJSU. The university assumes that the students will use the information from the Schedule of Classes and seek more in depth information from the various departments, advisers, faculty members as well as other students.

Summary

SJSU provides a wide range of disciplines and majors giving students many choices and paths to achieve their goals. SJSU also uses outreach recruiters to provide non-traditional students a chance to qualify for higher education by negotiating academic fit and stimulating motivation.

Power for student's program approval or change is decentralized and divided between the major department adviser, the Assessment Center, and the Office of Admissions and Records. One advantage of this arrangement is that it serves literally tens of thousands of students at SJSU rapidly. In such a large bureaucratic institution, with great redundancy, an element of the organization

could fail and the university would go on functioning. Unfortunately this institutional robustness is accompanied by impersonality and is based on the assumption of knowledge that students know how to function in the culture of bureaucracy. This contrasts sharply with the social structure and interpersonal assumptions of D-Q University.

D-Q University

D-Q University (D-Q) is in a rural setting approximately nine miles west of the city of Davis. Situated on 643 acres of open space, the country atmosphere is very quiet and peaceful. Formerly the site of a Strategic Air Command military communication base, the buildings are set in an inverted "L" (Office of Admissions and Records, n.d. p.1). The main building includes the administration, faculty offices, the library, and the classrooms. Directly behind this building are two student dormitories, one for males and one for females. Rooms are assigned on a first-come, first-serve basis and can house approximately 120 students. Not all students live on the campus, as many are day commuters. Directly across from the dormitories is the dining hall building. Behind this building is a vacant field where all campus sport activities take place. The buildings have retained their wood-like structure which is old and badly in need of paint. Most rooms lack carpets, window curtains, decor, and color. Nevertheless, D-Q does have an extensive library containing three collections: Native American, Chicano and materials in humanities, social and

natural science. A learning resource center with MacIntosh and other Apple computers and software is available for student and faculty use. Most important, D-Q offers "quality, personalized instruction and a culturally supportive environment for those Native Americans wishing to learn" (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 1).

The college derives its name from two important figures from Native American history. The "D" stands for Deganawedah, a folk hero and great peacemaker whose inspiration led to the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy. The "Q" represents Quetzalcoatl, an Aztec god who symbolized the attributes of wisdom and self-discipline (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 1). In 1970, the land where D-Q now stands was incorporated as a college for Indians and Chicanos. Title was turned over by the U.S. government to the D-Q trustees (California Department of Education, 1991). Today, D-Q is one of 29 tribally controlled colleges across the country and they are a member of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium.

The D-Q main campus in Davis also has university affiliate sites in Ukiah and Redding in northern California and in Santa Ynez, Bishop and San Jacinto in southern California. An average of 500 students are enrolled in these combined sites, with an ethnic composition of 75% Native American, 23% Chicano, and 2% African American and Euro-American. Students are able to study a complete array of courses in which they may earn an Associate of Arts

or Science degree or complete certificate programs. Opportunities such as the employment preparation outreach programs are conducted at the affiliate sites, located on or near the reservations (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992).

In the school year of 1993-4, D-Q had 499 students enrolled. Fifty-nine of those students graduated. The degree or certificate awarded were: 13 Associate of Arts degree, 11 adult basic skills or General Education degree, 15 nursing certificates, 13 computer literacy certificates, and 7 heavy equipment certificates.

As an educational institution, D-Q is a tribally controlled Indian community college and the only school of its kind in the state of California. Its goals are

to provide programs of academic excellence which have cultural significance to indigenous community needs. The educational goals encourage the continued growth of the cultural heritage of each student. The University's programs teach students to become agents of change . . . in these roles . . . for the continued growth of indigenous communities. (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 24)

The school reinforces students' knowledge through a program of General Education which synthesizes knowledge of traditional cultures with the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences as well as programs which offer majors in indigenous studies and technical vocational courses (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992). In short, the purpose of D-Q is to allow Native American students to discover self-identity through awareness of

their cultural heritage as well as becoming educationally prepared for service in the community. One administrator was interviewed regarding the functions of the organization. He addressed student networking, student learning in a culture-based curriculum, and student ability to change class programs.

The prime function of D-Q is to provide academic programs for Native American students that not only build their self-esteem but help them gain the knowledge to aid Native American people on the reservation or in the rural community. Thus, the passing on of knowledge and instruction becomes a bridge between the educated Indian and the tribal elders on the reservation and this knowledge has direct application toward effectively managing tribal resources. A culture-based curriculum is the heart of D-Q's learning structure. The curriculum is constructed under the umbrella of pan-Indianism rather than as an individually tribally based heritage. For example, Indianness is viewed as one category, not many. D-Q's message is that as Indians, all are unique yet have commonality. In this way, the college is constructing an identity rather than reflecting an identity which makes the community of students more harmonious.

Classroom instruction emphasizes indigenous cultures and values and academic learning is presented from a Native American point of view. Students are taught about their cultures at the same time they learn math, history and English composition. In addition, programs are available for

students to develop skills toward preserving Native American cultural heritage. In the Fine Arts Program, for example, courses in beadwork, shellfish jewelry, basketry, music, and dance as well as techniques in Native American artistic expression are offered. Next, community development courses are offered to students on the weekends as part of an ongoing relationship between D-Q and certain affiliate site communities (i.e., reservation people have input on the courses offered) that train students about current reservation needs.

Summer programs are designed to develop students interest in energy-related fields of study such as science, engineering, or math. One such program is called Project Star. Project Star is an acronym for Summer and Transfer Achievement Readiness. This program is funded by the U.S. Department of Energy whose purpose is to encourage underrepresented minority students to pursue a career in science, math or engineering. They offer the D-Q students meaningful educational summer work experiences in a federal science laboratory (Office of Admissions and Records, n.d.).

California state education mandates the guidelines for all General Education classes and major requirements needed in order to transfer credits to a 4-year university program. At D-Q, faculty members control and validate completion of students' course of study. Some flexibility to make changes in core requirements exists, but this action must be approved by the Vice-President of Academic Affairs. Thus, students and faculty members work

together toward an acceptable program that will increase student chances of academic achievement.

According to the administration, prospective Native American students may seek out and choose to enroll at D-Q for several reasons. For example, they may want to learn more about their family's cultural heritage, or they are more interested in a learning environment with other Native American students. As noted earlier, two students enacted these generalizations. Prospective students may enroll at D-Q with the expectation that their education will train them for more higher education or that they will develop their job skills.

Educational institutions that are relatively small in size can provide access to various kinds of information that help students adjust to college life more easily. They can facilitate camaraderie with other students like themselves and with the faculty. Taking a closer look at the flow of information at D-Q, one might expect a more personal approach. To shed some light on the issue, an administrator and two faculty members were interviewed. Three areas of importance emerged.

D-Q is classified as a pan-Indian school and that role shapes recruitment. Entrance and enrollment to the college can occur by student initiative recruitment, such as a high school outreach program, or through word of mouth. Information about D-Q and schools like it are passed intertribally. Second, Native American students learn more about the campus by choosing a

plan of study after developing a personal relationship with someone special in the faculty and interacting socially with other students. Third, D-Q is primarily local although it accepts prospective Native American students from all parts of California as well as from Nevada. Their emphasis is on the former because no other educational institution in the state is geared specifically for California Indian culture. Around the local area, the D-Q recruiter gives presentations at the high schools and supplies them with printed material as part of an outreach program for prospective Native American students. He also targets Native American students who are of college age and who already have their high school or General Education diploma and are potentially interested in attending D-Q. This is essential as the federal government requires D-Q to maintain a 51% enrollment of Native Americans in order for the attending students to receive federal aid.

The activities of the school are designed to create a learning community. Students who have already applied and those who are returning meet for mandatory orientation for one week before the beginning of the semester. No fee is connected with these meetings. The President of D-Q gives a speech about the school and covers such topics as why they should get an education, how the curriculum is set up to emphasize their culture, and what the rules are. It is at this time that new students register, take a tour of the campus, receive a Student Handbook of procedures (core requirements or when to see an

adviser). In addition, they take placement tests such as basic English, math, and science to reveal their skill levels. One course is required for all new entering students called Cultural Survival Skills for College Life. The purpose is to

introduce students to the history and development of the university, its goals and expectations. Students will review the student code of conduct and student handbook, all areas of academic policies and student support services. In addition, seminars will focus on motivation, preventive health including alcohol and drug abuse and nutrition . . . Students will learn techniques for proper time management, library use, lecture note writing and team study. (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 79)

Students also receive information about how to locate an Affirmative Action Officer if they need one and talk to the Financial Aid Officer to see if they might qualify for federal aid. The faculty wear many hats as advisers and counselors. They meet with the students during this first week to discuss test results.

After the students get settled in the dormitories, the faculty adviser talks to the students about different programs associated with specific goals. They tell them more in detail what the college has to offer and how it applies to them. Together, they decide on a plan of study that will fulfill these goals. A faculty adviser is available for each of the nine majors offered in the curriculum. Most students concentrate on fulfilling their General Education classes first to see how they do before they select a major. Since these classes are the bulk of their academic program, changing a major is rare. Generally, major classes at

D-Q are at the introductory level and are articulated for transfer to a 4-year university or state college system. Some students just want to get an Associate of Arts or Science degree, a General Education degree, or a certificate in computer science. Nevertheless, each faculty advisor has a select group of students in which they chart their progress and give them guidance on a regular basis.

Faculty advisers are also mentors. Mentors are people who advise but also act as friends and confidantes. This program is designed to pair students with other peers that share the same area of interest or with compatible faculty. The students have input on the selection of their mentors, whether teachers or other students.

As school counselors, faculty advise students who attend D-Q that need college preparatory classes before they can sign up for a full load. Many students do not have needed skills because they have not graduated from high school. The adviser-counselor then devises an individual academic curriculum to help them each step of the way. In addition, students may come from dysfunctional families and require psychological help. Counseling Services such as Drug and Alcohol Abuse and Family Information Programs are brought to the school by outside agencies. Other avenues of socialization include the use of the sweat lodge, or "talking circles" (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 15) where young women will sit with elder women.

Social activity on the main campus is limited. Compared with other community colleges, D-Q offers little variety. The main problem is resources. Information about any proposed cultural events is handled through Student Services. Many powwows are held at various times during the year, for example, at graduation. An AISES club chapter exists if one is majoring in science or engineering. Physical education activities such as baseball, basketball, or intramural sports with other schools offer diversion, as do scheduled field trips. Finally, student socializing means just getting together in the dining hall, watching television, or taking a walk. Seven months later, however, due to an administration change, sport activities were cut to the bone and students, for the most part, had to invent their own social activities.

The campus has no swimming pool, tennis court, hamburger shop, or Student Union where students can just socialize. It is nine miles to the nearest grocery store and even farther to the nearest movie house. Students have to hitch hike or ride a bus for 30 minutes. Campus life for Native American students at D-Q is like living on the reservation and most are familiar with that. As a consequence of this type of environment, one faculty member explained, "Many students want to party, get drunk and get into trouble with their friends." Liquor is strictly prohibited on the campus. The reservation-type environment is isolated and restricted.

Graduation at D-Q is a joyous occasion for everyone on campus. The

faculty advisor signs the recommendation form when a student's progress chart is completed. The students must take the initiative to contact the Office of Admissions and Records to fill out an application. The entire staff works together to make the students departure an easy one. Information in the form of school catalogs is available on all major universities in the library. In addition, recruitment staff from other institutions like Sacramento State, UC Davis and Humboldt State visit the school in hopes of enticing the students to enroll.

The key players in each student's academic life are the faculty adviser-counselor, the Vice-President of Academic Affairs, and other students. The school's small size suggests a family environment. Information flows readily among these few individuals but this may not be an accurate assessment. Two Native American students, Larry and Amy, were interviewed providing some insights into their personal experiences.

Larry decided to enroll at D-Q after the orientation week was under way and did not actually register until the first day of classes. One faculty adviser helped him fill out the Admission and Registration forms and introduced him to the staff, the Financial Aid Officer and was given information on how to contact an Affirmative Action Officer if he had a complaint.

Larry met his faculty advisor at the beginning of his first semester and he had meetings with him on a regular basis. He said that D-Q does not have

many majors to choose from but then most students get a General Education degree and transfer to another school. Since he selected the major of business and computer science, the major contained only introductory courses and any additional classes would have to be taken at a 4-year university. He said that the faculty adviser handles almost any problem that may arise academically or emotionally. He said that there were few social activities on campus. The AISES chapter is growing and they are trying to form a bridge with the affiliate sites so that students with common interest can get together via the computer to talk on the weekends.

In contrast, Amy attended the orientation meetings and filled out Admissions and Registration forms and took a placement test. She said that they showed her around the campus and introduced her to everyone, i.e., faculty, Financial Aid Officer, and the President. Also, she received information on how to locate the Affirmative Action Officer. She said that orientation was mandatory for all new and returning students so that they could be informed of any changes in the rules and regulations, as well as meeting the different members of the staff.

Amy has had the same faculty adviser since she started at D-Q a year ago. She says they help the students decide on a major if students know what they want to do. She agrees with Larry that help is everywhere because D-Q is such a small school. Amy is dismayed at the lack of social activities on

campus. She is a member of AISES and one time she took a field trip into town to the Chamber of Commerce and met the local and county officials. She wishes there were more to do.

After my first visit, the administration changed and the budget was cut to the bone. As a result, many students left the college. My second visit to D-Q took place in January 1995. The college looked deserted, only a few cars were in the parking lot. As I approached the administration building, I saw only a handful of students scurrying across the gravel walkway into the dormitories. I walked through the main door toward the President's office. In the course of speaking with him, he informed me that one of the participants of this study was no longer attending D-Q and declined to give a reason. He then escorted me down the hallway to the faculty offices. As I was walking, I became suddenly aware of the dark, quiet atmosphere. As we crossed the Sun Room, I observed several teachers having their lunch huddled around a wood burning pot belly stove. All the lights were out. Their images were barely visible by the daylight streaming through an opened door. No students were anywhere to be seen.

I was able to talk to Larry and Amy to clarify some information they had given me earlier. At this time, all recreation such as the softball and the basketball teams, had been cut. AISES was the only extracurricular activity outside of the annual powwows. Larry appeared to be very quiet and reserved

and only spoke when the faculty member prompted him. He gave his views on the athletic cuts but in the course of it, he seemed very dispirited.

Amy appeared melancholy when she spoke of the students unrest and upheaval over the organizational change. She said that many students had broken the campus rules and consequently, they were asked to leave the school. Others left voluntarily.

Since Larry was going to graduate in May 1995, he had already begun filling out forms with his adviser. He said he still had to get a copy of his transcript. I asked him if he intended to transfer to Sacramento State as he had once planned and he said no. He was just interested in getting a job now. He did mention, however, that recruiters had come to the school with materials to entice the prospective graduates to transfer to their schools.

Amy, on the other hand, said that once the faculty adviser notifies the students that their progress chart is complete, he or she instructs the students to begin filling out the forms and then to return them to the Office of Admissions and Records. From her viewpoint, no information was available on campus on how to get into other schools. She did confirm, however, that recruiters do come down from universities in the area with materials for prospective students.

This concluded my second visit and conversations with Larry and Amy. In retrospect, my second visit gave me a rare insight to how this unfortunate school experience had affected these students' lives so personally and

illustrates the vulnerability of a small school when one element of the structure changes.

I obtained a copy of the General Catalog and found various sources of information in it that are covered during the orientation week. In each instance, the information is quite general and consistently the General Catalog refers the students to check their Student Handbook for more details. The booklet contains three categories of information: academic policies and procedures, student services, and requirements for all the majors and certification programs. Some of the academic policies are the grading system, attendance policy and honors. Students receive grade marks of "Superior, Pass, Credit/no credit, Incomplete and No grade" (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 26) instead of the traditional letter grades and are then converted into a range of grade points. The attendance policy says that students who miss three consecutive classes during the semester will be withdrawn by the administration from these classes. Finally, students carrying 12 units or more who receive a Grade Point Average (GPA) of 3.4 or better will be on the President's List (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992). These policies are important because D-Q has established large margins in which students of different learning abilities can excel and at the same time expects students to take responsibility for their own education.

Two services stand out as unique for the way things are done at D-Q

that reflects the quality of the environment. The first service is student housing.

The General Catalog gives the following description:

All students living on campus are required to sign a housing contract which outlines student responsibilities. Dorm maintenance is administered by the student residents as a whole. Food services are available to those students living on campus from Monday through Friday . . . special arrangements are made for students remaining on campus during the weekends. On-campus housing rules are set forth in the Student Handbook which is made available during orientation week. Although the exterior of the University maintains its original appearance, the D-Q community does its utmost to create a warm atmosphere. (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 17)

This information is important to students because it says that housing or living arrangements are a warm, friendly, family affair for interpersonal friendships. Everyone helps each other and students are closely knit. As in a family home, food services are limited to those who live there and are available at specific times. Special arrangements are made for the weekends, which means students cooking and caring for other students, as Jill and Larry described (to be discussed in chapter 5). Thus, students share camaraderie and intimacy with other Native Americans in a similar fashion to their family support network.

The second service is counseling, which is divided into academic counseling and personal counseling. The latter deals with those students that are experiencing a crisis or indecision on a personal level. D-Q offers counseling techniques or alternatives that reflect the cultural background of the

students and is important in supporting Native American values. In this way, students are helped beyond the immediate problem by reinforcing their self-esteem and pride making them whole again. This personal approach can be very meaningful to students when all doors appear to be closed and they are alone (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992).

Summary

Power for student's program approval or change is controlled by the faculty adviser member and the Vice-President of Academic Affairs. The advantage is that information is more accessible, based on personal and individualized relationships between the students and the staff. The parts are integrated into a tightly interdependent whole. If one element of the organization fails, the consequences are magnified. The school may become dysfunctional and each student is directly effected by the change.

Comparisons

In comparing the institutional structures of SJSU and D-Q, two significant differences emerge: the size and ethnic composition of the student population. First, the student population at SJSU is 30,000 compared to D-Q which has only a mere 100 students on the main campus site. Second, SJSU is a 4-year urban university and is designed for educating many different ethnic students with diverse interests and goals. D-Q, on the other hand, represents a 2-year pan-Indian community college and is designed for educating primarily Native

American students.

The goals and objectives of SJSU and D-Q are similar. The overarching theme of this pattern is, educating citizens from the community to fill the needs of the people and thus, the community as a whole progresses. According to the administrator's rhetoric, the institutional goal of SJSU is to educate citizens to fill the needs in the workplace whether in business, the arts, or in the industrial sector. Paralleling this idea, the goal of D-Q is to provide academic programs specifically for Native Americans which are culturally connected to the growth of indigenous communities. Moreover, these programs emphasize the student's self-identity with their cultural heritage and provide an opportunity for the students to network with Native American people. Through application, the students use their knowledge and skill toward solving current problems on the reservations or in rural communities.

In order to educate citizens from the community and to increase non-traditional student interest in attending college, both universities have developed a series of outreach programs which mainly target local high school students. In addition, each school has developed summer programs aimed at those prospective students interested in math and science.

Unlike SJSU, D-Q offers Native American students a culture-based curriculum. Classroom instruction emphasizes indigenous cultures and values. Academic learning in courses such as history, reading, writing, and math are

only taught parallel to learning about the student's culture, but also taught from the Indian's point of view. To illustrate, one D-Q student reflected upon the value of his history class. First, the material used in the class supported his personal view of the way the dominant society used federal law to steal Indian land and consequently, exploited the earth's natural resources. Second, the material described the impact on Indian people from their point of view. Thus, the student could understand and relate to the emotional and intellectual content.

Since D-Q is a 2-year community college, some students select an academic program that will ensure them entrance into a 4-year university, according to one faculty member. Some students may select a major but the majority will simply complete General Education requirements. As at SJSU, the D-Q faculty adviser recommends to the students a major study plan as well as General Education classes. Any change in core classes must be approved by the Vice-President in charge of Academic Affairs whose functional capacity runs parallel to the General Education Assessment Center at SJSU. Thus, the students and faculty members work together on a more personable basis toward an acceptable program that will give the students the best opportunity for academic achievement.

Most important, flexibility is built into the system at SJSU, so that General Education assessment and major department advisers can work with

students to achieve alternate solutions on required classes when a problem arises, as stated in the school's rhetoric. Institutional flexibility simply means that advisers can change classes because no class is offered or are able to accommodate changing circumstances because this is done at the administrative level. It does not mean individual flexibility in which individuals are free to select the things that are their personal and cultural preferences. Flexibility in the system or the lack of it, can be defined in terms of student input and interest in changing or adding new classes to the school's curriculum. At SJSU, one Native American student enrolled in a Western philosophy class as a General Education requirement and found it boring. He said that the curriculum at this school was too general and had no flexibility. His suggestion was that the university should offer a course in Native American tribal philosophy as an alternative so that other students taking the course could also benefit by increasing their understanding of Native Americans.

In the example above, the student said that even though the class in question was a requirement, there still should have been greater flexibility to choose, but individual flexibility is difficult to implement. The organization lacks the resources to offer the cultural richness so that individuals can choose according to their individual preferences. In essence then, personal advising gives the illusion of empowerment. It does not reflect individual choices but is designed to accommodate the needs of mass education.

The most important structural difference that emerges between SJSU and D-Q is cultural impact on the curriculum. While a culture-based curriculum at D-Q combines academics such as history, writing, and math with culturally relevant material, there is a limit to the degree to which SJSU will accommodate a culturally tailored curriculum. It serves too diverse a population. So cultural accommodation has to be largely extracurricular. D-Q is primarily a General Education institution offering few major classes and is not equipped for extensive majors outside of federal programs. This streamlined curriculum gives them greater freedom and the ability to emphasize general esteem-building programs rather than the content building education seen at SJSU. If a SJSU student wants to major in physics certain courses must be taken. Between the major and General Education courses, little room exists for tailoring individual preferences.

Over the past 20 years the literature on student departure from college has produced notable works such as Feldman and Newcomb (1973) and Astin (1977). Based on Astin's extensive studies on student attrition in colleges and universities in the U.S. and other major works, V. Tinto (1987) developed a theoretical model on why students choose to leave college. As an educator and researcher, his model of institutional departure serves as the basis for current research in higher education.

The heart of Tinto's model says that successful college students are well

integrated into the academic and social system of the campus and its environment. He defines academic integration as academic performance and interactions with staff and faculty. He defines social integration as participation in extracurricular activities such as clubs and competitive team sports. The more committed the school and the students are toward completion, the more likely the students will stay. When an individual is academically and socially integrated, the result is a higher degree of commitment which in turn influences retention.

Many pathways allow new students in the college community to become involved in the academic and social systems of the institution. For the Native American students attending SJSU and D-Q, the patterns of interaction within the college environment consists of four component parts (see Hendershott, Wright and Henderson, 1992).

1. There are different student services available on campus if the students knows where to look or who to contact. This information must be easily accessible to all students.
2. Extracurricular activities in the form of recreational sports, clubs or helping the community can open the door to meeting other students and the opportunity to work together toward a common goal.
3. The students may evaluate the classroom as a satisfying learning environment, one in which they want to attend. Thus, if the students

are comfortable or uncomfortable with any one of these components, the impact would affect his or her commitment to stay in college and ultimately, toward higher educational aspirations (to be explored in chapter 6).

4. Developing friendships with other students and faculty both in and out of the classroom can be rewarding. Sometimes, identity can affect social interactions in a negative way creating isolation or conflict (to be explored in chapter 6).

Again, the general student population at SJSU is considerably larger than at D-Q and consequently, the enrollment process is impersonal and bureaucratic. In order to have the best chance of success in college they must find and connect to some source of academic support that is already established on campus. One vital source for newly enrolled Native American students is the AISES club. To illustrate the point, Alan and Penny both transferred into SJSU from other institutions and had prior knowledge of the academic culture and used AISES to establish a social support group.

In contrast, all new or returning D-Q students receive institutionalized academic support upon entering the school. Orientation week marks the beginning of their support. Larry and Amy had no prior experience in college life to guide them but the personal attention they received once school began, they said, made them feel comfortable. At D-Q, the students during orientation

week personally meet the President of the school, the faculty, and staff which includes the Financial Aid Officer and receive specific information on how to locate the Affirmative Action Officer in town. In addition, they are informed of the school's policies and procedures. Conversely, SJSU students would have to read pages of policies and procedures in the back of the SJSU General Catalog to get the same type of information. D-Q students also receive some initial advising, registration, and placement tests. They can accomplish in a week what SJSU students would take weeks or months to seek out. In addition, SJSU students come in contact with many faculty members and perhaps a handful of the staff, but may never come in contact with the President in the 4 years they plan to attend.

Differences between SJSU and D-Q can be found in choosing a major or changing majors. SJSU students can talk to faculty members and other students regarding their career interests. In addition, the Career Planning Office can be a positive resource in fields that students may not be familiar with or have an aptitude for. If students wish to change their major, they must contact their current major department to get signed out and then contact the new major department to be accepted. Moreover, they will need a list of the new department's requirements for course work. The emphasis at this school is strictly academic.

However, at D-Q, the major classes serve as merely an introduction,

thus there is no extensive coursework in any given field and greater emphasis is on completing General Education classes. The purpose is to build students' identity and self-esteem while helping them to develop good work habits. In this way, students armed with knowledge and skills are ready to meet the challenges they will be faced with when transferring to a 4-year institution. The importance of this difference is that SJSU takes a bureaucratic approach to changing majors because they are governed by rules while D-Q, who does not really have majors, are dealing with the development of people thus, taking a more interpersonal approach.

Available sources exist all over the campus to get help at SJSU. For example, students can talk to faculty members or seek out the Counseling Services or simply just talk to other students, getting their ideas on the matter. In 1985, SJSU developed the Student and Faculty Mentoring Programs. Students learn about these programs by one of several ways: outreach programs send out information to all transfers and first time freshman, orientation (e.g., Student Handbook), and through talking with other students on campus. Although the programs are open to everyone, it is the outreach students that are encouraged to participate. The purposes of the programs are twofold: to "provide new students with friendship, advice and a comforting ear" (Office of Student Affairs, 1995, p. 49) and to match students and faculty members on the basis of shared interest in a particular discipline. Thus,

culturally diverse students who find university life a little overwhelming at times can join one of these programs.

In contrast, D-Q provides Counseling Services as part of the faculty adviser-counselor role. The counselor coordinates students in need with various Preventive Abuse Programs available on campus that are drug or alcohol related or psychosocial. D-Q also adopts culturally based interventions. These avenues of socialization are the sweat lodge or "talking circles" (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 15) in which Native American students can seek help from the elders with their psychological problems. Similar to SJSU's Mentoring Programs, D-Q developed a Student Faculty Mentoring program in 1995. Some Native American students are not comfortable talking about their personal problems with their assigned adviser, so the students have the option of selecting a mentor, which can either be a teacher or a particular student.

One of the major differences between SJSU and D-Q is the social life in terms of available activities on the campus. At SJSU, socialization between students usually takes place at the Student Union, during after hours at the campus pub, or at the local night spot downtown. The Spartan Daily highlights social activities on campus while miscellaneous flyers are posted around the school grounds regarding future events. In addition, the students can operate the kiosks around the campus which carries a list of current events. In the area of recreation, the university has an enormous Event Center where various sport

programs take place; one floor level of the building is devoted to athletic workout equipment and across the street is the aquatic center. Finally, there are numerous leisure or specialty clubs students can join. One in particular is the AISES club.

AISES

The AISES club serves two functions: academic and social. The first function of the club is to provide group support for new Native American students on campus in order to make them become more integrated into the university and to provide them with information about scholarships and federal government programs. To accomplish this goal, the club actively recruits all Native American students in science and engineering who are in transit to the university. They also begin recruiting continuing students on campus approximately one month after school opens.

The second function of the club is that Native American students can meet other Native American students as well as sharing cultural activities together, e.g., powwows and barbecues. Penny says that getting together with other Native American students is one way to share personal aspects of her life as well as her cultural heritage. Both Alan and John do not actively socialize outside of class, so AISES provides them with an outlet for meeting other Native American students and to learn of special work programs available to them, that they would not otherwise know about. Finally, all AISES members

attend the yearly National Conference.

In contrast, the social activity at D-Q consists of various powwows held at certain intervals of the year such as during the spring and winter semesters and at graduation. In addition, there are physical activities such as baseball, basketball, intramural sports and finally, field trips. As noted earlier, physical activities were cut as a result of organizational changes that took place in the latter part of 1994. Unlike SJSU, there is no Student Union, tennis courts, or swimming pool. Two student organizations operate on campus, one of which is a newly formed chapter of AISES. The club activities include visiting local businesses, linking other D-Q sites so students of other AISES chapters can get to know each other, and attending the yearly National Conference. Since AISES is directed toward those students majoring in science and engineering, the socialization process among most students on campus means just getting together in the dining hall, watching TV, or just taking a walk.

There are significant differences between the AISES chapter at D-Q and at SJSU. Unlike SJSU, other extracurricular activities at D-Q connect the Native American students to their community. A Drug and Alcoholic Recovery Center is designed to encourage a sober living environment among Indians in the local area. Amy says she feels that her work in this center provides her with a meaningful tie to her Indian culture. AISES is a primary source of cultural identification at SJSU.

In a large school a venue for social relationships is critical, otherwise students do not easily come in contact with each other on a daily basis. While group learning in the classroom opens the door to social interactions between students of different ethnic background, sometimes the students will carry that friendship outside of the classroom. This does not always happen. AISES provides an opportunity for socialization.

Summary

The institutional structures had an impact on student perceptions and subsequent actions. At SJSU, two students are continuing their work as undergraduates. The other two have since graduated and one has entered graduate school in the Midwest and the other has entered a school for pre-med training.

On my first visit to D-Q in March 1994, the four Native American students who participated in this study had plans for college transfer upon graduation. On my second visit in January 1995, administrative changes had taken their toll. Two students were still continuing their education. One student departed from the school for an unknown reason. Another student had one unit remaining to complete requirements for an Associate of Arts degree and at this time, he was more interested in getting a job after graduation than continuing his education at a 4-year university.

Needless to say, the stability of the campus is an all important factor that

can affect whether or not the student is committed to stay in college and will continue on their pathway. SJSU and D-Q are very different educational institutions. First, because SJSU has a large student population, the flow of information improves and increases their ability to serve tens of thousands of students, but if one element of the organization is eliminated, little or no impact is felt by the students. With so many administrators, faculty, and staff required to operate the school on an efficient basis, the future of many students depends on the school to actualize their efficiency. However, the impersonality most students experience and the endless pushing of paperwork required to run the school, this institution reflects an environment that is very bureaucratic and unresponsive.

As a result of the administration change in 1994, many students left the school on a voluntary and involuntary basis. The continuation of all physical activities, including intramural sports, had been cut. Larry and Amy give us some insight into the situation. Larry says that he participated in many different sports such as basketball and softball during off school hours and that because sports were such a major part of his social life on campus, he perceived their sudden cancellation as an unfulfilled need. Now he has nothing to fill that void. Amy said that since the administration change, there is nothing to do on campus. She says she feels lonely and lost now that all the dedicated students have gone.

In contrast, decentralization of power at D-Q improves the flow of information between a minimum of people representing administration, faculty, and staff. For instance, one employee wears many hats in order to provide a personalized family-style environment. This cozy atmosphere provides a warm, caring and nurturing feeling between the faculty and the students. The Mentoring Program supports the notion that teachers or students care enough to help other students with their personal problems so that these problems do not become a hang-up to school performance. In turn, the students begin to build their self-esteem. With such a small institutional structure, if one element of the organization changes, the whole system can be effected. Between my first and second visit, the students were in disarray, confused and in a state of chaos. The Native American students and faculty that I talked to conveyed the notion that the students felt betrayed and mistrusted. The irony of this situation is that what makes D-Q strong also makes it weak. When intimacy works involving students it can motivate them, but when it does not work it leaves an emotional vacuum that would not be as devastating in a larger, more bureaucratic institution.

In the next chapter, four Native American students talk about their academic and social experiences at SJSU. SJSU is a 4-year urban, public university located in the hub of the downtown area of San Jose. It is a large bureaucratic institution that supports a very diverse, multicultural student

population. SJSU represents an urban milieu that embraces an important setting in which California's Native Americans live and learn.

Chapter 4

Native American Students at San Jose State University

Four Native American students, both men and women, were interviewed at San Jose State University (SJSU) from the Karok, Commanche, Caddo, and Makah tribes. Their degree of ethnicity is not more than 50% nor less than 25%. They range in age from 18 to 30 years old. They are all students in Science and Engineering. Two of these students are the first generation in their families to attend college. Two students are employed; one works outside the university and one within. Collectively, they are single, enrolled full time and commute to and from school. The four Native American students interviewed at SJSU were Marilyn, Alan, Penny and John.

The themes derived from the data as expressed by the Native American students can be divided into five areas. First, entry into college would not have taken place if the students did not have strong family support and feel academically fit for the challenges ahead. Second, the classroom experience is the heart of getting an education. Learning styles are part of this experience. Inherent in this discussion are potential cultural conflicts over content and style. The students' evaluations of this experience illuminate their educational self-perception. Third, Native American students socialization on campus with other students can take place in or out of the classroom. These social interactions are an integral part of campus life and build value within the person that others

will find them acceptable. In the classroom, group learning augments friendships between students of different ethnic background to the extent that they may carry those friendships outside the classroom. In the larger setting, extracurricular activities such as the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) club help Indian students connect with other Indian students on campus and to cooperate in activities together. Fourth, SJSU is a school where cultural awareness is promoted among all students because diversity is so great on this campus. Fifth, the students define their self-perception through the classroom experience. Increased positive self-perception leads these Native American students to have higher educational aspirations.

Coming to SJSU

Entry into higher education is related to family interactions in complex ways. Two of the students selected SJSU because they had relatives living in the San Jose area with whom they could stay. This opportunity was a major incentive for them because they could continue their education and not have to work. One student came directly from high school and lives at home. Another student had been employed for several years and attended a local community college before enrolling at SJSU.

Two students have their own cars and they are able to visit their families during the school breaks and holidays. In contrast, the families of the other two

students live in the local area. One student lives with his parents and the other student is able to visit them on a regular basis. Each said their families took an interest in their progress. Thus, receiving support and encouragement in their educational pursuit from the family is a factor that can help to build the students' incentive to do well in school.

The socialization processes of the young are shaped by the values and beliefs taught by the family. Native American families of almost every tribe support a value orientation that falls along a continuum from more traditional to more modern (Lin, 1990). A guiding principle of Indian culture is that family and tribal interests come before individual desires (Stein, 1992). College attendance for some first generation students is not recognized to be part of their families' traditions or expectations. Thus, the individual pursuit of higher education is viewed as a break from the family rather than as a continuation process from high school.

For other first generation students where ethnic salience is not so great, traditional Native American families emphasize the value of hard work and are "parent-centered" (Lin, 1990 p. 20). The family also encourages their children to be independent; to make wise choices; to seek wisdom, and respect their elders (Little Soldier, 1989). Conversely, the modern Indian family emphasizes permissiveness and is "child-centered" (Lin, 1990, p. 20). This family is more oriented to the present and future rather than the past (Little Soldier, 1989).

Finally, the modern family exhibits freer expression of affection in the family (Nye & Berardo, 1973, p. 389).

Several studies investigate the relationship between the family's attitudes and values, whether more traditional or more modern, and the behavioral impact on their offspring in later years. Inkeles and Smith (1974) conducted cross-national studies regarding the modernization process and individual change in six developing countries, e.g., Argentina, India, and Nigeria. As one segment of this study, they used a home and school modernity scale to measure the early socialization experiences of men from both modern and traditional families, based on the individuals' memory of the way their parents and teachers had treated them. The findings were inconclusive. The notion that men who came from a more modern home and school background would also be more modern as adults was only statistically significant in three of the six countries. Even controlling variables such as education and occupation, there was still no clear association between individual modernity socialization. Men who remembered their parents and teachers as being kind and supportive, using a more modern approach to childrearing, did not have a higher level of individual modernity in later years. They concluded from the data that the tendency to see oneself as treated well by parents and teachers was not an important factor in determining how far or how fast an individual became modern. Thus, the assumed modern socialization experience did not make

men significantly more modern than men from traditional families who became modern after urban job training (p. 240).

The next study correlated student perceptions of family modernity with personal behavior in school that could effect academic achievement. This study was conducted among Native American and Euro-American students in a predominately Euro-American university in Montana. Data was collected as part of a larger study (Lin, LaCounte & Eder, 1988; see also Lin, 1990). A 17 item Likert-type questionnaire was used to determine the educational effects of family value orientation. The findings indicated that the greater the education, the more modern the families were. Modern families offer support and encouragement for education and provide shared values and have fewer conflicts with the students. Although the students received more support and encouragement, they did poorer academically. Skipping class was one factor cited (Lin, 1990). The more traditional the family, the better the students' academic record. Lin (1990) concluded that traditional students, who generally lack support and encouragement, perform better than modern students because work goals are internalized from the family and become an independent factor toward achievement (p. 24).

Similar to these findings, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe (comprised of six reservations in Northern Minnesota) in conjunction with the University of Minnesota, completed a study to identify factors that would promote retention of

Native American college students in the greater area. Falk and Aitken, (1984) concluded that "support and encouragement of their families is a key factor in helping students stay in school and that there is a relationship between parents educational background and the number of years completed in school" (p. 24). Thus, the families' support can be a powerful motivation toward increasing the Native American students' positive self-perception and determination to continue in school.

All four students currently feel an academic fit at SJSU. One student had low self-perception while attending at University of California (UC) Berkeley as a result of the curricular emphasis on independent study. The Berkeley Physics Department offers students little or no assistance from the faculty. Because of the large number of students, the instructors engaged assistants to cover in the classroom. Consequently, the student had no personal contact with his instructor. If he needed help with an assignment, he would have to contact the teaching assistant and could not receive immediate help. In contrast, the Physics Department at SJSU has an average of 30 students per classroom and the faculty do not use teaching assistants. Here, the interviewee has a working conversation with his teacher. Since transferring to this school, he is now able to perform up to his own expectations.

One female student had experienced sexism from a male member of the high school faculty regarding her pursuit of a career in medicine, a traditionally

male-dominated field. While attending a local community college, she decided to pursue the field of industrial design, which ultimately led her to SJSU. This university was one of three schools on the West coast offering this type of program. It was while she was at SJSU that she changed her major to biology and is happy with her decision.

While both federal and educational programs have sought to attract women in science and at best bring them up to parity with men, "only 16% of the employed scientists in this country are female" (Holloway, 1993, p. 95). These societal barriers are compounded by institutional constraints. Both women and minorities had difficulty being accepted into the science and engineering programs at SJSU, before 1987, because these programs were heavily impacted. When the new Engineering building was erected on campus, these programs expanded allowing more students the opportunity to be accepted. All four students who actively selected these departments said they felt they were getting the best education possible and with the help of financial aid, the greatest opportunity to fulfill their dreams. Thus, they evaluated the SJSU campus by the quality of education they are receiving and the opportunity to have personal relationships and guidance with the professors.

The Classroom Experience

Participant-observation is an ethnographic process in which the researcher observes and describes the classroom environment and students'

activities from both an emic or insider's view and from an etic or outsider's perspective. The dual perspective allows the researcher to understand more completely the students' experience in context. I attended one class with each of the four Native American students as the opportunity arose. In general terms, the classroom environment and content of the material are typical of a large university such as SJSU. The classroom environment is either a laboratory-style forum or the standard classroom layout. The laboratory forum is a large, sterile, white colored room with moderately clean windows and opened curtains on one side. The room is drab and designed in a generic institutional style. This style allows classes to go in and out so that biology can be taught one period and English the next. On one side there is a colorful map of the world, a periodic table of elements, a telephone and two doorways. The front of the room has a large blackboard with written material that covered the wall from one side of the room to the other. The instructor has a laboratory desk for his notes and experimental demonstrations. The students' seats and writing desks are made of lacquered wood but are beginning to show wear. Some desks have graffiti written on them. Each student has an individual seat and desk set alongside another, side by side across the room. The seating capacity for students attending ranged from 40 to 70 seats. Most all the seats are occupied and arranged in graduated levels of about 10 rows deep facing the instructor's laboratory desk. The instructor walked in and began erasing the

boards. He talked to the students about an exam that would take place the following week. He then proceeded to demonstrate an experiment or two as a review for the students while they asked questions about it, which lasted for the remainder of the period.

The second format observed is the standard classroom layout, with a lectern in front and desks facing the teacher. This is a large room with dirty windows and curtains opened on one side. On the adjacent side, the walls are covered with a series of elementary level children's drawings. A clock and a door are at one end of the wall. No identification marks the purpose of this room or the content of subjects being taught. The front of the room has a red brick wall extending from one side of the room to the other. The instructor has a table for his notes in front of the blackboard, set against the brick wall. The students sat in old, rickety, institutional note-taking chairs, already scattered from the previous class rather than arranged in rows. As the instructor spoke, he moved about the room constantly. He wrote on the blackboard and then he walked between the chairs handing out exercises for the students to complete at their seats. When the exercise segment was finished, he called upon three students individually to read their response to the class. The students in attendance numbered approximately 20.

The content of the material presented within the four samples included topics ranging from ecology to English composition. Three of the samples were

lectures aimed at an individual style of learning. I observed a combination of individual and small group learning in one of the four classes. The instructor requested that the students move their chairs into groups of three that would facilitate small group learning. Since the room was quite large there was no problem with seating. The instructor handed out a sheet of paper to each student with a list of tasks to be completed while giving instructions to the class. There were approximately seven groups. First, each student selected and completed several tasks individually. Second, each student within a group read their response to the other group members to get feedback. While the groups were in discussion, the teacher walked around to help any student who had questions. Third, the instructor called upon one student from each group to give their individual response to the class. After each response, the class as a whole discussed whether the task was completed accurately.

Learning Styles. A simple definition of a learning style is "the way in which a person most easily learns and remembers new or different information" (Gilliland, 1988, p. 47). Small group cooperative learning is one of many learning structures used in a classroom environment. This style functions both in the classroom and out of the classroom in two ways. One function is academic and serves to clarify or help the student understand course material. The work study group in this context is three or four students working together on problem-solving to accomplish shared goals and to maximize their own and

each others productivity and achievement within the larger classroom group (Johnson & Johnson, 1991; Parker, 1985). Students are encouraged to "share ideas, to pool resources, justify their thinking and critique each other's ideas" (Parker, 1985, p. 45). Cooperative learning also creates a new basis of perceived similarity among relatively dissimilar students and group assignments begin to break down racial barriers to friendship as students perceive their shared identity (Slavin, 1983). Emphasis is placed on the equality of each student's input to the group and less on the ethnicity of the student (Parker, 1985). Thus, cooperative learning helps students accept one another while increasing cross-racial understanding. Once this has been established, classmates may then get together in the same way outside of class.

There are many advantages in the cooperative learning style. First, students who do not feel comfortable in addressing questions to the class as a whole, will ask questions and share ideas within a small work group. Second, a student's attitude changes as competition with other students is removed and they have direct input to their own learning (Parker, 1985). Third, cooperative learning is also compatible with certain Indian core values and behaviors such as showing respect for others and providing aid toward the development of an "internal locus of control, cooperation, sharing and harmony" (Little Soldier, 1989, p. 163). While it is recognized that there is diversity among Indian cultures, certain core values are characteristic of their difference. Fourth,

research psychologist, R. E. Slavin (1983) has developed a simple model of the effects of cooperative learning methods on student self-perception and concludes the following:

Since many cooperative learning methods have been found to increase student academic performance and increase positive interpersonal relations among peers, it would seem logical that these methods would improve student self-esteem as students are likely to perceive that they are doing better in school and getting along better with their peers. (p. 21)

This learning style is assumed to create a friendly environment while students learn to enjoy working together.

While there has been an abundance of studies conducted on cooperative learning in higher education, there are few that specifically address comparisons between cooperative learning and other teaching approaches. Nevertheless, Astin (1992) completed a study of over 200 colleges and universities to assess what factors make a difference in undergraduate education. He reviewed nearly 200 classroom environment variables including the curriculum and concluded that student to student interaction and student to teacher interaction were the best indicators of positive student cognitive and attitudinal change among undergraduates. Based on his findings and previous collegiate studies in the field, Astin supports greater use of cooperative learning in college instruction.

Learning in Context. Marilyn is a strong advocate of group learning in

the class as well as out of class. Both she and her class friends get into study groups outside of class and if one person understands the lesson, they can explain it to the others. She said that group learning provides different perspectives of a problem, teaching an individual more than just what one can learn on their own. Furthermore, many of her teachers have suggested group learning as a tool that students can use outside of class. Thus, she evaluates this type of student support network as one that reinforces confidence and encouragement to each other to give their best, which builds positive self-perception.

However, not all of these students think group learning is so useful. They have very different opinions on the style they prefer depending on the circumstances in the classroom. For example, Alan supports group learning only in the classroom. Because some classes are of a complex nature, he says, individual learning through lectures and demonstrations are necessary to fully understand it. Thus, he evaluates individual learning as his preference because, in his words, he is very "independent" and "self-directed."

In contrast, Penny is not comfortable at all with group learning within the class. She says she is much stronger as an individual learner. She comments that in groups of four, the other students can make it an enjoyable experience only if they are knowledgeable. On the other hand, those students who are not knowledgeable drag down the quality of the group. As a student she does not

want the responsibility of teaching other students information they did not understand in class. Out of class, she has the choice to study in a group or not, depending on her motivation. She evaluates individual learning as the means to achieve an internal locus of control.

John is comfortable with either group learning or individual style. Group learning aids in understanding certain concepts where it is beneficial to have more than one person's input. Individual learning allows you to know what the teacher's perspective is, that is, what he or she is thinking and to understand it. As a rule, John does not engage in group learning outside of class and thus relies exclusively on in-class time to understand the scope of new material.

Cultural content has an impact that reaches beyond pedagogical style. A multicultural content is being developed at SJSU. According to the 1990 census, the cultural breakdown of the population in California includes: 25% Latino, 10% Asian American, 7.5% African American and .5% Native American. Together they constitute 43% of the population and by the year 2000, they will increase to a majority in California population (see U.S. Census, 1992). In a speech given at SJSU a few years ago, R. Takaki noted:

We see this diversity reflected on our college campuses. Here at SJSU this fall, African American and other ethnic minorities represent a majority of the incoming freshman. But diversity has a down side. Racial violence and misunderstandings are increasing across California campuses. (April 17, 1991)

These statements indicate an urgent need for teachers to address the

reality of California's increasing multicultural population. Teaching cultural diversity while increasing student awareness on campus is currently an educational goal at most colleges. This approach ameliorates racial tensions on campus while preparing graduating students to function within an ethnically diverse country (Magner, 1990, March 28). Many colleges such as UC Berkeley have taken the initiative to make a course in ethnic relations mandatory before a student can graduate. Currently, SJSU also has this requirement for graduation in a course called Cultural Pluralism which is part of General Education. In addition to the mandatory Cultural Pluralism class for undergraduates, many teachers at SJSU are promoting cultural awareness in their classes. As one of their course requirements, students must complete a cultural assignment project emphasizing ethnic diversity. A cultural project can focus on a notable ethnic figure, for example, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, or Black Elk. Conversely, a cultural project can focus on a significant historical event connected with an ethnic group such as the Civil Rights Movement or the stand-off at Wounded Knee II in South Dakota. For the Native American students, these type of projects help them learn more about Indian culture as well as motivating non-Indian students toward an insider view of the Indian experience. Alan, Penny and John said that they would be motivated to carry out a cultural project but they have not had such a classroom assignment. They evaluate its importance as a platform to incorporate the Native American

point of view or some interesting aspect of Native American culture. From Marilyn's perspective, she was motivated to do a research paper on Black Elk (Lakota Sioux), a most revered and respected Native American shaman and leader, because she wanted to know more about him. She evaluates cultural projects as expressing the importance of Native American values to other non-Indian students while reinforcing her own cultural background.

Native American students have positive and negative comments on the classes they have taken at SJSU. Topics ranged from the familiarity of the course material to the style of learning. In her own words, one student said:

I enjoy all my classes and really find them helpful. In particular, I like my English class because I come from a poor English-speaking background in both writing and speaking. I will need to become more skillful to continue in school. My self-perception increases when I can get a good grade on a difficult assignment.

Another student said:

Most of my classes have been in the fields of physics and science and I find them very challenging. I like finding out how things in the world work and achieving good grades for my effort. Math is difficult for me. I feel positive self-perception when I am able to understand and master math efficiently.

These students are expressing the difficulty they have with core subjects in which they must become skillful so they can understand more diverse material. Underlying their comments is a model of success that builds on mastery. And as their achievement level increases, they say, the reward of good grades

becomes more meaningful and builds their confidence. Thus, the continuing process of doing well in school or academic achievement can lead to positive self-perception.

One student reflects on the empowerment she receives from the educational structure of the university. She notes:

I enjoy my classes and find them useful to the extent that I am accumulating knowledge to study for the MCAT (Medical College Admissions Test) and for completing research that I am involved in at school. I feel very confident in knowing that the quality of education I am getting will get me where I want to go.

This student says she feels that SJSU is preparing her to pursue her dream and is confident she will qualify for the MCAT test. Institutional support in the content of the classes and the assistance of professional teachers helps her to develop her abilities while building positive self-perception.

Another student expresses his view on styles of learning in the classroom. He said:

In the beginning when I took this English class I thought I would be bored because I thought I already knew how to write. But if you put all the little things the teacher does together, it gives me more insight and meaning to try and write better. It builds my self-confidence. I especially like the way the teacher emphasizes how to write rather than what to write.

This student is saying that the teacher motivates him to express his own ideas while developing his communication skills. Through the writing exercises, he can express his own thoughts and be heard and understood by other

classmates. This learning style reflects discovery as the student learns more about himself while building positive self-perception.

The students also had negative comments on their classes. One student suggested a curriculum change. He said:

I took a philosophy class here and boy was it boring. I would like to see SJSU offer a course in Native American tribal philosophy as an alternative. If you can teach it to people these ideas, it opens up their mind so much. It is one thing to be Native American and it is another to understand what it means to be Native American.

From this student's perspective, a Western philosophy class provided no meaning for him and thus he would like to see Native American philosophy offered in the course catalog. He suggests that teaching students of other cultures Native American worldviews and ways of life can lead to more cultural understanding toward Indians. This idea also offers the non-Indian an opportunity to see the world in a different way and to explore the Indian value system.

Many other comments made by students were generic to the student concern with instrumental learning and did not reflect cultural issues. Another student's comment on curriculum change involves the 100W Writing Skills class required for all students at the junior level. Each department has its own 100W class and tailors it to the style of writing for its particular fields. One student said:

I took a 100W class for biology and it was a complete waste of time.

Scientific writing is very different than expository essays and if one is not familiar with how to write in various scientific modes, one is at a severe disadvantage. Also, my ecology class is very boring. I am bored because a pre-med major has their emphasis on anatomy and physiology; those things that help them in the mammalian realm. Ecology is required of all biology students and I think the major should have more flexibility for those students who have distinct goals in life.

This student expressed disappointment in her Science 100W class as not providing her the opportunity to develop skills in scientific writing. Ecology also had no meaning. She could not relate to the material nor had an interest in it.

Another student commented on the failure of placement tests and the effect it had on him. He said:

In high school I was very good in math but when I came to SJSU and took the placement tests I failed for some reason and had to regress to pre-calculus. In class I knew everything the teacher was talking about and was bored. I went through the whole semester just sitting there and falling asleep. I think that the school's placement tests do not give an accurate assessment of a student's abilities. There should be alternatives to these types of tests.

Placement tests do not always give a correct assessment of the student's abilities. Placing a student in an unnecessary remedial class offers little challenge and thus, the student loses his motivation.

Another negative comment from a student reflected on styles of learning.

He said:

I have trouble understanding what the teacher is talking about in calculus because his lecture pertains to the homework I will be doing when class is out. This learning style is more of a show than tell (emphasis added) and has no meaning for me. Building on the familiar rather than the unfamiliar I can evaluate what I understand and what I do not under-

stand.

This student has trouble relating or understanding abstract terms that are unfamiliar and needs reinforcement. He says that as a result, he becomes frustrated when he does his homework and begins to lose interest. And, when he is not in control of the information, he does not do well on his assignments, leading him toward negative self-perception.

Boredom with required classes was a recurring theme made by Native American students. While most concerns mirrored those of students at large, some of their comments point to cultural bases. Those complaints have pedagogical implications. First, the curriculum lacks diversity. In addition, the school's curriculum is too general and inflexible and students take up seats in courses that have no relevancy to their interests or desires. Western philosophy does not represent the beliefs of all the ethnic groups on the SJSU campus. Indeed, Native American philosophy is quite different from Western philosophy. For example, a Native American philosophy of life is to establish balance and harmony between the Indian and other humans, the earth, the cosmos, and the Great Spirit. Briefly, this involves the following: (a) their genesis or beginnings that explains their origin and place in the cosmos and from this, came the formation of their traditions and cultures, (b) the belief that they are one with the earth, for the earth is their Mother and they are the children who take care of her, thus the land is everything, and (c) their

ubiquitous stories and oral traditions that form the basis of their rituals and ceremonies varying in form and practice (Morton, 1988). The central figure in these rituals is the shaman which means "power of the spirit" (p. 44) who journeys through space and makes contact with the supernatural powers of the universe. One of his functions is a healer of illness. Thus, in times of stress the healer represents the concentration of power that contributes to the security and well-being of the group.

Native Americans are also concerned with their representation in history and popular culture. First, these students expressed that they want to be recognized as self-determined, autonomous people and to have control over their own destiny (see also Costo, 1968). Second, historical accounts of events past need to include the Native American point of view along with the Euro-American description (see Forbes, 1969; Reynolds & Reynolds, 1974). Presently, these accounts describe Native Americans as a dying culture of the past, rather than as a viable group of people that are alive and well. Finally, Native Americans are constantly being stereotyped in such areas as the children's game of cowboys and Indians; the media's portrayal of the wooden Indian in front of the general store who raises his hand and says how and in the sport mascots parading around in the stadiums (Hirschfelder & de Montañó, 1993). Native Americans are perceived as being not of the present world and thus, Indian contemporary issues lack urgency.

Collectively, the students said they were very comfortable in expressing their ideas and values based on their culture in class, especially if they did not understand or agree with the teacher's lecture material. For example, Penny attended a class where the discussion was on new and improved forestry and fishery management techniques. Penny explained that Native Americans in the Pacific Northwest have employed these techniques for hundreds of years and therefore could not be new. She said that teachers need to give credit to Native American contributions to science.

Students in the Biological Sciences are required to demonstrate and complete laboratory requirements. For Native American students, sometimes certain laboratory requirements come in direct conflict with their cultural values. Such is the case with terminal surgery of live animals and their use as specimens. Penny said that it is her belief that animals have spirits just like humans have spirits. Similarly, the worldview of the Koyukon Indians of Alaska supports the notion that the natural world and the supernatural world are one entity. Based on their origin stories, animals were once human and are spiritual. While the Koyukon do not categorize animals and humans the way Euro-Americans define them, their belief was based on "animals possessing human qualities rather than humans possessing animal qualities" (Nelson, 1983, p. 228). These spirits must be treated with respect for they are aware of what people do and they are offended by disrespectful behavior. Nelson,

(1983) concludes that, "Spirits are not offended when people kill animals and use them but they insist that these beings be treated with the deference owed to the sources of human life" (p. 22).

Most specifically, Penny stated that she has concerns with all the experimentation that universities are engaged in that is not considered research. While she supports animal experimentation to the extent that it helps human life, she does not advocate the killing of animals needlessly. In addition, she said that the animals used in the biology laboratories are anesthetized. There is no suffering connected with these experiments. Thus, there are two discourses floating around as to whether all animal research is valuable and the degree of animal suffering that takes place. First, the animal research platform stresses that many human lives will be lost without animal experimentation. It is necessary and no modification of this policy regarding the use of animals is in order (Wiebers, Leaning & White, 1994). Second, the animal protectionists argue that animal experimentation does not always benefit health and many animals are inhumanly treated (Burd, 1993, January 13). The impact of animal experimentation and the conflict it creates with Native American cultural values presents a dilemma for Penny. She does not wish to participate in any laboratory work relating to terminal surgery and has advised the Department of Biological Sciences that this practice goes against her belief, as a Native American. The response by the Department was to make no allowances.

Thus, she was faced with one of two choices. She could search for a class acceptable to the requirements with minimal emphasis on laboratory animal experimentation or fail the course.

Collectively, the students agree on the importance of being in class every day and on time. Hall (1976) distinguishes between monochronic (M-time) and polychronic (P-time) time patterns. M-time is typical of the American culture where people tend to emphasize schedules, segmentation, and promptness. They also perceive time as a linear progression from the past into the future. In contrast, P-time is typical of the Native American culture where people tend to treat time in a more holistic way and place value on the activity occurring in time rather than the clock time. Activities do not start at a particular time but when things are ready or the time is right. But Hall (1983) points out that not only is "M-time learned and integrated into our culture, it is treated as though it were the only natural and logical way of organizing life" (p. 45) and that each culture utilizes a combination of both M-time and P-time depending on the activity.

In their own words, the Native American students gave these comments on their concept of time. One said, "Maybe it is just my insecurity but I usually arrive one-half hour early before class because I do not like rushing in the last minute." Another said, "I have to go to class every day or I will never be able to understand the work." And still another said, "I would miss important

information. Finally, one said:

If I am not in class I will miss out on a big chunk of what the teacher is saying. Every day the teacher reveals something he likes about a paper or a certain thing or answer. If I am late, I disrupt the general process the teacher is going through for an idea and other students become distracted and everyone in class will get it wrong.

Thus, the students illustrate the importance of punctuality in the M-time system and the value of the activity in the P-time system.

Social Life

College life is more than the academics. In the classroom, the second function of group learning provides the basis for social interaction among different ethnic members. As they get to know one another during the semester, they may develop a viable student social network outside of class. Marilyn and Penny share the same goals with most of their classmates as serious-minded students. Marilyn describes the feeling, "They provide me with a burst of energy to keep me going." Thus, their relationship is friendly, open and supportive and the students boost each other's confidence when things go awry, while maintaining a strong social circle outside of class. Through Alan's classroom experience, he notes a trend toward more older, independent students; those that are working students and are in attendance strictly for educational gain. His social philosophy in the classroom is just to talk to the other students and get to know them in this setting. This learned style of interpersonal interaction is expressive and is associated with nurturing; a gentle

touch (Hofstede, 1984). In the expressive mode, interactions are valued because they are important rather than that they will lead to anything else.

In contrast, John says that socially a person can get to know other students but only then does it become acceptable to asking other classmates things about a class assignment without looking stupid. This learned style is instrumental and is associated with assertiveness (Hofstede, 1984).

Instrumental interactions are valued only because they help the person reach another goal. John also explained that the size of the class affects congeniality. Classes that have 500 students in attendance, friendships develop very slowly if at all, but in classes of 30 students, he is more comfortable and socializes with everyone around him.

Another equally important part of the social environment are campus friendships with non-Indians and the activities that follow. Marilyn and Penny get together with their classmates and go out to dinner, see a movie or meet at the Student Union to talk. Alan explains that SJSU is a commuter school for high school graduates and unlike UC Berkeley, the older more mature students do not live on campus. Therefore, he has to rely on the classroom to meet that type of student or through clubs on campus. As with John, neither of them seeks friendship off campus.

Young students are the norm in most universities because students traditionally enroll right after high school graduation. At SJSU, the student

median age is 27 (Office of Institutional Research, 1997 p. 3). The older students on campus believe that they are treated differently socially by the younger students. For example, Penny says that classmates are less congenial to her because as an older student, they perceive her as different. Similarly, female students who major in male-dominated fields are also at a high risk for classroom isolation. When Penny was enrolled in an industrial design class, gender became an issue, for the male students treated her with indifference. Thus, age and gender can affect sociability with other students and can be problematic. Extracurricular activities on campus balances the stress students feel from the academic rigor. One particular club on campus is the local chapter of AISES. On the national level, AISES began in 1977 to promote the knowledge of technology to informed leaders of the Indian communities. Their goal was to increase the number of Native American scientists and engineers in the professional field and to develop Indian leaders. Most important, the introduction of training Native American college students to guide Indian high school students in applying for college scholarships and assisting them in bridging the gap to college programs (Hill, 1991).

AISES also has a working relationship with many businesses, universities and federal government programs i.e., IBM, NASA and the Indian Health Center. These companies and agencies provide internships, fellowships, goods and services to support education (Wakshul, 1994). Universities offer their

campuses, laboratories and expertise as well as the formulation of local AISES chapters by Indian students. This relationship is contingent upon the success of special math and science skill programs offered to pre-college Indian students during the summer months (Hill, 1991).

On the SJSU campus, the mission statement of the AISES chapter is "to provide a social, educational and spiritual haven and outlet for the Native American students by facilitating gatherings, events and activities encompassing each facet" (Student Activities Office, 1995, p. 2). Some of the club activities cited were craft fairs, tutoring local Indian students and providing group support.

I attended several club meetings. The participating students of different cultural backgrounds include Native American and Chicano although anyone who is interested, regardless of ethnicity, is welcomed to join. One aspect of the club is to advance Native American students in higher education. Ten students attended the meetings although 20 members are currently registered in the club. In addition, the club has a faculty adviser who helps the members direct and coordinate all club activities. The activities in progress exemplify some of their goals. First, the members were discussing and arranging transportation for their up and coming participation in the 1993 National AISES Conference to be held in Spokane, Washington. Wakshul (1994) reports that at this conference "more than \$500,000 in scholarship monies were awarded to American Indian undergraduate and graduate students" (p. 32). National and

local chapters of AISES as well as universities and local Indian community members combined were the contributors of this endowment. Second, the members were organizing cultural events and vendors that needed to be contacted regarding Indigenous Awareness Week that the club was sponsoring on campus.

Another aspect of the club is that Native American students can meet other Native American students as well as share cultural activities together. Penny explains that getting together with other Native American students is one way to share personal aspects of your life and then information about your heritage can come out. Barbecues and various Bay Area powwows bind them socially unifying their intertribal cultures. John and Alan do not actively socialize outside of class. The club offers them an alternative not only to meet other Native American students that they would not otherwise know, but to learn of special work programs available to Native Americans.

Some students may have continuing friendships with former high school friends who live in the local area and they provide another social outlet. The students who come directly from high school keep a closer and active network of former friends than those who enter SJSU years later. In addition, the students who are from the local area have a greater chance of retaining those relationships than in other areas of California. Two students were from the local area and from their wide circle of high school friends, the friendship of two

or three remain viable. The rest have fallen off. The two students from other areas of California either keep the friends that go to college nearby or abandoned all friends wanting to get a fresh start.

A recent research project was undertaken to learn how new and diverse students became involved in the academic and social community on campus as they take the transitional step from high school to college. Four different types of institutions that cross-sectioned student characteristics and institutional traits were selected. Of the 132 students interviewed, one theme was consistent among all students. High school friends made the difference in their transition to college. These friends performed a "bridge function" (Terenzini, et al. 1994, p. 64) for a short time. As the student made new friends on campus and those friendships developed into closer relationships, the high school friends became slowly less important.

As students become more integrated into the college community, how do they rate the quality of life on campus leading to a sense of well-being? Hendershott, Wright and Henderson (1992) surveyed 200 randomly selected students (mostly female and older students) at a New England university. The data revealed that students who separated from their high school friends felt satisfaction with the new friendship network within the university. They concluded that "a sense of community is enhanced by students' perception of friends as friendship and social life on campus were the strongest predictors of

overall well-being" (p. 18). Thus, students who have both friendships on campus as well as former high school friendships off campus that are meaningful have a greater sense of balance and well-being. This represents a positive factor toward staying in school.

Native American students are not visible and their enrollment is low at SJSU. As noted earlier, Native American students currently represent less than 1% of the total student population (Office of Institutional Research, 1997 p. 3). Isolation has educational implications.

In a comparative study conducted by Lin et al. (1988) in a predominately Euro-American college in Montana, Native American and Euro-American students were surveyed to determine how the school environment affects academic performance and graduation expectation. Ten items of Likert-type questions relating to the student's perception of college environment were selected. The findings were that although the Native American students Grade Point Average (GPA) were lower than the Euro-American students, their attitude toward college was more positive. Native American students place a high value on education because they know it is the only way to employment. In addition, they felt more hostility against the Euro-American students and a sense of isolation on campus. For the Indian students the relationship between hostility, isolation, and GPA was stronger than for Euro-American students. While the feeling of isolation did not have a negative effect on Euro-Americans it was

almost double for Indians. The researchers concluded that the real difference between them was the feeling of isolation and that the Euro-American campus felt hostile to them. Thus, isolation for Native American students as a result of hostility is one negative element that can affect campus environment (p. 15). In contrast, the kind of hostility leading to isolation of Native Americans is not present on the SJSU campus. As discussed earlier, the California urban experience, i.e., Native Americans in California and the California Indians is quite different from other Native American experiences in Montana or South Dakota. They lack the presence to invoke reaction.

The students at SJSU varied in their perceptions and responses to isolation, many of which were not cultural. One student sought out new friends from her classes because the other students were friendly, outgoing and they had common interests. They have maintained those friendships even outside of the classroom. Another student felt isolated because far more men than women attended her classes. The gender imbalance created an environment that was not conducive to making friends. After changing majors to one with more women, she said she no longer felt isolated. She perceives her fellow students as friendly, team-oriented, and fun. Two other students responded that the classroom setting was the only place they could meet students, because for them, studies came first and they did not have time to socialize outside the classroom.

Students of the same ethnicity can develop a cultural bond reinforcing their identity. Not all students, however, have an outward need to express their identity to other students. For them, their self-concept is internally driven. In the classroom, Alan's friends are from different cultures because he says that choosing friends is not based on similar ethnicity. Most of his friends are Filipino because, unlike Native American students, they are more visible on campus. John had only one occasion to have a class with another Native American student. They did not connect culturally in their friendship because the other Native American student was not knowledgeable about his cultural heritage. The basis of their friendship rested more on shared academic assignments than shared culture.

Identification by peers poses another problem for one Native American student. Does the amount of Native American blood determine who can be identified as Native Americans? Does a person have to have the physical features associated with Native Americans to be Native American? Does the ambiguity in identity affect relationships with any other Native Americans in or out of class? Penny's experiences have been mixed. Some full-blood Native American students, but mostly Euro-American ones, challenge her ethnicity. Mixed-blood Native American students are more receptive to her and accept the idea that she chooses to favor her Native American roots. This provides a platform of commonality between them based on mutual cultural understanding.

Vigil (1984) describes the ways Mexican Americans, who have been acculturated, select an ethnic label that is compatible to their environment. He says, "If a preference was shown for the name 'Mexican' they might favor that part of their cultural makeup; if they used 'Mexican American' they were somewhere in the middle and if they called themselves 'Americans of Mexican descent' they stressed their Anglo side" (p. 169). Mixed-blood persons whether they are Native American or Mexican American have flexible ethnicity and would respond to the ethnic label Penny chooses. The issue here is that both Euro-American and full-blood Native Americans did not recognize ethnic flexibility. For both groups, Indians should look like Indians to be Indians and they distrust anything else. This perceived prejudice makes Penny very selective about sharing her cultural identity.

Supportive Relationships

A Native American teacher can provide both a professional role model and a cultural bond. Collectively, the students said they would benefit from a Native American teacher-student relationship because the teacher would be the yardstick by which they can measure themselves. Marilyn said he or she would be a guide to ethnic opportunities on campus and build pride. Alan commented that this teacher would have experienced school and would understand what Native American students are experiencing. The teacher would represent success in the professional field and encourage students that they can achieve

the same goal if they choose. From Penny's point of view, a Native American teacher would provide a cultural connection that she cannot get in other ways because she does not have access to others of her tribal heritage. What makes culture come alive for her are the people of various tribes. She can then relate to an intertribal Indian community.

At SJSU, there are few Native American faculty. For example, in 1996, Native American faculty comprised about 1% of the total faculty (Office of Educational Planning and Resources, 1996, n.p.). Hispanic faculty teach Chicano Studies. Occasionally a part-time instructor will cover courses in Native American heritage.

A low percentage of Native American professionals are in the field of education although there is this hope on the horizon that the trend will slowly change. For example, if only "4% Native American students enter graduate school, then only 2% will graduate" (Astin, 1982, p. 175) which means the number of possible Indian faculty for the future appears to be minuscule. Those that attempt to become an educational professional face certain obstacles in transcending the socioeconomic line between mainstream culture and Native American values. First, finances limit the means to attend school. Second, becoming a teacher may conflict with maintaining Native American culture. Mainstream educational system is predicated upon individualism and competition, not the values of group harmony and cooperation. The best

chance the reservation Indian has in reducing these conflicts resides in the tribally controlled schools located on or near the reservations (Boyer, 1990). Tribal teachers can act as culture brokers. A direct relationship exists between the possible number of Indian faculty and the success Indians, in general, have in the educational system (Cross, 1991).

If the teacher is identified as Native American or as a member of a particular tribe, student response differs. John explains that if the teacher were of his tribe it would be especially meaningful since he could learn more about his specific cultural heritage. Moreover, the teacher and the student would become linked as one: "one voice, one heart." The implications of this relationship (one voice, one heart) is that first, the teacher and the student become representative of the family tribe, one that is united in spirit and family (E. D. Morton, personal communication, June 20, 1993).

Other non-Native American students can contribute to the students' sense of identity. Alan commented that when an African American classmate found out he was Native American, he came up to him and exclaimed, "Let me shake your hand." Alan said he felt that the African American student understood what it meant not to be part of the dominant group. The SJSU Native American students agreed that most other students on campus know little about Native American culture, only what they learn from media images and courses offered in ethnic studies. Personal contact creates an awareness

and understanding of Native Americans that other students cannot derive from the media. When Marilyn is asked about her ethnicity by other students, she demonstrates cultural pride when she says, "Many students think I am Mexican, but I am proud to say I am Native American." From Alan's perspective, the fact that students do show an interest in getting to know him and learning about Native American culture is a positive step. He feels that this show of interest enhances his self-perception and gives him the opportunity to teach other students first hand that Native Americans are alive and well and in college.

Interestingly, one student reflects that his identity is less startling in the melange of SJSU ethnicities. John says that students show little reaction when they learn he is Native American. He attributes this situation to the fact that there is so much diverse ethnicity at SJSU. The Native American students who can return home during the school year receive support and interest from their family that helps to build the student's positive self-perception and motivation to stay in school. Some Native Americans rely on family strength for a source of courage and confidence. To identify some of these strengths, Light and Martin (1986) conducted a study among 32 Native American women who were attending a Head Start program in North Dakota. The majority of Indian women said that family members respect each other and receive much satisfaction from helping family members (p. 4). Marilyn commented that she has become a role model for her sisters to stay in school and follow in her footsteps.

Positive Self-Perception and Goals

Native American students can gain positive self-perception as a result of the classroom experience in several different ways. One way is through academic accomplishments that underscore the notion that while many Native American students are known not to succeed in college, others have met the challenge. This point is illustrated by the comments of Alan and Penny. As an achiever with a good score in class, Alan said he felt an exceptional amount of pride in his accomplishments since good grades do not come easily for him. Penny notes that she never thought she could overcome the academic challenges as she has done. In addition, the classroom has given her the opportunity to increase her self-confidence. Alan and Penny agree that the classroom experience was meaningful. Their achievements became a powerful mechanism for feeling good about themselves, which in turn could affect future classroom success and academic retention.

Marilyn says students in the classroom perceive her as a role model for Native Americans. They set her up a little higher than the rest because Native Americans are not known to go to college. In effect, her classmates are boosting her self-perception in a positive way when they say, "Look, she is going to college here and trying to make something of herself." Marilyn says that the classroom experience holds great meaning when classmates identify her as a very special Native American college student, one that represents her

tribe as well as all future college bound Native Americans.

John states that his classroom experience promotes rather than hinders his self-perception motivating him to continue in school. He perceives himself as intelligent and proud when he says, "I am actually one of these people who are doing something; one of these people going to school and I am one of these people improving myself." Thus, John identifies himself as a Native American who is actively attending college to better himself.

Finally, classroom participation can also build a greater sense of confidence and control. Marilyn and Alan have different perspectives on where a student should sit in the classroom to get the maximum value of the lesson. Marilyn says she feels secure and enthusiastic, thereby increasing her self-perception, by sitting in the front row where she is encouraged by the teacher to ask questions and be a significant part of the activity. In contrast, Alan says he is confident and self-reliant, and that by sitting in the back row where he can see the total picture of the class activity he is not hesitant to ask questions. When he knows the lessons, he says he feels more in control of the situation as well as the knowledge that then helps to sustain his feeling of positive self-perception.

Given that these four Native American students have a positive sense of college life, they plan to continue their education in the following ways. Marilyn hopes to pursue a master's degree at possibly Georgia Institute of Technology,

as her career choice is to be a laboratory technician for a pharmaceutical company. Alan's future educational goals are uncertain for he is not sure if he will continue in physics. He would like to attend graduate school but academic and financial problems must be considered. He does not want to begin and not be able to finish pursuing his goal. Penny has her sights on attending medical school to hopefully practice internal medicine. Her choice of medical school depends, in large part, on the institutional support, recruitment, and retention of Native American students and the opportunities specifically allowed for Indian students. She is thinking about UC Davis and Stanford University in California and possibly schools in Minnesota and North Dakota. John's future plans are in the field of designing robot machines for they are useful in many different fields. He explains that if he finds a job after graduation, he will not continue his education, but suspects that he must earn a master's degree to fulfill his dream. If this becomes the case, he will apply for graduate school at SJSU.

The experiences of students at SJSU differ from the four Native American students at D-Q University (D-Q). In the next chapter, these students reflect upon their academic and social experiences at D-Q. D-Q is a 2-year tribal college located in the open fields of the countryside near the city of Davis. Unlike SJSU, D-Q offers an education that reinforces tribal culture and identity. This school hosts a very small student body, mostly Native Americans, and serves a population that has not traditionally enrolled in higher education.

Chapter 5

Native American Students at D-Q University

Four Native American students, both men and women, were interviewed at D-Q University (D-Q) from the Karok, Cherokee, Yokuts-Mono, and Eastern Pomo tribes. Their percent of Indian blood measures from full-blood to not less than one-quarter. They range in age from 19 to 49 years old. The major fields selected by the students encompass such diverse areas as environmental studies, computer science and medicine. Three of these students are first generation in their families to attend college. Two students are currently employed in more than one job found both on and off the campus. Three students are single and one is divorced. These students are enrolled full-time and reside in the campus dormitories. The four Native American students interviewed at D-Q were Clayton, Amy, Jill and Larry.

Six themes are derived from the data as expressed by the Native American students. First, these four students elected to attend D-Q primarily to satisfy their specific need to associate with other Native American students that they could identify with and to be part of the cultural environment. To get some sense of the personalness and small size of the academic and social environment, I will describe the classrooms and student activities. Second, identity is constructed in the curriculum emphasizing the notion of pan-Indianism and victimization. While Indian cultures have their differences, it is in

the classroom context they can share a commonality. Class material is consistently presented from the Indian's point of view. Third, full-blood Indian students construct their identity reflecting their Indianness, culture, history, and religion. Because they view mixed-blood Indians as a dilution of Indian blood, mixed-bloods are not recognized as part of the mother culture. Fourth, social relationships with other students are critical. As the students got to know each other and became more comfortable in their environment, they branched out and participated in various extracurricular activities such as being part of a team, helping the school, and the community. Fifth, while the Native American teacher represents a cultural tie to the students, their social relations become even more meaningful if the teacher is of the same tribe as the students.

Sixth, many learning and teaching styles build on Native American values and students enjoy learning when using styles that are traditionally practiced by their own cultural group. In this section, students define and evaluate these styles. They are: visual learning, group cooperative learning, and observational learning—where the teacher is the model. Also relevant are concepts of time and the important of attendance.

Choosing D-Q

Two of the students selected to attend D-Q because of their families' influence to further their education. One student was convinced by a relative to attend because he is the last of the male line in his family's lineage. His family

has always participated in tribal ceremonies and now that responsibility rests on his shoulders. Another student's family thought that the environment at D-Q would be a good opportunity for her to learn about her tribal heritage.

Three students were interested in finding a school where they could socialize with other Native American students. One of these students was currently attending a community college nearby when she first learned about D-Q and that the school's enrollment was mostly Native Americans. Another student had just been released from an alcoholic recovery program designed for Native Americans. His best friend from the program told him about D-Q and he thought that the environment of a Native American school would be a good start for him in his new life. Still, another student had been working in the local area for some time and was lonely for the camaraderie and identification with other Native Americans. D-Q represented a chance for him to be with others like himself.

One student was apprehensive when she enrolled at D-Q because she did not know how she would fit in such a different academic environment after being educated by her mother in a home school for so many years. The other three students did not officially graduate from high school but they did complete their senior year and felt academically fit to continue their education.

While attending high school, one student had experienced difficulties with a local school administrator. The head administrator informed him that he was

deficient in required credits for graduation. He was deficient because he had moved from city to city attending various high schools in the state. Even when he suggested to the administrator that he could make up these credits at night school or through a summer program, the administrator ignored his suggestions and refused to help him find an alternate path to graduation. So, he dropped from school.

In short, these Native American students who enrolled at D-Q chose to attend for social reasons. Each had a specific need to be with other Native American students that they could identify with or be part of a Native American environment. The school provided a safe environment for improving their skills, becoming employed in their areas of interest and finally, seeking an opportunity for a better life.

I attended one class with each Native American student interviewed at D-Q as the opportunity arose. The classroom environment was one of two types: a large forum style or a standard classroom layout. First, I will describe the large forum style. This room is referred to by the students and teachers as the Sun Room and is quite large and spacious. This room had been the chapel of the former Army communication base that is now the site of D-Q. The walls of the room are covered with white acoustical boards with green painted baseboards. Hanging on the walls are large Indian paintings spaced apart about every three feet. On one side there is a series of pictures in a smaller

style with a caption that reads: "Northern California Photographic Exhibit of the Yurok-Karok." In the front of the room is a podium, located to one side with a small desk for the instructor to use. Behind the podium are wooden boards painted with Indian designs, e.g., Northwest Coast and each side has a motion figure of a copper dolphin.

Seats are arranged in two sets of pew benches, eight rows deep with an aisle between the sets. On the one side two extra pew benches can be used when attendance is large. Except for the last row, all the pew benches are made of mahogany wood. The last row is made up of many leather or vinyl couches laid side by side. Adjoining this room is an area with various type vending machines and more leather or vinyl couches designed in a square shape for students and teachers to get together during break time. The only clock within the two areas is on the wall facing the vending machines. On the far wall an open door leads to an outside ramp to the parking lot. Approximately 25 students are in attendance and they sit in small clusters, scattered around the room. I asked the student, whose class I was attending, if the students were sitting with their friends. The student confirmed my assumption.

I observed two other classroom layouts. One room is large and spacious with overhead florescent lights. On the sides of the walls are various maps of Indian tribes of California. The students sit in standard note-taking classroom chairs made of light colored wood. Five rows of chairs with 10 seats across

filled the room. The teacher's podium is in the front of the room with a small desk for notes. The blackboards covered one end of the room behind the desk area. Approximately 25 students are attending class.

The second room observed was a multipurpose room. In the center of the room sit many small tables with chairs available on all four sides of each table. There are approximately eight sets of tables. This arrangement can contain students using only one part of the room or it can allow the teacher to sit at the same table with the students during a small group discussion. In this context, a small group is a few students enrolled in class. Next to the tables, some equipment was stored inside vertical metal lockers with the doors part way open. Larger pieces of equipment are covered with a vinyl tarp outside the lockers. At one end blackboards cover the wall with a small desk in front for the teacher. Two students attend.

The class topics presented within the four observed samples ranged from U.S. Indian history to business accounting. In all four samples, I observed the style of learning where a teacher lectures and students individually take notes. In one sample, the teacher lectured from the podium and occasionally moved to the blackboard to write down some historical names and dates as a review from a previous discussion. He then walked to the front row and gave handouts to those students who had raised their hands to indicate that they did not have one. He returned to the podium to continue reviewing the material

that he said was for an upcoming test. Various students interacted with the teacher, asking him questions and getting further clarification on possible test questions. He continued to lecture for a short time and then announced that everyone would take a break for coffee. Soon the class was called to order and the teacher resumed reviewing, looking at his watch and noting the time. He then dismissed the class quickly so that the students would not be late for the dinner hour¹. Some students were still trying to ask questions while others began talking and making noise while shuffling out of the building.

In another sample, the teacher came into the classroom and put his materials on the same table he shared with a student. He walked to the blackboard and began his lecture. As he spoke, he itemized many things on the board. Next, a student came in and walked to the back of the room to study and was not related to the class in session. After completing this task, the teacher gave a short explanation of each item and returned to the table. He continued to explain the items and then questioned the students about the textbook. Another student came in and the teacher stopped talking to acknowledge his arrival. After a brief pause, he continued again to ask questions and two students responded. He commended them on their responses and carried the answer a step further to show the wider context of

¹At D-Q, meals are served in the cafeteria to the students at specific times. If the students are late, the meal is missed.

the problem. Both students continued to take notes and then class was dismissed. Thus, in the first example, the class learning time is governed by the campus mealtime. In the second example, the small class size allows for an interpersonal style of communication and intimacy between the teacher and the students.

One aspect of the social life at D-Q is the small size of the campus that helps the students to get to know all the other students at a much faster pace than they would if it were a larger facility. The students have the opportunity to develop a closer and more meaningful relationship with each other because they live together as well as attend class together. This system is informally known by the students as the Native American student support network.

Jill says that the students who stay in the dormitories on campus live like a family. They are very close to each other and get to know the other peoples' personal problems as well as their faults on a much deeper level than most student interactions that takes place in a larger school. She says life at D-Q is like living in a small community; the atmosphere is great and it helps the younger students who have come directly from high school. She knows that many students will be transferring to a 4-year university that will be much larger than D-Q, but they have made that adjustment now. She concludes, "We know we can stay away from our family; we can live on our own and we can make

friends with other people besides those we have come away from."

Larry commented that most of the school's students live in the dormitories and they get to know each other personally in a very short time. Their common Native American heritages brings them together at a faster pace. He says, "We have a close network of Indian students here." He describes the weekends when students must take care of themselves, e.g., cooking meals, washing dishes, mopping floors and making sure everything is clean in the dormitories. Camaraderie among students exists because they realize they have to work together and be friendly. He concludes that sometimes they do have their disagreements or personality clashes will occur between two students, but nothing serious happens.

The Native American student support network acknowledges that Native American students are of different cultures but they emphasize pan-Indianism in their daily lives by working together and supporting commonalities rather than differences. They take care of each other on the weekends as well as keeping their rooms clean.

The construction of identity in the curriculum at D-Q emphasizes the notion of pan-Indianism as well as the victimization of Native Americans at the hands of the Euro-Americans. In these areas, two students give positive comments on the classes they have taken while another gives a negative comment on one of her classes. First, one student talked about learning the

pan-Indian way, that is invoking the universality of Indian cultures. She says,

One thing the instructors try to teach us, is that Indian cultures are really not much different from one another. Each student claims a different culture, but as students of learning, we can get everything the same out of the class we need to.

This statement about the curriculum suggests that Indian cultures may have their differences, but Indians as students are all equal partners in education.

This idea supports values such as respect, friendliness and reciprocity toward each other.

Another student commented on the classes he has taken at D-Q emphasizing victimization. In his own words he said, "I enjoy all of my classes and find them useful in supporting my image of what the dominant society has inflicted upon Native Americans both legally and historically in terms of land and the environment." Clearly, this student is emphasizing these points. First, as a Native American, he can personally relate to being victimized by the dominant society. In playing the victim role, he is reinforcing his own identity and the injustices perpetrated upon people like him.

One student did not feel comfortable with the dissemination of information on religion's role in European dominance. The curricular emphasis is centered on building a strong sense of pride in being Indian in opposition to their victimization by missionaries. She says:

Native American religion is strongly advocated here because the teachers want to give the students a strong sense of themselves.

While I understand why they are doing this, they emphasize that Christian missionaries treated the Indians bad, thus all Christians are bad people to the Indians. There are two types of Christians, those that are loving and caring to all people and those that feed on self-greed in the name of Christianity using the Bible as their reason. As a Christian, I feel offended.

A personal conflict has been created for her because she is Indian and has chosen to follow the Christian faith. She believes that other students see her Christianity as supporting victimization of Indians.

Amy's main concern is that all Christians should not be stereotyped based on the actions taken against Indians by the Catholic missionaries. The curriculum needs to support more diverse points of view or it risks alienating some Native American students. She raises the question, if students follow the tradition of a specific Native American religion in order to feel linked with their culture, are they more Indian than those who choose to be Christians? This lack of flexibility in the learning environment has made her hesitant to speak out in class.

Finally, cultural identity is constructed in the curriculum in two ways. One way is through knowledge of one's tribal heritage. This curriculum is taught to students not only as a builder of self-identity, but as a reinforcer of their cultural identity and pride. Clayton says that most students attend D-Q without first learning about their heritage from their tribal elders. His parents encouraged him to assimilate to the dominant cultural ways because they felt

that would give him the best chance to succeed, but he has chosen to abandon that idea. He would like other students to know and identify him by his tribal name, Karok, meaning people rather than just another American Indian attending D-Q, and to respect him as a person and a man. He says other Indian students do inquire about his tribal background and that just talking about his people makes him feel good about himself and in turn raises his self-esteem. Clayton expresses his need to be identified by his tribal name giving him personal value and respect from others, and also chooses to abandon the name American Indian because it projects a stereotypic image of inferiority.

A second way cultural identity is constructed through the process of giving input on the scheduling of certain elective classes that reflect traditional styles of art, music and language. In between the fall and spring semesters, a list of Native American studies are suggested (a list of 15 classes) and posted. Those students who are interested sign up accordingly. This way the school knows what cultural areas interest the students. Larry says that the most requested classes have been in Native American languages, specifically Lakota and Maidu. He says that the reason Lakota has been so popular is because their culture has been so publicized by the media and also, one of the teachers is from South Dakota and is very fluent in the Lakota language. The reason for the popularity of the Maidu language is that the California Indians who reside in

the smaller reservation areas want to speak their own languages as a last-ditch effort to hold on to their cultural traditions. Thus, students have access to feedback on subjects they are interested in learning as well as creating their own self-identity.

The construction of identity by full-blood Indian students is quite different from mixed-blood Indian students. The underpinning logic of both the government policy and consequently, many Native Americans is that full-blood Indians have their original culture, language and religious tradition that are symbolic of true Indianness. The concept of tradition is important because it gives them a sense of belonging and identity (Mach, 1993). To keep their identity, they contend that "our tradition has to be preserved and continued" (p. 63) because anything else would be alien to us. In contrast, mixed-blooded Indians have a combination of two or more cultures diluting the amount of Indian blood and carry a syncretism of cultural aspects. Thus, full-blooded Indians do not generally recognize mixed-blooded peers as being of the same culture. The former show their reaction overtly when a person, who does not look the role, identifies themselves as Indian.

To illustrate the point, one Native American student whose observable features, e.g., blonde hair and fair complexion are not associated with Native Americans, experienced some isolation from a few young full-blooded Indian students in the classroom when she first enrolled at D-Q. Despite her chosen

ethnic emphasis, they accused her of trying to pass herself off as an Indian. At first, they disbelieved her heritage and her right to make a choice. She justifies the full-blooded Indian students' attitude toward her by stating that "there are many people out there claiming to be Native American who are not." She goes on to say that most full-blooded Indian students have accepted her as a friend over time because they feel her situation is different. They respect her specifically because she is at D-Q and trying to learn of her heritage and she is not one of those people that says she is Indian and then lives in a non-Indian way. Nevertheless, many full-blood Indian students set the standard by their own parameters and then deem her the exception to the rule.

In a school where the student population is mostly Native Americans, students construct their own identity through their tribal affiliation. In this way, students can differentiate themselves from others and express their individual tribal importance. This is not to say that this difference is not compatible with the notion of pan-Indianism. Indeed, students merely want to express their individual identity but at the same time share their cultural commonalities and respect difference with others. For example, Jill says there are no existing tribal conflicts and the students respect each others' tribal customs and traditions when they attend the powwow. She says that even if students are from different tribes, they do not say they will not participate in the various dances. She continues to say that "at D-Q it is like open house." All students

talk to each other and from that they learn about each other's culture.

Larry gives a different perspective than Jill. He explains that tribal conflicts do happen. He says he has personally experienced this on campus but he has an explanation. Larry defines these students as individuals who are extremely proud of their own people and want to express that to other students in a positive way. He explains that the Plains Indians are always talked about and Hollywood depicts them in most of the movies about Indians. Consequently, California Indians are lesser known tribes and do not have that recognition. Thus, Larry concludes that these students are searching for that recognition.

Social Life

When a student first enrolls at D-Q, social relationships consist of the individual's family, old friends and other students who live at the dormitories. For example, two students chose to go home to visit their families every weekend after school had started. One of these students discovered she was doing more socializing than studying when she visited. Consequently, she made the decision to go home only during the breaks and holidays. The other student made friends on campus and it was at this juncture that she realized that she did not really need to go home every weekend for moral support.

The other two students visited their families and relatives occasionally when school was not in session. They were able to do this because each

owned a car which gave them more freedom and opportunity to visit home when they felt lonely or just generally homesick. Thus, family support and the need to go home to a familiar place became a temporary bridge that encouraged them to make the adjustments necessary to living at D-Q and to become more self-reliant.

One older student had to make the adjustment of learning to live with other students, particularly young ones. She reflects on these living arrangements as fun because now the young students tell her they do not mind her living in the dormitory. They know that she is here for one purpose, to improve herself, and in that they have accepted her.

One of the students did not come directly from high school and had developed a social problem of drinking and getting in trouble with his old friends. It was a difficult decision for him to decide to break away from them because he had known them throughout his childhood. D-Q has an affiliate site right outside of his hometown but if he chose to attend there he would come in contact with his old friends. Instead, he chose to attend the main campus and believed that this location offered him the prospect of making new friends, staying on the straight and narrow path toward a better life.

When the students are not in class or studying in the dormitories, extra-curricular activities on campus provides an opportunity for them to interact with other students by participating in various programs such as athletics, clubs,

health delivery service, or working for the school. Physical education promotes good health as well as building camaraderie and teamwork among the students. Athletic activities are coordinated with the academic curriculum only when school is in session. Otherwise, athletics is designed more for enjoyment than for academic credit. One student expressed disappointment that athletics at D-Q could not be more competitive and more meaningful. He says:

I feel that the curriculum is lacking in intercollegiate team sports. We have a basketball and softball team but we only compete on a recreational type level. We need more opportunity for D-Q to have their own team and participate in events with other schools around here.

Historically, traditional games and sports among Native Americans were a vital part of each tribe's culture and religion dating back to the 17th century. These games were played in the spirit of helping the tribe. Hirschfelder and de Montaña (1993) explain that tribal members were participants as well as spectators and "waging on the outcome of an engagement . . . was nearly universal and served to redistribute goods among tribal members and to reaffirm social ties" (p. 120). In the 20th century came strong, nationally recognized athletic programs at Indian schools like Carlisle Indian Industrial School and Haskell Institute. "Jim Thorpe, the Potawatomi-Sac and Fox Indian, whose legendary feats in baseball, football and track won him recognition as the world's greatest athlete" (Gibson, 1980, p. 522), increased Native American interest in competitive sports. Thus, Indian school programs came to include

varsity competition in these sports.

Without intercollegiate sports, students with a strong interest in competitive sports are denied the opportunity to expand their capabilities and be proud of their achievements. Students can also build positive self-perception in being part of a recognized team, representing their school and helping to lead them to victory. Thus, the D-Q team not only has a spiritual connection of these Native American sports to their cultural past but they also unify strong social ties with other Indian team members.

In the area of clubs, the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) has a chapter on campus for those students who are majoring in these fields. Both Amy and Larry are active members and participate in all the student activities associated with the club including recruitment of new members. Amy is also very motivated to give of her time to work on special projects. She is active in Student Body Affairs and in particular, she is involved with a group of students who are helping to reorganize a potentially successful Drug and Alcoholic Recovery Center for a sober living environment off campus. Their goal is to help all Indians in the local area and that gives her personally a strong sense of accomplishment as well as a meaningful tie to the Indian culture. Her need to help others can lead to a feeling of positive self-perception.

Helping others is a theme often associated with the students at D-Q. All

students are required to contribute 10 hours each week toward the working operation of the school. Jill's contribution is in the role of administrative receptionist. In her spare time, she is active in Student Body Affairs and is a security guard for a lumber company in a nearby town. Although she keeps very busy with all of these activities, she still manages to fill the role of secretary of the Student Council this past year. In summary, all of these students represent the typical student that enrolls at D-Q. They not only have the determination to better themselves educationally, but have actively selected to become members in clubs and programs that gives them a sense of accomplishment and worth, while giving back to the community.

"At D-Q, everyone is friendly to each other regardless of age", noted one student. However, the relationship between age and off campus activities with students is problematic. For instance, Clayton is an older student and he says that he feels he does not really fit in with the young students socially. He says they have a different perception of a good time than he does, such as drinking or taking drugs. His interests are more artistic such as detailing motorcycles. Detailing is the art of customizing a vehicle with colorful emblems or action figures. Thus, socializing for him does not include alcohol, carousing or womanizing and in this respect, he is a loner.

In contrast, Amy and her classmates have a stronger base for social interactions. She said, "We get together to watch television, bum around, or go

up to Lake Berryessa to relax." In addition, they participate together in a drum group which helps to unify them.

Jill commented that because the students are like one big family, she is quite comfortable around them and talks to them. As an older student, she says she thinks of the younger students as her sons and daughters. Talking to them is the extent of it, however, for she does not go with them on trips into town or go to the movies for recreation. She says she reserves some space for herself away from "those kids you see day in and day out." Jill prefers to just go to her room alone and study.

Finally, Larry does not socialize off campus either with the younger students because of their age and their need to drink alcohol. He says occasionally a student or two at school close to his age has participated in sports on campus or played chess. He rarely leaves the campus with a friend for social reasons mainly because, he says, there is not much to do out in the country. He continues to say that when he first arrived at D-Q, he would isolate himself from younger students purposely so he could find out who is trustworthy. In his own words he said, "As a defense mechanism, when things got out of control I would isolate myself from everyone." Thus, Larry believes that these actions were necessary to have some control over his social life.

Social interactions on campus are more prevalent than off campus. Sometimes group learning in the classroom functions to provide a basis for

interaction among students of different ages to get to know each other in a different way. Within the structured group, Clayton says it is difficult to interact with younger students because "they think they know it all." He tries to guide their thinking by expressing a different view but he comments, "Those students do not show me any respect." As a result, he only helps those students outside of class if they approach him.

Sometimes social interaction within the classroom can set up a barrier between two potential friends. Amy says that if you do not know the students personally out of the classroom, they have a tendency to not want to reveal too much about themselves. They will tell her that they are not her friends, in the true sense of the word. They are just in her class and as classmates they will discuss the subject matter but not carry any possible friendship outside of the classroom. Amy concludes that there are possibly many reasons why this sort of thing happens. One reason is that some full-blood Indians feel inhibited by a student who does not look like them because the students' assume her appearance reflects different values and behavior.

Finally, Jill says that social interaction during group learning in class is just like out of class. Only the type of room is different. Similarly, Larry says that social interaction during group learning is not meaningful because everything at the school is on such a small scale. Everybody knows most everyone else because the enrollment on the main campus is so low. More

important, they see each other every day in the dormitories, in the eating area and during school activities. Thus, the students are constantly operating within a very concentrated social context.

Relations with Faculty

Social interaction and cultural identity do not just take place between students, for if the university is fortunate enough to have Native American faculty, then students and teachers can also share cultural identity and interact with each other in the classroom. First, the teachers are professional role models and give their time to help Indian students believe in themselves. Second, the teachers may be of the same tribal background as the students and they may develop a special cultural bond. Finally, the teachers represent symbols of professional success in the world.

Students can relate to teachers in two ways. One is task-based and they see the teacher as a conduit to convey information in which identity is irrelevant. This point is illustrated by Clayton and Amy's comments. Clayton says he would only interact with his teacher to broaden his horizons more academically. Amy says it would not make any difference if the teachers were Native American or not because cultural identity has nothing to do with classroom learning. She says, teachers represent knowledge and experience and this is what they pass on to their students. She would not pursue voluntary social interactions with the teacher.

The other way that students relate to teachers is through mentoring relationships that form the basis of communication. In this pattern, identity is important. Jill notes that Native Americans value an education but do not attend colleges because of the lack of Native American teachers who can relate to them and understand them. At D-Q, they are fortunate to have a few. Her view is that if more Native American teachers would come in and teach, the younger ones would be more eager to get an education. They would be closer to them because the teachers voluntarily came back to the school to help students get off on the right foot. In these statements, Jill is describing the value of Native American teachers in terms of what she says she personally has been missing in other schools she has attended. She wants a relationship with a teacher that will nurture and help her develop her identity as well as someone for her to emulate.

A cultural bond with a member of one's own tribe would be an even more personal relationship between a student and teacher, according to Larry. He explains that if students are away from their family support network, they would want to know that they are accepted or welcomed to interact socially with that particular teacher. He says his preference is to be taught by Native American teachers because they would take the time to understand him and help him develop his identity and thus, become an extension of his family. Nevertheless, he is flexible enough that he could learn to adapt without that

culture base. He says that times are changing and Native American professionals are increasingly on the horizon and maybe the next generation will have that experience.

Learning Styles

One learning style used in the classroom is a form of observational learning called visual perception, more commonly known as watch and do. This style is related to child rearing practices in many Indian cultures, e.g., Navajo, Inuit, and Yaqui. Indian children have traditionally been taught by their elders to watch or observe how a task is completed and then to try the task themselves. In this way, children were expected to develop good observational skills which helped them be independent (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993).

Studies in the past (John, 1972; Kleinfeld, 1973; Phillips, 1972) have investigated the visual approach that these Indian groups use as a method of understanding the world. Indian children, who have developed their skill to retain visual information, are in a conflict situation with the traditional classroom learning of verbal instruction, reading, writing, and listening, (Hirschfelder & de Montaña, 1993) or also with trial and error learning. This type of learning is where a student gives an answer verbally and then refines the answer after receiving feedback from the teacher (More, 1987).

To get a better understanding of this style, Gilliland (1988) describes how Indian children utilize visual learning skills. He writes, "Most Native Americans

are expert observers. They learn easily from demonstration and note every detail. . . . They usually do better than non-Native peers on observation and visual learning tasks, visual discrimination and spacial [sic] configuration" (p. 52). This learning style simply emphasizes "how to think rather than what to think and Indian children can learn it best with class materials that they can feel, touch and manipulate" (p. 53).

Current research studies are empirically testing the hypothesis that adapting instruction in the classroom to Native American visual learning styles will increase student achievement. Most of these studies have gone unpublished. However, the McCartin and Schill study conducted in 1977 compared the effectiveness of three instructional methods in teaching a lesson. The first method used written text with pictures. The second method presented verbal text with pictures. The third method employed verbal text with large pictures using an overhead transparency. The sample consisted of 96 Native American students from the third through eighth grade that were randomly assigned to each method. No significant differences were found. Emphasis on visual materials did not lead to greater learning as had expected. McCartin and Schill concluded that "statistical methods are somewhat inappropriate when comparing the effectiveness of different methods or modes of presentation" (p. 20).

Although this study was not able to demonstrate that visual perception

learning style is an educational benefit, future research studies in this area, possibly using a qualitative design, may get different results. Unfortunately, no research studies have been published on visual learning styles and contemporary Native American students in higher education to use as a comparison.

At D-Q, learning style preference mirrors the diversity found at San Jose State University (SJSU). Group learning is another learning style used in-a classroom environment. This style can function both in the classroom and out of the classroom. One of the functions is academic which includes clarifying course material as well as hearing alternate viewpoints from other classmates. As mentioned earlier, the work study group in this context is three or four students working together on problem-solving within the larger classroom group (Parker, 1985). However, these students' comments reflect some ambiguity about what constitutes a small group.

Clayton prefers individual learning instead of group learning. He says that in a group learning situation, he does not receive respect from the other group members for his input, even if the teacher agrees with his opinion. He attributes this view to the age gap between himself and the younger students who have mostly come directly from high school. Thus, his assessment of the situation is that if he were more persuasive to the younger students, his self-perception would become more positive.

Amy advocates both individual learning as well as group learning. She

says she learns well independently from books because of her home learning environment. Nevertheless, she does enjoy the teacher's lectures and the way she gives her insights to something she did not fully understand when she read the material. On the other hand, she says that small groups are desirable because you can get a "little debate going" and become more involved in the problem. Students in groups can come up with their own ideas, but she evaluates the teacher's experience as the most important cog that makes the wheel turn.

Group learning from the academic perspective is good, according to Jill. She says all the students try to help each other. She emphasizes the camaraderie among students that takes place out of class. She stated that some students get in groups around a table in the kitchen area of the cafeteria or they will go in groups to someone's room in the dormitory. For those who are having particular difficulty with homework and need one on one help, tutors are available. She said she personally felt that both group and individual learning are equal in importance and value. Thus, one can learn different aspects of a problem from the teacher as well as other students.

Finally, Larry says he is more comfortable with the smaller work group representing the whole class rather than the work group being part of a larger classroom. He says he does not learn as fast as most students. In addition, he needs constant repetition to understand and remember concepts. He is

most familiar with the learning style where the teacher lectures with only a few students in attendance and he is most happy with that setting. He says he gets embarrassed asking questions in large groups and feels intimidated by the other students. He perceives them as judging him. As a whole, he evaluates the larger classroom in terms of the anxiety and discomfort it brings, and says it represents a threat to him in maintaining a positive learning experience at D-Q.

While some General Education classes and the more popular classes require large rooms or forums to accommodate many students, it is the other classes that have relatively few students in attendance. All four students agreed that they especially enjoyed the opportunity to be part of a small class size where one can receive a more personal type of instruction with the teacher.

A third learning style used in the classroom is called observational learning, where the emphasis is centered on the teacher as a model. Many tribal colleges have begun using this style with course materials that are taught from an Indian perspective, where the learning process is not focused so much on what to teach, but how to teach, in ways that are compatible with their culture (Little Soldier, 1989). For example, two students attended the same class and each came away from the class with a different interpretation of the benefits of this learning style. One student said:

In my English composition class, my teacher is also an author and she

uses the class reading book as a tool to teach us how the author made the reader feel things. I like that style of learning so I can become a better writer rather than just talking about the content of the book.

The other student said:

My instructor teaches us what we need to know in order to be an effective writer in my English composition class. She helps us brainstorm and brings those ideas down to our level of understanding and explains it so we can write it down and learn.

In the first example, the student is saying that this learning style gives her insights into the teacher's personal experience as an author-model and that being able to communicate feelings, emotions, and thoughts to a readership is a major component of good writing skills. In the second example, the student expresses satisfaction that the learning style used in this class was meaningful and comprehensible.

Now that these Native American students have expressed their view on learning styles used in the classroom, they also give their opinions about the importance of being in class every day and on time. In their own words, the students gave these comments on the concept of time. One said, "I will miss something important if I am not there. The review in class today was helpful because I knew I highlighted the correct information for an upcoming test." Another said, "I am here at D-Q to challenge myself to learn so I might just as well be in class and on time." And still another said, "Going to class every day is just like having a job. You would not have a job very long if you were never

there and not on time." Finally, one said, "As a student you are here to learn and you cannot learn if you are not there." The students illustrate that to go to school means that they must be there every session and on time, just like holding down a job after attending school has ended.

Positive Self-Perception and Goals

Positive self-perception can be gained through the classroom experience in many different ways. Because the curriculum is culture-based, students can reinforce or build their self-identity through the class material and as a result gain positive self-perception. Clayton and Larry illustrate this process. Clayton sees his level of positive self-perception as a separate realm from the classroom experience. He says, "Other Native American students do not reinforce my self-concept of who I am. That comes from within." Yet, the classroom experience has made him speak aloud more and he says he can freely give his opinions and offer his insights. From his perspective, Native Americans are an embarrassment to the dominant culture in that they still exist. They are not a bit assimilated because they do not choose to be. They want their own religion and culture as it was in the beginning. His self-perception has become even more vivid through his Indian history and federal law classes because in his words, "These classes give me more dirt to work with." Thus, he emphasizes that everyone should know more about the Native American view. Clearly, Clayton had already constructed his self-identity before the classroom

experience. However, this experience magnifies his already internalized notion that he is a victim of the dominant culture.

Larry has spent most of his youth attending Euro-American schools and said he was aware of his culture and traditions but was never around his own people or tribe. He says, "The classroom has helped me define myself as a person, my abilities and my culture. I always knew I was Pomo, but I was never able to say or express that until I came to D-Q." Through the indigenous classes he has taken he has been able to trace his family's roots and learn of the mistreatment of Indians during the Gold Rush. At this point in time, he says he now has a responsibility to himself and the people he knows to make them aware of the things he has learned. He views himself as an example to his younger Native American brothers and sisters.

In addition, Larry says his motivation has definitely increased in a small class setting because in this type of environment he has a better opportunity to be called upon by the teacher to ensure that he understands the material which then promotes him to study more. The more studying he does the more he learns and the better grades he receives and that ultimately builds his self-esteem, which makes the classroom experience even more meaningful.

Amy characterizes the classroom experience as positive, noting "it makes me feel good about myself, most of the time." However, she admits a small conflict is going on inside of her that originates from her classmates. She

said, "I question whether I have the right to take up a place where another student could be attending." She answers the question by saying, "I am at D-Q for all the right reasons and that it is just as important for me to be here as it would be for another person, for Native American people believe that what really matters is what is in your heart." The classroom experience helps her build her self-identity and clarify her academic motivation. It reinforces the notion that mixed-blood Indians can attend D-Q and are just as important and just as much Indian as full-bloods, for she believes that being Indian is not always determined by a biological definition, it can also be defined by one's purity of heart.

Jill describes the classroom experience as a "flower which has just bloomed." She has built up her own positive self-perception through gaining the confidence to do oral presentations in front of the class. She said, "It has made me open up a lot more and I am able to speak out and say what I really feel and think." Jill attributes these good feelings to the way her teacher presents the material and explains it down on her level of learning, making writing much easier. She defines the classroom experience meaningful in terms of coming out of her shell. Based on their comments it appears that the classroom experience was very meaningful to Clayton, Larry, Amy and Jill. As they learned and understood new information they became reflexive, each in their own way, discovering something significant about themselves.

Given that these four Native American students have positive self-perception about college life, they plan to continue their education. Clayton plans to transfer to Humboldt State located in Arcata in Northern California. He selected this school because it is in his part of the country and he knows many people who live around there. His career focus will either be in political science or in natural resources and wildlife management. He is interested in administration, but he has not made a firm commitment to that yet.

Amy has not yet decided what school she would like to transfer to after graduation. Her choices are University of California at Irvine because they offer an excellent computer science program or a university in Oklahoma near or on the reservation base. As a last resort, she will follow her friends and attend Humboldt State.

Jill is very much interested in continuing her education. Her eventual goal is to go into the medical field and specialize in internal medicine. She would like to transfer to a university in North or South Dakota because she says it is more of a Native American area to study medicine in. Second, in this locale she may have more options available to her regarding financial aid programs or scholarships specifically for Native Americans. Third, her age may create problems in being accepted into medical school, so attending a university where a high population of Native Americans may be beneficial to her.

Finally, Larry would like to continue his education while working. He

plans to attend Sacramento State because that school is more business oriented. Specifically, he wants to enroll in the school's Management Information System Program which deals with a combination of computer science and business administration. His ultimate goal is either becoming a professional or to go into the area of computer maintenance for a business organization or the government.

Postscript

I first visited D-Q in March 1994 to conduct interviews. The social relations established with these four students were friendly, spirited and energetic on the one hand and cautious and careful in what they revealed about themselves to me. The students were amiable and very optimistic about D-Q. They wanted to experience all that the school could offer them including the hope that they would achieve their future goals. Nevertheless, after I returned home, an abrupt change in the administration of the school took place and that change was not understood or well received by the students. This change harbored mistrust and created rebellion and chaos among the entire student population. Ten months later, I made a return visit in January 1995 to talk to the participating students about some questions I had about the data. Now the mood and health of these social relations had completely changed and reflected a lack of trust, indifference and anger. The morale of the students was at a low ebb. Only two of the four students were on campus for me to talk

to and they appeared to be rather aloof. One student had already dropped from enrollment. It was difficult for me to ask questions and yet be sensitive to the environment and what had happened. When I left D-Q, my energies were completely drained and I felt bewildered about the situation I had just encountered.

In the next chapter, I will explore in depth the role of identity, an area that plays out differently in each institution. I will address such issues as legal identity, the social context for enacting Indianess and the role of identity in shaping connections to the institution. Native American student experiences reveal both positive and negative interactions with other students and teachers.

Chapter 6

When is an Indian an Indian?¹

The curriculum and educational community at D-Q University (D-Q) explicitly supports an active Native American identity. Knowledge is linked to identity and serves two purposes. First, student learning provides a practical means to improving Native American communities. Second, in a more individual mode, the students are helped to gain "inner strength and depth of character" (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 2) so that they might achieve their personal goals in life. Knowledge is intended to contribute to the well-being of the individual as well as the communities of indigenous people.

Native American students make up 75% of the student population and represent many different cultures. Tribal affiliation among students is quite prominent and as a consequence, individual conflicts concerning identity can occur in the classroom or at a social function. In order to ease these tensions the notion of pan-Indianism is reinforced by the school in an everyday context, both academically and socially, with students.

For learning to be positive, the curriculum is based on affirmation of being Indian, which includes the individual student's cultural values, history and spiritual ways (Office of Admissions and Records, n.d.). Thus, the academic process and identity are intertwined. First, the curriculum emphasizes the

¹A phrase commonly attributed to Margaret Mead.

notion of pan-Indianism or universality in a classroom context. For example, one student said that the instructors try to teach that Indian cultures do have commonality and that students, regardless of culture, can get everything they need out of the class, including respect from others, friendliness, and reciprocity.

The curriculum emphasizes the need to preserve cultural identity. Students have input on the scheduling of certain elective classes and one of the most requested classes is Native American languages. While the course surveys the socio-linguistic diversity of Native American languages overall, attention is given to such specifics as the cultural values that are reflected by the languages and the language's relationship to identity (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 80). To illustrate, Larry commented that the two most popular languages requested were Lakota and Maidu. Each is chosen for different reasons. Many students chose Lakota because the Sioux culture has been popularized in media. Stereotypic Indians based on media imagery generate a specific image in popular culture, of Plains Indians, and knowing the Lakota language is symbolic of their authenticity as Indians. In contrast, other California Indian students chose Maidu, a language spoken in very small reservation areas. These students are trying to keep alive their cultural traditions. Some students associate language with the old ways of their specific traditional culture, while other students view language as proof of their

Indianness, and as a first-step strategy toward re-creation of a new identity (Royce, 1982, p. 157).

Next, the core of the curriculum builds the students' self-identity through knowledge of their own cultural heritages. Many Native American students enroll at D-Q knowing little about their cultural background. As Clayton explains it, most students have not learned from their tribal elders about their heritage and consequently, D-Q teaches tribal heritage to reinforce cultural identity. Without a strong identity, the students will have weakened perceptions of self.

Equally important in the classroom, student self-identity is built through emphasis of cultural traditions, for example, Native American religions. Amy has had a strong Christian upbringing and points out that while the discussion of Native American religions empowers students to "feel good about themselves" and is used as a tool toward building student self-respect, it also creates an exclusive learning environment. By stressing that the Christian missionaries treated the Indians badly, they encourage the perception that all Christians are bad people. No differentiation is made between Christians nor is it mentioned that in many traditional Native American religions, syncretism has taken place as Christian elements have been incorporated into Indian ceremonies. For example, the peyote religion has a history of being deeply rooted in aboriginal America and is most commonly practiced in the Native American Church. Gill (1982) explains that this change meant that "the practice

of peyote religion could either exclude Christian beliefs and practices or extensively incorporate them" (p. 171) according to the group members. The staunch traditional tribal cultures, however, view this change as being destructive to Native American ways (LaBarre, 1969). At D-Q, one student experienced her Christianity and Native American identities as presented as mutually exclusive.

Finally, learning is structured by building on the past, i.e., history of indigenous people particularizes the victimization of Indians at the hands of the dominant culture to reinvent a new Indian identity for today's world. This new identity revitalizes personal values, worth and pride in today's indigenous cultural contribution (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992, p. 83). Student self-determination is encouraged. For instance, Clayton states that "Indians do not want to be assimilated; Indians want their own religion and culture as it was in the beginning" and that as a result of his history classes, "It just gives me more dirt to work with."

When students enroll in the university, the application process does not include a request for ethnic identification. It is assumed that the students are Native American. In addition, a segment of the application asks questions concerning financial aid and gives directions as to how to apply. In order for Native American students to qualify for financial aid, two avenues can be pursued. One avenue applies to any student who needs financial aid and is not

determined by ethnicity. D-Q participates in both federal and state aid programs. Some of these are Pell Grants, Cal Grants A and B, College Work-Study Programs and Scholarship Programs. Eligibility is determined by economic need; enrollment is at least half-time in a degree program, and the students are making satisfactory academic progress (Office of Admissions and Records, 1992). The other avenue employs a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Higher Education Grant, a financial aid source specifically for qualified Native American students. In order to receive aid, the students must be tribally eligible and be able to prove their claim.

The determination of legal Indian identity is a very complex issue. The BIA or the tribal organizations establish identity in different ways. The BIA definition states that a person must have a blood quantum of at least one-quarter to have Native American status. Some tribal organizations require one-half to be eligible, while in California and Oklahoma, several tribes require not less than one-eighth or one-sixteenth to qualify (Thornton, 1984, p. 190). This is only part of the problem. Persons of mixed-blood must also be recognized by their tribal organization. If the tribal organization recognizes patrilineal descent, then the father's side of the family must be Indian. Likewise, if the tribal organization recognizes matrilineal descent, then the mother's side of the family must be Indian. If the opposite parent is Indian than the one who is recognized, then the child does not belong to any tribe even

though they have Indian blood (Thornton, 1984). Thus, in order for a Native American student to qualify for federal benefits under the BIA, they must have a blood quantum of one-quarter and have sufficient documentation from their tribal organization to establish tribal identity.

In sharp contrast to the specificity of D-Q's indigenous status and tribal affiliation, the student population at San Jose State University (SJSU) is a kaleidoscope of cultural groups. In 1993, more minorities were attending than Euro-Americans and each year the number of minorities increased, creating an even bigger gap. Since identity is self-selected by newly enrolled students, the number of students who identify themselves as minorities has increased while fewer identify themselves as Euro-Americans. This implies that either more minorities are attending than ever before or that students of mixed-blood are identifying with the culture of one specific parent (Office of Institutional Research, 1995).

Reflecting the school's ethnic diversity, the curriculum emphasizes teaching different aspects of cultural pluralism in the classroom. Teaching cultural diversity to students can ameliorate racial tensions on campus while promoting more understanding of campus students who are different from themselves. For example, many teachers require of their students to complete a cultural assignment project. In one of Marilyn's classes, she was motivated to research a paper on Black Elk. This assignment not only reinforced her own

cultural identity as a Native American but gave her an opportunity to express Indian values to non-Indian students first-hand as well as the Native American experience.

In the latter part of 1993, SJSU students were surveyed regarding their perceptions and experiences which they felt affected the campus climate. One segment of the survey addressed the problem of whether students felt discrimination because of their race or ethnicity and whether they felt that the campus community was friendly or hostile to them. In addition, those students were asked to assess the situation as being tolerable or intolerable (Garcia, Lee & Wagner, 1993). The findings of the survey indicated that African American students reported the highest percentage of discrimination due to race and ethnicity and they found the campus to be hostile and intolerant. The Hispanics reported that they had experienced discrimination on campus more than Euro-American students but less than African Americans and thus, they believed the campus to be tolerable. The Asian students also reported a high percentage of discrimination and concurred that the campus was hostile and intolerant. Only the Euro-Americans rated the campus as being friendly and tolerant (Garcia, Lee & Wagner, 1993).

In light of these results, several avenues were explored to promote intergroup knowledge such as orientation programs, cultural celebrations or reading special class textbooks on a potpourri of ethnic groups. Seventy

percent of the students surveyed agreed on the latter, that formal coursework in ethnic studies would be an effective means to enhance intergroup knowledge and contact among students. While the researchers concluded that the differences reported above were not "substantially significant" (Garcia, Lee & Wagner, 1993, p. 7) the curriculum was changed requiring all undergraduates to complete a class on inequality in the U.S. as General Education requirement.

Clearly, SJSU recognizes and supports cultural diversity among the student population as seen in the requirement of an ethnic study class. The knowledge acquired in this type of class is very generalized and serves primarily to improve the campus climate as well as preparing students to function in an ethnically diverse society. However, a bigger problem is at work here. Ethnic students have different cultural beliefs or worldview that must be addressed in the curriculum. While SJSU praises diversity, there is a gap between recognition of diversity and building it into the decision-making process. To illustrate, recall that Penny did not want to participate in any laboratory work relating to terminal surgery as required by the Department of Biological Sciences. Cutting up animals went directly against her cultural beliefs. When she advised the Department of the situation, they told her that no allowances could be made. No one took into consideration that as a Native American, these actions could be culturally offensive to her. Thus, it appears that the curriculum does not reflect cultural diversity except in a very general

and content driven way. Department advisers lack the authority to help students with special circumstances. The focus of diversity is on collective solutions rather than individual ones. Indeed, the way SJSU handles the diversity issue is largely bureaucratic and does not reflect individual preferences and choices, reinforcing the processes of mass education.

Unlike Native American students at D-Q, when a student enrolls in SJSU, ethnic identity is a matter of choice. Self-selection has little effect on learning the academics. Ethnic identification can become an issue when the students apply for financial aid on this campus because Native American students are governed by the same two avenues for federal assistance as they do at D-Q through general programs based on need and ones targeting Native Americans using BIA criteria. The former set of resources is subject to a wide range of applicants reflecting many ethnicities and identities.

The larger question of social, not legal, identity is even more complex. One anthropologist defines identity as "the way in which people view themselves and their surroundings and how these surroundings influence them" (Hodge, 1981, p. 5). This means that an Indian's self-identity is either expressed or diminished depending on the context of their surroundings and the people present. The American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) club at SJSU support social functions, that of getting Native American students together for various cultural activities, i.e., powwows and sponsoring

and organizing an Indigenous Awareness week that provides a context for identity. For it is these types of cultural clubs on campus that the school most recognizes as a reflection of student diversity. To illustrate, Penny said that getting together with other Native American students is one way she could share personal aspects of her life as well as exchange information about her heritage. Both Alan and John are not active socializers on campus, and the social activities give them a window of opportunity to meet other Native American students who attend school.

Both institutions support a culturally based academic identity. For example, at D-Q, the AISES club assists Native American students in their science and engineering career goals. They are linked to the different satellite sites by computer so that AISES students can talk and get to know others like themselves. In addition, they attend the yearly National Conference to socialize with other Native American students on a bigger scale. While this local chapter functions in similar ways as other school chapters, they have only a few activities and are hindered by small student population. The other social activities that do take place on the D-Q campus are the powwows, which many students attend, and the notion of pan-Indianism prevails at these functions. Jill comments that students who attend respect each others tribal customs and traditions. She says that even if students are from a different tribe, they do not say they will not participate in the various dances. Everybody is Indian, when

Indians get together.

Apart from the common identity of Indians expressed at these powwows, Indians also identity themselves by their individual tribe. Generally, people define themselves in relations to others which are more emphasized in a given situation depending upon others and their identity (Mach, 1993). Larry says that tribal conflict occurs among students, but in a positive way. The Plains Indians are over publicized, highlighting the need for California Indians to note they also have a heritage worth recognizing. Both groups of students are extremely proud of their own heritage, seeking for that unique identity that reflects their tribe's significance.

In the anthropological and sociological literature many definitions of ethnic groups and ethnicity focus upon the commonality of shared culture and interaction by group members (Cohen, 1994). Expanding on these definitions, F. Barth (1969) proposes that an "ethnic group" denotes a population which:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating,
2. shares fundamental cultural values realized in overt unity in cultural forms,
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction,
4. has a membership which identifies itself and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. (p. 10-11)

In essence, this means that an ethnic group has not only shared culture and interaction, but one of self-identification, the formation of "we" in interaction with "others" which takes place across the boundary. Since ethnic boundaries

are socially constructed, and ethnic identity is flexible and changeable, the focus becomes the maintenance of those boundaries (Barth, 1969 p. 10). In cultural contact each group has to develop a pattern of interactions which allows it to maintain separate identity. Some symbolic forms used in this process are language, history, and religion (Mach, 1993).

Based on Barth's definition, British anthropologist S. Wallman (1979) argues that

ethnicity is the process by which 'their' difference is used to enhance the sense of 'us' for purposes of organisation [sic] or identification. . . . Because it takes two, ethnicity can only happen at the boundary of 'us', in contact or confrontation or by contrast with 'them'. And as the sense of 'us' changes, so the boundary between 'us' and 'them' shifts. Not only does the boundary shift, but the criteria which mark it change. (p. 3)

According to this definition, ethnic boundaries are always two-sided and ethnicity is "transactional, shifting and impermanent" (p. 4).

In contrast, A. P. Cohen (1994) adds a new dimension to the assumption that ethnicity can only reflect the way in which members of a group identify themselves and that each individual is a bearer of a given ethnic identity. He argues that "the self-consciousness of ethnicity" and the "symbolic form of ethnic identity" concerning individual members has largely been ignored. In combining the two, the identity of the individual would change from "I am a Palestinian" (collective ethnic identity) to "I am a particular Palestinian"

(individual ethnic identity). Thus, the boundaries become zones for reflexivity of who one is and who others are and the relationship of "we" and "others" becomes "self" and "others" (p. 120).

H. Eidheim (1969) conducted fieldwork in West-Finnmark, Northern Norway that serves to illustrate the ideas presented by Hodge, Barth and Wallman on ethnicity and ethnic identity. In West-Finnmark, a mixed Norwegian-Coast Lappish (Sami) population resides in fjord communities. Members of the Coast Lappish carry a stigmatized ethnic identity yet seek to be accepted as participants in the Norwegian society. The behavior they display in their everyday transactions are divided into distinct modes of interaction and the boundaries are maintained by a duo identity: Norwegian and Lapp.

In order to get material and social goods and to gain opportunities in the Norwegian society, this ethnic group must cover up any signs labeled as being Lappish. When apart from the Norwegians, in a closed mode, the Lappish have a secret life. This mode involves relationships with kin and neighbors known to be Lappish and the language is spoken freely. In other words, Lappish behave like Lappish when these folks get together, for nothing is hidden (Eidheim, 1969).

Sometimes in their daily life within their ethnic community, the Norwegians will make an entrance. When this occurs, people will immediately change from Lappish behavior to Norwegian behavior and the topics of

conversation are adjusted. If a Lappish and a Norwegian are in conversation and another Lapp makes an appearance, the social interaction between the two Lapps takes precedence over the disguise presented to the Norwegian. That is because ethnic solidarity is great and to not speak Lappish with another is a negative sanction. However, these interactions carry great social costs and rarely occur in the public mode. In situations where a Norwegian offends a Lapp, he may give up the pretense and an interethnic quarrel results, even though the Norwegians seem to have the last word. This dynamic process discussed above illustrates how the Lapps view themselves, how the boundaries are socially constructed; and how their surroundings determine their behavior. For it is the local Norwegian society that provides a meaningful context for the double life of a Lappish-Norwegian whose identity is flexible and always changing (Eidheim, 1969).

Parallel to the Lapps' social boundary, Native American students at SJSU maintain their social boundaries with other students by identifying the other as belonging to a different cultural category and interaction takes place. Interethnic interactions are complex. Sometimes a student who is a member of one ethnic group will find common ground with a student who is a member of another ethnic group. For example, recall that Alan was approached by an African American classmate, who discovered that he was Native American and said, "Let me shake your hand." Alan said he felt that the student understood

what it meant not to be part of the dominant race.

On the other hand, John says that most students show little reaction to him when they learn that he is Native American. He explains that because of the presence of diverse ethnicities on campus, meeting and knowing a Native American is really not "out of the ordinary." Marilyn says she is asked about her ethnicity by other students and many think she is Mexican but she is proud to say she is Native American. Thus, personal contact between these Native American students and others at the social boundary is transactional and flexible.

When Native American students get together with other Native American students, the context shifts and so does their behavior. From a historical perspective, the dichotomy between full-blooded and mixed-blooded Indians centers around the controversy of who is an Indian. In many reservation communities tribal membership was determined based on two factors: kinship and participation. When the BIA took control of the tribes on the reservations, they mandated who would have legal access to tribal resources and membership in the tribe. Indianness was no longer defined as participation in community activities but rather became a question of the "degree of Indian blood" (Wax, 1971, p.73).

Many of these Indian communities took Euro-American and persons of mixed-blood into the fold and defined them as being Indian (Forbes, 1969). In

addition, Euro-Americans married Indian women and fathered mixed-blood children and then applied for tribal membership (Hagan, 1992). As a result of intermarriages and heirship definition of Indianness, the government kept a close record of whether a person was a full-blood or a mixed-blood. This meant that children of a mixed-blood family would not, in most cases, be defined as an Indian (Wax, 1971).

Since 1900, tribes have had the authority to determine the criteria for tribal membership. Since many tribes trace matrilineal descent, tribes accepted mixed-bloods into full membership if their mothers were tribal members. In the 1960s and 1970s, Indian identity once again became a major issue. People were claiming to be Indian or to have Indian ancestry just to lay claim to benefits. Problematic are persons who have Indian ancestry but no tribal status. Tribal membership became very selective regarding mixed-blood persons because the members felt that to give tribal status to everyone claiming Indian identity would eventually dilute tribes to the point of losing their cultures and traditions (Hagan, 1992).

Another part of the issue of Indian identity is appearance. A person may claim to be Indian and yet not look the part. A person's physical features such as hair color and skin color are easily observed and it is these physical features that others define a person's ethnic identity based on association of traits. When the physical features do not define a person's ethnic identity and they

claim another identity, there is a greater chance that others will conclude that they are a victim of deception (Royce, 1982). Thus, persons of mixed heritage can choose to identify with their Indian ancestry and not carry any physical features of that culture.

The issue of Indian identity becomes even more controversial in terms of finding a typical Indian cultural behavior. First, some full-blood Indians live a Euro-American-style of life in a non-Indian urban setting. Second, there are mixed-blood Indians who also live in a non-Indian urban setting but whose behavior is directed more toward "those with pride, love and understanding of the People and the People's ways from which they come" (Wax, 1971, p. 189; see also Forbes, 1969). Finally, an individual can be defined as a white Indian. This person patterns his or her behavior after middle class Euro-Americans. He or she defines Indianness as cultural traits which were once rejected by his or her parents or grandparents. This individual will list himself or herself as Indian on applications where there is a designation for ethnicity because in doing this, he or she may gain benefits such as scholarships for school or preferential treatment for employment (Wax, 1971). Thus, this type of individual flip-flops with his personal identity as a Euro-American and that of an Indian, whichever is most beneficial.

The amount of Indian blood can have an effect on social interactions in a negative way, creating conflict or isolation. Penny at SJSU and Amy at D-Q

are of European and Native American descent and have made the choice to identify with their Indian heritage. They share similar experiences in the way that others perceive their choice because they have non-Indian physical features. However, Penny and Amy enact their culturally constructed categories and their choices may differ as others categorize and interact with them.

Penny chose to identify with her Indian heritage as a result of her early childhood exposure to the Indian culture. She joined AISES to be with other Native American students and to participate with them in social activities to develop more fully her identity. However, many Euro-Americans and a few full-blood Indian students on campus challenge her choice of ethnicity because she exhibits non-Indian physical features.

Amy chose to identify with her Indian heritage because of her family's belief that a cross-cultural upbringing would give her a greater understanding of Native American cultures. She has had personal contact with many Indians from her father's job as well as her church group. She chose to enroll at D-Q specifically to be part of a Native American environment and to learn in depth about her own cultural heritage in order to develop her self-identity. Nevertheless, some full-blood Indian students will not socialize with her beyond the classroom because her distinctly Euro-American features suggest a cultural crossover and they do not trust her. Other full-blooded Indian students respect

her for attending D-Q to learn about her heritage as well as giving her time to help the local Indian community. They can see that she is not one of those people who claim to be Indian and then live in a Euro-American way. Both women agree that mixed-blood Indian students on campus are more accepting of them because they share commonality and have made the choice to favor their Native American roots over their European roots.

Some Native American students have a need to look to other Native American students in class for cultural identification, or they learn about their cultural heritage in order to build self-identity, but this is not the case for either Clayton at D-Q or Alan at SJSU because they have already constructed their identity. They know who they are and they do not need to draw upon people around them to build their self-perception. They came into their respective universities with an attitude, a strong internal sense of identity that differentiates them.

Some students at D-Q know nothing of their heritage or very little and so they gain something from the university in learning about their culture and from that they can begin to build their own identity. As Clayton explains, other students do not reinforce his self-concept because that power comes from himself. This means that he does not need other students nor the university to reinforce his identity because he already knows his cultural heritage and who he is. Similarly, Alan says that ethnicity is not a part of choosing friends

because his self-concept comes from within and he does not need other students for cultural reinforcement. He knows who he is, what he wants to achieve and has self-determination. Thus, Clayton and Alan demonstrate a strong internal locus of control and the power within themselves to develop their own level of positive self-perception.

The teacher is part of the social context and can be a force in shaping identity. On one hand the teacher can be viewed instrumentally. The identity is less relevant than the information the teacher has to convey. This attitude is illustrated by Clayton and Amy at D-Q. Clayton says he would get to know the teacher in order to broaden his horizons academically rather than for social or cultural reasons. Similarly, Amy says that the teacher's ethnicity does not make any difference to her for she would not seek any social interactions with him or her. From her perspective, cultural identity does not increase her capacity for learning. She says she feels this way because for her, identity has nothing to do with the job of teaching. A teacher represents knowledge and experience and this is what they pass on to their students.

Another way students relate to teachers, however, is based on relationships that are just as significant as the academic side. Mutual identity facilitates that relationship. A Native American teacher is not only a professional role model but has the background to understand and guide his or her students effectively. This attitude is illustrated by Marilyn and Alan at SJSU.

Marilyn says she feels that the Native American teacher would become a valuable resource toward ethnic opportunities on campus for Native American students, thereby increasing the flow of information. Alan says that he or she would understand what Native American students are experiencing in college and thus, build pride in their future potential. Thus, Marilyn and Alan conclude that a relationship with a Native American teacher as mentor would open doors for Native American students that might otherwise remain closed on such a bureaucratic campus. Common tribal identity would enhance the relationship even more powerfully. This attitude is illustrated by Penny and John at SJSU and Jill and Larry at D-Q. Penny says that a Native American teacher would provide students with a cultural connection to their tribal heritage. This, she says, is her only avenue to know more about her cultural heritage. From Jill's perspective, a Native American teacher would give their time to help Indian students believe in themselves. Perhaps more Native American students would enroll in college if Native American teachers were to help and nurture them. She says she feels this way because so many Indian students are lost in higher education and that is the way she felt, until she came to D-Q. John says that if the Native American teacher were of the same tribe the cultural bond would be very meaningful because he or she could share aspects of their specific culture. Similarly, Larry believes that a cultural bond would be "a very personal relationship" especially when students are away from their family support

network and they want to be accepted. Thus, John and Larry said that to have a special relationship with a Native American teacher of the same tribe who would help develop their identity, that person would be like an extension of your family.

The Native American students identify themselves in three different ways. Tribal identity is one way students individuate themselves from each other and is also a marker for them to connect with their tribe's historical past as illustrated by Clayton and Larry at D-Q. First, Clayton says he would like other students to know and identify him as a Karok which means people. He views himself as a person and a man rather than just another American Indian attending D-Q. His tribal name defines who he is and the pride that is associated with it, which separates him from all other Native Americans.

Next, Larry identifies himself as Eastern Pomo. As part of his learning, he has traced his family's roots in Round Valley and discovered the Euro-American's mistreatment of Indians during the Gold Rush. As a result of his cultural identification, he says he has a personal responsibility to himself and the people he comes in contact with to make them aware of these tribal atrocities against his people.

Larry defines himself by his tribal name and in connection with that identity he has a need to let other people know the historical oppression that his people had to endure from the Native American point of view. This is

important to him possibly because he believes he is one of a few people who knows about it and that others should learn. This knowledge could give him respect from people who might otherwise not give him any recognition.

A second way Native American students identify themselves is through a value-based identification. This means that Native American students want to be accepted by others for what they are, do and believe, rather than being judged by their outward appearance. This point is illustrated by Amy at D-Q. Amy identifies herself as a mixed-blood and a loving Christian, one who is pure of heart and respectful of Indian ways. Since learning at D-Q is geared toward the affirmation of being Indian and that Indianness is defined by blood quantum, she questions whether mixed-blood Indians can legitimately be in a school where the curriculum is designed for full-bloods. If she is there to learn about her heritage rather than for the benefits, then she is there for the right reasons and it is just as important for her as it would for another person.

Amy defines herself as one who has internalized Indian values but lacks Indian physical features. She wants other full-blood students to accept her and to see her for the person she is inside and to understand that what really matters is what is in your heart, for she is genuine.

The final way that Native American students identify themselves is as role models of college-going Native Americans. This identity is very significant because Native Americans who attend 4-year institutions are few in number

and of those that do, many do graduate. Perhaps this is why members of other cultural groups on campus boost these students' self-perception by recognizing them and their efforts to get an education. These points are illustrated by Marilyn, Alan and John at SJSU. Marilyn identifies herself as representative of her tribe and at the suggestion of others, a role model of a college-going Native American.

There appears to be a pattern here regarding relationships. The students want a relationship with a Native American teacher to help develop their identity. They also want relationships with other students that will help or support their self-identity. This intimacy with others can be motivational when it works, but when it does not it leaves an emotional vacuum that is more devastating at D-Q than at SJSU. The irony at D-Q is that relationships are what make the university strong but it can also make it weak.

Where Culture makes a Difference

The purpose of this research project was to discover: (a) how structural differences between distinct types of tertiary institutions translated into student learning experiences, (b) how different learning experiences influenced students' self-perceptions and (c) how the cultural and social reality of being Native American effected student experiences. The first two points were the main foci of the previous chapters, one point remains.

Culture did not always play the part it is presumed to play. Sometimes

roles, psychological issues, sociological issues or individual choices were more salient. Native American students have individual goals and concerns not unique to being Native American. Instead those concerns are more broadly based, reflecting the frustrations of students overall. In addition, despite what the literature suggests, cooperative learning styles were not a significant issue for the Native American students I interviewed.

It is often assumed that if cultural differences exist, those differences are responsible for the diverse educational experiences. This assumption ignores the heterogeneity a deeper ethnographic examination can reveal. Individual differences may be more important than social commonalities. The Native American students I talked with have very diverse ideas. They have their own goals and opinions and just because they are Native American does not mean that they necessarily want to get together socially nor does it mean that they want to go into a particular field. Students have their own ideas about what they want out of life. In these ways, the Native American students as students are very much like other comprehensive university students.

Cooperative learning styles are presumed to be culturally preferred, and are expected to have a huge impact on Native American students but I did not find that. The students' opinions about this learning style are very diverse. Culture has predetermined the use of cooperative learning. The students at D-Q and SJSU differed not only in their preferences, but even in what

constituted group learning.

Instead of uniformly preferring group learning, observational modeling appeared to be more salient. The social learning theory developed by A. Bandura emphasizes the impact of cues received on the student's mental models and enacted behavior (Slavin, 1988). There are four phases to observational learning, according to Bandura's theory and illustrates how students learn. The first phase is attentional: Students pay attention to a model who says something interesting. The second phase is retention: The teacher models the behavior they want students to imitate and then has students practice it. The third phase is reproduction: The students try to match the behavior of the model. The fourth phase is motivational: The students imitate the model because the teacher is successful, and then they will be too (Slavin, 1988 p. 135). Effective modeling can lead to greater achievement.

Class material that is taught from this perspective is particularly useful in teaching Native American students as many of them are taught at an early age by watching and doing or visual perception, rather than being given a set of instructions to follow (Gilliland, 1988). That is because observational learning draws on images and verbal representation. When imagery and verbal symbols are combined, they serve as a guide for performance and reinforces the retention phase (Bandura, 1977).

Both SJSU and D-Q students cited their preferences for this method.

One SJSU student, who was attending an English class, said he thought he knew all there was to writing skillfully until his teacher began to teach how to write. Similarly at D-Q, one student explained that her English teacher uses the class reading book as a tool to teach them how the author made the reader feel things rather than just talking about the content of the book. Another student added that this same teacher helped them learn to brainstorm. The instructor brought the ideas to their level of understanding and explained how to generate ideas. These students are motivated through modeling so that they too can be as skillful and successful as the teacher.

It also appears that the identity based social activities are important at both universities. These activities include AISES club and attending powwows with other Native American students. Admittedly, I must point out that as a researcher I recognize the fact that my sampling strategy of using Native American students from AISES and then discovering that AISES is important has created a sampling error. Native American students at SJSU who would participate in this study were difficult to find and AISES became the only resource available on campus. However, this was not the case at D-Q because participants were selected and approached by the administrative staff. At D-Q, when students are not attending the AISES meetings, other social activities such as attending the powwows are directly linked to identity.

Cultural isolation is an issue at both institutions. However, the underlying

logic is distinct and offers insights useful to campus administrators. At D-Q, if cultural identities become orthodox, then students can become isolated. If it is presumed that students cannot be Christian and also Indian, because real Indians are not Christians, then students feel isolated if they are Christian. Furthermore, if it is presumed that real Indians have identifiable physical features, then isolation will occur if they do not look the part. Students were quite clear about their opinions on this issue.

Cultural isolation also exists at SJSU, but it is completely different in the way it is constructed. It comes from just being overwhelmed by the many different ethnic groups so that being Native American is buried under such visible categories as Chicano or African American, to name a few. There is so much diversity and the Native American student population is so small that Native Americans feel isolated. In summary, both universities have cultural isolation but for completely different reasons.

There needs to be more flexibility in course content to reflect cultural values at SJSU. This idea came out as a strong theme. There are times when having values as a Native American comes in conflict with what students do in class. There needs to be some mechanism to be flexible to deal with this situation. At best, the administration needs to address it directly and to indicate that they recognize this as an ongoing problem on campus, whether or not they can change it.

Finally, the focus on family and student-centered organization at D-Q gives enormous strength, that is, it really helps people and gives them enthusiasm for learning. Unfortunately, however, it also creates a structural vulnerability and so that when it fails, it is disastrous. In a bureaucracy like SJSU, there are so many redundancies that catastrophic failure is difficult. That institutional endurance is bought with the currency of impersonality which augments isolation, but ensures that the system is relatively stable.

In the campus environment at SJSU, academic achievement, social interactions with other ethnic students, being an AISES member and the recognition of being a Native American on campus are strong motivators for these Native American students to feel positive self-perception and to continue in higher education. In contrast, the D-Q campus environment with its small and personable classrooms, the students' identification with a culture-based curriculum, the powwows and the camaraderie with other Native Americans and faculty are strong motivators for these Native American students to feel positive self-perception.

This project was designed to explore emic perspectives using only a few key informants. Quantitative and more focused qualitative studies could expand on the base provided here. A broader quantitative study could pinpoint the impacts of different learning styles on learning. In-depth life history studies of individuals could unravel developmental factors in the construction of identity

and self-perception. This pilot project suggests additional directions for research for both anthropologists and educators.

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Appendix

Section 1

The following questions were asked of the student on the initial interview.

Demographics

1. Name (pseudonym for study):
2. Gender:
3. Age:
4. Tribal affiliation:
5. Major:
6. Year in school:
7. Birthplace/raised:
8. Mother's ethnic identity:
9. Father's ethnic identity:
10. Educational level of parents:
11. Occupation of parents:
12. Marital status of students:
13. Current occupation other than student:
14. When did you start at SJSU/D-Q?
15. Do you live on the campus or commute?

Educational Background

1. What brought you to this campus?
2. What made you want to come to this particular school academically and how did you make that decision?
3. Did you find the outcome of that decision rewarding and why?
4. How prepared academically do you feel as a student in college?
5. How did you feel about adjustment problems when you left your high school friends and your family?
6. Did you feel isolated when you first came to college and if so, how did you deal with it?

Section II

General Education/Social Experiences in/out of Classroom

1. Do you enjoy the classes and how are they useful to you?
2. What don't you like about your classes or find lacking in them?
3. Are you comfortable with a small work group in the class and if so, how do you rate group learning over individual learning style?
4. Are you comfortable with your classmates and if so, in what ways are they congenial/not congenial to you?
5. What do you think your classmates reaction would be if they discovered you were Native American; do you think they would accept you or not?
6. Do you see your classmates out of class socially, and what kinds of activities with them do you prefer?
7. Are there other Native American students in your classes and do you have contact with them?

8. If you discovered that your teacher was Native American, would you have any interactions with them outside of class and if not, why do you think that is so?
9. Do you feel motivated to do or work on special projects in the class, for example, a topic you are particularly interested in or one that you can be creative in?
10. How has the classroom experience made you feel about yourself?
11. What career choice of goals do you have and what do you plan to do after you graduate from this school?

Section III

Specific Classroom Experience

The following questions were asked of the students in a follow-up interview after attending class with him or her.

1. Were you prepared before you went to class?
2. Was the material presented in class, familiar or unfamiliar to you and in what way?
3. Was the material presented in class stimulating or boring and why?
4. Was the material presented in class meaningful to you or not and describe your thoughts?
5. Do you feel safe to express your ideas and values based on your culture in the classroom?
6. Do you feel it is important to be in class every day and on time, why or why not?
7. Were there any circumstances that might have affected you during the class, emotionally or physically, and how did you deal with it?
8. Overall, how would you describe this class experience compared to other classes you are currently taking?